Engraved Gems and Propaganda in the Roman Republic and under Augustus



Paweł Gołyźniak

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Back cover image: Portrait of Pompey the Great, amethyst intaglio, c. 60-50 BC. The State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, inv. no.: Ж 1468

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Contents

Foreword and acknowledgments v

Part I Introduction

1. Preface 1

2. State of research 2
2.1. Roman Republican and Augustan engraved gems 2
2.2. Studies of propaganda on Roman Republican and Augustan gems 10
2.3. General studies of Roman propaganda and self-presentation referring to engraved gems 12
2.4. Conclusions 14

3. Aims, methodology and structure 16
3.1. Aims 16
3.2. Methodology 17
3.3. Structure 19

Part II Theory

4. Self-presentation and propaganda – definitions and characteristics 22
4.1. Definitions of 'self-presentation' and 'propaganda' 22
4.2. Propaganda and persuasion 24
4.3. Propaganda and public opinion 25
4.4. Propaganda as a form of communication 26
4.5. Forms of propaganda 27
4.6. Tools and techniques of propaganda 29
4.7. The effectiveness of propaganda 31

5. Roman propaganda on engraved gems – general introduction 33
5.1. Anticipated areas of propaganda on engraved gems 33
5.1.1. Use of gems in triumphs 33
5.1.2. Collecting 33
5.1.3. Employment of gem engravers 34
5.1.4. Seals 34
5.1.5. Personal branding and self-promotion 34
5.1.6. Induction and manifestation of loyalty and support 35
5.1.7. Use of heritage 35
5.1.8. Promotion of family and oneself through **origo** 36
5.1.9. Promotion of faction 36
5.1.10. Commemoration 37
5.1.11. Promotion of abstract ideas (*ordo rerum*, *Pax Augusta* and *aurea aetas*) 37
5.1.12. Religious, divine and mythological references 37
5.1.13. Political symbols 38
5.1.14. Luxury objects: State Cameos – carved vessels – works in the round 38
5.2. Problems with studying propaganda in ancient times with emphasis on engraved gems 39
5.2.1. Basic (technical) problems 39
5.2.2. Iconographical problems 41
5.2.3. Iconological, conceptual and interpretational problems 42

Part III Evidence

6. Beginnings (3rd-2nd centuries BC) 45
6.1. Etruscan and Italic tradition (self-presentation) 46
6.2. Hellenistic influences 49

6.2.1. Portraits 50
6.2.2. Patronage 54
6.2.3. Collecting 55
6.2.4. Triumphs and processions 55
6.2.5. Iconography, forms and style 55
6.3. Roman tradition (family symbols, personal branding, commemoration, state propaganda) 56
6.3.1. Family symbols and references to familial stories on gems 56
6.3.2. Portraits on gems – Roman tradition 61
6.3.3. Roman generals, consuls, imperators and dictators? 62
6.3.4. Roman state propaganda: subjects related to wars and conquests (Gallic Wars, Punic Wars, Greek and Macedonian Wars, Social War 91-88 BC) 66

7. Early 1st century BC 69
7.1. Lucius Cornelius Sulla 69
7.1.1. Seals of Sulla 69
7.1.2. Possible employment of gem engravers and collecting 71
7.1.3. Personal branding - portraits 72
7.1.4. Commemoration 74
7.1.5. Divine and mythological references 75
7.1.6. Political symbols 78
7.2. Gaius Marius 79
7.2.1. Triumph 79
7.2.2. Personal branding – portraits 80
7.2.3. Commemoration 81
7.2.4. Divine and mythological references 82
7.2.5. Political symbols 82
7.3. Lucius Licinius Lucullus 83
7.3.1. Diplomatic gift and collecting? 83
7.3.2. Personal branding and commemoration 84
7.3.3. Promotion of family and political symbols 84
7.4. Other politicians 85
7.4.1. Personal branding - portraits 85
7.4.2. Family symbols and references to familial stories on gems 89
7.4.3. Political symbols 92

8. Civil War: Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar and contemporaries 93
8.1. Pompey the Great 93
8.1.1. Triumph 93
8.1.2. Collecting 94
8.1.3. Possible gem engravers working for Pompey 95
8.1.4. Seals of Pompey 97
8.1.5. Portraits - personal branding, induction and manifestation of loyalty 98
8.1.6. Promotion of family 101
8.1.7. Promotion of the faction – Optimates 102
8.1.8. Commemoration 103
8.1.9. Divine and mythological references 104
8.1.10. *Imitatio Alexandri* 108
8.1.11. Political symbols 109
8.1.12. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda 110
8.2. Julius Caesar 110
8.2.1. Collecting 111
8.2.2. Possible gem engravers working for Julius Caesar 111
8.2.3. Seal of Julius Caesar 113
8.2.4. Portraits – personal branding, induction and manifestation of loyalty 114
8.2.5. Promotion of and within the family 117
8.2.6. Promotion of the faction – Populares 118
8.2.7. Commemoration 119
8.2.8. Divine and mythological references 122
8.2.9. Political symbols 123

8.2.10. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) 126
8.3. Less significant politicians and women from the times of the Civil War 126
8.3.1. Collecting engraved gems and hiring engravers....126
8.3.2. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty....128
8.3.3. Family symbols and references to familial stories on gems....129
8.3.4. Commemoration....130
8.3.5. Divine and mythological references....132

9. Post-Caesarian and Liberators' Civil Wars (from death of Caesar to Octavian's sole rule: 44-27 BC)....133
9.1. The Pompeians....133
9.1.1. Seals of Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey....133
9.1.2. Possible gem engravers working for the Pompeians....134
9.1.3. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty....135
9.1.4. Use of heritage....139
9.1.5. Promotion of the faction....141
9.1.6. Commemoration....141
9.1.7. Divine and mythological references....143
9.1.8. Political symbols....143
9.1.9. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda....144
9.2. The Republicans....144
9.2.1. Possible gem engravers working for the Republicans 145
9.2.2. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty....145
9.2.3. Use of heritage....148
9.2.4. Promotion of the faction....149
9.2.5. Commemoration....149
9.2.6. Divine and mythological references....149
9.2.7. Political symbols....150
9.2.8. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda....150
9.3. The Caesarians 150
9.3.1. Octavian 151
9.3.1.1. Heir of Julius Caesar....152
9.3.1.2. Possible gem engravers working for Octavian 157
9.3.1.3. Seals of Octavian....159
9.3.1.4. Portraits – personal branding, induction and manifestation of loyalty 161
9.3.1.5. Promotion of family....167
9.3.1.6. Promotion of the faction....169
9.3.1.7. Commemoration....169
9.3.1.8. Divine and mythological references 179
9.3.1.9. Political symbols....187
9.3.1.10 Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda 192
9.3.2. Mark Antony 192
9.3.2.1. Collecting and personal seals 193
9.3.2.2. Possible gem engravers working for Mark Antony 193
9.3.2.3. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty 195
9.3.2.4. Promotion of family....198
9.3.2.5. Promotion of the faction....199
9.3.2.6. Commemoration....199
9.3.2.7. Divine and mythological references 202
9.3.2.8. Political symbols....206
9.3.2.9. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda....207
9.3.3. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (triumvir) 208
9.3.3.1. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty 208
9.3.3.2. Political symbols....208
9.4. Less significant politicians 208
9.5. Women and their propaganda significance on engraved gems....209
9.5.1. Portraits – personal branding 209
9.5.2. Divine and mythological references....211

10. Augustus (27 BC-AD 14)....214

10.1. Collecting 214
10.2. Gem engravers working for Augustus 215
10.3. The final seal of Augustus 216
10.4. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty 217
10.5. Commemoration and State Cameos 219
10.6. Divine and mythological references 226
10.7. Mythological Foundations of the New Rome 230
10.8. Promotion of peace and prosperity 234
10.9. Luxury objects (State Cameos, cameo vessels etc.) and religious propaganda 238
10.10. Promotion of family and successors 241
10.11. *Divus Augustus* 247

Part IV Summary and conclusions

11. Provenance, provenience, production and distribution of propaganda gems 250

12. Statistics 298

13. Summary and conclusions: 309
13.1. Use of gems in triumphs 309
13.2. Collecting 310
13.3. Employment of gem engravers 311
13.4. Seals 312
13.5. Personal branding and self-promotion 313
13.6. Induction and manifestation of loyalty and support 316
13.7. Use of heritage 318
13.8. Promotion of family and oneself through ***origo*** 318
13.9. Promotion of faction 320
13.10. Commemoration 321
13.11. Religious, divine and mythological references 322
13.12. Political symbols and promotion of abstract ideas **(*ordo rerum, Pax Augusta and aurea aetas*)** 324
13.13. Luxury objects: State Cameos – carved vessels – works in the round 326
13.13.1. State Cameos 326
13.13.2. Carved vessels 327
13.13.3 Works in the round 328
13.14. Final remarks 328

Part V Catalogue, figures, bibliography and indices

Catalogue 331

Figures 446

Figure credits 576

Bibliography 587

Index 602

Foreword and acknowledgments

This book is based on my PhD dissertation defended in 2019 at the Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University in Krakow. It deals with small, but highly captivating and stimulating artworks – engraved gemstones. For a long time they have fascinated collectors and scholars alike due to their preciousness and aesthetical beauty, their market value, the high artistic virtuosity of the scenes and symbols engraved upon their surfaces and their multiple applications as seals, jewellery or amulets among others. During research for my previous project devoted to ancient intaglios and cameos in the National Museum in Krakow (2017), I realised how difficult and sometimes even impossible it is to establish what kind of uses gems were put to in antiquity. As far as ancient Rome is concerned, it seemed that the political disturbances of the Late Roman Republic and its transformation to the empire under Augustus had a profound impact on the production and uses of intaglios and cameos, however, because of the many challenges inherent in their study, gems have seldom been studied as objects suitable for either self-presentation or even propaganda. While writing this book, I have attempted to satisfy the curiosity of those who are interested in the beautiful and ancient art of gem engraving as well as those who are fascinated by Roman Republican and Augustan politics, social life and propaganda. I do not claim to provide a comprehensive study of these matters. This would be impossible due to the peculiar nature of the objects under examination, the scarcity of unambiguous and objective data and sources as well as the complexity of the phenomena themselves. What I have tried to do is to supply the widest range of evidence for the many applications of gems that perhaps might be related in one way or another to an individual's self-representation and to political life in ancient Rome in the period in question. My thoughts and commentaries, which also include a critical evaluation of previous scholarship, are not definitive judgments and the reader should use them as a sort of aid that may help him form his own opinion on the general picture and particular issues. Some questions of course remain unanswered and I hope will lead to fruitful discussion in the future. There is a rich selection of objects provided in the catalogue and on plates for ease of reading and better exposure of the evidence or, in some cases, lack of it. This selection proved big enough to undertake some basic statistical analyses, although, many more examples, especially if glass gems are concerned, could have been included in the database if there had been no restrictions of time and print space. Nevertheless, it is expected that any further additions would not change the results significantly, as the basic trends are clear enough.

Warm words of acknowledgement are due to those who helped me to work on this book. First of all, I would like to thank Jarosław Bodzek (Jagiellonian University) for supervising the whole process of writing the book, for his encouragement and consultations, especially regarding the comparative numismatic material. Secondly, Martin Henig (University of Oxford) is acknowledged for his outstanding support, profound understanding, expertise, discussions and numerous suggestions that enabled me to improve this study considerably. I would like to thank Claudia Wagner (University of Oxford) for her kind help and hospitality as well as for fruitful discussions on the art of gem engraving during my research stay in the Beazley Archive in Oxford, where the final phase of the research was accomplished. Sir John Boardman (University of Oxford) is acknowledged for constructive discussions, especially touching the issue of the relationships between gems and coins as well as the production and distribution of gems. Alexander Bursche (University of Warsaw) is acknowledged for careful reviewing of my work and with providing many valuable remarks. I am indebted to Ittai Gradel for many fruitful discussions and for allowing me to read his forthcoming article on the unique small collection of bronze rings set with glass gems transmitting political messages. I am grateful to Frédérique Duyrat for an invitation and Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet (Bibliothèque nationale de France) for great hospitality in Paris and facilitating my study of the gem collection housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Similarly, I thank Alex Truscott (the British Museum) for organising my study of the gem collection kept in the British Museum in London. I am deeply indebted to Ute Wartenberg-Kagan (American Numismatic Society) for giving me an opportunity to present the results of my research in a seminar in New York. I am indebted for help, encouragement and support received from the following: Gabriella Tassinari (Università degli Studi di Milano), Hadrien J. Rambach (Brussels), Ulf R. Hansson (The University of Texas at Austin), Marianne Kleibrink (University of Groningen), Kamil Kopij (Jagiellonian University) and Agnieszka Fulińska (Jagiellonian University) who all kindly advised me during the writing of this book. I wish to thank all the people with whom I had the pleasure of discussing separate parts of my research which I presented at conferences and seminars in Krakow, Warsaw, Leiden and Prague. Last but not least, I thank David Davison and Rajka Makjanic, directors of Archaeopress for their courtesy and kind editorial support. Kate Adcock is acknowledged for improving my written English.

This book is fondly dedicated to Basia who granted me patience, love and support all along the way as well as to my family.

Paweł Gołyźniak
Krakow/Oxford, March 2019

Acta est fabula, plaudite.
Suetonius, *Augustus*, 99

Part I
Introduction

1. Preface

This study aims to tackle the question of the use of engraved gems for self-presentation and propaganda purposes in the Roman Republic and under Augustus. Intaglios and cameos portray Roman society from various angles. They are snapshots of peoples' beliefs, ideologies, everyday life. Thus, they might cast some light on self-advertising and propaganda actions performed by Roman political leaders, their factions and people as a whole engaged in politics and social life in the past. It is plausible that gems show general trends as well as illustrate individual and private acts of those involved in politics and social affairs, since they were objects of strictly personal use. They often enable us to analyse and learn about Roman propaganda and various social behaviours from a completely different angle to coins, sculpture or literature. The miniaturism of ancient gems is often in inverse proportion to their cultural significance. Despite – or perhaps because of – their ubiquity, the motifs they bear are often highly sophisticated and captivating in their visual presentation of complex ideas. By effective artistry the image is, almost literally, impressed upon the mind of the user and the viewers. However, it is not easy to identify and correctly interpret propaganda messages encoded on gems and link specific objects with political and social events or behaviours. On the contrary, the richness of their iconography and forms often leads to overinterpretations. Therefore, the basis of this study is a database covering a wide range of categories, which have informed the structure of the presentation. It is a combination of numerous case studies discussing examples that might one way or another relate to politics and social changes under the Roman Republic and Augustus and a critical study of the previous scholarship. The aim is not only to present clear-cut examples of what one may call 'propaganda gems', but also to discuss those problematical pieces and issues related to them and to offer a more complete analysis of a problem which has previously been largely neglected. The discussion is, naturally, full of interconnections with ancient literary sources, as well as other categories of Roman art and craftsmanship, notably coins, and also sculpture, relief, oil lamps, pottery (especially the Arretine bowls) and toreutics.

The specific characteristics of engraved gems, their strictly private character and the whole array of devices appearing on them are examined in this book with respect to their potential propagandistic value and usefulness in social life. The broad scope of this analysis provides the first comprehensive picture covering many aspects of Roman propaganda and a critical survey of overinterpretations of this term in regard to glyptic art. The ultimate purpose of the study is to incorporate this class of archaeological artefacts into the well-established studies of Roman propaganda as well as Roman society in general. Gems turn out to be not merely another channel used by propagandists but also a very sensitive barometer of social moods and behaviours. It remains disputable to what extent they were helpful in creating propaganda communications by Roman political leaders, but in some respects they certainly offered unique possibilities for propagandists to advertise themselves. It is clear that their role in the evolution of Roman propaganda should be taken into account in further studies of this phenomenon because intaglios and cameos like any other archaeological artefacts prove that all people were engaged in politics one way or another and that propaganda campaigns were largely successful in ancient Rome.

2. State of research

2.1. Roman Republican and Augustan engraved gems

Outlined below is a history of modern glyptic studies relevant to the Roman Republican and Augustan material. This short text does not attempt to be a comprehensive account of the subject but should be considered as showing the importance and value of this glyptic material for archaeology and ancient art history as scientific disciplines in general. Since the very early stages of glyptic studies, a clear division is observable: numerous publications of public and private collections are issued all along, whilst much less numerous are treatises devoted to specific problems and aspects of glyptics. It might seem strange that Roman Republican and Augustan gems have never been properly and exclusively analysed and described in detail as separate categories, while studies dealing with specific chronological and cultural classes of gems were published a long time ago.[1] Of course, it does not mean they were completely neglected. There are at least several most scholarly general studies of glyptic art including very good, but still inadequate accounts of Roman Republican and Augustan gems. There are also numerous short and mostly iconographic, studies. All these works are taken into account in the present study.

Since the Renaissance engraved gems have attracted attention mostly as collectors' items.[2] They were regarded as among the most precious and best-preserved examples of ancient art. This interest was due to several factors. Gems offered an array of devices related to every aspect of classical life and culture; from serious mythological and religious themes down to joyful and bucolic scenes presenting the everyday life of ordinary people. They were made of precious and semi-precious stones – highly desirable and, maybe most importantly, intrinsically valuable materials. Gems offered insights into peoples' beliefs and with their magical formulas and iconography added a bit of mystery to this ancient craft. Even now, many people believe in the magical and medical properties of specific gemstones. Gems were sources of inspiration for Renaissance and later artists. The best example of this is the young Pan cameo from the Beverley collection that sparked the idea for the composition of one of the most famous paintings in the Sistine Chapel by Michelangelo.[3] Like artists, scholars have also been attracted by the great potential hidden in those little artworks. Although the first evidence of scientific interest in gems was recorded as early as the 16th century,[4] it was Philipp von Stosch (1691-1757) with his *Gemmæ antiquæ cælatæ*, a study of 70 gems bearing artists' signatures, who laid the foundations of modern glyptic studies.[5] His pioneering work was a great success and Stosch himself was regarded as the greatest collector and connoisseur of gems of his times. His vast collection including gemstones and a number of glass gems was published in the most scholarly fashion to date by none other than Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) in 1760.[6] Stosch and Winckelmann were followed by others and literature on glyptics quickly expanded.[7] The 18th and 19th centuries saw an extraordinary upsurge of interest in engraved gems. They were collected by many, notably by representatives of high social classes since the best pieces sometimes reached astronomical prices.[8] They were reproduced in various forms as drawings or prints and most importantly as impressions and casts made of gesso, resin, sulphur, electrotype and other materials and assembled in the form of *dactyliothecae*.[9] These collections, sometimes amounting to thousands of objects, turned out to be attractive souvenirs obtained by grand tourists in Rome, Milan, Naples and other Italian cities, and played a significant role in the popularisation and reception of classical art and culture.[10] Sometimes a combination of both existed in one person. A good example is the most prominent Polish collector of engraved gems – Constantine

[1] For instance: Boardman 1970/2001 (Greek Gems - early Bronze Age to late Classical/early Hellenistic periods) and 2003 (Phoenician scarabs); Hansson 2005 (*A globolo* gems); Plantzos 1999 (Hellenistic gems); Spier 2007 (Late Antique and Early Christian gems); Zazoff 1968 (Etruscan scarabs).

[2] Naturally intaglios and cameos were collected and re-used in the Medieval period in various ways, however, since here the focus is on studies of gems, which started in the Renessaince, the Medieval period has been ommitted, but see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008b (with further literature on the subject).

[3] Wagner, Boardman and Scarisbrick 2016a, no. 6.

[4] For instance, see one of the earliest studies of some portrait gems published by Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600) in 1570. For a more detailed commentary to this issue, see: Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 402-409 – for the earliest works and 409-426 for 18th and 19th century ones; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 279.

[5] Stosch 1724. For some literature on Philipp von Stosch: Borroni Salvadori 1978: 565-614; Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 409-410 and 415-417; Hansson 2014; Lewis 1967: 320-327; MacKay Quynn 1941; Rambach (forthcoming 1); Zazoff and Zazoff 1983: 3-67; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 274-275.

[6] Winckelmann 1760.

[7] For instance: Comte de Caylus 1752-1768; Gori 1731-1732, 1750 and 1767; Mariette 1750; Millin 1797 and 1817; Natter 1754. For a recent analysis of this issue, see: Lang 2017.

[8] It is difficult even to propose a selection of the most important collections of engraved gems here but useful lists can be found in: Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 426-435; Lang 2017: 199-201; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 264-279.

[9] For more information about *dactyliothecae*, see: Kockel and Graepler 2006; Knüppel 2009.

[10] The most numerous and famous are the collections of Philipp Daniel Lippert (1702-1785) – published in three volumes in 1755, 1756 and 1767, James Tassie (1735-1799) – published by Rudolf Erich Raspe in 1791 and those produced by Tommaso Cades (1772-1840).

Schmidt-Ciążyński (1818-1889). He had been trading and collecting engraved gems all his life, but in 1886 he decided to present his cabinet alongside with two *dactyliothecae* to the newly established National Museum in Krakow. He decided to do so because he believed the collections to be useful tools for the emerging circles of archaeologists and art historians from the Academy of Krakow (Jagiellonian University at present) as well as for artists and all enthusiasts of ancient art living in the city.[11]

Even this brief overview clearly shows the high level of interest in engraved gems often declared by the most illustrious scholars. Nevertheless, while in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century more people were interested in collecting gems than studying them, by the end of the 19th century the situation had been reversed. This was due to the fading interest of the art market in engraved gems which was caused by many factors (repetitious copying and a considerable decrease in the quality of workmanship, the dispersal of important collections combined with an increase in the number of gems of doubtful authenticity). Gems thus became an unattractive investment.[12] At the same time, at the end of the century another key figure in the study of ancient art and archaeology published his works on engraved gems – Adolf Furtwängler (1853-1907). His catalogue of the enormous (12,000 objects) cabinet of gems housed in Berlin was his first major accomplishment.[13] Later, he published important articles on gems signed by ancient engravers.[14] However, in 1900 he published his *opus magnum* – *Die antiken Gemmen. Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum* which was a milestone for modern glyptic research.[15] The outstanding quality of Furtwängler's research is proved by the fact that his works are frequently cited by present-day scholars and the methodology he proposed, admittedly with slight changes, is still the basis for every serious analysis of glyptic material.[16] Furtwängler analysed and neatly systematised gems produced from the Minoan to the Late Antique period. Regarding the material of most interest to us here, his greatest achievement was the separation of Roman Republican gems from Augustan and early imperial ones. One quickly realises that these two categories were maybe the most important for him since one third of the book is devoted to them.[17] Furtwängler calls gems produced in Italy during the 3rd-1st century BC 'Italic' basically distinguishing two groups: etruscanising – those greatly influenced by the Etruscan glyptic tradition which were produced in northern and central Italy (mainly Latium), and hellenising – those produced in southern Italy (mainly Campania) and Sicily under the influence of Greek artists. However, he was fully aware that Italic glyptics constitutes a much more complex picture and various local traditions should be taken into account as well.[18] Noteworthy are his observations on glass gems so popular in Italy those days.[19] He has also commented on the various subjects and problems of dating gems from that period, their geographical distribution, pointing at possible locations for gem workshops, and on various styles adopted by the artists and on iconography.[20] He did so without compromising the clarity of the overall framework of his work. Finally, Furtwängler observed the fusion of Roman and Greek traditions in glyptic art which happened in the 1st century BC and resulted in what we call today 'Augustan classicism'.[21] In his book, he describes Augustan gems together with early imperial works, an approach that was totally appropriate for the time. For many years his classification was adequate and many of his observations remain valid today. Of course, extensive publication of public and private collections combined with more archaeological data, especially over last fifty years, now allows scholars to analyse Roman Republican and Augustan gems in even greater depth, but the foundations laid by Furtwängler still stay robust and his book is a point of reference for anyone pursuing any kind of glyptic studies as well as for the author of this work.[22]

The greatness of Furtwängler's book *Die antiken Gemmen* was not only a result of his intellectual rigous, but also his methodology. Prior to this publication, he travelled across Europe studying all the major public and private collections of engraved gems. Having direct access to the material was not easy as very little of it was published.[23] This situation gradually

[11] Gołyźniak 2017: 31-61.

[12] The most recognisable example of that process is the famous scandal related to the Prince Stanislas Poniatowski (1754-1833) collection of engraved gems. Among the rich literature on the subject, see: Kolendo 1981; Laska 2001; Rambach 2016; Wagner 2008 and 2013. On the crisis in trade of engraved gems in the second half of the 19th century, see: Berges 2011: 151; Gołyźniak 2017: 57-58; Plantzos 1999: 3.

[13] Furtwängler 1896.

[14] Furtwängler 1888-1889.

[15] Furtwängler 1900.

[16] The importance and appreciation of Furtwängler's works has been expressed, for instance in: Hansson 2005: 24; Zazoff and Zazoff 1983: 203-230.

[17] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 212-299 for Italic gems and 300-358 for Augustan and early imperial glyptics. These were the days when glyptic production was the most prolific, so it was also natural to write so much about it too.

[18] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 212-218.

[19] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 219-222.

[20] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 223-227.

[21] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 300-303.

[22] However, see some criticism of Furtwängler's and his contemporaries' works on glyptic art in Sagiv 2018: 3-4. My own commentaries on Furtwängler's observations regarding Roman Republican and Augustan gems are provided in specific chapters in the third part of the book.

[23] Actually, prior to Furtwängler, among the major public collections of engraved gems, only the ones from Paris had been published with a selection of gems illustrated at the end of the 19th century by Ernest Babelon: 1894, 1897 and 1899 (noteworthy is also the catalogue written by Anatole Chabouillet in 1858, but this work was unillustrated).

started to change after Furtwängler's publication.[24] In the 1920s, publishing on gems intensified when several collections, important in terms of quantity and quality, 'had come out of the museums' and thus became accessible to everyone wishing to study them. In 1920 Beazley published his extraordinary study of the Lewes House collection of gems, which will be of special interest to us in the following chapters.[25] In 1926 a catalogue with a selection of photographs of the vast cabinet of gems housed in the British Museum in London was released by Walters and three years later, the extensive collection of intaglios and cameos from the Thorvaldsen's Museum in Copenhagen was published by Fossing.[26] Both of them included great numbers of Roman Republican and Augustan gems which are of great interest to us here and often these books are still the only point of reference to those collections we have today. Furthermore, the authors were clearly inspired by Furtwängler's work classifying the material basically to the etruscanising, hellenising and Graeco-Roman groups (the last usually included Augustan gems). No less important is the catalogue of cameos preserved today in Kunsthistoriches Museum in Vienna by Eichler and Kris.[27] However, many objects from that collection have been discussed by later authors enabling them to be better understood , thus making them more accessible for this study.[28] Concerning less extensive collections, noteworthy is the publication of the Duval assemblage by Deonna.[29] Across the Atlantic, gems were published as well, mainly by Richter.[30] Although, these catalogues were necessary work that would have enabled scholars to approach more complex issues and problems related to glyptic art, there were almost no studies of this kind since Furtwängler.[31]

The period from 1930s to 1950s yielded relatively few publications including Roman Republican and Augustan engraved gems. Some exceptions are catalogues of two collections from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York by Richter and selections of gems from various museums located in Rome by Righetti.[32] However, in the 1950s, one observes the first signs of interest in Roman Republican and Augustan gems as valuable comparative material for studies of other branches of Roman art, as well as some reports of their archaeological context.[33] In the late 1950s two authorities in glyptic studies – Sena Chiesa and Vollenweider started to publish their works.Their contributions will be broadly discussed in due course since they played a significant role in the development of research on 'propaganda gems'.[34]

A significant advancement in the studies of Roman Republican and Augustan engraved gems took place in the next period covering the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s. The year 1966 was special because two highly important books on gems appeared. First, Vollenweider published her thorough research on top-quality gem engraving in the Late Roman Republic and Augustan times.[35] She successfully analysed and described masterpieces of Roman gem engraving, mostly those signed by ancient artists. The signed work of each is discussed in her book and dated mainly through stylistic and comparative analyses to the coins. The study is accompanied by a catalogue and plates including wonderful photographs of these highly important pieces. Vollenweider approached the material with utmost care detecting some modern copies among objects traditionally taken as genuine. But most importantly for us, she analysed the glyptic material of that period as closely related to Roman politics and propaganda. For this reason, her work will be more extensively commented on in the next sub-chapters. The second work of a major significance was the study of engraved gems from Aquileia by Sena Chiesa.[36] This publication presents 1,523 engraved gems (including a number of Roman Republican and Augustan specimens) originating from one archaeological site. Even though their archaeological context is incomplete, the publication is very useful because it includes almost all the current subjects appearing in Roman glyptics (of all periods), excluding portrait gems and cameos.[37] It is a great source of reference material making it possible to identify hundreds of gems now found in museum collections as originating from this highly important centre of glyptic production.[38] Sena Chiesa's organisation of the selected material and her attempt to distinguish a number of larger and smaller studios operating at the site during a long period of

[24] Good examples are for instance: the famous Southesk collection published in 1908 (Carnegie and Carnegie 1908), Kibaltchitch's assemblage published in 1910 (Kibaltchitch 1910) and the highly important Clercq collection published in 1911 (Ridder 1911). Noteworthy are also books dealing with Roman finger rings including some Roman Republican and Augustan gems (Henkel 1913; Marshall 1908).

[25] Beazley's catalogue has recently been republished and provided with new notes, measurements that were previously lacking etc. by Boardman (2002).

[26] Fossing 1929; Walters 1926.

[27] Eichler and Kris 1927.

[28] Zwierlein-Diehl 2008a.

[29] Deonna 1925.

[30] Richter 1920.

[31] Perhaps Lippold 1922 and Gebhardt 1925 might be considered exceptions.

[32] Richter 1942 and 1956; Righetti 1954-1956, 1955a, 1955b and 1957-1959.

[33] For instance: Alföldi 1954; Gonzenbach 1952; Vermeule 1957 and 1958.

[34] Some of the early works of these authors include: Sena Chiesa 1957 and 1958; Vollenweider 1955 and 1958.

[35] Vollenweider 1966.

[36] Sena Chiesa 1966.

[37] See some reviews: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1969: 173-174.

[38] For instance, a number of gems housed in Kunsthistoriches Museum in Vienna or Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte in Trieste proved to originate from Aquileia, see: Ciliberto and Giovannini 2008; Sena Chiesa 2009a. The same is the case with about 140 Roman Republican, Augustan and Roman imperial gems from the National Museum in Krakow collection, see: Gołyźniak 2017: 47.

time from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD is interesting. Nevertheless, the book has received much criticism for the poor quality of the images and most importantly for the rather outdated methodology.[39] As Maaskant-Kleibrink points out, the biggest shame is that the gems have been organised first according to their iconography, into larger thematic groups such as heroes, gods, animals etc. and then ascribed to smaller categories like Zeus, Apollo etc.[40] Sena Chiesa has lost a great chance to present the overall development of Roman glyptic styles and techniques over four hundred years first, which could have been then followed by the identification of separate studios producing gems (iconography might have been just one of many criteria in distinguishing between the various studios). Basing the classification first on iconography and then on individual styles and techniques results in chaos well illustrated by Sena Chiesa's plates often including material that is not coherent in terms of chronology. Even though the plates offer a kind of graphical key to the whole study, the reader remains confused and if he is not a specialist on the subject, will quickly feel discouraged.[41] About 7,000 gems are reported to have been found in Aquileia. There is a hope that they will be digitised and made available to everyone in the future so as to complete the selection presented by Sena Chiesa.[42]

From the 1960s one observes a more sophisticated approach to publishing public and private gem collections, which has gathered pace in the 1970s. Many new catalogues include Roman Republican and Augustan material presented in varying degrees of detail. Among them, the German project *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen* stands out. The collections of gems from Berlin, Munich, Braunschweig, Göttingen, Kassel, Hannover and Hamburg provided scholars with thousands of objects.[43] A similar project was embarked on by Zwierlein-Diehl regarding the Vienna collection.[44] This stream of publications kept flowing from all countries. Neverov published a selection of highly important high-quality intaglios and cameos housed in St. Petersburg.[45] Apart from these, many other institutions catalogued their collections which even if not particularly extensive, should not be omitted due to the quality of the material they preserve.[46] Some private cabinets were also made accessible to a wider audience.[47] Studies of specific groups of gems were also carried out and many articles dealing with smaller collections as well as individual objects were published by various authors.[48] This period also witnessed the first critical studies of the numerous books and articles recently published.[49]

Thanks to this hard and often exhaustive work undertaken by numerous scholars, the number of gems accessible for study has sharply increased. This, in turn, has resulted in a desire for a new classification and thorough description of glyptic art as a whole as well as studies of specific problems. It was Richter who embarked on a project aiming to provide a comprehensive description of Greek, Etruscan and Roman engraved gems. Published in two volumes,[50] her study offered much previously unillustrated material, especially portraits, and the descriptions of specific subjects appearing on gems are of value, but her dating is often unacceptable and the books include many modern gems.[51] In the years 1972-1974 Vollenweider, a well-known authority in glyptic studies, published her outstanding work – *Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik*.[52] This in-depth analysis of about 500 portraits on Roman Republican gems is of great importance for us here due to the fact that Vollenweider's views on the use of gems for propaganda purposes are presented there too. This study, published in two volumes, is richly illustrated. It is well-organised and makes it possible to trace the art of portraiture on Roman gems from Etruscan scarabs down to Octavian's domination. It is worth highlighting Vollenweider's evolutionary approach to the subject (which is close to the one presented here). In the first part of her book, she comments mostly on the heads of various deities like Janus, Vulcan, the Dioscuri and Mars which appear on 4th-2nd century gems strongly influenced by Etruscan glyptics.[53] In the next section she deals with portraits of the Roman *princeps* dividing them into those belonging to old men, young men and boys.[54] She correctly observes that these early representations are characterisations rather than direct portraits. Moreover, women's

[39] Sagiv 2018: 27.
[40] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1969: 173-174.
[41] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1969: p. 174.
[42] According to personal communication with Dr Elisabetta Gagetti who is the head of a scientific project to catalogue all engraved gems found in Aquileia and its vicinity, now stored in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia.
[43] *AGDS* I.2; *AGDS* I.3; *AGDS* II; *AGDS* III; *AGDS* IV.
[44] Zwierlein-Diehl 1973a, 1979 and 1991 (the last devoted to the Roman Imperial gems, but with an appendix including some previously omitted works too).
[45] Neverov 1971, 1976 and 1988.
[46] For instance: Berry 1968; Dorigato 1974; Femmel and Heres 1977; Forbes 1981; Gramatopol 1974; Hamburger 1968; Henig 1975; Sena Chiesa 1978.
[47] Regarding private collections, some truly spectacular assemblages were published those days like the Ionides collection (Boardman 1968) and the Harari cabinet (Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977).
[48] Concerning studies, among the most noteworthy are a book written by Martini on late Etruscan ringstones (1971) and a study devoted to the problem of copying famous statues by gem engravers on their works by Platz-Horster (1970). It is needless to mention here all the articles dealing with engraved gems published at that time, but one might find a good survey on them in Maaskant-Kleibrink 1969: 175-80; 1983: 143-77, in Zazoff 1983: 260 as well as in the bibliography of this book which does not claim to be exhaustive.
[49] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1969 and 1983.
[50] Richter 1968 and 1971.
[51] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1983: 145.
[52] Vollenweider 1972-1974.
[53] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 1-16.
[54] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 16-20.

heads appear c. 2nd century BC, first those of female deities, then of individuals.[55] An important section in her study concerns the influence of Hellenistic portraiture on the Italic and Roman heads. One of her very important conclusions is that gem portraits became more individualised through Hellenistic influence.[56] Vollenweider's ability to identify portraits, which is mostly based on the comparative analysis of gems and coins and incorporates in-depth stylistic study, is apparent in the further sections of her book. With the aid of coinage and iconographical analysis of the symbolism which often accompanies portraits of Romans on gems, she successfully identifies individuals and provides precise dates. However, one must be aware that Vollenweider sometimes goes too far in terms of both identification and dating. Her stylistic analysis is often difficult to follow and hence her conclusions can be rather unconvincing. Nevertheless, her outstanding work still stimulates debate over groups and individual pieces and will be more extensively commented on in the further sections of this study. Regarding Vollenweider, it is worth mentioning here also her volume presenting gems from Geneva,[57] a comprehensive, well-researched and fully-referenced volume. The quality of scholarship is outstanding and even though again, Vollenweider seems to go too far in her interpretations and suggestions of the origins of particular motifs, her work remains inspirational today.

Among the many catalogues of collections of engraved gems published at this time the one which stands out is that written by Maaskant-Kleibrink presenting intaglios from the Dutch assemblage once housed in The Hague (now transferred to Leiden).[58] This is due to the fact that the author attempts to classify regular and glass gems according to techniques of engraving rather than by style alone as was often the case in the past. This is a major contribution to the studies of glyptic art in general. Regarding Roman Republican and Augustan gems, she successfully distinguishes several classes, at the same time maintaining Furtwängler's framework, and dates gems more precisely than others.[59] Her observations also include archaeological 'hard data' as well as remarks on the influence of both Etruscan and Hellenistic traditions on Roman Republican gems which are reflected in her stylistic groups. These two traditions differed from one another not only as was traditionally thought in terms of iconography, but also in techniques of engraving and styles. Each class of gems distinguished by Maaskant-Kleibrink is followed by a compact but highly informative commentary. All of that together makes her catalogue an extremely valuable publication for everyone pursuing studies in Roman glyptics.

Maaskant-Kleibrink's methods proved successful because her study was based on a relatively large sample (although this originated from only one collection). Further studies of Roman Republican and Augustan gems should combine analysis of archaeological and contextual data, analysis of various styles, techniques of engraving, iconography and comparisons made with other branches of Roman art and craftsmanship (notably coins). Some of these approaches were used by the next great authority in glyptic studies – Zazoff who published his handbook on ancient engraved gems in 1983.[60] Generally speaking, Zazoff's aim was to follow his great predecessor Furtwängler in compiling a history of ancient glyptics. His book constitutes a part of a greater series, *Handbucher die Archäologie* which imposed some constraints. Yet, Zazoff like everyone else before him put the history of glyptic art into very clear categories. Each chapter of his book starts with an up-to-date bibliography and includes several sections helping to understand gems in their specific cultural and geographical contexts. However, unlike Furtwängler, he does not consider Augustan gems as a separate category. First, he writes a section on Italic and Roman Republican gems where some information about Late Republican material is discussed.[61] Then he writes a chapter dealing with Roman Imperial gems where one finds information on the famous gem engravers working under Augustus, famous seals mentioned in the literary sources and so forth.[62] It is, of course, impossible to employ clear-cut definitions and dating categories in glyptics, but to my mind, Augustan glyptics exhibits so many individual features that they should be treated as separate from Republican.[63] In fact, Augustan gems may be taken as belonging to a transitional period between Roman Republican and Imperial glyptics. Coming back to Zazoff's methodology, his idea of presenting the material from known archaeological contexts and the location of regional collections containing Roman Republican gems is sound. Even though he does not propose more workshops than Aquileia, his work suggests a few other places where gems could have been cut.[64] Then, Zazoff concentrates on gem-forms and rings as well as the production and meaning of glass gems so popular in this period.[65] This is helpful for dating gems since one may see which types of gems fit the rings fashionable at a particular period. Furthermore, he comments on

[55] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 21-22.
[56] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 25-26.
[57] Vollenweider 1979.
[58] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.
[59] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 99-193 – for Roman Republican gems and 194-205 and 364-371 - for the Augustan ones.
[60] Zazoff 1983.
[61] Zazoff 1983: 260-305.
[62] Zazoff 1983: 306-348.
[63] Henig also distinguishes between Roman Republican and Augustan gems, see: 1994: 153.
[64] Zazoff 1983: 261-268.
[65] Zazoff 1983: 268-274.

various styles adopted by ancient gem engravers.[66] Then, he concentrates on establishing the dates, places of origin and attributions of gems to specific artists.[67] In this section he writes about the impact that politics had on the art of gem engraving, which is of special interest for us in the following chapters. Finally, Zazoff briefly describes basic thematic groups on Roman Republican gems.[68] A similar structure is applied to the section on Roman Imperial gems, which as mentioned includes valuable observations on 'Augustan' gems. The system used by Zazoff in his book established how gems should be described, analysed and interpreted. His contribution is important because he approached gems as fully archaeological artefacts. Zazoff set standards which have been willingly adhered to by others. He also made researchers aware of the need to put gems into their archaeological contextand reconstruct their provenance. This approach remains valid today.

After Zazoff's handbook was published in 1983, scholars worked on several aspects of glyptic studies until another landmark appeared in 2007. Gems received more attention not only from specialists in the field but also from outside. They were frequently used to illustrate mythological subjects so popular in Classical art as collected and described in the series *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*.[69] Engraved gems were also considered as an important branch of Roman art in the series *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*.[70] In between 1983 and 2007, catalogues of public and private collections were published in great number. It is difficult to select the most important, but Italian collections might be treated as a separate category. These are of key importance for the provenance studies of Roman Republican and Augustan gems. As Sena Chiesa already showed by publication of gems found in Aquileia and in the Luni area, many Italian museums built their collections through gradual acquisition of material from local people as well as through archaeological excavations. The two volumes of gems from the Museo Archeologico in Naples published by Pannuti must be singled out here since the first of them deals with gems with a confirmed archaeological provenance including the area of Pompeii and Herculaneum, while in the second one the author assembled gems that are no less important but lack an archaeological context.[71] Museums in cities such as Bari,[72] Bologna,[73] Ferrara[74] and Udine[75] had their cabinets of gems published. The collections in Florence have been only partially published and made accessible to a wider audience[76] and the most important collections in various institutions in Rome (the Villa Giulia Museum, the Biblioteca Apostolica and the Vatican Museums) still await proper publication.[77]

Regarding other countries with larger assemblages of Roman Republican and Augustan gems, Germany has completed their *AGDS* publication programme by issuing books on gems from the Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg and the Heinrich Dressel collection now housed in Berlin Antikensammlung, both written by Weiß.[78] These two publications should be mentioned here for their thorough descriptions, outstanding interpretations and abundance of reference material which all prove their author to be another great authority on the subject of ancient engraved gems. The contribution of Weiß is particularly important for the studies of 'propaganda gems' because, like Vollenweider, she tends to present various points of view and very often explains iconography through political reasoning. Another great authority in the field, Zwierlein-Diehl, continues her works which apart from numerous articles resulted in two major publications. The first is the catalogue of glass impressions and casts made after various intaglios and cameos from the Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, Würzburg.[79] This book is important since it analyses many gems now lost which would not be otherwise known. The second is a catalogue of ancient engraved gems re-used as decoration on the shrine of the Three Magi in Cologne cathedral.[80] The works of Platz-Horster focusing on gems found in Xanten and the area of Bonn should be mentioned here as well since they include some Roman Republican and Augustan material and many useful observations as to their dating and stylistic classification.[81] Also Krug is to be credited for her publications on gems found along the Rhine *limes*.[82] The works of Platz-Horster and Krug are also important because they give us evidence for the distribution of 'propaganda gems' among soldiers. Some Roman Republican and Augustan gems can be found in the catalogue of the exhibition on gems found in Slovenia by Nestorović.[83] In England, aside from the British Museum, two other large collections are preserved in Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. The Oxford gems have been studied by Henig, another great authority in the field of ancient glyptics, and MacGregor.[84] The

[66] Zazoff 1983: 274-277.
[67] Zazoff 1983: 278-290.
[68] Zazoff 1983: 290-302.
[69] *LIMC* 1981-2009.
[70] Sena Chiesa and Facchini 1985.
[71] Pannuti 1983 and 1994.
[72] Tamma 1991.
[73] Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987.
[74] Agostini 1984.
[75] Tomaselli 1993.
[76] Gennaioli 2007; Giuliano and Micheli 1989; Tondo 1996; Tondo and Vanni 1990.
[77] The material is only partially accessible in the museums' exhibition galleries.
[78] Weiß 1996 and 2007.
[79] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986.
[80] Zwierlein-Diehl 1998.
[81] Platz-Hortser 1984, 1987 and 1994.
[82] Krug 1981 and 1995.
[83] Nestorović 2005.
[84] Henig and MacGregor 2004.

material in the Fitzwilliam Museum was published in the mid-1990s by Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting. It is noteworthy that Henig separates Roman Republican gems from Augustan ones providing clear criteria for their classification.[85] In addition to these, the contribution of Middleton who brought together gems originating from Dalmatia in the collections of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson and Sir Arthur Evans, now in Harrow School, at Oxford and elsewhere, is important for the study of the provenance of gems.[86] The same author has also published gems in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter.[87] The French collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Louvre Museum remain largely unpublished; however, Greek and Roman portraits from the former have been studied by Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet.[88] Furthermore, it is thanks to Guiraud that we now have a detailed picture of archaeological findspots of Roman engraved gems on French territory.[89] Her contribution is of supreme importance for studies of the provenance and distribution of gems (including many delivered to Roman soldiers). Following her study of gems from The Hague (now Leiden), Maaskant-Kleibrink published a collection of gems from Nijmegen.[90] Casal Garcia and Giner made objects from the main collections of gems in Madrid and Valencia respectively available to us.[91] The Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg houses a vast collection of engraved gems including many examples of Roman Republican and Augustan glyptics. As mentioned, some highlights have been already published by Neverov, but in 2000 the same author with another great specialist in glyptics, Kagan, published another selection of 500 stones including some previously unknown pieces.[92] Thanks to Finogenova, we were permitted access to the selection of gems from the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow.[93] Concerning the collections preserved in the United States of America, an important contribution to our understanding of Roman Republican and Augustan gems has been made by Spier with his catalogue of gems housed in the Jean Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.[94] In 1993 Tees published gems from the collection of the McGill University of Antiquities.[95] Finally, in 2002, Berges released his catalogue of ancient gems from the Maxwell Sommerville collection, now housed in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia.[96]

The period between 1983 to 2007 saw the detailed publication of a surprisingly high number of private collections. Among the most significant contributions, one must list: the Leo Merz assemblage,[97] the Dr E. Pressmar collection,[98] the Sa'd collection of intaglios and cameos,[99] the extraordinary Content Family Collection of cameos,[100] the Yüksel Erimtan collection including pieces originating exclusively from Asia Minor, of great importance for the study of the provenance of gems,[101] and of similar importance the Wright collection,[102] the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection of gems,[103] a private collection originating from the eastern part of the Roman Empire published by Wagner and Boardman[104] and another from Germany published by Martin and Höhne,[105] and finally the Borowski collection of intaglios, cameos and rings.[106]

Concerning studies devoted to specific problems relating to Roman Republican and Augustan gems, of great importance is the book on Roman cameos with imperial portraits sculpted from the age of Augustus down to the Severan period by Megow.[107] For the first time, these extraordinary works of art have been collected in one place, grouped into classes according to their styles with aid of complex comparative analysis with sculptural heads and busts and broadly commented on. Although, Megow's publication is not free from errors and his dating as well as identification of individual pieces is sometimes controversial, he managed to organise most of the material into a framework which among other things, facilitates interpretation of Augustan glyptics. In turn, Moret focused his research on one specific motif – the rape of Palladion by Diomedes.[108] Late Etruscan and early Italic gems of specific *a globolo* style have been studied by Hansson.[109] His contribution is of great importance for us because it includes chapters dealing with the production of gems and the identification of potential workshops that, as it will be shown, could have survived down to the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD. Toso offers a detailed

[85] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: 75-90 – Roman Republican gems and 91-127 – Augustan ones. On the problem of distinction between Roman Republican and Augustan gems, see also: Henig 1994: 153. Regarding gems from Cambridge, a bit earlier, the gems from the Welcome collection, now housed in Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge has been published by Nicholls 1983.
[86] Middleton 1991.
[87] Middleton 1998.
[88] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995 and 2003.
[89] Guiraud 1988-2008.
[90] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986.
[91] Casal Garcia 1990; Giner 1996.
[92] Kagan and Neverov 2000.
[93] Finogenova 1993.
[94] Spier 1992.
[95] Tees 1993.
[96] Berges 2002.
[97] Vollenweider 1984.
[98] Zahlhaas 1985.
[99] Henig and Whiting 1987.
[100] Henig 1990. Martin Henig together with Helen Molesworth have just republished the complete Content Family Collection (2018). This new contribution includes many previously unknown objects which entered the collection after the publication of the first volume.
[101] Konuk and Arslan 2000.
[102] Middleton 2001.
[103] Spier 2001.
[104] Wagner and Boardman 2003.
[105] Martin and Höhne 2005.
[106] Bernheimer 2007.
[107] Megow 1987.
[108] Moret 1997.
[109] Hansson 2005.

study of various mythological motifs appearing on gems in the 1st century BC.[110] She interprets the myths on gems as a cultural phenomenon, often related to political activities, and her study will be commented on in the following chapters. In 1999, Plantzos published his monograph on Hellenistic engraved gems. Although the book is a comprehensive study of a class which does not primarily concern us here, the author presents valuable commentaries and remarks on late Hellenistic glyptics which is inextricably linked with Late Roman Republican and Augustan examples.[111] Particularly important from our perspective are his observations on the use of gems in political life and these will be treated more extensively in the following chapters. The study of little figurines cut out of precious and semi-precious stones undertaken by Gagetti should also be mentioned here. Like Megow, the author collected all the known examples of heads and busts as well as whole figurines of the same kind and thoroughly analysed them publishing new data concerning their dating and cultural significance.[112]

The year 2007 is another landmark in research into Roman Republican and Augustan gems. Zwierlein-Diehl, author of the afore-mentioned three-volume catalogue of engraved gems from Vienna and several other works, published her *opus magnum* entitled *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben*.[113] The book offers a fantastic survey of ancient glyptic art and goes beyond that since it includes very interesting chapters on the re-use and re-interpretation of gems in Medieval times as well as brief but informative accounts of gem collecting and studying from the Renaissance to the neo-classical period among others. Zwierlein-Diehl's work has an extensive up-to-date bibliography and is richly illustrated. She has successfully combined Furtwängler's tradition with Vollenweider's level of expertise and has upgraded Zazoff's and Maaskant-Kleibrink's methodology. Her analysis of Roman Republican and Augustan glyptics has been done systematically and in many aspects scrupulously even though the format of the book required abbreviations to be made and had many limitations. In her chapter about Roman Republican gems, like Furtwängler, Zwierlein-Diehl describes the influence of the Etruscan and Hellenistic traditions adding an Italic component to this mixture as well. All the styles are covered with a useful graphic presentation in the plates.[114] However, the late Roman Republican gems are treated together with Augustan and early imperial ones.[115] She concentrates on the material itself first (styles, forms and types of stones used among other things), then takes iconography into account. Her analysis is very useful if one wish to date a gem from that long period of time. Zwierlein-Diehl provides many useful examples of all categories of gems and illustrates them in her plates. Her study also includes one of the strongest arguments for the political meaning of some gems (mainly Augustan cameos) and her text clearly demonstrates the need for thorough studies of the phenomenon of propaganda on gems.[116] As a result, Zwierlein-Diehl's book is another highly important point of reference for my own studies presented in this book.

The last period presented in this sub-chapter is relatively short and spans from 2007 to the present day. It starts from two important articles by Tassinari. The first is an extensive study of the problems of production and distribution of Roman engraved gems.[117] Most of the text concerns Roman Imperial glyptics, but earlier phases (Roman Republican and Augustan) are also taken into account by the author. The second work is in fact a critical survey of glyptic literature published between 2007 and 2011.[118] The reader learns not only about the great number of new studies in various areas of glyptics but also benefits from Tassinari's remarks on the current problems and concerns of this particular branch of archaeology and art history. Tassinari even offers suggestions as to what is still to be done by future generations of researchers and how could we improve the discipline. Propaganda on gems is a one of the most important issues she lists.[119]

Over the last decade, as in previous periods, several new catalogues of both public and private collections have appeared. Many of them include sometimes hundreds of Roman Republican and Augustan gems. Among the most important are: the collection of Her Majesty the Queen of England,[120] the republished selection of the best cameos from Vienna,[121] the reconstructed fabulous Marlborough collection,[122] the collection of Museo Civico d'Arte Antica in Torino,[123] a part of the collection of Civici Musei d'Arte in Verona,[124] the collection of Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia,[125] the Helmut Hansmann collection,[126] the Santarelli collection now housed in the Musei Capitolini in Rome,[127] a small assemblage of gems from Augsburg, significant for its provenance,[128] the collection of

[110] Toso 2007.
[111] Plantzos 1999: 83-85, 87-88, 92-97, 101-102 and 111-112.
[112] Gagetti 2006.
[113] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007.
[114] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 97-107.
[115] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 108-122. But this is still a common practice, see, for instance: Wagner and Boardman 2017: 119.
[116] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 126-132.
[117] Tassinari 2008.
[118] Tassinari 2011.
[119] Tassinari 2011: 402-403.
[120] Boardman and Aschengreen Piacenti 2008.
[121] Zwierlein-Diehl 2008a.
[122] Boardman *et. al.* 2009.
[123] Bollati and Messina 2009.
[124] Sena Chiesa, Magni and Tassinari 2009.
[125] Vitellozzi 2010.
[126] Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010.
[127] Gallottini 2012.
[128] Platz-Horster 2012a.

cameos in the Antikensammlung Berlin,[129]a preliminary review of the James Loeb collection,[130] the collection of gems and rings formed by Guy Ladrière,[131] the Beverley collection, which has recently been republished,[132] a notable private collection including many masterpieces in miniature[133] and the cabinet of ancient engraved gems from the National Museum in Krakow.[134] All these publications include objects which form the core of the material database in use in this book.

Regarding studies devoted to specific problems, iconography and related issues, Lang's work on gems presenting Greek philosophers, thinkers and related figures stands out.[135] Intaglios and cameos were often regarded as one of the most valuable and luxurious objects of ancient art. They have been put forward as such in a book on *Luxus* in the ancient world written by Lapatin. The selection of objects in this publication is not only excellent in terms of quality, but it also shows how prestigious it was to possess and use engraved gems of various kinds. These objects could testify to a high social status in the best way possible and transfer political messages. Regarding representations of animals, fantastic creatures and their combinations, Sagiv has recently presented her study on the subject of animal representations on Greek and Roman engraved gems presenting nearly 70 objects from the Israel Museum Jerusalem collection and she observes that some of them served for political propaganda.[136] Finally, one should mention the proceedings of a symposium on engraved gems held in Aquileia on 19-20 June 2008, which shed much light on and boosted new interest in the studies of the provenance of gems and beyond.[137] Another important congress on engraved gems was organised in 2016 in Leiden and its proceedings deliver a fresh collection of gem studies among which the article presenting an in-depth iconological analysis of the motif of Cassandra on intaglios and cameos written by Maaskant-Kleibrink is very useful for the research presented here.[138]

In the era of the Internet museums are undergoing profound changes as far as making their collections available to the audience is concerned. They continue to provide one-off exhibitions and the publication of catalogues but also now put images into Internet databases and make popular virtual tours available for everyone. It is good to observe that more and more institutions put their collections online and it is hoped this example will be followed by the others.[139] The author of this book benefited greatly from being able to use images and data available online for the construction of his own database (see part II).

2.2. Studies of propaganda on Roman Republican and Augustan gems

The brief overview above has shown that literature on Roman Republican and Augustan gems is abundant. Nevertheless, catalogues of public and private collections dominate and while many of them include a tremendous amount of useful information for the studies of propaganda on gems, studies devoted to specific problems, including propaganda on gems, are scarce. I would here like to present and briefly comment on the books and articles treating or touching on the subject of 'propaganda gems' since they form a basis for the discussion presented in the next sections of this book. Here, I present only the works of scholars who deal primarily with glyptic art while the 'outsiders' are commented on in the next sub-chapter.

Studies of Roman propaganda on gems seem to have no obvious beginning and sometimes it is difficult to ascertain to what degree the author really treats gems as artefacts with some political meaning. However, it seems natural to start with Furtwängler – one of the greatest authorities in the world of gems. Although in his *Die antiken Gemmen* Furtwängler offers little information about the political significance of Roman Republican and Augustan gems, he clearly distinguished Augustan gems from Republican ones, citing, among other reasons, the political impact of Augustus on Roman art in general. Furtwängler noticed that Pliny the Elder provides us with much useful information regarding the seals used by the most prominent Roman politicians and he briefly commented on some general themes in glyptics under Augustus.[140] He does not go into detail, but the reason for this is that he focused his research on gems as archaeological artefacts and ancient artworks rather than their potential propagandistic or political value.

Significant progress was made in the 1950s and 1960s due to Vollenweider's studies. First, she published a

[129] Platz-Horster 2012b.
[130] Weiß 2012. Dr Carina Weiß kindly informed me that her complete catalogue of James Loeb collection is forthcoming.
[131] Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a.
[132] Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016b.
[133] Wagner and Boardman 2017.
[134] Gołyźniak 2017.
[135] Lang 2012.
[136] Sagiv 2018, especially p. 164.
[137] Sena Chiesa and Gagetti (eds) 2009.
[138] Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017.
[139] Regarding engraved gems a number of public institutions have made their collections at least partially available online, for example: Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (a selection), the British Museum in London (a selection), Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (a selection), the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (a selection), Kunsthistoriches Museum in Vienna (very little), Antikensammlung in Berlin (very little), Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva, the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, the Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen and the National Museum in Krakow (a selection).
[140] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 303-306.

couple of papers on matters relating to propaganda on gems and the image of Scipio Africanus.[141] The former article is of great importance and a point of reference for studies on the issue of personal branding through portraits engraved upon gems. Vollenweider was the first to propose that glass gems were cheap and mass-produced, aimed at ordinary people and soldiers and used to achieve political (propaganda) goals.[142] Moreover, she observed that Sulla's personal seal exhibited a deep propaganda message which was intentionally put on his ring.[143] She was certainly aware of the problems inherent in the study of gems and the fact that only a tiny proportion of the original artworks might have survived to the present day.[144] Vollenweider continued her work in the 1960s publishing papers on portrait gems and the use of gems for propaganda. She investigated several specific intaglios and cameos, among others one showing a scene of *principes iuventutis* involving Gaius and Lucius Caesar, one representing a very special portrait of Julius Caesar and one with an episode from Pompey the Great's career.[145] But the comprehensive study of late Roman Republican and Augustan gem engravers was her greatest achievement to date. As mentioned above, the book published in 1966 was a wonderful analysis of all the most important gem engravers transferring their workshops from the Hellenistic east to Rome and elsewhere in Italy. Vollenweider also stressed that gems were frequently used for propaganda purposes.[146] Another, perhaps even greater achievement was her complete study of portraits on gems in the Roman Republic.[147] In this book, the reader finds out why portraits appear so frequently on gems and what was the political background for this. Vollenweider's commentaries on the symbolism accompanying portraits on gems and its political significance, especially in the 1st century BC, even though not always nowadays accepted, still stimulate discussion on this significant issue. Therefore, her chapters on Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar, Marcus Iunius Brutus and Quintus Cassius Longinus or Mark Antony and Octavian are all starting points for my own investigations in the in the third part of this book.[148] It can be said that nobody has done more than Vollenweider for the studies of propaganda on gems so far. Her contribution is all the more valuable since she based her research on a comparison of gems and coins which successfully established a trend which was followed by others. Furthermore, valuable commentaries regarding various political events, symbolism, portraits etc. can be found in her more recent works; however, her two monographs constitute the absolute basis for research on propaganda on gems.[149]

The next major contribution to the study of propaganda on gems was made by Zazoff.[150] In his 1983 handbook *Die antiken Gemmen*, he distinguished three main types of Roman glyptics by subject-matter: 1. aristocratic glyptics, 2. popular glyptics and 3. state glyptics.[151] Even though his observations and categorisations mainly apply to Roman Imperial gems, I would like to comment on his classification in the last part of the study in a chapter devoted to the distribution of propaganda gems, since it seems applicable to the reign of Augustus if not earlier. Apart from this, Zazoff comments on subjects which could have had some political meaning, especially under Augustus, but he does not expand on some general examples.[152] Concerning propaganda on gems, the remarks of Guiraud in her book on Roman glyptics are noteworthy.[153] She briefly comments on the use of gems with portraits for personal branding, highlighting the divine protection from gods sought by politicians and the production, distribution and possible propagandistic value of glass gems.[154] Guiraud is also of the opinion that the so-called State Cameos were publicly exhibited in imperial palaces or temples, thereby giving them political significance and impact on society.[155] In the recent general monograph on ancient engraved gems, Zwierlein-Diehl provides a highly informative and useful chapter covering questions of propaganda and panegyric on engraved gems. Her text, arranged in the form of several case studies showing some general trends, is mainly about Augustan glyptics and later Imperial gems.[156] However, one finds a lot of valuable observations in the chapters concerned with the use of gems as well as those describing Roman Republican, Augustan and early Imperial intaglios and cameos.[157] Finally, the significant contribution of Weiß should be singled out. In her catalogues of the Bergau collection in Nürnberg and Dressel in Berlin, she interprets several intaglios and cameos as having political significance.[158] In commentaries on individual objects one finds fruitful discussions of specific motifs

[141] Vollenweider 1955 and 1958.
[142] Vollenweider 1955: 99-101. Twenty years later a similar conclusion was drawn by Maaskant-Kleibrink (1978: 196).
[143] Vollenweider 1955: 102.
[144] Vollenweider 1955: 105-107.
[145] Vollenweider 1960, 1961, 1963-1964 and 1964.
[146] Vollenweider 1966: 17-22.
[147] Vollenweider 1972-1974.
[148] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 106-229.
[149] These are mainly catalogues: Vollenweider 1979 and Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995 and 2003.
[150] Thanks to Elena Dmitrieva and Hadrien Rambach I recently learnt of the late Professor Oleg Neverov's unpublished PhD dissertation (Neverov 1969) on the role of portrait gems of the 1st century BC-AD in the dissemination of the Principate ideology, but unfortunately too late to fully acknowledge this work here before going to press.
[151] Zazoff 1983: 329.
[152] Zazoff 1983: 295-296 and 328-334.
[153] Guiraud 1996.
[154] Guiraud 1996: 121-124, 124-127 and 127-133 respectively.
[155] Guiraud 1996: 116-121.
[156] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 126-132.
[157] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 9-13 and 97-157.
[158] Weiß 1996 and 2007.

and those general types of gems which many times form the basis for my own research and are referred to in the third part of this book.

Apart from these studies, not much has been said about the use of gems for self-presentation and propaganda purposes except for some rather general statements.[159] There is a clear gap in research on the pre-Augustan phases of glyptic art. Augustan gems have received more attention. Henig is of the opinion that Augustan gems like other artworks of the era reflect Augustus' successful promotional and propaganda activities which aimed to make his ideology more approachable to the people of Rome.[160] There is one general study by Maderna-Lauter and several smaller contributions focusing mainly on specific motifs or individual objects. The study of Augustan propaganda on engraved gems by Maderna-Lauter is extremely important and formed the basis for my own investigations.[161] The author offers a thorough overview on the subjects appearing on gems that to her mind are related to the propaganda actions of the first Roman emperor. Many of these gems are well known from earlier publications, where they were already considered to have been vehicles for propaganda, thus the study does not include much new data. The way they are presented is, however, attractive and, in many cases, more convincing than before. Nevertheless, the propagandistic value of some types of objects is controversial, for example, the gems Maderna-Lauter links with *aurea aetas* and *Pax Augusta* or the representations of the gigantomachy involving Mars and Minerva. Some of the motifs described by the author as propagandistic are clearly overinterpreted. The study is an iconographical survey and lacks extensive commentary explaining why specific motifs should be taken as propagandistic or not and what their actual impact on the viewers and users could have been. It also does not include even one or two portraits of Augustus' successors, who were clearly promoted on intaglios and cameos with a political agenda. These facts prompted me to expand the research Maderna-Lauter started in order to provide a comprehensive picture of Augustan propaganda practices attested on gems.

Several other scholars have written articles on specific problems or motifs relating to Augustan gems as well as those from the slightly earlier period when Octavian rivalled with Mark Antony which could be interpreted as propagandistic. In a short paper, Cicu presents several gems from Sardinia which reflect the range of Octavian/Augustus' propaganda actions employed by his followers who gathered on the island during his rivalry, first, with Sextus Pompey and later, with Mark Antony.[162] In turn, Guiraud describes several examples of gems relating to the propaganda activity of Octavian/Augustus from archaeological excavations in France.[163] Gagetti wrote extensively on the motif of the so-called adoption ring appearing on a series of conventional and glass gems.[164] On the other hand, Sena Chiesa wrote three papers on various aspects of Octavian/Augustus' propaganda on gems: the Capricorn as his zodiacal and political sign and gems as luxurious objects, symbols of high social status and prestige.[165] Regarding Capricorn as a political sign, an important contribution has also been made by Weiß.[166] Recently, representations of animals and fantastic creatures have been discussed by Sagiv in her study of the subject of animal representations on Greek and Roman engraved gems in which she presents nearly 70 objects from the Israel Museum Jerusalem collection. She notices that some of them served as political propaganda.[167] Noteworthy are the recent works of Yarrow focusing on coinage but with many references to engraved gems and especially glass ones,[168] and Wagner also supports the view that many glass gems served for political propaganda in ancient Rome.[169]

2.3. General studies of Roman propaganda and self-presentation referring to engraved gems

In this sub-chapter, I would like to refer to scholars who are not primarily specialists on glyptics but in other fields relevant to the studies of Roman propaganda, in order to show what interests people from outside the subject area as far as gems as means of propaganda is concerned. At first glance, there is a vast literature approaching the problem from different angles, but very few scholars consider gems as material worth studying or even taking into account in their studies of Roman propaganda. Most scholars focus on spectacular and less controversial examples of Roman propaganda activities attested in architecture, sculpture, paintings, literature and coinage.[170] For instance, in one of the most valuable and important general studies of Roman propaganda, Evans analyses various propaganda techniques and methods employed in the aforementioned categories of Roman art, but she does not mention any example of the use of gems for such purposes.[171] Similarly, Ramage provides a thorough characterisation of Sulla's propaganda machinery reflected in various media, but

[159] Wagner and Boardman 2017: X; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979: 7.
[160] Henig 1994: 154-156.
[161] Maderna-Lauter 1988.
[162] Cicu 2009.
[163] Guiraud 1986.
[164] Gagetti 2001.
[165] Sena Chiesa 1989, 2002 and 2012.
[166] Weiß 2010.
[167] Sagiv 2018, especially pp. 104-107, 126-133, 137-144 and 164.
[168] Yarrow 2017 and 2018.
[169] Wagner 2019: 40.
[170] Regarding general studies of Roman propaganda, see: Döbler 1999; Flaig 1995; Popławski 1935; Syme 1939 and 1989; Sauron 1994. The area which has received most of attention is coinage though, see: Alföldi 1956; Kunisz 1993; Kopij 2017; Morawiecki 1983, 1996 and 2014.
[171] Evans 1992.

he ignores Sulla's personal seal and its propagandistic value.[172] Hannestad also completely ignores all kinds of engraved gems as vehicles for propaganda except for few State Cameos, even though gems are even more distinctive for propaganda studies than coins, especially for the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.[173]

Of course, there are exceptions. Among them is one of the greatest authorities in matters concerned with Roman propaganda and Augustus - Alföldi. In his numerous studies, he refers to gems mostly as comparative material for coins, which were the focus of his scientific activities. Nevertheless he often exhibited appreciation of glyptic material and, especially where Augustan propaganda is concerned, he contributed with valuable remarks and comments, and drew attention to the difficult process of deciphering propaganda messages encoded on gems.[174] Also Kiss is worth mentioning for he figured out that apart from sculptural busts and heads, Julio-Claudian princes were promoted through gems as successors of Augustus, although, he uses gems only as comparanda rather than treating them as an independent mean of propaganda.[175] Another example is Zanker with his fabulous study of visual propaganda in the time of Augustus.[176] This author uses gems to describe various propagandistic actions and he succeeded in incorporating the material into Augustus' propaganda machinery as a whole. What is more, in another study, he notices that gems as tools of propaganda were closely related to the private sphere of propagandist and audience, indicating scope for future studies.[177] As far as the private sphere is concerned, Pollini should be mentioned here with his study on the *Gemma Augustea* and several other papers devoted to the question of Augustus' promotion, including divine support for him reflected on intaglios and cameos and mythological references which were widespread not only on official art, but in the private sphere too.[178]

Some scholars should be singled out as they use gems as comparative material or worked on a specific problem and referred to gems in their studies. Even those who did not specifically focus on the problem of the use of engraved gems for propaganda purposes but noticed great potential in them and suggested further research that could be done on the subject are mentioned here as well. Since gems and coins are closely related to each other in terms of techniques, styles and iconography, it is not surprising that most of these scholars are numismatists. First is Vermeule, who paid great attention to comparative studies between gems and coins and thus noticed that studying gems might significantly contribute to our understanding of Roman propaganda.[179] Authors of studies of the influence of Greek art on Roman sometimes also mention the political usefulness of gems first in the Hellenistic kingdoms and then in Rome.[180] If one includes studies of a specific motif used in Roman propaganda, for instance the Capricorn employed by Augustus, several authors have incorporated gems into their studies.[181] Of course, Crawford, the author of the comprehensive study of Roman Republican coinage should be singled out here as well. He deserves recognition for his remarks on the technical and iconographical similarities between Roman Republican gems and coins as well as the view that gems, like coins, could have served as a medium of mass propaganda, especially those made of glass.[182] He is another figure, who suggests that studies on the question of 'propaganda gems' should be urgently undertaken. Similarly, Morawiecki regarded research into engraved gems as desideratum in the studies of Roman propaganda. He pointed out that gems like coins should be thoroughly analysed and their propagandistic potential described in detail even though they might seem difficult to study.[183] Ritter in his study of Heracles' place in Roman culture, society and art often refers to gems as used for propaganda reasons by political leaders in Rome. He also suggests that the idea of collecting gems by the Roman aristocracy was a form of propaganda activity too.[184] Likewise, Kühnen, who researches *imitatio Alexandri*, uses gems to illustrate that sort of Roman political activity.[185]

Criticism of the use of word 'propaganda' for interpretations of various artworks, including engraved gems, is highly desirable since the term is often clearly an overinterpretation. Hence, Hekster's paper about the propaganda war between Octavian and Mark Antony as portrayed on gems, among other media, is of great importance and serves as guidance for those too quick to read propaganda into everything which has no obvious other explanation.[186]

Apart from these, many authors used gems for their studies to illustrate particular questions. For instance, Barcaro hypothesises that gems are significant in the consolidation of divine representations of the most influential Roman politicians.[187] Biedermann published an important article about the significance and possible

[172] Ramage 1991.
[173] Hannestad 1988: 11 and 15. He does not refer to engraved gems in his chapter on the Roman Republic (pp. 15-38), but briefly presents some key State Cameos (pp. 77-82).
[174] See for instance: Alföldi 1950, 1951, 1954, 1956, 1970 and 1999.
[175] Kiss 1975.
[176] Zanker 1988.
[177] Zanker 2000.
[178] Pollini 1993 and 2012.
[179] Vermeule 1958.
[180] For instance: Möbius 1964.
[181] For example: Dwyer 1973; Laubscher 1974; Simon 1986; Simonetta 2006.
[182] *RRC*: 727-728.
[183] Morawiecki 1983: 13.
[184] Ritter 1995.
[185] Kühnen 2008.
[186] Hekster 2004.
[187] Barcaro 2008/2009.

meanings of the bearded portraits in the Late Roman Republic which includes analysis of many engraved gems.[188] The same problem has been approached by Piegdoń from a slightly different angle and he based his research partially on gems too.[189] The use of gems by Pompey the Great and his sons has attracted some scholarly attention. As far as portraits of Pompey the Great on gems and coins is concerned, the study of Trunk is of great importance.[190] Recently, Kopij in his book on propaganda actions performed by the members of *gens Pompeia Magna* wrote a chapter about the use of gems for such purposes by Pompey the Great and Sextus Pompey. His study deserves recognition because unlike the others, he focuses not only on personal branding through portraits engraved upon gems, but also writes about other possible propagandistic messages encoded on intaglios and cameos.[191] Yet he barely goes beyond Vollenweider's observations.

2.4. Conclusions

As has become clear from the survey presented above, there is an urgent need to analyse engraved gems of the Roman Republican and Augustan periods as a means of propaganda. The majority of publications in which gems figure are catalogues of the collections kept in various public institutions and in private hands and comparatively little original research has been carried out on the propaganda aspect of glyptic art so far. Information on the possible use of gems for self-presentation and propaganda purposes is scattered among relatively few publications which are do not often directly relate to each other. This does not make it easy to draw more general conclusions since the subject of analysis is usually only one or a few specific examples, while no comprehensive study has been undertaken until now. Furthermore, since no study devoted to Roman Republican and Augustan gems exists, one must first create a general image of the glyptics circulating in that periods.

The number of Roman Republican and Augustan gems made available through published catalogues and more recently online collections is vast. This material forms a good basis for detailed as well as synthetic research. Of course, new collections will appear in the future revealing new examples of 'propaganda gems',[192] but the number of intaglios and cameos already published justifies and encourages us to carry out a synthetic analysis into Roman Republican and Augustan gems as a means of propaganda. The fact that these groups have already been studied with reference to their styles, techniques of engraving and iconography by several scholars (Furtwängler; Richter; Maaskant-Kleibrink; Zazoff; Zwierlein-Diehl), facilitates the research. Naturally, some aspects require more attention (for instance, archaeological findspots and contexts of published gems, detailed iconological and iconographical studies and so on) and an exclusive work on Roman Republican and Augustan gems would be welcome, but this in itself does not preclude undertaking a research on the possible political significance of engraved gems.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the problem of propaganda on gems so far. Only Augustan glyptics has been investigated to any degree. All the studies mentioned above are important, shedding light on specific aspects of Augustan propaganda on gems and they form the basis for my own thoughts and conclusions. However, they touch only few issues (most concentrate on the Capricorn sign), while the full image is much more complex and needs to be explained in detail. Furthermore, Vollenweider's contribution has been singled out as the most significant and comprehensive for the studies of Roman propaganda on gems. Nevertheless, in many instances her hypotheses and interpretations of individual objects are far-fetched and require critical investigation and sometimes reconsideration. On the other hand, some issues like the possible use of engraved gems for propaganda by Sulla and his predecessors in the 3rd and 2nd century BC are not accounted for in sufficient detail. The same is the case with Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar. Generally speaking, even though the problem is touched on here and there, it is essential to collect all available data, interpretations and ideas and verify whether the term propaganda indeed applies to individual objects, subject-matters and so on or not. Vollenweider started an important discussion of the influence of politics on Roman gem engraving which has been taken onwards primarily by Weiß. It is hoped that this book will contribute to the overall discussion of the question and as a result, a more detailed picture will emerge.

Finally, as shown above, in more general studies of Roman propaganda practices engraved gems are often neglected if not completely ignored. Very few scholars notice the potential of gems in the studies of Roman propaganda. Such an attitude is not surprising since gems like other *minor arts* are often not considered to be significant propaganda tools. Exceptions are the so-called State Cameos like *Gemma Augustea* which receive much attention due to their outstanding artistic virtuosity and unusual size. Another reason why gems have been ignored is their complexity. For many scholars, glyptics is a minefield where artefacts

[188] Biedermann 2014.
[189] Piegdoń 2012.
[190] Trunk 2009: 143-151.
[191] Kopij 2017: 253-264.
[192] For instance, Zwierlein-Diehl is working on a large (5000 objects out of which about 500 are related to the field of Classical Archaeology) collection of gems formed by Prof. Dr Klaus Jürgen Müller, which since 2011 is housed in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2015.

may turn out to be 18th or 19th century copies rather than genuine antiquities. Moreover, gems are difficult to date and interpret since very few bear any kind of inscription and the vast majority have no archaeological context whatsoever. It is indeed difficult to detect and correctly interpret messages encoded on gems for their iconography is frequently ambiguous. The same motif might be interpreted in various ways depending on the cultural and social circle, territory and time it is set in. Therefore, it is much easier to focus research on Roman propaganda in sculpture, architecture or coins which are not affected so much by these inconveniences. In addition, current research tends to focus on the state and official propaganda rather than on the audience and target groups which also could induce propagandistic, 'bottom-up' actions either purposefully or unintentionally. Engraved gems are strictly related to the private sphere which has not yet been sufficiently investigated. All these factors contribute to the exclusion of gems from mainstream research. The need for a thorough study of the use of engraved gems for self-presentation and propaganda purposes is hence justified not only on a basic (glyptics) level but also a more general one (studies of Roman propaganda).

3. Aims, methodology and structure

3.1. Aims

The investigation embarked upon here has basically been designed to test the hypothesis that engraved gems were used for self-presentation and propaganda purposes in the Roman Republic and under Augustus. The chronological framework has been established as starting from the 3rd century BC, the moment when four elements (Etruscan, Italic, Roman and Hellenistic) started to fuse together into a single Graeco-Roman tradition and ending at the moment of Augustus' death in AD 14. One can observe the evolution of various propaganda practices on gems through this period from the incidental acts of self-presentation down to the complex propaganda machinery created by Augustus, which was further exploited by his successors. There seem to be no better circumstances for showing the dynamics in the use of engraved gems for propaganda in terms of time and cultural environment. On the other hand, the study aspires to show that a careful iconographical, iconological and semiotic analysis of gems combined with image studies and investigations of their historical, political and cultural settings might be helpful not only in demonstrating their political significance, but also in rejecting overinterpretations. It is also hoped that linking specific classes of gems with political events will help to date these miniature objects of art. In the absence of other reliable and objective data, this might also be our only opportunity to decode their true meaning and functions.

The main objective of my study is to analyse how politics could have influenced the art of gem engraving within the specified chronological framework and to what degree this process can be reconstructed basing the research on glyptic material preserved until the present day. I undertook the difficult task of detecting, deciphering and interpreting all possible propaganda communications encoded on gems in order to create an overall picture of the propaganda techniques used by Roman politicians to influence public opinion with the use of intaglios and cameos. One of the advantages of gems for the study of Roman propaganda is that they portray Roman society from various angles. Therefore, the material gathered in this study probably shows general trends in Roman propaganda as well as individual and private acts of being involved in politics. I would like to demonstrate that the miniaturism of ancient gems is often in inverse proportion to their cultural and political significance. Despite – or perhaps because of – their ubiquity, intaglios and cameos with the motifs they bear are often highly sophisticated and captivating in their visual presentation of complex ideas. This is especially true of cameos, while intaglios, as much more popular form, were perfect for personal branding or manifestations of loyalty. By effective artistry the image carved upon the gems is, almost literally, impressed upon the mind of the viewer. Moreover, my research aims to show that propaganda gems reflect the contemporary situation within Roman society; the fact that propaganda actions/messages occur on them result from this highly political climate. In other words, many of them (especially those bearing complex symbolism) were not deliberately made on politicians' commissions, but ordinary people involved in politics purchased and carried rings with gems to demonstrate their political preferences, needs, wishes and even sometimes disagreements. In addition, it seems important to take into account the cultural, ethnic and even linguistic diversity of Roman society and hence, to ask if the messages encoded on gems were understandable for ordinary citizens of the Roman Empire or maybe only well-educated people could make use of them. In conclusion, the glyptic material offers the possibility of investigating Roman propaganda from a completely different angle which, as shown above, has been largely neglected in previous scholarship. Gems might be a unique barometer of social moods and indicate whether or not propaganda actions of various Roman politicians were successful.

As has already been shown, there is a clear absence of studies of 'propaganda gems' in literature concerned with glyptics as well as in the more general works tackling the problem of Roman propaganda. This situation encourages us to ask some more specific questions. Why is it legitimate for us to regard engraved gems as useful propaganda tools? Can we identify a time at which they actually started to be used for propaganda purposes and say why the popular view that it was Pompey the Great who popularised th use of gems in Rome is just a false impression? What contribution did Hellenistic culture make to Roman propaganda? What were the characteristics of propaganda actions reflected on engraved gems, especially as far as the Late Roman Republic and Augustan times are concerned? Were they similar to those known from other branches of Roman art and literature or not? If not, why were they different? What is the propagandistic value of gems as compared, for instance, to coins? Furthermore, one asks oneself who was responsible for producing and distributing 'propaganda gems'? What were the intentions of the propagandists? Who were the propagandists – only the political leaders or did the less influential politicians use gems for their own propaganda as well? Which types of objects could have been made on private commissions, which by politicians and finally which

by the engravers themselves to fulfill the needs of the market? Can we point to subjects suitable for Roman (national) propaganda that were intended to accelerate the romanisation of provinces? Regarding glass gems, is it true that they were mass-produced and distributed to many in order to steer public opinion? Would it be possible to categorise the target groups of propaganda gems of all types? What about the reception of some motifs used by political leaders like Pompey the Great or Julius Caesar and their later re-use by Octavian or Sextus Pompey? Concerning portraiture, is it possible to determine which gems were made during the life of the propagandist and which after his death in order to transfer his authority to a successor? What about counterpropaganda, is it reflected on gems or not? These and many more questions are addressed in this study. It is hoped they will stimulate discussion on the subject in general and help to determine the meaning of the individual pieces selected to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole.

It is also important to mention the limitations of this investigation. Taking into account all the problems related to engraved gems such as the frequent lack of any archaeological context, ambiguous iconography that cannot be ascribed to a specific politician or the problem of datingalong with the possible existence of modern fakes among the material analysed, one raises the question whether such a research is justified and can it produce reliable results? I am fully aware of all the problems and take them into account. Furthermore, I try to bring together as many interpretations of the visible communications appearing on intaglios and cameos proposed by other scholars as possible. My study aims to be a critical survey of the ideas and iconographical interpretations that various scholars relate to propaganda. General analysis as well as individual case studies will show that overinterpretations are very common. I feel this approach to be as objective as possible in appraising the political value of gems while informing the reader about other possibilities too (mostly directly, but also in the form of cross-references). The first part of the book therefore includes some content designed to aid the correct interpretation of gems' iconography and indicate the reasons for false conclusions (cf. chapter 5.2). To tackle this problem, some more theoretical considerations of propaganda techniques and forms have been put forward as well. It is crucial first to establish what we understand by the term 'propaganda phenomenon' now and what it could have mean 2,000 years ago. It is also important to investigate to what degree one might use modern tools in the research of the phenomenon of propaganda because they might bring much more positive results than those used in the past (cf. chapter 4).

Finally, the research carried out in this project has been designed to show how engraved gems can be used in reconstructing more general aspects of Roman propaganda machinery. Glyptic material divides into three main propaganda categories: agitational, integrational and religious/state propaganda. It is debatable whether in the early stages (3rd-2nd century BC) one may distinguish a special kind of state propaganda which reappears during the reign of Augustus.

3.2. Methodology

The basis of the present study is the analysis, thorough description and interpretation of glyptic material dated from the 3rd century BC to AD 14 as well as a survey ofmodern scholarship and dealing with the subject as a whole and with specific problems relating to the issue of propaganda on gems. Regarding the geographical scope of my work, the analysed material originates from lands controlled by Rome from the 3rd century BC (primarily Italy) to the early 1st century AD and beyond, since some gems have been found in the Near East or on the frontiers of the Roman Empire. Because of the lack of information concerning provenance, conclusions about the geographical context is necessarily limited (cf. chapter 11). Intaglios and cameos have been selected primarily according to their possible propagandistic value, which has been determined according to the criteria described in chapter 4.5. These objects are treated as media or channels transferring the propaganda messages encoded on them. They have been grouped in several sections to illustrate the various aspects of the propaganda phenomenon, such as: the use of gems in triumphs, collecting, employment of gem engravers, personal seals, personal branding and self-presentation (mainly portraits), induction and manifestation of loyalty and support, use of heritage, promotion of the family and oneself through *origo*, promotion of the faction, commemoration of important events (military, social and cultural ones), promotion of abstract ideas (like *Pax Augusta* or *aurea aetas*), religious, divine and mythological references, political symbols, State Cameos, vessels and works in the round (luxury objects - if applicable), and other aspects (cf. chapter 5.1). Furthermore, the material is sorted according to chronology and ascribed to five periods: Beginnings (3rd-2nd century BC); Early 1st century BC (Sulla, Marius, Lucius Licinius Lucullus and others); Civil War (Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar); Post-caesarian and liberators' Civil War (factions of Pompeians, Republicans and Caesarians); Augustus (27 BC-AD 14) (cf. chapters 6-10). However, it should be stressed that in some cases (mainly chapter 6 and 10) I decided to include material which ultimately cannot be regarded as propagandistic but has been interpreted as such in the previous scholarship. The idea is first, to show why this material has been interpreted as propagandistic

and why this interpretation is incorrect. Even though including these cases might cause some distortion to the study, from the methodological point of view it was necessary to comment on them rather than ignore them completely. In consequence, each chapter and sub-chapter is furnished with objects illustrating various aspects of propaganda on gems, which are numbered separately in the catalogue part.

The gems, slightly more than 2,900 in total, have been studied mainly through photographs and illustrations published in catalogues, articles, reports etc. Much of the material was investigated using sources available online and a good portion of it was examined at first hand during many visits to various European museums.[1] All available information concerning archaeological proveniences and collection provenances for individual objects has been critically examined. This has been done primarily in order to determine where Roman Republican and Augustan, and thus 'propaganda gems' could have been produced and to chart their geographical distribution. The aim was also to identify the type of context in which the gems in question have been found and to date them by relating them to other datable objects ideally coming from the same closed contexts. Unfortunately, the majority of gems have no precise (full) archaeological context, but I apply (with slight modifications) the methodology first introduced by Rudolph for his studies on ancient jewellery.[2] According to him, there are three types of context: *controlled*, *generic* and *no context*. Since this issue is highly important for the final conclusions of the whole study, it has been treated at length in a separate chapter in the fourth part of the book (cf. chapter 11).

The material catalogued for each section has been described in the most comprehensive and compact way possible. Every entry includes basic information on the object such as its current whereabouts, any information about its provenance or provenience, type of stone used, date, subject-matter and literature. A basic description of the device engraved is given as well as the most recent bibliographical references because detailed descriptions and lists of literature are in most cases to be found in the collection catalogues each object is published in. Thanks to this, I avoid unnecessary repetition. This methodology is effective since no essential information is lost and repeating the same information would be pointless. It should be stressed that if the motif exists in the same form on numerous gems (in the case of glass ones frequently mechanically repeated), it is presented in all the variants that I have collected but some specimens might have been unintentionally omitted. Concerning statistical analyses (cf. chapter 12), these are performed to show the range and significance of propaganda gems. Although the preserved material might constitute only a small part of that initially produced and it is impossible to estimate what was the overall production of engraved gems between the 3rd century BC and early 1st century AD in Rome specifically and Mediterranean world in general,[3] it seems essential at least to try to establish how extensive the production of 'propaganda gems' might have been, which types of objects are the most numerous and whether their number could have any effect on the success of propaganda actions.

Analysis of the material presented in the catalogue part consists of two parts. First, I treat objects as archaeological artefacts, therefore, their forms, shapes, materials used, provenience and provenance information, techniques of engraving – all archaeological data are critically examined. Next, I examine their cultural, historical and political context.[4] As regards the images engraved on the gem devices, these have all been individually examined. At this stage iconographical and iconological analysis are combined with semiotics and image studies and analysis comparing the gems with other archaeological artefacts (mainly coins) was performed as well. This is because gems, like any other artefacts, are here primarily treated as documents, objects that reflect cultural, political and historical phenomena.[5] Iconology allows us to decode 'propaganda gems' within their own environment and to uncover their possible political significance when compared to other branches of Roman art. Semiotic analysis justifies research on 'propaganda gems' since it allows us to postulate that intaglios and cameos did indeed have political significance. By analysing the signs featured upon gems, it is possible to re-create the system of communication between a propagandist and the audience. Once this system has been defined, it is possible to identify evidence for it. Semiotics also investigates the creators of messages communicated through works of art, in this case, the propagandists, and allows us to identify historical events behind the signs they use.[6] Finally, it analyses the process of coding and decoding the ideas behind the signs which

[1] The material housed in the National Museum in Krakow, the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, the Antikensammlung in Berlin, the Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn, the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, the British Museum in London, Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and several private collections has been studied in original.

[2] Rudolph 1996.

[3] The material selected for study purposes and assembled in the catalogue is technically a random sample based more on the iconographical criteria rather than on any relevant production estimation. Because it is unknown how many glass gems could have been produced from one matrix and how many gems were cut by one regular artist, even if we analyse careers of modern engravers, it is impossible to establish the exact or at least estimated production of intaglios and cameos in antiquity.

[4] Basically, these procedures follow the methodology of Binachi Bandinelli (1988: 159-162).

[5] On the clarification of this kind of methodology, see: Lorenz 2016: 24-36.

[6] Lorenz 2016: 166.

is of crucial importance in this study.[7] Image studies deal mostly with the physical process of viewing and allow us to concentrate on specific allegorical meanings of the signs and their combinations. This is particularly helpful in confirming or denying that a specific myth or its version was employed by propagandists in the communication of their ideas through the use of art in general. Even if a myth or any other motif is popular and has many variants, the details can tell us how it should be interpreted. The aesthetic value is not as much important here as is the content of the artwork and the functional application of the images used.[8] Furthermore, image studies concentrate on the various functions of the objects, that is, the image's or images' meaning changes with the object's application for various purposes when it is exposed to different viewing points.[9] Therefore, this work has naturally proceeded from description to interpretation, from form to content, and from the object to its environment according to the basic art-historical method. The material has been grouped into specific classes sharing one or more common features in terms of their propagandistic value. Of course, my iconographical and iconological analysis draws on studies of the glyptic tradition of the region the object could have come from (if such information is available). The potential influence of various external factors such as the influence of Etruscan, Italic or Hellenistic culture, physical properties of the stones used and so forth have been considered as well. The concept of *tradition* understood as a broad cultural environment the object is related to is of some importance here too. Last, but not least, the material has been analysed on stylistic grounds since many times this is still the only way to determine an object's chronology.

As the final step, the propagandistic value of each individual object has been examined. Depending on the object type, the result was confirmation of the previously established interpretation (sometimes only with slight modifications), change of the previously established interpretation for another one, complete rejection of the idea of linking the subject-matter and thus the object with propaganda practices of any kind or giving an object a new interpretation related to propaganda issues if it has not been recognised as such. This has allowed us to link specific gems with concrete political actions or persons and explain their propagandistic value in detail in the analytical part of the study (Part III). This study is always problematic and naturally highly speculative. The data we possess about any given object is incomplete, so any conclusions about them are necessarily tentative. The same object could have been used in many ways at the same time and proving which use is 'correct' is sometimes impossible and undesirable. Nevertheless, interpretation is an essential part of every archaeological study process, and without it an image of the past cannot be successfully reconstructed or better recreated in any meaningful way. According to Vollenweider, who in fact started the whole discussion on the use of gems for propaganda purposes, my project should be abandoned on the grounds that the lack of hard data makes it pointless to attempt to draw any sensible conclusions. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the methodology applied here will reward us with a more comprehensive picture of the place gems occupied in Roman propaganda and will convince others to introduce gems into more general studies.

3.3. Structure

The present study is made up of thirteen chapters which are set into five main parts: 1. Introduction, 2. Theory, 3. Evidence, 4. Summary and conclusions, 5. Catalogue, indices, bibliography, list of figures, tables, charts, maps and plates, so that they move from theoretical aspects towards more contextual and finally cognitive issues concerned with functions, the intrinsic meaning and significance of 'propaganda gems'.

The first part of the book (Part I – Introduction) consists of three chapters: abstract (1), state of research (2) and aims, methodology and structure (3). They are designed to outline what has so far been done regarding the studies of self-presentation propaganda on engraved gems from various angles, the aims of this work as well as to describe the methodology used and structure of the study. The second part is about theoretical considerations (Part II – Theory) and should be treated as a background for the main, analytical part. It is further divided into two sections. The first (chapter 4) contains definitions of self-presentation and propaganda circulating in modern studies of semiotics and communications. Various approaches are briefly discussed, and the main characteristics of the phenomenon are presented as well. Propaganda is put forward here as a form of communication between the propagandist, who sends his signals and messages, and target groups, which he aims to reach and influence. The debate also includes accounts of propaganda and persuasion as well as propaganda and public opinion (which could also respond to propaganda actions and induce bottom-up initiatives of its own). Further on, the various forms of propaganda are presented as well as the basic tools and techniques it uses. In the final sub-chapters of this section the effectiveness of propaganda actions is discussed and finally, I briefly analyse how to investigate ancient propaganda with special consideration of engraved gems.

[7] Lorenz 2016: 104-106 and 154.
[8] Lorenz 2016: 170-171.
[9] Lorenz 2016: 224-226.

In the second section (chapter 5), the emphasis has been put on the investigation of self-presentation and Roman propaganda on gems in general. Outlined there are potential spheres where one could presume that glyptics were used as a channel for self-presentation and propaganda on the basis of author's own suppositions and previous scholarship (chapter 5.1). These include most importantly personal branding which accounts for portraits produced and delivered to the audience in various direct and indirect ways. Another expected sphere is self-promotion through *origo* and self-presentation, understood here as promotion of somebody's special capabilities, high social status, wealth, power etc. Promotion of the family and its members is also a sphere frequently used by propagandists in ancient Rome and its reflections on gems will be sought. This means, among other things, the tendency to transfer *auctoritas* from famous predecessors onto the propagandists as well as the promotion of their successors. Also included here is promotion of the family as the whole to create and consolidate a positive image of the ruler and his family circle. However, usually a number of other people surrounded the propagandist, often called a faction (derived from Latin *factio*). On the most basic level, these people were bound together by the same political goals, but they often had leaders who tried to influence and control them. I will attempt to identify all the techniques relating to this issue and illustrate them by various examples. Also relevant to this matter is the manifestation of loyalty and support. This action was usually induced not by the propagandist himself but by his audience as people wanted to be included into the circle of his supporters in order to derive some profits from their connection with him. This is based on the patron – client relationship and it was a vital part of the social structure of ancient Rome. It is another sphere where gems are expected to be of some significance. Among others are the commemoration of important events such as military victories, marriage celebrations and acts of truce, promotion of abstract ideas like *Pax Augusta* or *aurea aetas*, glorification of oneself usually through divine and mythological references which transfer of some of their divine nature onto oneself. Sometimes the use of the past expressed by allusions to a great predecessor can be regarded as propagandistic actions and gems quite plausibly reflect this. The possession of luxury objects such as cameo vessels or figurines made of precious stones probably raised the owners' social status and thus should be regarded as a form of propaganda. The same applies to collecting art, though in the case of Roman politicians their donations in the temples for the common good were probably more useful. Exhibiting gems during one's triumph should also be seen as propaganda as well as the selection of politically inspired subject-matter for one's personal seal. The promotion of general ideas relating directly to the state rather than to the propagandist himself is another sphere of propaganda that one expects to be reflected on gems. However, it should be pointed out that such actions always involved a hidden private goal and they were usually well-calculated to bring as much profit to the propagandist as possible. Finally, religion has always been connected with propaganda and it is treated here as a highly useful platform for propagandistic actions to be carried out.

Engraved gems are objects of ancient art bearing various images engraved upon their surfaces, therefore, it is crucial to approach them not only as archaeological artefacts but also as artworks and apply basic art-historical methodology to their study. In one of the sub-chapters of this section (chapter 5.2), I focus on the possible problems one must face if one pursues investigation of propaganda on intaglios and cameos. First, basic technical problems are addressed and then iconography and iconology are examined as the basic tools for the analysis of the visual images appearing on gems. The fundamental question here is if one really can understand what the iconography appearing on gems means and what are the limitations of our perception and interpretations. It is also crucial for the analyses carried out in this study to consider if the Romans themselves could decipher and understand the messages sent them by propagandists. I also investigate the purpose of each propaganda action undertaken by Roman political leaders and consider whether their goals were more or less the same (to gain as much power as possible). Finally, some considerations have been made to the limits we have in identifying the recipients of propaganda actions. Can we identify who was exposed to propaganda or not?

The third part of the study (Part III – Evidence) includes a thorough description of all propaganda and other political activities performed through or with the use of engraved gems in the Roman Republican and Augustan periods. To make the presentation as clear as possible, the discussions follow chronological order from the beginnings in the 3rd century BC when gems were mainly used for self-presentation down to the Augustus' reign. Regarding the beginnings, they are described in chapter 6 and cover such issues as Etruscan and Italic traditions, self-presentation through gems, self-advertisement through portraits, patronage over gem engravers, collecting, the use of gems in triumphs, family symbols on gems and state propaganda. The next chapter deals with gradual development of the use of gems for propaganda purposes in the early 1st century BC (chapter 7). It analyses several key figures, notably Lucius Cornelius Sulla, but also Gaius Marius, Lucius Licinius Lucullus and other less prominent Roman politicians. Chapter 8 deals with the propagandistic actions of Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar reflected on gems as well as are those of less influential Roman politicians. Chapter 9 is devoted to the fierce

rivalry between the three main political parties: the Pompeians, Republicans and Caesarians. Each of them is broadly discussed with numerous examples of gems illustrating key problems. This chapter also includes a brief commentary on the role of female representations in Roman propaganda on gems. Finally, the longest presentation is of propaganda gems produced under Augustus (chapter 10). As already noted above, each sub-chapter in this part of the study is cross-referenced to the catalogue of propaganda gems related to a specific politician or faction (cf. catalogue part).

The fourth part of the study (Part IV – Summary and conclusions) broadly discusses issues related to the production and distribution of Roman Republican and Augustan gems, and especially 'propaganda gems.' Chapter 11 starts with the presentation of information from ancient literary sources and further, some considerations of the way in which the archaeological findspots, provenance and contexts in which gems of these kinds have been found are presented. The study of provenance history is one of the most important issues raised in this chapter. I also briefly comment on the organisation of workshops producing engraved gems, their possible locations, the mass production of glass gems, imperial court workshops, politicians as commissioners of propaganda gems, private orders and finally the rules of the market within which gems circulated. Regarding the distribution of engraved gems, first, I try to define who the recipients of 'propaganda gems' could have been and later how 'propaganda gems' could have reached them. Chapter 12 is concerned with statistical analyses which show the range and significance of 'propaganda gems'. Moreover, individual cases are also statistically compared to show which Roman politicians used engraved gems for propaganda purposes and which did not. Lastly, the propagandistic value of engraved gems is compared to other branches of Roman art so that it should be clear whether they played a significant or inferior role (chapter 13). Because for instance, engraved gems and coins of the Roman Republican and Augustan periods exhibit many similarities, a comparison of these propagandistic channels is made there including an estimation of the propagandistic value of gems and coins. However, cross-referencing is applied for gems as an artistic medium driven by the same propaganda mechanisms as sculpture, relief, toreutics, pottery and so on. This is a closing section containing a summary account of the conclusions from all the preceding parts of the study with some further ideas that will be discussed in the future.

The last part of the study (Part V) includes a catalogue, bibliography, list of figures, indices and plates illustrating the objects studied in the analytical part of the book.

Part II
Theory

4. Self-presentation and propaganda – definitions and characteristics

This chapter provides basic information about self-presentation and propaganda, their definitions, characteristics, forms, tools and techniques, along with observations on their effectiveness, especially in ancient Rome, and basic guidance on how they should be investigated. This short theoretical account forms the basis for the further research. It clarifies what I understand to be propaganda activities and provides justification for research into the detection, deciphering and interpretation of propaganda messages encoded on intaglios and cameos.

4.1. Definitions of 'self-presentation' and 'propaganda'

'Self-presentation' is here understood as a social practice or behaviour that refers to various activities performed by people in an attempt to present themselves usually in a much-improved way or with emphasis on their positive qualities and features. It involves not only expressing oneself on specific objects but also using them in ways that create a desired impression. Basically, there are two types of motivation for self-presentation: to match one's own self-image and to match audience expectations and preferences or even outperform them. Both are reflected on engraved gems. From a more contemporary perspective, self-presentation could be considered as 'impression management'.[1]

'Propaganda' is complex and advanced than self-presentation. A social, political and cultural phenomenon, it has been studied and thoroughly described by many scholars. Until the early 17th century, it held a more or less neutral meaning, true to its Latin origins. According to Cicero, 'propaganda derives' from Latin *propagare* or *propaganda* meaning 'to spread/circulate/propagate' and 'a thing/doctrine/practice that should be promoted' respectively.[2] It was mainly used in the latter context in antiquity and thus was also related to rhetoric as a form of persuasion, which was in fact much appreciated by ancient Greeks and Romans.[3] In 1622 the term 'propaganda' was applied to the affairs of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, a papal body aimed at promoting obedience to key Church doctrines, mostly in non-Catholic countries, using methods including force.[4] This was the moment when the term took on negative, even brutal, connotations. The original meaning of the Latin words *propagare* and *propagatio* gradually faded away and instead, 'propaganda' acquired a more dynamic meaning including practices relating to the transfer of ideas, views, and opinions, often manipulated or falsified, to recipients with the aid of text and signs.[5]

Shortly after the First World War politics has been seen as heavily depending on lies disseminated by governments in order to influence public opinion. These were immediately called 'propaganda'.[6] One of the first definitions of propaganda emerged in that period. Lasswell said that propaganda is the control of public opinion through the widespread use of meaningful symbolism. People's attitudes are formed with use of direct manipulation of their beliefs. All forms of social communication such as stories, gossips, rumours and most importantly visual signs (images and symbols) are utilized by a propagandist to attain his goal.[7] His definition mirrors the negative character of propaganda at the time. It continued to be perceived that way, which is also to some degree reflected, for instance, in Sir Ronald Syme's *The Roman Revolution* published in the shadow of the Second World War (1939) where he saw Octavian's/Augustus's propaganda activities in rather a dark light, basically as manipulation.[8]

Fear of propaganda was widespread. In Europe, all totalitarian systems used it as a mean of information control and presentation. In the USA that fear was

[1] Piwinger and Ebert 2001.
[2] Cicero, *Pro Marcello*, 8; Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 2.149.
[3] Ziomek 1990: 15-19.
[4] Diggs-Brown 2011: 48; Hekster 2007: 2.
[5] Fulińska 2017: 56-57.
[6] An example of that is a work of Lord Ponsonby entitled *Falsehood in Wartime: Containing an Assortment of Lies Circulated Throughout the Nations During the Great War* published in 1928, which is in fact a catalogue of lies broadcasted by the governments and intelligences of the countries involved into the conflict (Ponsonby 1928). Another one is a literary debate between Edward Bernays and Everett Dean Martin where the latter argues that: 'Propaganda is making puppets of us. We are moved by hidden strings which the propagandist manipulates.' (Everett Dean 1929: 141).
[7] Lasswell 1927: 627-629.
[8] Syme 1939.

present as well. In 1937 a circle of social scientists, opinion leaders, historians, educators, and journalists founded The Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA). Its purpose was to guide and help people surrounded by ever increasing amounts of propaganda messages to think critically and independently. Its members defined 'propaganda' in a way which should be helpful in detecting propagandists: individuals and groups undertake activities of various kinds with a view to shaping the opinions and actions of other individuals and groups to achieve a specific goal.[9]

At the same time, another definition came from Sergei Chakhotin (1883-1973), a Russian biologist, sociologist and social activist. He investigated the Third Reich propaganda machinery and should be recognised here for his observations regarding the propagandist's activities which according to him, should be adapted to the needs of the recipients. In other words, new ideas should be anchored in already existing beliefs or at least deriving from them.[10] This also applies to the images which propaganda frequently uses. He also stated that propaganda depends on a simple rule: the more exposed it is, the more success it brings to the propagandist.[11]

After the Second World War many scholars tried to define the essence of propaganda. Due to the semantic and cultural changes resulting from the horrors of totalitarian systems of the 20th century, some of them like Doob came to terms with the fact that propaganda cannot be precisely defined.[12] Ellul is of the opinion that any precise definition of propaganda should be rejected. In his view, propaganda is any effort to change an audience's opinion. Accordingly, propaganda is a form of manipulation and even though Ellul claims that it functioned only in technologically advanced societies, he does not reject its use in the ancient world.[13] Moreover, Ellul's observations on propaganda are of great importance for everyone concerned with its use in ancient times, since he notices that propaganda is a sociological phenomenon often created without any specific intention.[14] In other words, people unintentionally create propaganda messages all the time by sending biased communications. This suggests that sometimes propaganda is invisible, and members of a society may not be aware that they are helping the propagandist by acting in a specific way. Zanker and Galinsky proved this to be the case for the times of Augustus.[15] One more observation of Ellul is of key importance for this book: propaganda must be timely and speak to contemporary events possibly by allusions and references to the past if it is to retain the audience's interest, a concept in fact close to the views of Chakhotin (cf. above).[16]

All these definitions of propaganda have tried to capture its broad sense, paying little attention to the specifics of the phenomenon. Since in this study we deal mostly with material the propagandistic value of which depends on visual signs, images, symbolism etc. it is worth mentioning those who draw attention to this aspect of propaganda. For example, Pratkanis and Turner regard as 'propaganda' all efforts of the propagandist to convince the recipient to adopt his point of view primarily with the use of simple images and signs as well as slogans.[17] Similarly, Pratkanis and Aronson remark that propaganda involves the manipulation of various symbols with the intention of influencing the audience.[18] I am here primarily concerned with propaganda in a political sense (and only little in the religious one). Taithe and Thornton take 'propaganda' to be part of a sophisticated political language which is based on an ancient tradition of persuading and convincing. To some degree, this is like moving back to the ancient roots of propaganda which was strongly associated with rhetoric (cf. above), however, it is now seen as a negative technique of manipulation rather than an art in its own right. The goal of propaganda in this sense is not only to persuade an audience of a specific point of view, but also to sustain support for the propagandist who naturally is a politician.[19]

One of the chapters of this book aims to identify potential commissioners, recipients and users of propaganda gems. Therefore, the voice of Qualter regarding the key role of audience should be singled out here. According to him, to be successful propaganda must be adjusted and answer to the needs of the situation and desires of the recipients. It is also crucial to spread propaganda messages as widely as possible in order to make them noticeable. The audience should be exposed to propaganda so that it would be processed, remembered and make an impact.[20] In this respect, it is also important to remember what O'Shaughnessy said about the structure of propaganda. He claims that it is not always simple but may be diffused. This means that the audience is often involved in both the creation and

[9] McClung Lee and Briant Lee 1939: 15.
[10] Chakhotin 1939. This view has been accepted by other researchers, for instance: Doob 1948: 334 and Ellul 1973: 38-39.
[11] Chakhotin 1939.
[12] Doob 1989: 375. However, in his works he had been promoting negative aspects of propaganda which largely aims at bringing profits exclusively to the propagandist, see: Doob 1948: 390.
[13] Ellul 1973: XI-XIII.
[14] Ellul 1973: XV.
[15] Zanker 1988; Galinsky 1996.
[16] Ellul 1973: 43-44.
[17] Pratkanis and Turner 1996: 190.
[18] Pratkanis and Aronson 2004: 17.
[19] Taithe and Thornton 2000: 2.
[20] Qualter 1962: XII.

the dissemination of propaganda messages, a similar view to Ellul's (cf. above).[21]

As has been shown in this brief overview of the basic definitions of 'propaganda', today this word has mostly negative associations and thus is quite far from its original (Latin) meaning.[22] This is mostly due to the semantic and cultural changes resulting from the horrors of the totalitarian systems of the 20th century. The words of Orwell 'All propaganda is lies, even when one is telling the truth' perhaps are the best illustration of a popular and negative impression of propaganda one has in the 20th and early 21st century.[23] Recently propaganda has received much attention from sociologists and psychologists. As a result the nature of propaganda, already a very broad concept, is seen to be even more multi-faceted.[24] It can also be stripped of the socio-cultural accumulations of the 20th century and return to its beginnings. A good example of this is probably the most comprehensive and succinct definition of propaganda put forward by Jowett and O'Donnell who specify that 'propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.'[25] These words combined with other aspects of propaganda described by various scholars cited above exhaust the general aspects of propaganda relevant to this study.

If one goes back to the original (Latin) meaning of 'propaganda', engraved gems almost certainly played a significant role in the dissemination of images in ancient Rome. This is especially true of glass gems, the production of which offered serial, mass-production of the same motifs. Individual specimens must also have been important for their captivating and peculiar features (unusual and expensive material used, high level of artistry and so on). However, things get complicated when one tries to pinpoint specific political messages and ideology, propagandists and audience, and to link those with surviving gems. The study of propaganda on intaglios and cameos is difficult and as will be shown, often inconclusive. Nevertheless, an attempt should be made since it supplies new data concerning Roman propaganda in general.

For those who criticise the application of the idea of propaganda to ancient societies, as they believe it did not appear earlier than the 20th century,[26] ancient Rome was an empire with the same complicated structure as the countries and empires of the 20th century. It covered a vast territory and was inhabited by an ethnically and culturally diverse population. All of its parts had different level of civilisation progress and a highly complex and fiercely competing political class was present. The Republic and later Empire conducted constant external wars, but civil wars were common, especially in the 1st century BC. All these circumstances made it possible to develop a complex machinery involving various techniques of manipulating facts and messages and shaping public opinion according to one's will – practices, which are the basis of what is understood as 'propaganda' today.[27]

4.2. Propaganda and persuasion

There is one more concept that should be mentioned here as relevant to the overall discussion of 'propaganda gems'. Persuasion is one of the subsets of communication between individuals or groups of people. At first glance it works in the same way as propaganda, however, on slightly different level.[28] Persuasion is usually defined as a communicative process aimed at influencing recipient's beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivations, or behaviours.[29] The sender and the receiver are linked by symbols, verbal and nonverbal messages and the whole process works on a more personal level than propaganda. Unlike to propaganda, persuasion is more interactive and is generally based on the involvement of both sides. It is more mutually satisfying than propaganda.[30] In research on ancient societies, a lack of data might seem an obstacle effectively preventing us from distinguishing propaganda from persuasion. For investigations focused on archaeological material, such a distinction seems pointless indeed, nevertheless, engraved gems are very special objects for they have strictly personal character. One imagines a situation when a client manifests his support for a political leader by wearing his portrait upon a ring. The client broadcasts a message to his local community that he knows an influential figure and gains more respect that way. He decides to change his opinion, view or belief accordingly to that suggested by his patron only because he sees in this his own personal profit. At the same time, he indirectly contributes to advertising of his patron. Such scenarios could have taken place both in Rome as well as on the outskirts of the Empire in provinces where local authorities sought to base or strengthen their power and authority on their connections with important individuals. Gems may be very useful illustrations of a client's response to the

[21] O'Shaughnessy 2004: 4.
[22] Hannestad 1988: 9.
[23] Orwell and Orwell 2007: 441.
[24] For more definitions of propaganda and its history and significence as a research subject, see: Kopij 2017: 14-18.
[25] Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 1.
[26] Fulińska 2017: 56, note 66 lists some examples of those who deny application of propaganda in ancient Rome.
[27] Fulińska 2017: 60-61; Hannestad 1988: 17-18.
[28] Some scholars claim that propaganda evolved from persuasion used in ancient Greek rhetorics, see for example: Fulińska 2017: 57; Lausberg 2002: 21-22.
[29] Gass and Seiter 2010: 33.
[30] Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 32-33.

persuasion of his patron. Since it is well-known that gems were exchanged as diplomatic gifts they could be also gifted to a political leader or emperor not only to please him, but most importantly to confirm support which might be a response to his persuasion. Several kinds of objects especially from Augustan times might have played such a role and they are presented in the third part of the book (chapter 10.9).

4.3. Propaganda and public opinion

The two previous sub-chapters were more or less exclusively concerned with the propagandist. Now it is time to speak about the audience. For propaganda to be successful it is essential for its emitter to know the people he aims to influence. How does he know that his actions provoke a response in line with his expectations? He must carefully observe public opinion, which is a vital part of each propaganda campaign.[31] The simplest definition of 'public opinion' is that it is the reaction of the people to global and individual political activities expressed in terms of approval or disapproval of these actions.[32] It can be said that public opinion decides about politics in general since propagandists must adjust their actions to the basic needs and desires of people.

Although John Locke is generally regarded as the first man to use the term 'public opinion' in a modern sense,[33] Cicero used this concept (*publicam opinionem*) much earlier[34]. The idea of public opinion seems to have circulated even in far more ancient times.[35] Clarification of public opinion is a complex process, but it always involves a problem that society must tackle. When this problem emerges, various people within the community express their own opinions as to how to solve it and of course, the most important voices are those of those the most influential and respected e.g. political leaders.[36] They try to convince the others that their solutions are the best for everyone and use propaganda and persuasion aimed at changing, reversing or adjusting emotions and opinions of others (often masses of people) according to their wishes .[37] So public opinion can be shaped if propaganda is successful, but it is worth remembering that it fluctuates and changes under new conditions that appear and evolve alongside various political and social events. This is why propagandists must carefully observe what people think about the current situation and how they are perceived by them, and if there is a need, they must react.

So public opinion is a vital part of the political life and it definitely existed in ancient Rome. It could be expressed in assemblies as well as in theatres or during various ceremonies. As Kopij observes, political leaders used to directly test current social moods. An example of that is Mark Antony's attempt to crown Julius Caesar with a diadem during the *Lupercalia* festival.[38] Naturally, today one cannot directly observe how public opinion was shaped in ancient Rome. Nevertheless, some insight into the problem is given by literary sources which have been analysed in this context.[39] Interestingly, there is some information on the response of public opinion to various actions involving engraved gems. For example, Valerius Maximus informs us that young Lucius Scipio disgraced himself by coming to an election in a soiled toga. His relatives removed the ring with the head of his father Scipio Africanus from his hand which symbolic act smashed his early political career.[40] Cicero rebuked Lentulus Sura for being implicated in the Catilinarian conspiracy when he ought to have been restrained by the portrait of his illustrious ancestor Cornelius Lentulus, engraved on his seal.[41] Unusually, Marius wore a gold ring on his finger while it was a well-established custom for a triumphant general to wear an iron ring (like the slaves and soldiers did) to show his modesty and *pietas* and he was widely criticised for that act of self-advertisement.[42] Pliny the Elder heavily criticises Pompey for his ostentatious parading with gems and vessels during the triumph in 61 BC.[43] Finally, while people wearing multiple rings with gems on their fingers were generally criticised by ancient authors throughout the whole of antiquity for their lack of modesty, according to archaeological sources, it seems that in the Late Roman Republic nobody cared much about that anymore.[44]

On the other hand, one should consider reflections of public reaction to propaganda campaigns found in the material sources. Engraved gems appear to be a good source for this study because some of them may show what people used to think and their needs and desires could have been exposed as well since they were strictly private objects (cf. chapters 7.1.6, 7.2.5, 8.1.11, 8.2.9, 9.1.8, 9.2.7, 9.3.1.9, 9.3.2.8, 9.3.3.2 and 10.8).[45] Glyptics as an important indicator of social moods is focused on in sub-chapter 10.8 which deals with Augustan gems and the promotion of ideas such as *Pax Augusta*

[31] Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 38.
[32] Kula 2005: 70.
[33] Locke 1689.
[34] Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 6.1.18.
[35] Dobek-Ostrowska, Fras and Ociepka 1997: 65.
[36] Evans 1992: 6; Morstein-Marx 2004: 20.
[37] Dobek-Ostrowska, Fras and Ociepka 1997: 69-70.
[38] Kopij 2017: 26.
[39] Horsfall 1996: 46-50; Millar 1986 and 2002; Sumi 2005.
[40] Valerius Maximus, III, 5.
[41] Cicero, *in Catilinam*, III, 5.10
[42] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.11-12.
[43] Isager 1998: 60.
[44] See some complains on the overwhelming and inappropriate use of multiple rings in: Horace, *Satire*, 2.7.8-9; Petronius, *Satyrica*, 32; Seneca the Younger, *Quaestiones naturales*, 7.31.5. For a broader discussion of this problem, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 15 and 19-20. Lapatin presents many examples of such criticism too, see: 2015: 116.
[45] Henig 1994: 152.

and *aurea aetas*. Many objects collected in this sub-chapter show that imperial propaganda was successful since the people's desires appear to have been fulfilled; wishes for peace and prosperity are replaced with scenes testifying to their arrival and the establishment of a peaceful and joyful reign. Their great popularity suggests them to be replicated by Augustus' followers and people as a whole because it was fashionable to carry a ring with this sort of decoration. In addition, gems clearly show that public opinion was not stable and must have been stimulated by new propagandistic messages, actions and programmes as the subject-matter changed according to the political situation within the empire. Moreover, in the Late Roman Republic and under Augustus, gems were mass-produced in many forms (intaglios, glass gems, cameos, works in the round, cameo vessels etc.) which suggests that various groups of people used them. This is also helpful for investigations of the public's reactions and responses to propaganda issued because as Kopij notices, all the social classes contributed to the creation of these objects.[46]

4.4. Propaganda as a form of communication

Propaganda should be regarded as a form of communication, a process involving a sender, who transmits a message to a receiver through a channel.[47] Contemporary theories of communication distinguish several transactional models of interactions between a sender and receiver sometimes engaging some other elements such as speech in the Aristotelian model or, in more complex cases, a source, message, transmitter, signal and receiver (the so-called Shannon-Weaver model).[48] Aristotle (384-322 BC) was the first to define the communication process and to create a model in which a sender reaches the receiver through speech. Far more important for our study is that he defined the target group.[49] Moreover, the philosopher noticed that a message might be received by outsiders who accidentally accompany the target group.[50] Therefore, one should consider an object (here a gem) even if purposed to interact with a specific target group, could interact with other receivers too (usually by accident, but also intentionally if it is exhibited, for instance during a triumph like in the case of Marius and Pompey the Great). Hence, its significance might often be underestimated by us today or seem ambiguous.

The Shannon-Weaver model is also of some importance for the investigations carried out in this study since it includes a source of distortion that might have deformed the original message. As a result, the recipient of propaganda could have received a slightly different message which caused his reaction to be not the same as that intended by the sender (propagandist).[51] Roman society was very multicultural, thus, the same propagandistic message could have been decoded in several different ways or misunderstood by some recipients.[52] Moreover, in his semiotic model of communication, Eco highlights the role of culture, which is unstable and evolves all the time.[53] Propaganda must therefore be adjusted to cultural differences, adapt to their constant changes and relate to some pan-cultural elements. There should ideally be many actions aimed at attracting specific groups of people, but this would be inefficient. In the case of engraved gems their rich and sometimes complex iconography involves a lot of universal symbols that should be understood by many. Furthermore, gems seldom bear inscriptions. If they do, these do not clarify the meaning of the symbolism presented on the gem but are signatures, names of their owners, wishes or magical formulas. In conclusion, we can suppose that users of engraved gems in antiquity understood their iconography quite well and decided to use specific objects consciously.[54] As for the modification of propagandistic messages, this is noticeable in Augustan glyptics which profoundly differ in terms of iconography from the range of subjects employed by Octavian during his rivalry with the Pompeians, Republicans and Mark Antony (compare chapters 9.3.1 and 10).

Time and space are also key factors that ensure that communication (and hence propaganda) is effective and successful.[55] In ancient Rome, various means of propaganda were used, but the most significant seems to have been oral communication. Nevertheless, objects of art like engraved gems should be analysed for their ability to transmit a message in time and distance. Coins for example reached their audience relatively quickly since they were usually minted in vast numbers and because they were portable, they travelled long distances.[56] In the case of gems the situation is similar since glass gems were mass-produced cheaply and quickly. However, other types of gems like cameos for example, were extremely sophisticated pieces aimed at reaching only a limited audience and they were not frequently moved (especially the so-called State Cameos). Hence, while investigating the propagandistic value of engraved gems, one should not only describe their propagandistic potential, often measured by a gem's iconography, but also take into consideration

[46] Kopij 2017: 27.
[47] Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 30.
[48] Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 30. Various models of communication have been profoundly described by Kopij (2017: 29-33).
[49] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1358A-1358B.
[50] Kopij 2017: 30.
[51] Shannon 1948: 406-407.
[52] Kopij 2017: 31-32.
[53] Eco 2009: 134-138.
[54] The same is also expected if coinage is concerned, see: Hannestad 1988: 12.
[55] Innis 2004: 9-10; Kopij 2017: 33.
[56] Kopij 2017: 33.

object's ability to move around and between users as well as how much time it took to create it and deliver to the target group.

4.5. Forms of propaganda

Propaganda can be classified in several ways. Jowett and O'Donnell describe forms of propaganda in a very concise way focusing on two things: source of information and its credibility. They distinguish three basic forms: white, black and grey. White propaganda comes from a source that is identified correctly, and the information in the message tends to be accurate. Its goal is to present a propagandist in the best way possible, in other words, to create a positive image for him and convince the audience that his ideas and ideology are best.[57] Regarding ancient Rome, the vast majority of propaganda actions undertaken by its political leaders should be regarded as white propaganda. For instance, celebrations and triumphs were occasions when a positive image of a political leader could be constructed. Engraved gems, like coins, were used to commemorate important events, military victories, and highlight mythological and divine references etc. as shown in many cases in the third part of this study. The self-presentation aspect so often applied to intaglios in the 3rd and 2nd century BC (cf. chapter 6) and later can also be considered the same sort of white propaganda. Portrait gems were primarily created to build a positive image of the propagandist who could afford to employ a distinguished Greek artist as evidenced in rare 2nd century cases (cf. chapters 6.2.1 and 6.2.2). Above all, possession of gems in general (either single specific ones as seals or whole collections) added much splendour and helped to raise one's social status since these were luxurious objects. Besides, in the course of time, portrait gems, especially those made of glass under the influence of Octavian/Augustus were intended to spread the image of a political leader. All these actions are white propaganda.

Black propaganda is the opposite of white propaganda and comes from a source which is concealed or credited to a false authority and spreads lies, fabrications and deceptions.[58] It is very difficult to detect in the ancient world since sources are limited. Black propaganda could have been expressed in an oral form as rumours, gossip, spreading false information or fake news etc. which seldom survived in literature.[59] It was also expressed in wall-paintings and, for instance, in the form of electoral graffiti that survived in Pompeii. Black propaganda is difficult to detect on engraved gems. Depictions humiliating the opponent were undesirable because they would have reduced the importance of the victory. Propaganda actions involving gems tended to work the other way around. Pompey the Great presented the *dactyliotheca* of Mithridates VI Eupator during his triumph to show how powerful and rich an opponent he defeated (cf. chapter 8.1.1). However, the seal of Sulla representing the defeated Jugurtha shows the latter as kneeling in front of the Roman dictator – a rather humiliating act for the king of Numidia (cf. chapter 7.1.1). For the same reason, allegorical scenes including Mark Antony presented as *Nilus* rather than *Neos Dionysus* on some gems might be considered as black propaganda (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1). Several more cases are traditionally interpreted as acts of this propaganda form, but critical investigations disqualified them (cf. chapters 8.1.3, 9.3.1.7, 9.3.2.2 and 9.3.2.7).

Finally, the third form of propaganda according to Jowett and O'Donnell is grey propaganda. This is based on a source which seems to be correctly identified but may not be and thus the accuracy of the information is uncertain.[60] Concerning ancient Rome, grey propaganda appears to be best reflected in family stories highlighting divine or mythological *origo*. Various Roman families derived their ancestry from gods like members of *gens* Iulia who were descended from Venus, or Mark Antony, whose ancestor is said to have been Anton, son of Heracles. Also, information about being under the protection and blessing of a specific deity accounts for grey propaganda because the direct source of such information did not exist, yet the stories themselves were widespread. Such stories seem unbelievable to us but for ancient Romans, if presented in an adequate way, they were credible and thus, widely accepted within society. All such stories feature widely on various forms of Roman art and engraved gems are no exception (cf. chapters 6.3.1, 7.4.2, 8.2.8, 8.3.3, 9.3.1.8, 9.3.2.7 and 10.7).

Evans proposes a different, more complex and thus detailed classification of propaganda forms. First, she detects overt and covert propaganda the criterion for which is the reaction of the audience.[61] According to her, overt propaganda consists of all actions which unambiguously communicate a message from the propagandist to his audience. Examples are electoral campaigns and some production of 'propaganda gems' (especially portraits) as well as actions involving their use (for instance triumphs). Covert propaganda includes spreading rumours and false stories.[62] What is more, at first glance they appear to be not related to propaganda at all. These are subtle messages encoded in such a way that only a well-informed and well-educated receiver can decode them. For example, while gems presenting Augustus' victory at Actium were intended

[57] Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 17.
[58] Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 18.
[59] Nieć 2011: 154-160.
[60] Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 20.
[61] Evans 1992: 1.
[62] Evans 1992: 1.

to be decoded by the masses, since they are based on relatively simple symbolism, the *Gemma Augustea* with its highly sophisticated propagandistic programme could have been appreciated only by a limited number of well-educated people who understood the allusions and specific language used (cf. chapter 10.5).

Regarding other forms of propaganda, Evans follows Ellul and distinguishes agitation and integration propaganda. The distinction is of great importance for the study of 'propaganda gems'. Agitation propaganda is the most visible because it includes all the actions performed with the aim of gaining new followers and spreading positive information about the propagandist and creating and popularising his positive image.[63] Kopij also investigated this form and specifies that agitation propaganda is dynamic and intended to influence and change people's views and attitudes.[64] On the other hand, integration propaganda is a passive form the main goal of which is to consolidate views already held by supporters of a propagandist so that the societal stability could be achieved.[65] Both forms are well-represented in glyptics since for instance gems commemorating military victories can be seen as agitation propaganda, while portraits could have been used as objects manifesting membership of a specific political group (*factio*) and bringing together members of that organisation. Agitation propaganda was more frequently used in the Roman Republic, especially in its later phase during the fierce rivalry between various political leaders and factions, while integration propaganda is more typical of Augustus and his successors.[66]

Evans observes that both agitation and integration propaganda can be used in a vertical and horizontal manner.[67] The first means that actions are usually initiated by the propagandist from the top to the bottom aimed at reaching first the most influential personalities in society (usually aristocracy) and then gradually wider circles of people. Thus, objects of various types circulated on the market, some intended to reach only few people, while others were produced for masses. This is clearly noticeable in glyptic production of the Late Roman Republic and Augustan periods where cameos and intaglios made of unusual, expensive gemstones were surely cut for the imperial court circle, the aristocracy and senatorial classes, while casual gems and the cheap glass ones were produced for the masses. The horizontal manner is in use when a propagandist emits signals which are further processed by the recipients, who react to them by emitting a response. Manifestation of loyalty through gems described in several chapters in the third part of the study is a good example of that phenomenon (cf. chapters 8.1.5, 8.2.4, 9.1.3, 9.2.2, 9.3.1.4, 9.3.2.3 and 10.4). Generally speaking, engraved gems confirm the view that in ancient Rome vertical propaganda was far more important than horizontal and gems as objects frequently used for manifestation of political views constitute one of the most important sources for investigating this phenomenon.[68]

Finally, Evans proposes a distinction between rational and irrational propaganda. The first is based on knowledge and factual information, while the latter appeals to the emotions.[69] The second category appears to be especially popular in ancient Rome since the majority of propaganda messages were designed to stir the audience's emotions by religious, cultural and patriotic allusions. Understood in this way, irrational propaganda dominates on engraved gems since mythological and religious allusions are particularly popular (cf. chapters 7.1.5, 7.2.4, 8.1.9, 8.2.8, 8.3.5, 9.1.7, 9.2.6, 9.3.1.8, 9.3.2.7 and 10.6). The use of deities' images by propagandists to portray themselves in a better way was not strsaightforward since communication had to be adjusted to local conditions. So, for instance, Octavian refers to his connection to Apollo, Mercury or Neptune, while Mark Antony refers to Dionysus and Osiris because he was targeting a completely different society in Egypt.

There is one more phenomenon relating to propaganda and its various forms that I would like to mention here for it might be easily taken for black propaganda. Counterpropaganda is usually defined as the opposite of propaganda or as a type of propaganda used against propaganda which is already in force.[70] The difference between counterpropaganda and black propaganda is that the latter is generally based on false information often created for a specific purpose for instance, to undermine the authority of the opponent. Counterpropaganda is usually a reaction to the campaign of the opponent and it is based on rivalry. The best illustration of counterpropaganda is when Octavian acquired Neptune's favour after the naval battle at Naulochus in 36 BC which had previously been on the side of Sextus Pompey. Octavian's action was in fact a reaction to his opponent's moves and is illustrated on engraved gems (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8). A reaction to Sextus and Octavian's movements was Mark Antony's identification with Dionysus which is also reflected on intaglios and cameos and should be recognised as counterpropaganda (cf. chapter 9.3.2.7).[71]

[63] Evans 1992: 1-2.
[64] Kopij 2017: 17-18.
[65] Evans 1992: 2; Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 17; Kopij 2017: 17-18.
[66] Evans 1992: 2-3.
[67] Evans 1992: 2.
[68] Evans 1992: 3.
[69] Evans 1992: 2.
[70] Evans 1992: 1; Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 1.
[71] Morawiecki 2014.

4.6. Tools and techniques of propaganda

Contemporary studies of propaganda distinguish a number of tools and techniques used by propagandists to influence the audience. The first to describe these basic means of propaganda were members of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. In 1937, they produced instructions for American citizens explaining how to detect, analyse and neutralise propagandistic messages. Among these instructions were explanations of tools and techniques of propaganda that later were commented on and developed by other scholars.[72] Special attention is given here to techniques which primarily apply to the studies of propaganda on engraved gems.

First is *name-calling* or *labelling* which basically aims to assign negative epithets to the opponent of a propagandist.[73] The key word here is 'to label' which suggests that the opponent is presented in a specific way. This technique is used in black propaganda since the information added or spread is often unreliable or even false and the goal is to weaken the authority and position of the opponent.[74] It mostly refers to the oral or written forms of propaganda;[75] however, in visual art, presentation of the opponent in a clearly negative way is frequent and the institution of *damnatio memoriae* is its extreme form. Regarding glyptics, it is seldom employed, but some examples might be pointed out like the seal of Sulla presenting the defeated Jugurtha (cf. chapter 7.1.1) or Mark Antony presented as *Nilus* rather than *Neos Dionysus* on a carnelian commemorating Octavian's victory at Actium in Naples (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1).

In opposition to the technique of *labelling* are *glittering generalities*. These add splendour and present a propagandist's image in the most positive way by assignation of epithets stressing his authority.[76] This activity also involves the positive representation of a persuader in the visual arts. Good examples for instance Pompey the Great presenting himself as new Alexander the Great (cf. 8.1.10) or Octavian presented with auspices of Apollo and other deities (9.3.1.8). Such actions are widely represented on engraved gems and stem from the deeply rooted acts of self-presentation (cf. chapter 6.3.3). The image created in art or by words applied to the propagandist in oral expressions and literature are usually general in character so that even if misunderstood, they would bring no harm to him. This is noticeable on 'propaganda gems' which often use universal symbolism like the celestial globe – symbol of world domination and Jupiter's power or support applied to a number of gems commemorating Octavian's victory at Actium (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7). Sometimes the universal context the propagandist is presented in may take the role of *glittering generalities* as in the case of gems commemorating Julius Caesar's wars with the Gauls (cf. chapter 8.2.7).

The peculiar circumstances of civil war encouraged propagandists to apply more subtle techniques such as *euphemisms*. These were used in order to mute the negative tensions and emotions within society brought about by tragic events.[77] Regarding visual arts and engraved gems in particular, this technique was very successfully applied by Augustus who promoted his programme of *Pax Augusta* and *aurea aetas* (cf. chapter 10.8) and probably also Sulla and Julius Caesar who promoted complex political programmes based on similar qualities (cf. chapters 7.1.6 and 8.2.9). The basic benefits to the propagandist are peace and unstirred social moods as well as an increase of his own authority as the person thanks to whom these values are gained. Moreover, it might be easier for him to introduce a new programme and make changes to the current political system since he is presenting them in a palatable way. The dynamic production of gems related to *Pax Augusta* and *aurea aetas* is in accordance with actions undertaken in other branches of Augustan art.

Regarding Octavian/Augustus' propagandistic machinery, one of its key techniques was *repetition*, which is basically dissemination of the same symbol in all available kinds of media. For this reason, Augustan glyptics stays in accordance with other branches of art because all of them spoke the same sophisticated language. Moreover, in the case of Augustus, the uniformity embraced also the style (classicism) and general thematic trends (cf. chapter 10.7). The same ideas are presented in the same way over and over again so that the receivers of this kind of propaganda would have had its contents literally impressed on their minds.

An extremely important technique is *transfer device* where authority, sanction and prestige are transferred over to something or someone else in order to make the latter acceptable, more recognisable or legitimised to undertake a specific action.[78] The transfer of prestige and authority are of the key importance for my investigations here since such actions are clearly observable on engraved gems produced by or for Octavian (for instance, the series of gems depicting the so-called adoption ring, cf. chapter 9.3.1.1). Intaglios belonging to supporters of specific politicians who showed their own portraits based on those of their patrons use this propaganda technique as well (cf.

[72] See a recent evaluation in Kopij 2017: 20-21.
[73] Kopij 2017: 20.
[74] IPA 1995: 218.
[75] Hannestad 1988: 17.
[76] IPA 1995: 219.
[77] Kopij 2017: 20.
[78] Evans 1992: 3; IPA 1995: 219-220.

chapters 9.1.3 and 9.2.2). This technique may also mean transfer of divine nature onto a propagandist by making allusions to a specific deity like Pompey the Great and Neptune (cf. chapter 8.1.9) and Mark Antony and Dionysus (cf. chapter 9.3.2.7). In the case of Pompey the Great, the exhibition of Mithridates VI Eupator's *dactyliotheca* during the triumph in 61 BC was a clear transfer of prestige (cf. chapter 8.1.1) and the same applies to the employment of gem engravers who once worked for the opposite side (cf. chapter 10.2).

Another important propaganda tool is the *testimonial device*. It is also concerned with authority, which is here not directly transferred, but rather a point of reference. In other words, a propagandist alludes to a well-respected personality (usually a predecessor or ancestor) so that he shows a connection with him.[79] This isbest illustrated by the situation described by Valerius Maximus when young Lucius Scipio disgraced himself by coming to an election in a soiled toga and his relatives removed the ring with the head of his father Scipio Africanus from his hand.[80] By using a ring with the image of his father, the young politician was reminding everyone about his proud ancestry until he was forbidden to make this reference. The *testimonial device* technique worked also in the patron – client relationship. As shown in the third part of this study, portrait gems are plausible candidates for this propaganda technique (cf. chapters 8.1.5, 8.2.4, 9.1.3, 9.2.2, 9.3.1.4, 9.3.2.3, 9.3.3.1 and 10.4). A number of clients tended to show their connections and relationships with prominent Roman politicians to manifest their loyalty and support, and especially to raise their own authority in a local community and among their peers.

As has been already stated above, to be successful, propaganda messages must be adjusted to the audience; also, a propagandist must create his image in accordance with the expectations of the people he wants to rule. For this reason, he uses a propaganda technique termed *plain-folks device*. Its purpose is to create an impression that the propagandist understands the needs and desires of common people.[81] References to the free grain supply in Rome appearing on gems and coins alike are an example of this technique put into practice (cf. chapters 7.2.5, 7.4, 8.1.8, 9.3.1.4 and 9.3.1.7).

In contrast to the *plain-folks device* is the *cult of personality*. When an individual strives to create an idealised and heroic public image, he often follows a particular model. In the case of the Romans, one such an example was Alexander the Great who served as a model for Pompey the Great, Mark Antony and Octavian/Augustus among others (cf. chapters 8.1.10, 8.2.8, 8.3.5, 9.3.1.8, 9.3.2.7 and 10.6). This technique usually depends on the involvement of others which means, for example, that some people were gifted various things (including engraved gems) to support a propagandist, his ideas and aims.

Euphoria is another technique used in propaganda. It is related to various celebrations and triumphs that generated a feeling of euphoria strengthened, for instance, by making luxury items available, such as engraved gems. The ultimate goal was to create a strong association in peoples' minds between a positive event and the propagandist. This technique, among other things, refers to *dactyliothecae* installed by Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar in the temples of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill and Venus Genetrix in Caesar's Forum (cf. chapters 8.1.2 and 8.2.1). Pliny's account on Pompey the Great as an introducer and populariser of engraved gems in Rome in general sounds very favourable for the politician. Even if mentioned much after his death, it makes us aware how strong was the association of this social event with the figure of Pompey.[82]

The *band-wagon device* is another propaganda technique which is best characterised as an approach whereby the rate of uptake of beliefs, ideas, fads and trends increases the more they have already been adopted by others. The conformism of individuals is targeted here.[83] This technique was a vital part of Roman propaganda. Concerning engraved gems, it is supposed that people were encouraged by others to show their political views by a wide use of political symbolism (including portraits) on their private rings. Since such an act could bring obvious benefits, more people joined the trend and it became a kind of fashion. This applies to Augustan times in particular because common people were literally bombarded with official images that were later copied by individuals in order to prevent isolation from a general trend.

Similar to *euphemisms* is another propaganda tool – the *card-sticking device*. It is based on a selection of facts and the creation of fake information so in order to enhance the propagandist's chances of success and to present him in the best way possible and his opponent in the worst.[84] This technique is easy to observe in literature, but not so much in visual art. One assumes that complex iconography involving numerous mythological references often found on gems was the result of well-thought propaganda campaigns organised by Roman political leaders and does not appear on those objects by accident.

[79] Evans 1992: 3; IPA 1995: 220.
[80] Valerius Maximus, III, 5.
[81] IPA 1995: 220-221; Kopij 2017: 21.
[82] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.6.
[83] Evans 1992: 3; IPA 1995: 222; Kopij 2017: 21.
[84] IPA 1995: 221; Kopij 2017: 21.

There are many other propaganda techniques and tools such as *sloganeering*, *fear inducing*, *big lie*, *scapegoating*, *black and white fallacy* which may be applied to general studies of Roman propaganda.[85] However, since engraved gems use mostly iconography and symbolism to transmit messages, it is difficult to say whether those other techniques were used on them or not. In any case, the most popular tools of propaganda have been presented here and they form the basis for further, more detailed investigations of individual actions in the third part of this book.

4.7. The effectiveness of propaganda

In this sub-chapter I would like to discuss various factors that influence the effectiveness of propaganda campaigns. There is no one specific way to make propaganda work for its creator, but there are a number of things he can do to achieve his goal. The propagandist must be well prepared before he launches his propaganda machinery. First, he must define his target group or groups since it is of key importance to prepare messages corresponding to the needs of various people. Besides, he should be aware of the fact that the society consists of various ethnic and cultural groups each of which must be approached in different ways. The economic factor is also important. In the case of gems, for instance, cameos and pieces produced by the best artists were greatly appreciated and valued, thus, if gifted, they were in the hands of rich and influential people, while most glass gems were meant to reach ordinary people.[86] Regarding the content of propaganda, a propagandist should know what will be generally accepted and what will not to avoid situations in which his actions are counterproductive.[87] He must have a well-thought out programme and use proper techniques and methods at the appropriate time, which means, for example, that he must observe when to react to unfortunate events to show he is helpful and reliable.[88] Moreover, the propagandist should send out his messages in the best circumstances possible, ideally during moments of glory like triumphs in ancient Rome. Finally, the propagandist must make his programme appealing so that people are encouraged to join him. The messages should be attractive to interest people since they are bombarded with information every day.[89] From this perspective, engraved gems, due to their special status in Roman craft, unparalleled aesthetic value and usefulness seem to be perfect candidates for transmitting propaganda messages. They are also indicative of a propaganda campaign's success because many of them bear images consistent with propagandistic messages emitted in other media, notably coins, and since they were private objects they testify that the subjects promoted by propagandists were accepted by the audience and replicated.

To be successful, propaganda must be repeated and the messages transmitted must remain consistent. Ideally, they should be anchored in past beliefs, myths and ideology to create a feeling in the receiver's mind that any new ideas the propagandist tries to introduce are not revolutionary, but rather an improvement on old methods.[90] This relates to the phenomenon of collective memory which is basically a shared pool of knowledge and information drawing on institutional or cultural references to the past and their interaction with the current events.[91] This is especially true of Roman culture which was furnished with allusions to the past at every level of its development. This is why Roman political leaders often recalled their legendary ancestors or commemorated past events in the form of celebrations comparing past successes to their own. Both commemoration and personal branding based on recalling a proud ancestry are common on engraved gems and replicated in great quantity on the glass ones. This approach greatly helped in reaching out to the many people who did not like to be shocked with something either new or associated with tragic past events, although, it must be highlighted that glyptics due to its more private character also offered plenty of possibilities for exceptional propaganda campaigns (cf. chapters 7.1.1, 7.1.4, 7.3.2, 8.1.8, 8.1.10, 8.2.8, 9.1.4, 9.2.2, 9.3.1.1, 9.3.1.4, 9.3.1.7, 9.3.1.8, 9.3.1.10, 10.5, 10.7, 10.9, 10.10 and 10.11).

As already stated, propaganda messages must be constantly repeated ideally in various channels to reach as many members of society as possible. But to do so, the messages emitted by a propagandist must be understandable.[92] This means they should use both sophisticated and simple language; first to fulfill the cultural needs of the more demanding recipients (most of the cameos), the latter to reach ordinary people (the bulk of hardstone and glass gems). It is said that propaganda usually works in urban communities because any concentration of people fosters the spread of information.[93] Rural areas were less exposed to propaganda. Glyptic material confirms that view. According to provenance study (chapter 11), the majority of 'propaganda gems' seems to be produced in Rome and other Italian cities as well as bigger urban areas of the ancient world (for instance Alexandria) which points to the places where there was a market for such objects. Moreover, it is supposed that mass

[85] Kopij 2017: 21.
[86] On the appreciation of engraved gems in antiquity, see: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: X-XII; Plantzos 1999: 105-108.
[87] Kopij 2017: 22-23.
[88] Evans 1992: 3.
[89] Kopij 2017: 22.
[90] Evans 1992: 3.
[91] Schudson 1992: 3.
[92] Hannestad 1988: 11.
[93] Kopij 2017: 24-25.

production of glass gems – ideal objects for cheap and repetitive widespread propaganda messages – also took place in the same area. However, it should be noted that gems were portable and their concentrations exist also in the military bases of the Roman army as legionaries were keen users of engraved gems and one of the most important target groups for each propagandist. Furthermore, the existence of local elites also contributed to the spread of propaganda, especially that found on engraved gems because, thanks to their use, local governors raised their own authority as well and marked their exceptional social status. A similar pattern is known to have worked in the case of sculpture since the reception of official portraits took place in provinces on a regular basis.[94] It should be added that propaganda spreads freely among educated people because they are more engaged in social and political life. They would have more exposure to written sources of propaganda and also would have understood much more from the complex symbolism employed in visual art that might have be the key to deciphering the meaning of propaganda actions, especially if they are presented on a tiny gemstone.[95] Nevertheless, the number of ordinary gems bearing portraits of Roman political leaders suggests that a large group of common people and soldiers was engaged in political affairs.

It is crucial for propaganda to be adjusted and follow any changes occurring within society. It should speak to contemporary events, adopt new trends and react to social moods if it is to retain the audience's interest.[96] The constantly evolving market for various goods, including luxuries such as engraved gems, also affected the efficiency with which propaganda was delivered. Changes of fashions and tastes were frequent, and the market was common which means it could be supplied with objects produced by or related to various political factions; nevertheless, its capacity was limited. Therefore, a propagandist should carefully observe the current situation and react to counterpropaganda issued by his opponents. He should try to influence private art with official art created or directed under his patronage.[97] The possible organisation of a gem workshop by Sextus Pompey in Sicily may have been a response to similar activity by Octavian. However, according to research presented in chapter 9.3.2, Mark Antony's reaction was surprisingly limited. This is probably due to his engagement in other channels of propaganda such as coins, even though, residing in Alexandria, he had the perfect conditions to promote himself through gems. It is not enough just to emit propagandistic messages, but a successful propaganda campaign involves a fierce rivalry with others who wish to gain the floor.[98] All in all though, even though many times one cannot precisely say that the gems were produced in a workshop controlled or related to a specific propagandist, intaglios and cameos clearly indicate that political messages were acknowledged, processed and further replicated by the audience itself. Glyptics illustrates well that propaganda campaigns were largely successful.

Finally, we may be unaware of the exact degree of political and propaganda rivalry since as Nieć points out, the people of Rome were not exposed to propaganda as much as we are today. Discussions between people, mostly local, were of much greater importance. People engaged in discussion every day either attending meetings or spending time in the baths. They had less need of channels offering propaganda messages than we do today because they were in closer personal contact.[99]

[94] Ando 2000: 228-245 and 303-313 (his work concerns Imperial portraits, but the mechanism he identifies can be successfully applied to engraved gems too); Hannestad 1988: 49.
[95] Evans 1992: 5-6.
[96] Evans 1992: 3.
[97] Łuszczewska 2002: 61.
[98] Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 209-210.
[99] Nieć 2011: 123.

5. Roman propaganda on engraved gems – general introduction

This chapter is concerned with Roman propaganda on engraved gems in general. It is divided into two parts. The first introduces areas where intaglios and cameos were intended to influence and shape public opinion as well as to bring individuals round to the propagandist's point of view. These include aspects unrelated to the actual emission of propaganda but are rather concerned with its processing and the recipients' response to it. They have been selected according to the general rules of the theory of propaganda presented in chapter 1 as well as previous scholarship. It is essential to analyse propaganda practices known from other branches of Roman art (especially coins and sculpture) because many mechanisms applied to them might be employed on engraved gems as well. Overall, it is hoped that they will help to elucidate the numerous propaganda campaigns undertaken by Roman politicians and other social and political applications of glyptics presented in the third part of this book. This should also help to determine how far intaglios and cameos were used for propaganda purposes and which forms of propaganda were preferred by Late Roman Republican politicians and Augustus. After presentation of the evidence in the third part of the book, all the areas listed here will be once more discussed in the fourth part in combination with a study of glyptic art's position in Roman propaganda in general (cf. chapter 13). The second sub-chapter discusses various problems and limitations relating to the investigations of propaganda on gems.

5.1. Anticipated areas of propaganda on engraved gems

5.1.1. Use of gems in triumphs

Triumphs and processions were perfect occasions for propagandists not only to show off their power but also to exhibit the spolia of war. Triumphs were especially dear to Roman dictators and imperators. They were the only chance to appear in the city in full glory. They could show what they brought to Rome and for this they were appreciated by the people. Such spectacles were meant to raise the authority of the propagandist and gain him popularity, but he could also distribute freely money and other valuable objects presenting scenes commemorating the event.[1] Engraved gems, especially glass ones, if indeed distributed among people during triumphs, created a connection between the recipients and politicians. Moreover, exhibiting gems among the spolia of war also aimed to raise the popularity of the triumphator and as it will be shown, their presentation to the temples might have been perceived as ritual act in which the donor proved his *pietas erga deos* and *pietas erga patriam*. All these aspects will be discussed in the third part of the study.

5.1.2. Collecting

Collecting is an ancient practice. The wealthy spent money on objects that had no practical use but had other meanings for their owners. It was the Ptolemaic dynasty who collected books from all over the world and put them into the famous library in Alexandria.[2] Art in all its forms was a primary subject of interest to notable collectors. The first securely dated art collector was Aratos of Sikyon (271-213 BC) who was known as a collector of paintings.[3] When in the 3rd century BC Rome started to conquer the Mediterranean world, it lacked luxury; a hundred years later it had been seduced by the enervating abundance of the East. Romans started to be interested in almost everything of value and then brought those things to their land where marble or bronze statues, paintings and so forth decorated their villas.[4] This naturally resulted in the creation of a specific art market which was a good platform to raise money for a range of reasons, including political ones. Various sources highlight the connection between auctions of works of art and dependence on effective short-term cash-mechanisms for the consolidation of military and political positions.[5] Collecting itself should be regarded as an aspect of propaganda machinery since the practice was reserved only for a few who used it to show off their high social status and financial capabilities.[6] Moreover, spending money on the best pieces of art could confirm regular incomes or other benefits in the propagandist's followers' eyes. Besides, collecting of art might have been regarded as proof of a propagandist's or collector's high educational, aesthetical and cultural aspirations and was appreciated by members of the upper class. As Casagrade-Kim notices, in Rome, art-collecting often worked on two levels, private and public one and both were useful in propaganda.[7] In this respect glass gems

[1] Balbuza 2005; Künzl 1988; Lange 2013 and 2016; Lange and Vervaet 2014; Ostrowski 1999.

[2] Phillips 2010.

[3] Plutarch, *Life of Aratus*, 12-13. Although, as far as engraved gems are concerned, an intriguing evidence for possible collecting intaglios is the beehive tomb in Vafio near Sparta (dated ca. 1500-1400 BC (LH II)) which contained 41 gems and two rings that might have belonged to a collector, see: Wagner 2019: 38.

[4] Among ancient authors, Pliny the Great is of great use for exploring this subject, see: Isager 1991, especially pp. 212-229 if engraved gems are concerned.

[5] Garcia Morcillo 2008.

[6] Pliny accidentally mentions auctions of finger rings that could be set with engraved gems, which maybe were purposed to build a cabinet of gems (*Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.6).

[7] Casagrade-Kim 2018.

are of special importance because as will be discussed, the political disturbances of the second half of the 1st century BC resulted in an increase in their production and there is some evidence that many glass gems were objects created for less wealthy collectors.

5.1.3. Employment of gem engravers

As it will be discussed in chapter 11, some propagandists (e.g. leading Roman politicians) were probably engaged in the production of 'propaganda gems', especially the cheap glass ones that perhaps were manufactured in workshops under their control or influence. These products flooded the market under encouragement of Roman statesmen or were distributed directly to their recipients. However, it was neither easy nor cheap to impress the most influential people because only very special and expensive artworks could engage their interest. Therefore, if a propagandist wanted to gain their support, he had to employ leading artists who produced masterpieces. This was a powerful signal because it proved that a propagandist could afford to do something which is possible only for a few. Besides, in the case of engraved gems, having an artist working exclusively for somebody was like, and perhaps in some cases (Augustus?) indeed was an imitation of Alexander the Great who placed Pyrgoteles on a level with Apelles and Lysippus, by naming him as the only artist permitted to engrave seal-rings for him.[8] The employment of a well-respected artist certainly added splendour and as will be shown in chapter 6.2.1, it could be even a matter of rivalry to offer a job to the best artists available.

5.1.4. Seals

The primary function of intaglios was sealing. In general, they were used to secure properties, in correspondence and in some legal practices.[9] Images appearing on them were deliberately chosen so that they tell much about their sitters. Of course, the official seals of prominent politicians were used to send out propaganda messages. Collon and Siddall notice that already some cylinder seals were engraved with meaningful communications and intended as propaganda.[10] In medieval times official seals used by kings and high-ranking dignitaries were given elaborated and complex iconography glorifying their users.[11] Rambach informs us that French kings had several seals for various purposes at their disposal so that they could send out more than just one message if they wished.[12] Assuming that engraved gems were carried in rings in order to manifest political allegiances, many more people (recipients of propaganda) have seen a sealing created by a specific gemstone if that sealing was attached to a letter or another document. It would be a part of propaganda package because the sealing not only transfers a message but it also guarantee the source of the document through authority of its issuer. If the document had travelled, it would have been very helpful in dissemination of propaganda messages. There is evidence, although from later period, that sealings attached to the letters sent to the secretariats of local magnates from Rome influenced local coinages.[13] Bearing all of this in mind, it is to be expected that official seals used by prominent Roman politicians were also used to communicate propaganda messages.

5.1.5. Personal branding and self-promotion

Personal branding is the most significant and popular of all propaganda activities performed in ancient Rome and beyond. According to present-day marketing studies, it is the practice of people marketing themselves and their careers as brands.[14] The term first appeared in the 20th century, but it can be successfully applied to studies of ancient propaganda as well.[15] It is closely related to the concept of self-promotion and in this study is mostly concerned with portraits and their dissemination within the public and private spheres. Promotion of or through *origo* as well as highlighting various capabilities, high social status etc. (the two latter will be more extensively discussed in the following sub-chapters) might also be considered personal branding; however, because they usually express familial connections, they are treated as a separate category (cf. chapter 5.1.8 below). In any case, personal branding was intended first, to popularise a politician, make him recognisable, and second, to make him an appealing figure, worth following. Since ancient times the images of kings, emperors and other key figures widely circulated within society by means of the visual arts because this was the only chance for ordinary people to 'meet' their leader.[16] Rulers were perfectly aware of this. They issued self-images which played a crucial role in creating a connection between them and their people.[17] Personal branding is perhaps best seen on coins and sculpture since these two categories offered a wide dissemination of the image: first thanks to the number of objects issued and their various forms,

[8] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, VII.38 and XXXVII.4. For more information on this subject, including Pyrgoteles potential input into the Alexander and Lysimachus coinages, see: Baldus 1987; Hafner 1977; Plantzos 1999: 60-62; Rusch 2012: 5.
[9] Plantzos 1999: 19-22.
[10] Collon 2005: 123-130; Siddall 2013: 147.
[11] Giard 1975: 72; Hadjadj 2007.
[12] Rambach (forthcoming 2).
[13] Henig 1972; Henig 2007: 57-61.
[14] Lair, Sullivan and Cheney 2005: 307.
[15] Kopij 2017.
[16] See a detailed account on portraiture's significance in various cultures and periods of time in: Fulińska 2017: 27-42.
[17] Fulińska 2017: 42-44.

second due to their installation in public places.[18] Julius Caesar was one of the first to put an image of a living person (his own) on a coin.[19] Although this act proved counterproductive for him, subsequent generations issued coins with their own images without any hesitation. Coins were perfect for personal branding also because the sender of a propagandistic message could be easily identified thanks to the inscription accompanying the image.[20] In the case of sculpture, one observes a similar mechanism and overall, the propagandistic value of statues, busts and heads must have been considerable since they were so abundant.[21] Moreover, private initiatives and reactions to official images in the form of putting busts and heads of famous Roman politicians in private houses or putting up their statues in cities and towns throughout the Empire (reception) are widely attested.[22] All these observations bring us to the question as to whether or not engraved gems were used for personal branding too.

5.1.6. Induction and manifestation of loyalty and support

Another propaganda practice that seems to be well represented on engraved gems but hard to find in other branches of Roman art is the manifestation of loyalty and support as well as political views in general. Intaglios and cameos are evidence for personal relationships between people.[23] Portrait gems could be used to express someone's loyalty and support for his political patron.[24] This view is based on the well-established patron - client model existing in ancient Rome where usually, the former is an influential politician, while the latter is his supporter and follower.[25] Regarding glyptics, this phenomenon existed in three forms. First of all, portrait gems could be distributed by political leaders to their clients (soldiers, followers and supporters) in order to gain their support and bind them with the use of precious objects that would be longstanding mementos of the occasion and person from whom they were gifted. Secondly, the clients themselves could commission gems with portraits of their patron which they later either gifted to them, collected or displayed to manifest their loyalty. This mechanism is analogous to that known from sculpture. Whole communities in Asia Minor and other Roman provinces erected statues to their Roman patrons (for instance Pompey the Great and Augustus) in order to demonstrate their loyalty and support.[26] By doing this, they also advertised the support of prominent Roman politicians for themselves, so that this was a mutually beneficial relationship. This approach eliminates some of the problems related to the identification of portrait gems. As Yarrow points out, would the ancient wearer have associated a specific meaning with the portrait? Would that meaning have been obvious to at least some of those who encountered it as his personal seal? The variety and obscurity of portrait gems make sense if one thinks not about individuals making individual choices, but instead of a small community taking the portrait as a shared symbol, perhaps at the instigation of a particular community leader, copied from various media by multiple artists.[27] As a result, one ends up with groups of gems inconsistent in style and with alterations to physiognomic features but still attributable to specific political leaders. Finally, political affinity could also be expressed by following the general framework offered by official art. This is supposed to have been particularly successful in Augustan times and we would expect engraved gems, like coins, sculpture and any other branch of Roman art, to testify to its existence. For glyptics is always based on deliberate choices made by the gems' users who identified themselves for whatever reason with the subject-matter engraved. From the bulk of subjects discussed in the third part of the book which are related to political affairs, it is evident that the expression of political affinity was one of the main reasons for possessing a ring with an intaglio or cameo for the Romans especially during the 1st century BC and early 1st century AD .

5.1.7. Use of heritage

Various assets understood as private heritage contribute to a person's public image. In ancient Rome, just as nowadays the number of inherited belongings influenced how people perceived each other. The usefulness of heritage for political actions was not only determined by wealth, but also by other qualities. For instance, the fact that Augustus shared much of the wealth inherited from Julius Caesar with common people and soldiers brought him much respect and popularity. There were also other subtle ways of using heritage for political reasons. Intaglios and cameos as precious objects bearing important subjects by

[18] Regarding coins, their propagandistic value is not always appreciated, and some researchers wonder if they were used for propaganda purposes at all. However, Hannestad proves coins to be particularly useful for personal branding (1988: 11, 18-31 (Roman Republic) and 47-50 (Augustan times)). See also a recent and detailed discussion on this issue presented in: Kopij 2017: 70-74.

[19] *RRC*, nos. 480/19-20 (denarii of C. Cossutius Maridianus, 44 BC). See also commentary on the intaglio and coins presenting the portrait of Titus Quinctius Flamininus (cf. chapter 6.2.1).

[20] Of course, many people in Rome were illiterate and there is a fierce discussion whether they could recognise what is written on the coins' legends, see: Kopij 2017: 70-71.

[21] For instance, according to Hannestad, today, there are known ca. 250 surviving portraits of Augustus in the round (1988: 47).

[22] Gregory 1994: 80-99; Kopij 2017: 220-228; Tanner 2000: 18-50.

[23] Platt 2006: 248-249.

[24] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 66; Vollenweider 1955: 98; 1972-1974: 232; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 17.

[25] The subject of patron – client relationship in ancient Rome has been already much discussed, see for instance: Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980: 42-77; Saller 1982.

[26] For the statues of Pompey the Great erected in Roman provinces, see: Kopij 2017: 237-238. For the statues of Augustus erected in provinces, see: Hannestad 1988: 49.

[27] Yarrow 2018: 39.

definition were used to transfer not only material value, but also various qualities including *auctoritas*. Gems set in family rings definitely helped to build a positive image for the propagandist since they were objects testifying to his legitimacy to act as successor to his great ancestors. These two activities based on the use of inherited name and authority should be considered agitation and integration propaganda in one. They were intended to raise the authority of a propagandist through his claim to some special inherited qualities (usually his name, but also divine protection or nobility). At the same time, gems helped to unite the followers of the propagandist's predecessor so that he could advertise himself as a new political leader of a faction. The most common technique used in this respect is the *transfer device*.

5.1.8. Promotion of family and oneself through origo

The next popular subject of Roman propaganda is promotion of family and sometimes specific family members as well as promotion of oneself by demonstration of noble *origo*. This mechanism was deeply anchored in Italic tradition and the Romans paid great attention to the cult of ancestors as well as of legendary founders of their families, cities and the state.[28] It is not surprising then that official and private art was very much concerned with this issue. Promotion of family history was performed for example through literature which includes descriptions of family legends such as Julius Caesar's relationship with Venus or Octavian's with Apollo.[29] Since c. 200 BC coins gradually became a platform for promotion of familial subjects. There are many motifs alluding to the legendary founders of specific *gentes* reflecting their relationships with deities, for example Vulcan with *gens* Caecilia and Ulysses with *gens* Mamilia.[30] This was especially popular in the 1st century BC among upstart families like the Julii Caesares, the Memmii of the Galria tribe, the Mamilii and the Marci.[31] However, divine nature was not the only way to promote a family. The *Triumviri monetales* of some *gentes* tended to put images on coins that were related to their legendary ancestors, for instance members of the *gentes* Aemilia and Servilia.[32] The studies performed by some scholars encourage us to look for familial subjects on intaglios and cameos alike and to check whether they could be related to propaganda or were simply family heirlooms.[33] Perhaps the same phenomenon occurred on gems as on coins as suggested by Vollenweider.[34] Henig has made an interesting remark about the use of gems bearing an image of a famous predecessor in order to raise one's own authority.[35] This transfer of authority is clearly a form of propaganda technique called *transfer device*. Finally, the last form of family propaganda is the promotion of successors, a mechanism well-known from the studies of Roman coins and sculpture of Augustan times.[36] The same mechanism can be traced on engraved gems, especially, as far as the successors of Augustus are concerned. Promotion of family is a complex matter and is a form of agitation and integration propaganda. The main purpose was to send a positive message to society about one's *origo* or to transfer authority from a predecessor onto a propagandist. This action was intended to integrate his supporters by raising his authority and strengthening his legitimacy to rule. Promotion of new family members was also agitation propaganda aimed at gaining supporters for them.

5.1.9. Promotion of faction

The political scene of ancient Rome was very complex. It was driven by various political forces which today we would term parties, but back then they were called factions (*factiones*). There was firce rivalry between these groups, whether they were just two opposing sides (Optimates and Populares) or more numerous as after the assassination of Julius Caesar (Pompeians, Republicans and Caesarians).[37] In ancient literary sources one finds useful information relating to political life and these factions.[38] However, it is not so easy to find traces of their activities in visual arts.[39] The actions of well-known members of those political parties are sometimes difficult to identify because, for instance, everybody used the same range of symbolism or reference such as Neptune in the case of Sextus Pompey, Octavian and Mark Antony. It is debatable whether such symbolism was employed on coins. For instance, the view that head of Apollo served as a political sign of the Populares faction was accepted until Crawford rejected it.[40] In fact, engraved gems could offer one of a kind insight into the political allegiances in ancient Rome and related matters. This is due to the symbols and signs that might have been regarded as markers of political parties and factions. By definition, this kind of activity is integrational propaganda.[41] Political views could be expressed by a range of symbols which I aim to identify and describe in this study.

[28] Hekster 2015: 1-50; Kopij 2017: 65-66.
[29] Evans 1992: 4-6; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 447.
[30] Toso 2007: 41-43.
[31] Evans 1992: 31-32.
[32] Evans 1992: 27-29.
[33] About the former option, see for instance: *RRC*: 727-728. About the latter: Hansson 2005: 139.
[34] Vollenweider 1955: 103-104.
[35] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 66.
[36] Hekster 2015: 161-173; Kiss 1975.
[37] For some general studies on formation of political parties in ancient Rome, see: Brunt 1988; Crawford 1978; Gruen 1974; Syme 1939.
[38] Kopij 2017: 66-68; Morawiecki 2014.
[39] Zanker 1988: 62.
[40] *RRC*: 731-732.
[41] Gesztelyi 1982: 193-195; Lang 2012: 102-105; Vollenweider 1966: 18.

5.1.10. Commemoration

The next important area where engraved gems possibly functioned as propaganda means is the commemoration of military successes and other important events.[42] All the commemorative actions undertaken by Roman political leaders using visual arts are a form of agitation propaganda. They were intended to show capacity to rule, military prowess and other positive features that made a political leader an appealing figure predestined to get power and worth following. An exception to the rule is Augustus and his efforts oriented towards the promotion of peace and prosperity (*Pax Augusta* and *aurea aetas*). These actions were intended to build a positive climate within his empire which can be recognised as integration propaganda. As far as commemoration is concerned, engraved gems probably functioned on a more personal level than other branches of Roman art. For gems if gifted or distributed in any way were treated as private objects and were considered precious. Therefore, they are expected to create a special connection between a propagandist and recipient, who looking upon his ring would come back to the event this object commemorates. So gems were intended to bind him to the propagandist, not only to inform him about an event.

5.1.11. Promotion of abstract ideas (*ordo rerum*, *Pax Augusta* and *aurea aetas*)

As has been explained in chapter 1, it is crucial for a propagandist to observe the audience, to be aware of its needs and desires and then to react by sending messages that properly address them. Towards the end of the Roman Republic, an increasing desire for peace is noticeable everywhere. Because engraved gems are strictly private objects, they are possibly the best material evidence for social moods since people tended to put on them symbolism and scenes related to their needs. In the third part of the book I present evidence for this behaviour. Furthermore, it seems that Roman political leaders answered the messages sent by ordinary people. Such a phenomenon should be seen as indirect propaganda because even though the impulse originates, for instance, from the imperial court of Augustus and transmits ideology (in this case issues of peace and prosperity), it had been adopted by artists and craftsmen and used completely unconsciously. The ultimate goal of every propagandist is to reach as many recipients as he can and in fact Augustus managed to drive his propaganda machinery so well that at these lower levels it almost did not require any action and effort from him. The mechanism then can be regarded as agitation and integration propaganda at the same time since, on the one hand, it broadcasted specific messages assuring people that they are governed by an always caring emperor. On the other hand, it welded them to him by creating a climate within which everyone could identify with the same values.

5.1.12. Religious, divine and mythological references

Propaganda, if conducted properly, touches every aspect of political, social and religious life. In ancient Rome, politics and religion were from the start closely connected.[43] The people of Rome regarded every military success as sanctioned by the gods and thus, individuals who wished to gain popularity and the support of others needed to refer to religion in their political language.[44] This is noticeable in various spheres like architecture, since victorious generals used to found new temples to their patron-deities, or coinage, which had been used for the promotion of legendary ancestors of a specific family.[45] Roman art exploited mythological scenes in a different way to the Greeks, tending to give them a didactic, moralistic, or at least, allegorical character.

Engraved gems advertised connections between an individual and a deity who usually played the role of his divine patron. This was sometimes extended to direct identification, but less formal allusions to the similarities between mythological figures and propagandist were also common practice. Another variety of this kind of propaganda was references to mythical or divine ancestors. Such activities are a form of agitation propaganda. The basic goal was to create a positive image, sanctioned by divine power and strengthened by its authority. This sort of propaganda was widely cultivated in ancient Rome because of the importance of religion in everyday life as well as due to the creation of a kind of hierarchy between deities, propagandists and people. A political leader became first an agent acting on behalf of gods and over time he was raised to the same level of his divine patrons, but his cult was more private in character. Intaglios and cameos illustrate those intimate connections because they circulated as private objects and were less limited by the rules of official art. Some scholars conclude that every mythological scene presented on Roman art-works might be more than just a beautiful image; there is always something behind it, a kind of symbolism or reference hidden behind the image which often relates to politics.[46] In her monumental work, Toso argues that a good number of 1st century BC engraved gems bearing scenes of these kinds should be interpreted through

[42] Lang 2012: 105-106.

[43] Beard, North and Price 1998: 134; Binder and Ehlich (eds) 1996; Morawiecki 1983: 13. See also a good case study of this phenomenon devoted to the figure of Publius Clodius Pulcher (ca. 93-52 BC) presented in: Kowalski 2004.

[44] For a general study of this phenomenon, see: Pollini 1990.

[45] Evans 1992.

[46] Beard, North and Price 1998: 114-210; Plantzos 1999: 95.

politics.[47] This attitude was one of the starting points for my critical analysis of the considerable amount of material presenting motifs related to mythology and religion. It has been challenged whether some of them had any political significance at all. But gems bearing such complex images might have been understood in many different ways by their users. Politics cannot t have been the only interpretation and in any case more private explanations do not exclude usefulness of such gems for politics.[48]

5.1.13. Political symbols

The political situation within the Roman Republic became gradually complicated towards the end of the 2nd century BC. The Celtic (121 BC) and Germanic (113-101 BC) threats as well as the Jugurthine War (111-104 BC) coincided with internal conflict between two the Populares and Optimates. Such conditions were difficult for ordinary people and they became even worse in the 1st century BC when the rivalry between various factions and political leaders became fiercer than ever before. Unstable politics resulted in economic difficulties and thus social moods descended to a low level.

Engraved gems were private objects, and many used them to express their desires and needs. This form of self-presentation is very typical of a peculiar class of intaglios that bear combinations of symbols. They started to be produced around the late 2nd century BC, and were at their most numerous in the second half of the 1st century BC.[49] This corresponds with the afore-mentioned political and social changes. During the imperial period (1st-3rd century AD) they were used to a lesser degree, often replaced by the so-called *grylloi*/*baskania* gems.[50]

The phenomenon of symbolic gems is complex. It is certainly unnecessary to be explained only in one specific way. Scholars often interpret those sorts of gems within their political context. Vollenweider related them to political events, mostly military victories of Rome over regions that it conquered. For instance, she suggests that the club of Heracles appears on gems due to the Roman victories over Philip V and Perseus, kings of Macedon, as it was a symbol of this land frequently used in the coinage issued by those rulers. Another example are vases and amphoras which may origin from the East and Rhodos in particular.[51] As Vollenweider and Sena Chiesa suggest, around 44 BC many symbolic gems were issued to accord with Julius Caesar's promotion of *ordo rerum* and other positive concepts related to his propaganda.[52] More recently, a similar view has been taken by Nardelli and Vitellozzi.[53] Gesztelyi claims that these symbolic gems were mostly produced for soldiers,[54] while Sena Chiesa links them to representatives of *nobilitas*.[55] These and many other scholars based their ideas on comparing gems and coins which indeed share the range of symbols used.[56]

In this study, I would like to propose a slightly different approach from the most popular one. In order to analyse their political significance and possible propagandistic value symbolic gems are thoroughly analysed in a wider context. Cases which have traditionally been interpreted as propagandistic are critically investigated and discussed alongside many other similar ones with special attention to the objects bearing inscriptions. To get a comprehensive and accurate picture, all configurations are examined not only those similar to coins. I should be able to clarify that only some configurations of symbols on gems were indeed have been related to politics, usually reflecting some of its aspects, while most were used for purely private (usually amuletic) purposes. This has been done for each period from the late 2nd century BC down to Augustus in order to show the way in which the process evolved as well as to illustrate the stages which relate to specific political leaders. If indeed intended as propaganda, symbolic gems would be expected to show signs of, for example, manifestation of loyalty and support, commemoration of important events and military successes or the promotion of abstract ideas. Therefore, they might be examples of both agitation and integration propaganda.

5.1.14. Luxury objects: State Cameos – carved vessels – works in the round

Many categories of archaeological artefacts can be regarded as relating to the mainstream of the Roman state policy and individual actions of policy makers in Rome. Architecture, sculpture, coins – all these include examples of objects bearing iconography expressing the ideas propagated by political leaders, as do luxury objects. Even garments dyed in the famous Tyrian purple were greatly prized in antiquity and in Rome, exclusively related to the imperial family.[57] Luxury arts were, by definition, a part of propaganda. They offered social distinction for the propagandists and confirmed their ability to govern. Because one could afford the

[47] Toso 2007.
[48] Henig 1994.
[49] Zazoff 1983: 301.
[50] About the *grylloi*/*baskania* gems, see, for instance: Gołyźniak 2017, nos. 540-572 (with useful literature on the subject); Lapatin 2011; Śliwa 2012; Weiß 2017.
[51] See her interpretations of individual gems in: Vollenweider 1979.
[52] Sena Chiesa 2012: 257; Vollenweider 1955: 100-101; 1970.
[53] Nardelli 2007: 265-266; Vitellozzi 2010: 101-102.
[54] Gesztelyi 1982: 193-195.
[55] Sena Chiesa 2012: 257.
[56] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 288 and 298; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 444; Plantzos 1999: 98-99; Ritter 1995: 73; Vollenweider 1966: 20-22.
[57] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, IX.60–65.

best pieces of jewellery, art, materials and so on, one seemed more powerful. Luxury art was also more likely to distinguish the propagandist from his peers not only because of the special forms and materials used, but also because they transmitted complex messages reserved only for a few well-educated people who would not be impressed otherwise. For these reasons many intaglios and cameos with high aesthetic value and artistic virtuosity were produced on the commissions of top Roman politicians and the imperial court of Augustus. Reading Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis* book 37, one has an impression that this section was composed by him specifically for the elite to demonstrate the high esteem for engraved gems within Roman society.[58] Engraved gemstones are by definition luxury objects, however, three classes of glyptic art products are particularly important since they combine the high esteem of the luxury goods and space for display of powerful propaganda communications. This combination makes State Cameos, carved vessels and works in the round perfect propaganda tools. All known examples of these three categories of luxury objects are presented and thoroughly discussed in the third part of the study in chapter 10.9 as they are virtually absent prior to Augustus' reign. Their propagandistic value is high and can be compared only with other masterpieces of Roman decorative art. They are forms of agitation propaganda since most of them emit powerful communications based on the idea of the unity of the imperial house. Although their influence seems limited at first glance due to their small number and relatively small group of recipients, they were intended to affect the most demanding people at the court of Augustus.

5.2. Problems with studying propaganda in ancient times with emphasis on engraved gems

There are many obstacles and difficulties in any study of Roman propaganda in general and its occurrence on engraved gems in particular. I have already described the basic definitions, forms, tools and techniques of propaganda in chapter 4. The reader might be not fully aware of some problems which investigation of such a complex phenomenon throws up. Therefore, in this chapter I elaborate on the difficulties that cause problems to the investigations and limit the studies. One of the most problematic issues is that the study is largely based on the analysis of iconography which by definition poses some theoretical and practical problems. Moreover, the analysed material is often controversial as far as dating, precise meaning and the functions of individual pieces is concerned. Finally, our knowledge of Roman society and how propaganda worked 2,000 years ago is only fragmentary. The limited sources do not make this research easy. One should be aware of these problems but not discouraged by them because, drawing a general picture of the various applications of glyptics in self-advertising and politics is possible and necessary to stimulate future discussions.

Intaglios, cameos and other products of glyptic art studied in this work bear various representations: from single symbols which are easy to interpret to complex, multi-figural scenes that hide whole narratives using a sophisticated language. A natural question then is whether one can properly decode and understand the meaning and reasons for which various iconographical elements appear on engraved gems? To tackle this problem, I have applied here the methodology based on Panofsky iconology and iconography analysis while being aware of its shortcomings.[59] However, the most influential methodology is the recent operating sequence created by Lorenz and the contribution of Hölscher to the visual aspect of Greek and Roman culture.[60] As a result, each engraved gem is treated here as an archaeological artefact and a work of art in one. All archaeological evidence available (material, form, style, provenance, provenience information and so on) is first analysed. Then, I proceed with iconographical analysis drawing on literary sources that might be related to the particular motif, art history and its repertoire, historical events that might be reflected on the specific object, allegories and symbols. This is followed by iconological analysis that puts the object into its historical, political, philosophical and socio-cultural context. Next, the decoding of its semiotics is addressed and finally the principles of image studies are applied. The ultimate goal is to answer the question why the analysed item has been created in its specific circumstances and if itscreation has anything in common with the current political situation, more precisely, various propaganda and social activities.

In the following sub-chapters, I am going to provide information about various problems and limitations that one encounters during the process described above. They span fromvery basic and perhaps quite obvious technical issues to very complex matters such as object's identity and cultural significance.

5.2.1. Basic (technical) problems

Most engraved gems have very small dimensions that usually do not exceed 1 or 2 centimetres. Sometimes they are even smaller, and this results in two basic difficulties. First, they must be analysed with the use of optical devices, ideally at first hand since it is very easy not to understand or notice some iconographical

[58] Yarrow 2017: 87.

[59] Panofsky 1971: 11-32. For criticism of Panofsky, see: Didi-Huberman 2004.

[60] Lorenz 2016; Hölscher 2018.

details. Second, the engraver usually had very limited space to work on, thus, the representations appearing upon gems are often abbreviated to a considerably degree. As a result, the abstracted motifs can be unidentifiable.[61] This leads to the basic question: could the potential recipients and users of propaganda gems indeed decode and understand the messages encoded on them? It seems so and other archaeological material (coins, for example) proves that an object's dimensions were not as problematic as we suspect today.

Related to this are techniques employed for engraving and styles usedby the artisans. The ultimate effect of engraving always largely depends on the skills of a gem's producer and the tools he uses. Sometimes the same subject approached by two different artists looks completely different on two stones, but still, their function and possible propagandistic value should be the same. It goes without saying that cursorily cut intaglios and cameos may have been wrongly interpreted and thus, some 'propaganda gems' were not only unintentionally omitted in this study, but also their message could have been unnoticed by their ancient recipients. Regarding styles, these can be misleading too since scholars, due to the lack of other, more objective criteria, often date gems according to their styles and traditions. There is also a great danger of overinterpreting a specific object because of its impressive stylistic features. The same hand could make good and bad gems and the reason usually was the money spent on the commission.[62] It is obvious that some top engravers worked only for the highest bids, but a propagandist, if he wanted to reach a larger audience would employ less skilful artisans too who could quickly produce propaganda gems in greater quantities. The conclusion is that depending on a target group, the propagandist chose whose services to use, but his actions could be a part of the same propaganda campaign. Finally, the gemstones themselves may also pose problems since some examples, like mottled jasper or rock crystal, make it difficult to read their iconography properly. Some help comes from their impressions but these are not always made. Often it is difficult or even impossible to be read and interpret glass gems apart from their impressions in plaster or other materials.

The next highly problematical issue that should be singled out here are post-classical copies of ancient engraved gems. From the Renaissance to the second half of the 19th century there was a high interest in engraved gems as collectors' objects.[63] This fascination, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, resulted in an increasing demand for ancient and post-classical gems. The number of the former was, of course, limited, therefore, many cutters excelled in imitating and paraphrasing ancient works which proved to be a profitable business. Some of them were so good at this that they were able to copy the subjects and styles of the ancient masters. Their techniques completely misled their customers and they could ask high prices. Even though scholarship made significant progress in this matter, still, it is not easy to distinguish a faithful modern copy of an antique intaglio or cameo from the original. Portrait gems are particularly vulnerable and in fact, sometimes it is even impossible to say if an object is genuine or not.[64] Publications of public and private collections are not free of errors even though they have been minutely studied by top specialists in the field of glyptics. For instance, only very recently two intaglios thought to have been original masterpieces signed by Gnaeus showing the heads of Cleopatra Selene and Mark Antony, turned out to be fakes created for Prince Stanislas Poniatowski in the 19th century (cf. cat. nos 9.1136-1137, Figures 675-676 respectively, and discussions on them in chapters 8.3.1, 9.3.2.2 and 9.5.1). Because only a portion of the material selected for this study could be examined at first hand, one must mostly rely on the information and findings of other scholars regarding individual objects and accurate descriptions and photographs of the images they bear. Of course, their judgments have been re-examined during the selection of the material. Some pieces that in light of new data available or reinterpretation are not considered ancient anymore, but used to be considered as propagandistic, are here revised. Naturally, I do not claim that this study is free of fake gems, but an effort has been made to limit their number as much as possible.

As mentioned, only part of the material selected for this book has been studied at first hand. The rest was examined through images either published online by the museums or in relevant catalogues. Unfortunately, the latter are often printed with small pictures of poor quality.[65] The increasing number of collections published online with high-resolution images is a welcome trend for glyptic studies in general. I have been using this source wherever possible to limit the possibility of misinterpretations. However, a considerable number of Roman Republican and Augustan gems that are the main subject of this book remains unpublished, especially in local Italian museums as well as in Rome itself. This may distort my investigations to some degree, but the general picture should not be severely

[61] Hansson 2005: 95.
[62] Plantzos 2002: 77.
[63] There is a number of literature dealing with this subject, therefore, we have brought here only the most important contributions where the reader will find much more expanded lists of useful books and articles: Zazoff and Zazoff 1983; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 264-305.
[64] On this matter, see: Hansson 2005: 31-33 and especially Gołyźniak 2020.
[65] Such a case is, for instance, a highly important publication of Aquileian gems by Sena Chiesa (1966).

affected since scholars have made a considerable effort to publish previously neglected material over the past decades (cf. chapter 2.1).

The archaeology of engraved gems is another problematic issue that should be mentioned here. Most of the material examined in this study consists of public and private collections usually created in the period spanning from the 16th to 19th century. Because of the above-mentioned high interest in the gems trade and collecting those days, 93% of them were acquired from the art market which they usually reached from uncontrolled excavations and looting (cf. table 2). As a result, most intaglios and cameos described and analysed here have little or no information on their provenance and context. The information about the places where those objects have been crafted or deposited has been lost. This also affects their dating and is a huge problem for my reconstruction of propaganda gems' production, distribution and circulation. Nevertheless, to tackle this problem I applied a specially designed methodology of the reconstruction of the contexts based on the analysis of the history of the art market for engraved gems from the 16th to 19th century and hence, some provenience information could be recovered (cf. chapter 11).

Finally, among technical issues is previous scholarship, which has been presented in chapter 2.1. Basically, the problem is with interpretations of individual objects that have not been recognised as propagandistic. The subject of political applications of engraved gems in the Roman Republic and under Augustus has been largely neglected. There is therefore always a danger of following the description and thus the point of view presented by the author of a collection catalogue or any other study which might be false, but since they had direct access to the object and one cannot control their judgment otherwise, they should be trusted.

5.2.2. Iconographical problems

The 'technical' problems of the study of propaganda gems are only the tip of the iceberg. Iconographical analysis of engraved gems and their subject-matter is even more problematic and challenging.[66] The fundamental question one must ask is whether or not one can read the iconography of the gems correctly. There are many difficulties in this starting from inaccurate deciphering of the symbols to incorrect identification of figures depicted in the figural scenes. Iconography is concerned with the description of works of arts (e.g. gems) and its function is to provide information for their further interpretation dating, authenticity and origin. It tells, for example, how a specific depiction or type of object was influenced by other cultural circles. It also brings to light political and social influences.[67]

Even if one can read iconography of the gems accurately, it is not that easy to imagine the multinational and cosmopolitan society of the Roman Republic and later Empire doing this too. It is recorded that people living in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin had different customs and could wear several rings on their fingers, while in the western (more romanised) part, this was considered inappropriate.[68] One can only make more or less educated guesses on this matter since a lack of hard data related to this problem complicates things. However, as Evans has proved, even if only a few members of a target group properly decoded the propagandist's messages and understood them correctly, the whole campaign would not have been in vain. They could further explain the meaning of these communications and spread the news since Roman culture was largely based on oral, rather than written communication.[69] It is estimated that only a small proportion of Roman citizens were literate, which at the first glance might be seen as a problem for spreading propaganda messages, but inscriptions on engraved gems are scarce so that one assumes their iconography, although often based on complex symbolism, was legible to their users.

I have already discussed the situation where it is almost impossible to attribute a motif to a specific propagandist. Similar to these are situations when a gem's iconography might have two or even more equally suitable meanings. For instance, Heracles on gems could be related to the propagandistic campaigns of several politicians , but on the other hand he might have been popular on gems due to his role in averting and fighting evil.[70] The sign of Capricorn about which there seems to be sufficient records for its political use in the times of Augustus in ancient literary sources and Roman art is still ambiguous when it appears on gems because it may stand for the astrological sign and be related to someone's private horoscope or a military emblem for a legionary.[71] In many instances it is impossible to determine a single correct interpretation of a motif because each visual representation usually had more than one meaning and role which depended on the intention of its commissioner, creator or user.[72] Therefore, even if a suggestion for possible political application of a specific object is made here, it is only optional and perhaps other scholars will find other explanations more plausible. There is much space for speculation and because ancient literary sources

[66] Guiraud 1996: 127.

[67] Panofsky 1971: 14-15.
[68] Marshman 2015: 32-35.
[69] Evans 1992: 6-7.
[70] Toso 2007: 193.
[71] Vollenweider 1979: XXI.
[72] Sagiv 2018: 20; Sena Chiesa 2012: 259.

deliver limited information and evidence for the application of engraved gems in politics, considering them as useful propaganda tools should be at least taken into account and investigated, not dismissed out of hand. For engraved gems due to their devices belong to a more holistic image of Roman visual art that as Hölscher specifies, reflected ancient lifestyles and was used as a communication platform.[73]

Our understanding of the iconography might often be completely different (including wrong) from the one presented by ancient people because we are unable to reconstruct the exact circumstances in which archaeological artefacts were used.[74] Moreover, in many cases it is even difficult to imagine why a user utilised a gem with a specific device engraved upon it.[75] The context is often crucial to understanding the nature and function of the object because the images appearing on gems, apart from their artistic value, usually had a deep meaning, while the iconographical analysis may be not enough to uncover it.[76] In the case of engraved gems, the absence of this cultural and historic context is particularly troublesome, but at least it does not entirely exclude the possible political significance of some gems.[77]

Concerning iconography, the analysis of portraits on engraved gems proves particularly frustrating. Extraordinarily cut cameos with male and female portraits are far easier to attribute than regular intaglios repeating the same subject. The first are often supposed to be produced for the imperial family or the highest society. Due to the fact that a number of people (especially women) wanted to present themselves with the same coiffure as the great Roman matrons or empresses, the risk for incorrect identification of the portrayed person is high. If the facial or any other portrait's features are not distinctive enough, it is extremely difficult to attribute a portrait to a particular person and classify it as a private or official one.[78] One more problem related to portraits is their reception. Sometimes it is hard to establish whether a portrait of a famous politician was cut when he was alive or maybe his successor commissioned such pieces to commemorate his predecessor and to transfer his authority onto himself. This seems to be the case for several portraits of Pompey the Great the production of which was possibly encouraged by his son Sextus Pompey (cf. chapter 9.1.4) and those of Julius Caesar that were perhaps cut after his death by the order of Octavian or his supporters (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1).[79]

It seems helpful in some cases to trace the whole history of a specific motif to discover when and why it was given a new, special (political) meaning. A good example of that is the motif of Aeneas running out of Troy with his father Anchises and son Iulus, the popularity of which from the 3rd century BC until Augustus' reign derived from general preferences of the Romans who tended to choose subjects related to the history of their empire. However, in the times of Augustus, the motif is vigorously promoted as relating to the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the emperor himself (cf. chapter 10.7). There are many other examples like this and usually they can be detected if their political allegiances are confirmed in other branches of art. It is relatively easy to ascribe political meaning to a subject which appears at a specific moment, usually marked by a significant historical event (cf. chapter 10.7).

5.2.3. Iconological, conceptual and interpretational problems

The frequent lack of any archaeological context in the case of engraved gems makes studying them extremely difficult. This is a serious problem from the iconological point of view because in our decoding of the symbols and iconographical elements presented upon gems as works of art so much depends on what we know about the gems as objects in use and the environment in which they were created.[80] The content of gems as works of art arose from the cultural, political and philosophical circumstances they were created in. It is difficult to re-create these if an object is analysed in separation from its peers. However, thanks to considerable efforts of many scholars, the general chronological, cultural and historical framework for Roman Republican and Augustan gems is established (cf. chapter 2.1). Therefore, from a technological, artistic and iconological points of view, it is not as problematic as it might seem to place 'propaganda gems' among other glyptic products of those periods. In fact, as observed by Lapatin, artworks were rarely valued by the ancients only for technical, stylistic and aesthetic reasons, but most importantly for their ability to encompass political, cultural and religious agendas.[81]

Furthermore, it is essential to confront the depictions presented on gems with a wider spectrum of art (Roman Republican and Augustan in the case of this study) in order to elucidate their possible meanings.[82] I believe that contextualisation of the images selected for the study in their historical context is possible even in a period of such great political instability as the Late Roman Republic. There is not one single way, the right

[73] Hölscher 2011: 140.
[74] Bugaj 2012: 890.
[75] Sagiv 2018: 162-163.
[76] Bonner 1908: 407.
[77] Sagiv 2018: 19.
[78] Guiraud 1996: 123-124.
[79] This issue has been touched by Kopij 2017: 257-264 and Trunk 2008.
[80] Lorenz 2018: 20-21.
[81] Lapatin 2010: 253.
[82] Such a method was successfully applied by Lorenz in her three case studies, see the results: 2016: 89-92.

way, of analysing and interpreting pictures appearing on them; thus, explanations referring to politics should be treated as feasible and tested which is the very basis for the whole study presented in this work.[83] The fact that there is so much surviving literary testimony regarding the choice of image and the associated meaning for the signet rings of Rome's political leaders, which is often of a political nature, suggests that these images were readily recognisable among the Roman elite and perhaps even beyond.[84]

Regarding other iconological problems, much has already been said about the potential lack of comprehension of political messages encoded on gems due to the cultural variety among citizens of the Roman Empire. One cannot be sure if they were understandable for everyone and if the symbolism used in Italy worked in Asia Minor and other places too.[85] However, as has been proved in chapter 11, 'propaganda gems' were probably initially produced and distributed only within Italy and only later transferred beyond it by soldiers, merchants and other users, which suggests that the propagandists would have taken this problem into account.

Another problem is that although we may seem to understand the iconography of a specific work of art today, it may include some details adopted from different cultural circles which escape our notice.[86] As a result, our understanding is biased to the things we know and understand but it might be far from the truth. Therefore, sometimes a complete understanding of a work of art and consequently the propagandistic message encoded on it is impossible, but a full iconological analysis helps to overcome this problem.[87] Moreover, it is equally difficult to measure whether today we may properly judge the effectiveness of the symbolism used by propagandists in the past according to our current knowledge.[88] Nevertheless, ancient literary sources and our observations of propaganda mechanisms in other branches of art allow us to widen our knowledge in this respect and limit the risk of drawing incorrect conclusions.

Regarding semiotics, there is some danger that today, we cannot properly decipher interactions between symbols and figures and their arrangement within the composition appearing on gems since all those elements may communicate specific thematic messages. Moreover, it is not easy to identify the creators of the messages communicated through works of art.[89] It seems crucial to establish with whom we should associate a specific motif. Because only very few gems bear any kind of inscription (which is usually of no use for identification of the subject with a specific politician), and the representations themselves are often ambiguous because their cultural and historical contexts escape us today, it seems almost impossible to fulfil this task unless one draws conclusions from comparison of an object with different media like coins, descriptions in literature and so on.[90] But sometimes even such comparisons are of little use. For instance, one of the most common device for the 1st century BC gems – the head of Apollo - appears on coins minted by Sulla and thus, researchers tend to link this motif with the Optimates.[91] Nevertheless, Julius Caesar also highlighted his relationship with the god and Octavian and Mark Antony did the same after his death. So, the image could be suitable for the faction of Populares and Caesarians alike.[92] However, as shown in chapter 8, statistical analysis of a single motif can help to determine whether there are any concentrations of its use at certain points of time which can be further linked with specific propagandists. Another question is whether one can discover true intentions of a propagandist who issued propaganda gems. In many instances, we cannot be entirely sure if he meant just to praise himself for his military victory, to commemorate it, elevate his personal status or there was something more than meets the eye behind a specific depiction. Among other problematical issues, it appears difficult to establish whether a message was meant to reach a specific target group or was for everyone because it is never altogether clear whether some representations on gems in general were intended for specific groups of people.[93]

As for image studies, a problem is the application of engraved gems for more than one task which suggests many viewing points for one object. An intaglio may serve as a seal and thus be very practical, but it works well for personal adornment at the same time and as evidenced from literary sources, intaglios were applied

[83] On the problem of multiple explanations of images presented in art in general, see: Lorenz 2016.Concerning ancient art and importance of visual images in proper reconstruction of either general social phenomena and individual events and private actions, see, the recent, highly important, contribution of Hölscher (2018).

[84] Yarrow 2017: 87.

[85] The 'cultural atmosphere' of various populations living in the Roman Empire must have differ each other to a considerable degree. That 'atmosphere' is one of the core elements of iconological analysis and may affect its results, see: Loraenz 2016: 99-100.

[86] Panofsky 1971: 17-18.

[87] Lorenz 2016: 100.

[88] Schramm 1954. Hölscher raises this issue as one of the fundamental problems in approaching coins and their images. For a modern researcher can deduce the meanings of individual pieces when he looks at whole cross-referenced series of Roman denari minted by the same moneyer or a group of moneyers. However, the question is if a single issue and its propagandistic message could e decoded by an individual Roman as he might have been uncapable of realising its proper meaning and significance (Hölscher 2018: 318-320).

[89] Lorenz 2016: 105.

[90] Sagiv 2018: 19-20.

[91] Barcaro 2008/2009: 16-17.

[92] Barcaro 2008/2009: 18-19 and 29.

[93] On a problem of recipients' identification in general, see: Lorenz 2016: 105-106. See also: Sagiv 2018: 19-20.

even for abstract situations like the one where Pompey the Great put his seal on the swords of his soldiers to stop their quarrels while in Sicily.[94] There is a risk that today, we cannot reconstruct all the applications of glyptic artefacts and accordingly all viewing points of their iconography. Besides, while investigating images decorating ancient artefacts, we create our own pictures of their applications based on well or poorly documented data sets available. They might be inaccurate;thus, our creations are often not as reliable as it is wished.[95] Nevertheless, this allows us to discover the potential applications of objects in many specific and precise conditions, in the case of gems, for instance, when used in a triumphal procession, as seals, amulets, jewellery, showpieces or vehicles for propaganda.[96]

Concerning the concept of propaganda itself, much more problematic is the capacity of that term and as a result, sometimes scholars wrongly apply the term propaganda to subjects that have nothing to do with it. In fact, following Zanker one may say that propaganda machinery had not been established at all under Augustus, but his 'cultural programme' and the actions aimed at promoting the emperor and his successes were a natural consequence of the ongoing political changes which succeeded in changing public thinking and re-shaping art.[97] It may seem that Zanker is rejecting the concept of propaganda in Roman times, but he is in fact only criticising its misuse.[98] Indeed, there is a great risk, especially if there is not enough data about the objects, to misinterpret them and ascribe political significance to them. It is a common practice in archaeology to make educated guesses about an object's functions. To better illustrate this problem, in this study I decided not only to describe all the propagandistic pieces for which I was able to prove their potential political usefulness, but also to comment on objects previously recognised as having political or propagandistic meaning but in fact lacking evidence for taking them as such. This is not a very common (cf. table 1), but I believe it to be absolutely necessary because the basic goal of the research is verification of the use of engraved gems for self-presentation and propaganda purposes, not just proving its existence.

The next conceptual problem I have encountered is deciding whether self-presentation through gems should be treated as a separate phenomenon or rather combined with propaganda. I believe that an evolutionary model can be proposed showing the gradual development of Roman propaganda on gems from early acts of self-presentation to complex propaganda campaigns. It is a fact that self-presentation was always an essential part of the latter; thus, I think both should be treated as interconnected and not separated.

Finally, I should highlight that overall, our understanding of the propaganda practices performed by the Romans is limited. One may be unable to decipher their meaning because a cultural context cannot be fully reconstructed. In many instances, propagandistic messages can be encoded through various allusions to heroic or mythical themes which were comprehensible to ancient people but are not clear today. Sometimes one notices cultural changes perhaps associated with political events which are reflected in art and thus identifies them successfully, but the number of motifs that one cannot identify, for instance as propagandistic, must be considerable.[99]

[94] Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 10.7.
[95] Lorenz 2016: 234-235.
[96] Hölscher supports such attempts making it very clear that studies of iconic documents and visual messages considerably supports efforts towards recreation of the environment in which monuments, artpieces and even utilitarian objects functioned (2018: 1-13).
[97] Zanker 1988: 2-4.
[98] Fulińska 2017: 63.
[99] Sena Chiesa 2012: 257.

Part III
Evidence

6. Beginnings (3rd-2nd centuries BC)

It is difficult to put the beginnings of advertising oneself through Roman Republican engraved gems and their other political applications into a precise chronological framework, let alone put a date to individual actions performed by their owners. The first use of intaglios and cameos for political reasons, e.g. for propaganda, is traditionally associated with Lucius Cornelius Sulla (c. 138-78 BC).[1] This is indeed the first moment, attested by both archaeological and literary sources, when a Roman political leader deliberately used a propagandistic motif commemorating his victory over an opponent for his personal seal (cf. chapter 7.1.1). However, there is some evidence suggesting that the first occurrences of gems being used for self-promotion are much older. For example, Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus is said to have used a seal depicting Victory with a palm branch.[2] According to investigations on the private seals of prominent Roman politicians presented in the next chapters, it is evident that figures such as Barbatus chose the subjects for their seals because of their special relevance; they always commemorated important moments of their careers or praised their particular qualities (cf. chapters 7.1.1, 8.1.4, 8.2.3, 9.3.1.3 and 10.3). For this reason, Victory with a palm branch on Barbatus' seal was surely intentionally chosen to immortalise his victory over the Etruscans near Volterra in 298 BC. Pliny informing us about the first use of rings by Roman *nobiles* makes it explicit that about 305 BC rings (supposedly with gems) were used only by a few which makes them objects of social distinction and markers of a privileged class.[3] Before I present undoubted applications of intaglios and cameos for self-advertisement and propaganda in the 1st century BC, we should consider what factors contributed to the later frequent use of gems for these purposes. It is necessary to investigate whether there were any signs of such actions already in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.[4] For the development of gems' employment in propaganda can be described as an evolutionary model starting in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC to the fully-expanded machinery in Augustus' reign. In this chapter I focus on the analysis of possible sources for propaganda messages appearing on gems or actions performed through or with them in the period of the Middle and Late Roman Republic.

It has been a common practice to distinguish *etruscanising* and *hellenising* sub-types of Roman Republican gems, mostly due to their forms, styles and subject-matter.[5] However, more recent studies reveal the increasing importance of the central-Italic and south-Italic elements.[6] Local components were strongly influenced by the impulses coming from outside: Etruria from the north and Greece from the south and east. One of the links between all of them was self-presentation, a phenomenon practiced on gems by the Etruscans, Romans, Italics and Greeks alike. However, regional diversity is reflected not only in the abundance of styles and fashions performed by gem engravers throughout the 3rd and 2nd century BC,[7] but also applications of gems for activities that were unique for the afore-mentioned cultural elements. Bearing this in mind, but also trying to simplify the whole mechanism, I believe it is best to propose three basic traditions which in various ways made gems attractive propaganda tools in the Roman Republic and under Augustus: 1. Etruscan and Italic tradition involving aspects of self-presentation; 2. Hellenistic tradition mostly based on the royal activities but also introducing new forms of gems (cameos, cameo vessels, works in the round) and 3. Roman tradition basically promoting the state with its institutions and political leaders as well as families and their legendary origins and various

[1] See the discussion in chapter 7.1.1 and: Maderna-Lauter 1988: 444; Sena Chiesa 2012: 257; Strocka 2003; Toso 2007: 4, 16 and 222; Vollenweider 1955: 102; 1966: 17; 1972-1974: 30-31, 46-47 and 49-50; Zazoff 1983: 280.

[2] Richter 1971: 4. Noteworthy, although later (1st century AD) is the so-called 'Scipio Ring' originally found by antiquary Ennio Quirino Visconti (1751-1818) in 1780 in the family grave of the Scipios and now in the Beverly Collection in Alnwick Castle. It is not the ring used by Barbatus, but its design may recall the exact image appearing on the original ring used by him as it is Victory walking to the left with a palm branch and wreath in her hands, see: Scarisbrick, Boardman and Wagner 2016a, no. 166; 2019: 41-42. If the provenance information is credible, perhaps it is an evidence for the later members of the Scipio family alluding to their illustrious ancestor by using the same gem-device.

[3] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.6.

[4] See a brief discussion on this matter in: Maderna-Lauter 1988: 443-444.

[5] This traditional distinction was first proposed by Furtwängler (1900, vol. III: 212-299) who was followed by others: Fossing 1929: 43-72; Walters 1926: 110-122; Zazoff 1983: 260-305 (cf. chapter 2.1).

[6] In his book on *a globolo* gems, Hansson proved the importance of gem workshops operating in central and south Italy (2005) and Tassinari thinks that these workshops survived down to the 1st century BC, though they then created works of different kinds (2008: 266-270).

[7] On this, see the classification of Maaskant-Kleibrink (1978: 99-196) that should correlate to the typology of Zwierlein-Diehl (2007: 97-107).

customs. All three were intertwined during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and they ultimately merged into one system in the 1st century BC that indeed elevated many types of gems to the role of propaganda transmitters.[8]

6.1. Etruscan and Italic tradition (self-presentation)

The recent research on late Etruscan and Italic glyptics revealed much new data regarding the use of engraved gems in Italy at the turn of the 4th and 3rd century BC. It appears that one of the main reasons for carrying a finger ring with a specific device was self-presentation.[9] In fact, about 60% of Etruscan and *a globolo* scarabs fulfilled this particular function.[10] This activity, as understood here, focuses on expressing oneself in a positive way through specific images in order to identify with the virtues and ideas which were shared and appreciated by the community the individual belonged to. Taking a closer look, self-presentation is just one small step from propaganda, which also aims to present the propagandist in the best way possible, however, with a clear intention of influencing or making an impression on others. Self-presentation and propaganda are two very closely related communication techniques. Even though self-presentation covers many more aspects of the glyptic repertoire than propaganda, it is a source for self-presentation and personal branding that later became the most popular propaganda practices in use on gems. For this reason, it is necessary to comment briefly on self-presentation on gems practiced first by Etruscans and Italics that was later successfully adopted by the Romans.

Regarding late Etruscan-early Italic glyptics, Hansson distinguishes five basic areas of gems' devices relating to the concept of self-presentation: athleticism, hunting, warfare, banqueting (symposium) and religious acts (sacrificing).[11] Each of these subjects was meant to express a virtue, value or quality appreciated within the society the individual lived in. Therefore, representations of athletes at various activities like running, jumping, throwing the discus as well as cleaning the body and even standing by a *luterion* and washing hair or groups of chariot drivers if engraved upon the gemstones should be usually understood as a self-presentation practice (cat. nos 6.1-2, Figure 1).[12]

Physical training was a crucial preparatory stage for entering military service. For young males who wished to pursue such a career, it could be of importance to highlight their physical prowess by putting an image related to this virtue upon their ring. Such an act would reflect their talents.[13]

Another social activity related to the same quality is hunting. Both, Etruscan and *a globolo* scarabs are full of images related to this particular enterprise. It seems reserved for a few, since hunting played a central role in the social training of aristocratic youths, but the glyptic material yields less elaborate representations of hunters. Even simple devices showing hares, hounds or stags might refer to hunting as an activity involving cleverness, flair, physical strength and endurance (cat. nos 6.3-4, Figure 2). Understood as such, hunting images would have reflected those positive qualities of gems' owners.[14]

The subject-matters related to warfare, understood in a broad sense, are extremely popular on Etruscan and Italic scarabs. Representations of generic warriors and heroes who are often undistinguishable, unidentifiable Greek heroes (especially Achilles, Heracles and so on) as well as horse and chariot riders either represented as single figures, in pairs and other groups belong to this category (cat. nos 6.5-6, Figure 3). They would have been suitable for a young man entering his military career as well as for those proud of their military prowess and skills.[15] Moreover, those who served a particular military unit might have wanted to highlight being a part of it by using an image testifying that. On the other hand, Greek heroes could have served as examples to follow, especially for those young military men may have received gems with such a depiction upon entering military service.[16]

The next class of representations related to self-presentation is that referring to the world of the symposium. Satyrs and other members of Dionysus' *thiasos* as well as various winged creatures and depictions of Eros are not frequent, but still, may refer to the symposium as an activity performed by the aristocracy (cat. nos 6.7-8, Figure 4). Such a distinction and highlighting of social status would count as self-presentation. This category in particular informs us about the growing influence of the Greeks on the

[8] The situation in glyptics is consistent with the processes observed in other forms of Roman Republican art, see: Binachi Bandinelli 1988: 179.

[9] Hansson 2005: 130-135 where one finds a list of the previous scholarship dealing with this subject. The author plans to update, expand and republish his work in the near future which would be warmly welcomed.

[10] Torelli 2002.

[11] Hansson 2005: 134.

[12] In some cases, like a figure washing hair at a *luterion*, either male or female, another possibility is to interpret them as Peleus (due to the inscriptions often accompanying the images, see Gołyźniak 2017, no. 46) or Atalanta (see Hansson 2005: 130). Chariot riders falling of their vehicles might be Phaeton or Oinomaos and thus, such images can be interpreted as related to funeral practices and so the objects bearing them as amulets. These possibilities are evoked here to show that in glyptics one often cannot ascribe the only one specific function to a gem and interpretation of its iconography is in many instances vague and difficult. Nevertheless, these exceptions do not distort a general image based on analysis of hundreds of gems.

[13] Hansson 2005: 130-131.

[14] Hansson 2005: 131-132.

[15] Beazley 1920, no. 107; Henig 1970.

[16] Barbanera 1996; Hansson 2005: 132-133.

lifestyles and cultural practices of the people living in southern and central Italy.[17]

The last group of representations connected to expressing yourself are religious scenes of people engaged in sacrificing animals to the gods and performing other religious practices. These may refer to the priests, *haruspices*, augurs and other important religious offices that enjoyed widespread respect within society (cat. no. 6.9, Figure 5).[18] Since the status of these people was highly important, they wanted to mark it in some way, and it is presumed that carrying a ring with symbols of the augurate or any other religious office was reserved only for the few. This kind of self-presentation might have had some powerful consequences because once marked, a priest enjoyed privileges and special treatment among members of the society he lived in.

Hansson mentions one more group of representations that in my opinion counts as self-presentation. These are images showing male and female figures engaged in various activities that might be understood as their occupations and crafts. It is easy to imagine that a skilful potter, ironsmith or even a gem engraver was proud to present (maybe even himself directly) his occupation or profession upon a ring (cat. no. 6.10, Figure 6).[19] Just as with the groups mentioned above, here a link between real life and mythology is visible too since representations of Daedalus, the Argonauts or Vulcan at work were popular as well and might have referred to a craft in general as a form of important activity contributing to the development of the whole society. On the other hand, gems presenting such subjects served for self-advertisement.

The whole concept of self-presentation through gems had been adopted by the Romans from the Etruscans and Italics already in the 3rd century BC and was one of the most important mechanisms driving glyptic production also in the following centuries. Roman Republican glyptics is usually roughly dated to the 3rd-1st centuries BC and among gems manufactured in this period, one easily identifies the same thematic groups as distinguished above.[20] They refer to the same aspect of self-presentation as in the Etruscan and Italic material.

Regarding the world of sports and games, representations of athletes engaged in various kinds of activities reflecting the athletic virtues and physical prowess are common (cat. no. 6.11, Figure 7). Gems with such devices constitute a significant group and they surely were meant to be taken as self-presentation. In contrast to the Etruscan and Italic glyptics, mythic references in this category of gems are less frequent, though. Such heroes as Tydeus and Peleus, who used to be appreciated for their physical prowess and were thus linked with athletics, are not so popular anymore.[21] This is probably due to the advanced secularisation of this theme which was associated mainly with the human sphere in the 3rd to 1st centuries BC.

Hunting, so popular on Etruscan and Italic gems is also fairly common on Roman Republican gems. Likewise, basically two sub-categories can be distinguished: figural representations usually involving a hunter, his prey (birds, hares and so on) and companion like a hound or a sole animal study (stag, hound, hare etc.) which is a shortcut of the hunting motif in general (cat. no. 6.12, Figure 8). Among the mythical images related to this activity, depictions of Artemis with her stag or hound, and Actaeon devoured by his own dogs appear, but these subjects are less likely to be related to self-presentation.

Concerning warfare, the Romans adopted not only the whole concept of self-presentation through putting a warrior or heroic image upon their rings, but they also did so regarding hatched border decoration and stylistic elements.[22] This is especially true of the early 3rd century BC, however, the situation is much more complex from the late 3rd centuries BC onwards. The tradition of engraving gems with images of warriors, heroic warriors and identifiable Greek heroes continues down to the 1st century BC and even beyond (cat. nos 6.13-38, Figures 9-14).[23] The motivations for their use were in principle the same as the Etruscans and Italics. Greek heroes were regarded as *exempla virtutis* by gems' owners,[24] however, more emphasis is gradually put on the careers of individuals as well as on the praise of spectacular achievements. Pliny sheds some light on the reasons why Romans often chose this kind of iconography. In his *Natural History* he writes that 'Intercatia, whose father challenged Scipio Aemilianus, and was slain by him, was in the habit of using a signet with a representation of this combat engraved upon it.'[25] Gems presenting multi-figured compositions of warriors in combat could commemorate a particularly important duel or event related to the military career of a certain Roman, sometimes including mythological references (no. 6.26, Figure 12). The rarely occurring inscriptions help to determine objects' functions as well as their potential value in self-advertisement.

[17] Hansson 2005: 133.
[18] Hansson 2005: 134.
[19] Hansson 2005: 133-134.
[20] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 212-299; Zazoff 1983: 260-305; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 97-144.
[21] Compare: Hansson 2005: 130.
[22] See a detailed study of the late Etrusco-Italic and early Roman Republican ringstones in Martini 1971.
[23] See a discussion of this issue in: Sena Chiesa, Tassinari and Magni 2009: 122-123.
[24] Vitellozzi 2010, no. 43.
[25] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4.

The majority of inscriptions refer to gem sitter's name and apparently create a special bond between him and the figure represented upon the intaglio (cat. no. 6.37, Figure 13). This is self-presentation in the clearest way possible often combined with a comparison to a mythological or even divine patron. However, a sardonyx from Hannover engraved with an image of a naked warrior with a spear and shield, bears an inscription (EYTYKI – 'good luck!') that should be read as on the stone (cat. no. 6.24, Figure 14). It suggests that some of the gems in question were regarded as amulets bringing good luck in combat and war. Apart from these, in the period spanning from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BC, representations of horse riders were particularly common, and they possibly referred to self-presentation too, especially where the class of *equites* is concerned since only its members had the right to wear a gold signet ring and a representation of a horse rider upon such a ring was a synonym for equestrian status (cat. nos 6.39-58, Figures 15-16).[26] Some of the types might stem from Hellenistic culture, though and thus, their meaning remains obscure unless they reproduce, for instance, equestrian statues.[27]

To sum up, the whole phenomenon was gradually transformed into bolder private allusions and exploitation of these images changed its focus from the person represented on a gem to the one who carried it. As a result, in the course of the 1st century BC, many propagandists not only made references to specific mythological figures, but even identified with them (cf. chapters 7.1.5, 7.2.4, 8.1.9, 8.2.8, 9.1.7, 9.2.6, 9.3.1.8, 9.3.2.7 and 10.7). Like earlier Etruscan and Italic gems, Roman Republican ones bearing subjects related to warfare were used by those who served in particular units or who experienced brotherhood in arms. They might have wanted to exhibit their affiliation to such units which was a kind of proclamation of membership. It was later exploited by various political factions as it was a common habit to make public one's political affiliation during the 1st century Civil Wars (cf. chapters 8.1.5, 8.2.4, 8.2.6, 9.1.3, 9.1.5, 9.2.2, 9.2.4, 9.3.1.4, 9.3.1.6, 9.3.2.3, 9.3.2.5 and 10.4). Alongside all these motifs appear images that I identify as presenting Roman generals, imperators, dictators and high rank officers. These cannot be regarded as ordinary pieces just relating to self-presentation, but they are first manifestation of propaganda on gems and seem to be purely Roman creations. They are therefore discussed separately (cf. chapter 6.3.3). Finally, it should be kept in mind that in the period discussed, many depictions of warfare could have been used for different reasons than I have outlined above. For instance, Greek heroes were preferable on gems because they were legendary founders of numerous Italian cities, especially those located in the southern Italy.[28] It seems that a sort of local patriotism of the Romans might have contributed to the popularity of such images too. Some of them also were used as family symbols (cf. chapters 6.3.1, 7.4.2 and 8.3.3). Overall, a general observation is that there are many more representations of Greek heroes and warriors on Roman Republican gems than before because Roman society was much more militarised than the Etruscan and Italic ones.[29]

Subjects referring to banqueting (symposium) constituted a significant group in Roman Republican glyptics. Depictions of satyrs, maenads, Dionysus, Eros – all of them are present in large quantities but should not be regarded as only related to self-presentation (cat. nos 6.59-60, Figure 17). Perhaps some of them were still seen as markers of high social status, but in fact, Roman culture was much more exposed to the Hellenistic influences and thus, the great popularity of dionysiac subjects may be explained as a reflection of that process. Moreover, these kinds of gems, surviving in great quantities, must have been used by the masses, not by a few, so their potential application to self-presentation was much weaker than before. Generic and dionysiac scenes had been especially popular in the 1st century BC also due to the particular political and cultural significance which will be further discussed (cf. chapter 10.8).

Religious acts such as sacrificing, rituals as well as symbols referring to religious offices are also present in Roman Republican glyptics. It goes without saying that these subjects were borrowed from Etruscans and Italics, but in some cases of the 1st century BC, it might be argued that they were produced for specific political leaders, especially if augural symbols are considered (cat. no. 6.61, Figure 18).[30] Among the Roman Republican gems produced in the 3rd and 2nd century BC one finds several outstanding subjects. First of all, there are gems showing busts or heads of priests. In Berlin there is a brown glass gem presenting a pair of busts of priests with *apices* on the heads which is dated around 100 BC (cat. no. 6.62). Other glass gems show only one bust of an augur and are kept in a private collection and in Aquileia (cat. nos 6.63-64). A nicolo stone with an image of a Roman priest to the right wearing the *tutulus*, a close-fitting round cap, tied under the chin with strings (*offendices*) is preserved in London (cat. no. 6.66) and another nicolo in Udine features the same subject (cat. no. 6.65). There are also known some gems presenting priests in figural forms such as a sardonyx in Berlin engraved with an augur who steps to the left holding

[26] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.4.

[27] See a discussion on this issue in: Sena Chiesa, Tassinari and Magni 2009: 125-126.

[28] For instance, Ulysses was said to have founded at least ten cities in Italy, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 113.

[29] Compare: Hansson 2005: 132.

[30] See also a similar example found in Silchester, Britain: Henig 2007, no. 410.

a *lituus* in his hands (cat. no. 6.67) or a prase showing a haruspex performing a ritual in St. Petersburg (cat. no. 6.68). All these gems confirm special social status of their sitters and could be used for self-presentation. This is indicated by the presence of such gems on later bronze statues. For instance, Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples preserves an outstanding bronze statue of emperor Tiberius depicted as chief priest of Rome wearing a veil over his head and a ring on his finger with a *lituus* engraved upon it.[31] Another statue equipped with a ring with augural symbols is that of Augustus as a rider found in Cumae.[32] These statues give us context for the use of gems with augural symbols. It is clear that they were used by the most important personalities in the history of Rome, so it seems reasonable to believe that they represented the special status of their owners in earlier times as well. Otherwise, they were simply tokens of their profession or employed for family propaganda (cf. chapter 6.3.1).

A peculiar group of intaglios are those depicting Roman generals and other officials performing rituals and various religious practices (offerings) as a part of war preparations or victory celebrations. For instance, in Pavia there is a nicolo presenting a victorious Roman general with two of his companions about to sacrifice a bull on an altar in front of them (cat. no. 6.69). Another interesting piece is in Paris and shows a Roman soldier or general sacrificing a bull to the god Mars standing to his left (cat. no. 6.70). Vollenweider suggested that this carnelian might have been related to the wars that Rome conducted in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC during the conquest of Italy and beyond.[33] A highly interesting motif is that of a Samnite warrior making an offering (*ver sacrum*) with a bull before or after a battle with two other warriors in the field. It exists on several gems and probably is related to sacrifice made during the second Punic War (cat. no. 6.71, Figure 19).[34] All those intaglios might have served as ritual objects, but it is tempting to perceive them as commemorating particularly important moments in Roman history, especially those related to the wars Rome was engaged in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Commemoration of such events was an essential part of all promotional practices of propagandists and even though not numerous, all the gems mentioned here have outstanding quality of engraving and complex subject-matter. It may be concluded that they were intended to be used among higher social classes who would both appreciate them and understand the messages encoded on them.

Finally, crafts and professions were well covered in the Roman Republican material and just as with Etruscan and Italic glyptics, intaglios presenting various occupations and people at work should be linked with self-presentation but not necessarily directly (cat. nos 6.72-73, Figure 20).[35]

Summing up, self-presentation through engraved gems was successfully adopted by the Romans and widely used in the 3rd-1st centuries BC. According to Hansson, political and religious life is conspicuously absent from the, at least, *a globolo* material.[36] This is due to the specific cultural and political context. *A globolo* gems, which in a very simplified way, can be described as Etrusco-Italic glyptic material produced between the late 4th and early 2nd centuries BC,[37] illustrate that in this period, glyptics was much concerned with individuals. Even though as Hansson says, some general trends existed, it was always up to individuals to decide what kind of image they identify with and are eager to carry upon their rings. At first glance, Roman glyptics experienced the same phenomenon in the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC. However, as shown above, the increasing number of military subjects, much stronger emphasis put on the gem owner and reflection of his particular merits, qualities and successes as well as the highlight of his special status within society was becoming more and more important as time passed. Ultimately, already in the 2nd century BC, but especially in the 1st century BC, politics had a much greater impact on gem devices than it had in the preceding centuries. Still, it can be said that while self-presentation through gems worked on a general level in the 3rd and 2nd centuries, in the course of the 1st century BC political leaders started to subordinate glyptic art to their personal goals, including propaganda campaigns. Glyptics was undergoing profound changes which are clearly noticeable not only in the repertoire of devices but also in their forms and scale of production (increasing number of glass gems, cameos, works in the round, vessels). Self-presentation borrowed from Etruscan and Italic glyptics was one of the pillars for those changes to occur. Multiple impulses originating from the Hellenistic culture that worked especially well in the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC for Roman elites were another.

6.2. Hellenistic influences

The second major source of inspiration for the Roman Republican gem engravers and politicians was Hellenistic culture. Like Etruscan and Italic glyptics, Hellenistic glyptics influenced Roman glyptic art to a considerable degree in terms of new forms (cameos,

[31] Inv. no. 5615. The statue was dedicated at Herculaneum's Theatre in AD 37 and was found there in the 18th century, see: Lapatin 2015: 6.
[32] Ergün 1999: 713, note 6.
[33] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 8.
[34] Berges 2002, no. 64; Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 243; Zazoff 1983: 294; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 121.
[35] See an interesting discussion of this matter in: Ambrosini 2014.
[36] Hansson 2005: 135.
[37] For a detailed information on this peculiar class of gems, see: Hansson 2005.

carved vessels, works in the round), practices (collecting, triumphal processions, royal patronage), styles, techniques and of course iconography. As has been proved by Hansson, Hellenistic archetypes started to mingle with glyptic production of the southern and central Italy as early as the mid-4th century BC.[38] Because the archaeological and cultural context for the Roman Republican gems is largely incomplete, it is difficult to point out which depictions and practices stem from Hellenistic traditions unless one tries to trace them according to the political motivations that might have been the reasons for their adoption by the Romans.[39]

6.2.1. Portraits

The first category of glyptic material that experienced a massive Hellenistic impact is intaglios and in a later phase also cameos with human portraits. Although Vollenweider identified some Etruscan and later Italic and Roman Republican independent traditions regarding gem portraiture,[40] it is a generally accepted view that the practice of putting an image of a living man upon a gem was a Greek invention that flourished in particular in the Hellenistic period (cat. nos 6.74-77, Figures 21-22).[41] From Alexander the Great down to Cleopatra VII a number of portrait gems had been produced and their functions are the subject of fierce debate.[42] These gems could have been used as personal seals of the rulers that commissioned them,[43] but there is evidence that they were exchanged in a form of diplomatic gifts. For instance, Lucius Licinius Lucullus was offered a gold ring with an emerald engraved with a portrait of King Ptolemy IX Soter II during an audience at his court in 86 or 85 BC.[44] According to Plutarch, Lucullus out of modesty, declined to accept the gift, but Ptolemy showed him that the engraving on it was a likeness of himself, so the Roman general accepted the gift wishing to make no offence to the king.[45] As Plantzos observes, the passage offers valuable information for our understanding of royal portraiture in glyptic. It was regarded as a great personal honour to be offered an intaglio with an image of a ruler. This privilege was reserved for the few and could not be simply rejected.[46] Furthermore, Gutzwiller argues that portrait gems were disseminated among royal supporters before coins.[47] Literary records suggest that gems with portraits were also used in order to manifest loyalty and support for a political leader. Polybius, when talking about the murder of Ptolemy IV by Agathokles and his followers mentions a certain Aristomenes who expressed his support to Agathokles by being the first who used to wear his image on a ring.[48] However, this phenomenon could have been double-sided. It is easy to imagine that it was a king who by giving a precious gift with his likeness engraved upon it (e.g. a ring with a gem) counted on loyalty of the gifted person.[49] The confirmation of that comes from Athenaios who states that in the days of confusion and anarchy preceding the advent of Mithridates in Athens, the peripatetic philosopher Athenion, who became a dictator in the city in 89/88 BC, and was an active member of the pro-Pontic party, was seen wearing Mithridates' portrait upon a ring.[50] It is not clear from this narrative whether it was Mithridates who used to gift gems with his own portraits to his supporters or they commissioned such objects on their own, but the former supposition is supported by the fact that Mithridates was a collector of gems and hired the best gem engravers to work at his court (cf. chapter 6.2.2 below).

The situations described above clearly show that engraved gems were used for political and propaganda purposes in the Hellenistic world. They were employed as the personal seals of the rulers, commemorated specific events and were the means of manifestation of loyalty and support. But above all, gems with portraits in the Hellenistic period were used for personal branding and contributed to the dissemination of the royal image among the people, even if these were only limited groups.[51] Besides, gems with portraits were exceptionally luxurious products testifying to the high social status and distinction of both their commissioners and receivers.[52] It seems this was the main reason why in the course of the 2nd centuries BC many Roman dignitaries and generals visiting the East during military campaigns followed Hellenistic

[38] Hansson 2005: 38-39

[39] Hellenistic art was certainly appealing to the Roman aristocracy which was another factor contributing to the relatively quick adaptation of Greek traditions (among others in glyptics), see: Binachi Bandinelli 1988: 179-180; Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 300 and 342-343; Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 32; Lang 2012: 40; Möbius 1964: 16-23.

[40] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 1-47.

[41] Megow 1987: 2; Möbius 1964: 14-19; Plantzos 1999: 42.

[42] Fulińska 2017; Plantzos 1999: 42-65.

[43] For instance, the famous Pyrgoteles cut a gem for Alexander the Great bearing the king's own image, see: Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 4.1; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4 and a broad commentary on this issue in Plantzos 1999: 60-62. However, according to literary sources some rulers preferred other subjects than their own likeness, for instance, Cleopatra VII used a ring with an image of Methe engraved on an amethyst, see: *Anthologia Palatina* IX.756; Neverov 2005: 189; Spier 1992, no. 180.

[44] Plantzos (1999: 111) and Zwierlein-Diehl (2007: 108) suggest the king to be Ptolemy IX Soter II, however, Lapatin (2015: 110) claims it was Ptolemy XI, but this could be the author's typo since that king ruled briefly in 80 BC.

[45] Plutarch, *Lif of Lucullus*, 3.1.

[46] Plantzos 1999: 111.

[47] Gutzwiller 1995: 389-390.

[48] Polybius, *Histories*, 15.31.8.

[49] Gross 2008: 13.

[50] Athenaios, *Deipnosophists*, 5.212d-e. See also: Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 13; Appian, *Mithridatica*, 28. On the political implications of the described event, see: Gross 2008: 13-15. Yarrow thinks that glass gems bearing the head of Mithridates were primarily used to manifest allegiance to the pro-Pontic party (2018: 39-40).

[51] Plantzos 1999: 111-112.

[52] For a more thorough discussion on this matter, see: Gross 2008: 13-14.

examples and started to have their portraits cut upon their rings. The superb quality of glyptic art and the prestige it gave was appealing for them. It is a common view that Etruscan art was quickly romanised by the aristocracy in Rome because it was top quality and allowed the user to stand out from others.[53] The same applies to Hellenistic art that greatly influenced the Roman, especially after the Second Punic War (218-201 BC) (cf. above). Again, the dominant role was played by the aristocracy for which Hellenistic standards offered far more possibilities for fulfilling their needs and desires for raising their own popularity and authority. At the end of the Second Punic War, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (236-183 BC) emerged as the most significant Roman general and political leader. After the battle at Zama in 202 BC, Scipio was welcomed back to Rome in triumph with the agnomen of *Africanus*. He refused the many honours which the people would have thrust upon him such as *consul for life* and *dictator*. Instead, in the year 199 BC, Scipio was elected censor and for some years afterwards he lived quietly and took no part in politics. Nevertheless, his position was strong and there were many who sought his support and wanted to assure him of their loyalty. A substantial number of engraved gems and rings make one think that way.

The famous gold ring found in Capua engraved with a portrait of a Roman, who has been recognised as Scipio Africanus (cat. no. 6.78, Figure 23) is the most significant glyptic object relating to the Roman general.[54] It is signed by a Greek artist, Herakleidas (ΑΚΑΕΙΔΑC ΕΠΟCI - Herakleidas made it) and is now preserved at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples.[55] The portrait is presented in an entirely Greek manner, however, the style and the serious physiognomy including the thin, close-lipped mouth, is closer to the verist representations of the Romans praising contemporary ideals of gravity and piety. This piece is a good example of the situation when the commissioner must have been a Roman, while the artist was a Greek previously working somewhere in the Hellenistic East.[56] It is a strange situation when the severe Roman standards are reflected upon an object that represents a major lapse in them since it must have been a precious, even boastful, item in character. We can only speculate if this ring once belonged to Scipio Africanus himself, but since the Romans adopted the same standards as Hellenistic rulers in patronising glyptic art and signed pieces seem to be direct commissions from the most wealthy and important people, such a possibility cannot be entirely rejected. One imagines that this was a mutually beneficial situation for the commissioner, who could boast of having his ring engraved by a famous artist, which brought him splendour, prestige and guaranteed him social distinction, and for the artist to claim one of his customers to be a prominent politician. The Herakleidas ring is dated c. 200 BC or slightly later and whether it indeed features a portrait of Scipio Africanus, it illustrates well the phenomenon of Hellenistic traditions in portraiture being developed by the Romans in glyptics.

In the case of Scipio Africanus his portraiture on gems appears to be not a single event, but a regular phenomenon. Vollenweider collected several glass gems that with greater or lesser probability portray the head of this famous Roman general (cat. nos 6.79-82). Several more can be added to this list (cat. nos 6.83-85, Figure 24).[57] Portraits on all these gems are similar to bronze coins minted in Canusium in the early 2nd century BC[58] as well as to the ring described above. Vollenweider pointed out two more rings which in her opinion present portraits of Scipio Africanus: a silver one now in London,[59] and iron one in Louvre Museum in Paris,[60] however, I think that considerable differences in both facial physiognomies and haircuts do not allow one to make such an attribution. In any case, except for one dark violet object in Berlin, all these gems are made of brown or yellowish-brown glass and have convex obverse sides, so they do indeed constitute a homogenous group. However, these portraits were not made from the same matrix and to my mind they exhibit differences in both facial features and coiffures. Therefore, it may seem speculative to regard them as portraits of Scipio Africanus, but the problems with their identification result from scanty comparative material and a range of skill on the part of the glass gems' makers. It is certainly problematic to accept that they all copy one image engraved by Herakleides as Vollenweider proposed.[61] Assuming that indeed these portrait gems were intended to represent Scipio Africanus, that they might have been produced for his followers who wanted to manifest their loyalty and commitment to him. Alternatively, some gem engravers took advantage of Scipio's popularity in Rome and produced those objects for the market since there was a considerable demand for them.[62] The six glass gems mentioned above probably were produced

[53] Binachi Bandinelli 1988: 179.

[54] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 215-116; Plantzos 1999: 92; Vollenweider 1958; 1972-1974: 57-58; Zazoff 1983: 269. However, as Lapatin states, some scholars are less willing to identify the person depicted with any specific historical figure (2015: 234).

[55] Inv. no. 25085. Lapatin 2015, pl. 47; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, no. 1; Ward *et al.* 1981, no. 56.

[56] Alas, except for his name and extraordinary skills nothing is known about Herakleidas. His name is not recorded in literary sources and none of his other works is known.

[57] It is speculated if a brown glass gem in Vienna bears a portrait of Scipio Africanus, however, as Zwierlein-Diehl points out (1979, no. 790), in this case, the long hair resembles that of Alexander the Great and there are some differences in facial features as well.

[58] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 57-58; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 790.

[59] Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 39.11.

[60] Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 39.12-13.

[61] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 59-60.

[62] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 60-61.

in Italy, possibly in Rome since they previously were parts of the Bergau, Fol and Stosch collections which were all created from the material originating from Italy (cf. chapter 11). The gem now in Athens could have been transferred there from Italy for instance by a Roman legionary. In conclusion, it is controversial to think that gems with portraits of Scipio Africanus were primarily used for the personal branding of that statesman. It is difficult to say whether Scipio indeed used the ring cut by Herakleides for his own promotion and commissioned it as there is no other evidence, either archaeological or literary, except for the ring itself. Nevertheless, the series of glass gems with his likeness must have resulted from his great popularity in Rome. It is possible that those gems were used for the manifestation of loyalty and support, especially among ordinary people rather than the aristocracy which would not have invested in cheap glass intaglios.

The portrait of Scipio Africanus cut by Herakleides is just one example, but in the course of the 2nd century BC personal branding on portrait gems was undertaken on a much larger scale. Furtwängler has pointed out that many representatives of Roman elites became fascinated by Greek culture and promoted themselves in a totally Hellenistic manner in glyptics.[63] The contact with Graeco-Hellenistic civilisation was a crucial factor for some Romans deciding to have their portrait cut upon a gemstone. A proof of that is a garnet intaglio in Paris presenting the bust of a Roman in profile to the right with short curly hair and slight beard dressed in a chlamys (cat. no. 6.86, Figure 25). The gem is signed by a Greek artist Daidalos (ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟC). The person depicted has been identified as Titus Quinctius Flamininus (c. 229-174 BC).[64] In the case of Scipio's ring the Roman verism was quite straightforward, but here, the portrait is a bit idealised; Titus is projected as a relatively young man and his likeness is closer to the images of Hellenistic kings, rather than serious and rough images of Roman generals.[65] In 197 BC he defeated Philipp V at Kynoskephalai which has been celebrated by several coin issues.[66] It is likely that the gem in question was made in order to celebrate and commemorate this victory. Regarding coins, they exhibit some differences in style, which means they must have been prepared by several coin-die cutters, but it has been observed that Flamininus' portraits from the gem and those coins were executed according to one concept – a combination of distinctive physiognomic features with an illustration of Titus' famous philhellenism.[67] Even though the work of Daidalos on stylistic grounds is entirely Hellenistic,[68] the individualisation of the portrait means that it was cut for the personal use of the commissioner, in this case most likely Flamininus himself. This is also confirmed by the fact that he wears no diadem or laurel wreath on his head on the intaglio to manifest his role as the saviour of the people ruled by a tyrant as Flamininus with his army was asked by Greek and Asian allies to intervene against Philip. If he had paraded around with such an intaglio on his hand, he must have made a great impression on his peers. Again, one deals with a situation when a propagandist wanted to possess an extraordinary item cut by a top artist available which ideally presents him and reflects his values - in this case, also his appreciation for the Hellenistic culture. It is clear that this gem was a powerful propaganda tool since only such an individual as Flamininus could have afforded it both economically and ideologically. The gem is utterly exceptional like his gold staters struck in Chalcis c. 196 BC because before Flamininus almost no living person had been depicted upon coins as that privilege was reserved for deities.[69] The gem was once a part of de Clercq and Count Boisgelin collections which encourages us to believe that it was cut in the East (Greece or Bithynia?), not in Rome.[70]

The third gem to provide evidence for increasing interest of the Romans in portraiture in glyptic art is a garnet intaglio in the collection of the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago (cat. no. 6.87).[71] Like the preceding gems, this one bears a portrait of a powerful Roman individual, who has traditionally been identified as Mark Antony,[72] however, this identification is incorrect. As Plantzos and Lapatin observe, this work is purely Hellenistic in terms of style. Besides, the gem's form and material (highly convex garnet) as well as the heavy, gold ring with a stepped bezel it is set into suggest dating it around 150 BC.[73] The piece is signed by a Greek artist Menophilos (ΜΕΝΟΦΙΛΟC ΕΠΟΙΕΙ) about whom nothing certain is known, but he is likely to have worked in Asia Minor or on Delos.[74] The portrait on the gem exhibits far-reaching individualisation reflected by strong jaw, sunken cheek, deeply cut mimic wrinkles, prominent nose and furrowed brow. His hair, although arranged freely is much shorter than on the previous two portraits. This illustrates the progressive adjustment of Greek engraving towards new Roman

[63] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 270-272.
[64] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 2 (with previous literature).
[65] Rambach 2018.
[66] *RRC*, no. 548 (stater of T. Quinticus Flamininus, 196 BC); Smith 1988: 128. For a detailed study of the coinage in question, see: Campana 2016.
[67] Plantzos 1999: 92; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 2; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 108.
[68] It is noteworthy that even the gemstone type employed here – garnet – is the most frequently used material for Hellenistic glyptics and especially as far as portraits are concerned.
[69] *RRC*, no. 548 (stater of T. Quinticus Flamininus, 196 BC).
[70] The core of the Louis de Clercq (1837-1901) collection of engraved gems and other antiquities was formed while he was in the Near East (mainly in Syria, Phoenicia, Mesopotamia and Cyprus), see: chapter 11, Ridder 1911 and a valuable discussion on this specific piece in: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 2.
[71] Inv. no. OIA29789.
[72] Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 136.1-2 and 6.
[73] Lapatin 2015: 245; Plantzos 1999: 94.
[74] Lapatin 2015: 245.

customers. The ring is said to have been found in Syria, and although this seems disputable,[75] beyond a shadow of doubt it is an eastern product. The identification of the portrayed person is indeed problematic, but the gem is another example of a work made for a prominent Roman (possibly a general, diplomat or statesman?) who wanted to promote himself by commissioning a piece of extraordinary jewellery for himself. He might have paraded himself with a work executed by one of the best gem engravers of his times which gave him splendour and prestige as well as confirming his distinctive social status.

There are several other gems that combine the Hellenistic manner of engraving and stylistic features with Roman Republican individualisation of the portrayed person, the so-called verism aimed at a deep reflection of his personality.[76] One such piece is a garnet intaglio from a private collection with a flat face engraved with a portrait of a man whose facial features and expression as well as the treatment of hair suggest him to be a Roman (cat. no. 6.88).[77] According to the style, this gem should be dated to the late 2nd or early 1st centuries BC. There are two interesting mottled jasper intaglios cut with images of the Romans that may be broadly dated from the late 3rd to the early 1st century BC.[78] The first one, housed in Berlin, is a double-faced scaraboid featuring a portrait of a sober and wrinkled man having short hair slightly receding at the temples and a Gorgoneion on the other side (cat. no. 6.89). Identification of this portrait appears particularly difficult. The Gorgoneion, as a single element, was usually employed on gems to avert all kinds of evil.[79] If combined with a portrait, it would have meant the gem to be a personal amulet of the person depicted. However, giving the fact that the man presented on the gem in question seems a quite exceptional person and the object itself belongs to a rare class of early Roman portrait intaglios, it may be that the gorgoneion emblem is a later addition. It does not seem likely that the sign has a political reference anyway unless it testifies to identification with Alexander the Great.[80] The second intaglio is now preserved in Paris and is also highly problematic in terms of the person's identification, but it has been generally accepted that it represents a Roman statesman (cat. no. 6.90). This portrait can be compared to another mottled jasper intaglio presenting Philetaerus of Pergamon (c. 343-263 BC) now in London,[81] and thus it is suggested that is was executed in Asia Minor.[82] Another noteworthy piece is a garnet intaglio set in an ancient gold ring also housed in Paris (cat. no. 6.91). According to Vollenweider, it may portray a Roman ambassador and should be dated around 200-180 BC.[83] It should be pointed out that this gem was a part of de Clercq and Count Boisgelin collections which suggests that it was indeed cut in the East (most likely Asia Minor), not in Rome. The next intriguing object is a bronze ring carrying a bust of a middle-aged man to the left also from the Paris collection (cat. no. 6.92).[84] It can be roughly dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC but in my opinion identification of the person depicted as a Roman is not entirely convincing.[85] Less problematic is a glass gem presenting a beardless Roman in profile to the right from London (cat. no. 6.93, Figure 26). The man wears a military cloak fibulated on the shoulder which suggests his role as a commander of the army. The object should be dated to the late 2nd or early 1st centuries BC and like other gems mentioned here, this one was meant to be used for personal branding, although, judging by the material used, it must have been made for a less prominent person. Finally, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston there are three intaglios of exceptional quality, executed in entirely a Hellenistic manner but portraying Romans (cat. nos 6.94-96, Figures 27-28). They all belong to the group described here and illustrate that the phenomenon of Roman portraits appearing on Hellenistic intaglios clearly intensified towards the 1st century BC.

In the course of the 1st century BC more and more Romans decided to have their portraits cut upon their rings and a general trend of adjusting the fashion of engraving towards the demands of these new customers is noticeable. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that all these evoked examples were purely Hellenistic creations. In most instances, the people presented on them cannot be identified but all of them are securely recognised as Romans who were generals and ambassadors visiting Asia Minor and

[75] Compare: Lapatin 2015: 245 and Plantzos 1999: 94.

[76] Smith suggests an interesting explanation to the verism of the sculptural portraits of the Romans executed by Greek artists who would have taken a sort of artistic revenge as they were resentful of the fact that their country had been subjected to Roman rule (1981). However, it is difficult to say if in the case of engraved gems the same motivations apply. Intaglios and cameos were private objects, not public ones, although, certainly publicly exibited when carried on a finger or employed for sealing. The relationship between a gem engraver and his patron seems to be particularly intimate, therefore, for example, Daidalos' work presenting Titus Quinticus Flamininus is cut accordingly to what a true philhellene would have expected (cf. above). Another interesting voice in the discussion on the so-called verism understood as a sort of hyper-realism in portraiture of the Roman Republic, yet, based on some specific canons is that of D'Ambra (1998: 26-29). It seems more applicable to the early Roman portraits in glyptics.

[77] Plantzos 1999, no. 612; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 53.1.

[78] Although, some researchers are not convinced to such an early date and proposed to place these two gems in the 1st century BC, see: Plantzos 1999: 93.

[79] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 223.

[80] See also a discussion on the famous intaglio presenting Medusa's head cut by Apollophanes and its potential relationship with Mithridates VI Eupator suggested by Vollenweider (chapter 8.1.3).

[81] Lapatin 2015: 244-245; Planztos 1999, no. 90; Walters 1926, no. 1184.

[82] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 1 (with earlier literature and discussion on portrait's identification).

[83] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 4.

[84] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 5.

[85] Compare the attribution proposed by Vollenweider in: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 5.

other regions of the Near East during their diplomatic missions or military campaigns. They are responsible for the gradual adoption of Hellenistic traditions. The situation observed in glyptics reflects an increasing domination of Roman *imperialism* over the Greek East and gradual overtaking of artists who found their new customers among Roman dignitaries.[86] Their commissions not only confirmed high social status, but also propagated successes and increased authority. This is confirmed by Pliny, who claimed that gold rings, which were regarded as special and informative of the exceptional status of their sitters within society, were worn by the Romans who visited the East.[87] This is portrayed in the heavy Hellenistic rings that some of the gems mentioned above are still mounted. Yet, one must stress that in Hellenistic glyptics (3rd-2nd centuries BC) portraits of rulers and queens were cut in much larger quantities than those of Romans because they were meant to be delivered to many recipients and hence, should be regarded as personal branding activities.[88] Only in the 1st century BC did portrait gems start to play a significant role in personal branding of the Romans. Earlier examples are not numerous which suggests that they were concerned with social distinction rather than the deliberate dissemination of the self-image among the wider audience.[89] An exception seems to be gems with the portrait of Scipio Africanus, however, I believe that their relatively high number results from an ephemeral enthusiasm for this highly popular Roman general which was a bottom-up initiative rather than the result of his own enterprise (e.g. propaganda).

6.2.2. Patronage

The material collected above proves that in the course of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC Romans became patrons to gem engravers. This phenomenon is best illustrated by the works of Herakleides, Daidalos and Menophilos who we know for sure worked for Roman customers. This is hardly surprising since a good number of Hellenistic kings and rulers used the services of gem engravers and some are even believed to establish court workshops operating exclusively for them. Typically, Alexander the Great, reserved the right of cutting his own portrait upon ringstones only to one artist - the famous Pyrgoteles.[90] The Ptolemies were keen patrons of glyptic art and employed such artists as Nikandros and Lykomedes.[91] The gem engraver Sosis is attested to have been working first in Alexandria and then in Syracuse and similarly, Theokritos is believed to have worked in Sicily.[92] The Seleucids also employed gem engravers at their court, for instance Apollonios worked for them.[93] Mithridates VI Eupator (120-61 BC), who was a great admirer and keen collector of engraved gems as well as vessels made of precious stones, is believed to have organised a gem workshop at his court. It is believed that Apollophanes, Solon, Protarhos and Gnaeus all worked for him before they departured to Rome.[94]

These facts make us aware that glyptics was an exclusive and luxurious art and only a few could afford to use the services of the best engravers. Moreover, already in the late 3rd century BC the Romans started to imitate Hellenistic kings in their patronage over this peculiar art form and those who did so must have been highly appreciated among their peers for it confirmed their financial capabilities and compared them to kings. The art of gem engraving and the highly personal subjects, e.g. their sitters' own portraits, were particularly appealing to ambitious Roman careerists. Naturally, their portraits lack of any attributes and are verist in terms of physiognomy and expression which was due to the values of modesty and piety obediently cherished by them, even though the art of gem engraving had little to do with those qualities at the time because of its luxurious character.[95] It is evident that at this stage, employment of glyptic art in the self-presentation and propaganda activities of those first Roman military and political leaders was contributing to their social distinction, while forms and messages were less significant. The fact that an individual was an art patron and decided to have his portrait cut upon his ring already gained him recognition because in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC this was still very rare, even exceptional. A side effect of this process was the increasing influence of Hellenistic glyptics on Roman, which is easily observable in Roman Republican gems' forms, styles and iconography (cf. chapter 6.2.5 below). Ultimately, the patronage of those few first Roman generals, diplomats and explorers of the East sparked a considerable phenomenon that resulted in the

[86] Sena Chiesa 1989.

[87] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.11-12. See also a commentary in: Isager 1998: 60.

[88] Plantzos 1999: 42.

[89] This goes in accordance with more general observations regarding rings and their status in Roman society. It is observed that there was an increasing importance of the material the rings were made from: iron through bronze and silver down to gold ones in the period of 3rd-1st centuries BC, see: Fourlas 1971: 76-77. In other words, the higher the status of the ring in Roman culture, the more important became the image engraved upon it. This ultimately results in the application of gems for political purposes.

[90] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4. See also a valuable commentary in: Gutzwiller 1995: 389-390; Rush 2012: 5.

[91] Plantzos 1999: 63.

[92] Plantzos 1999: 64.

[93] Plantzos 1999: 65.

[94] Regarding Apollophanes, see: Plantzos 1999: 88-89. Concerning Solon, see: Rush 2012: 57-58; Vollenweider 1966: 49; Zazoff 1983: 319-320. On Protarhos, see: Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 27; Tassinari 2008: 280. On Gnaeus as working for Mithradates VI Eupator, see: Tassinari 2008: 299. Besides, as convincingly argued by Gutzwiller, political imaginary appeared on signet rings and gems already in the late 4th century BC (1995: 390).

[95] Henig 1994: 153.

migration of Greek gem engravers from Alexandria and Asia Minor to Rome.[96]

6.2.3. Collecting

Another practice Roman elites adopted from Hellenistic kings was the collecting of engraved gems. Only very few could have afforded to spend vast sums of money on carved precious and semi-precious stones, therefore, in the Hellenistic world this kind of activity was reserved notably for the rulers and perhaps their wives. Mithridates VI Eupator is probably the most famous gem collector among Hellenistic kings, sometimes even recognised as the first one in the history.[97] He is said to have possessed two thousand engraved gems and vessels decorated with precious stones.[98] Moreover, his *dactyliotheca* was brought to Rome by Pompey the Great, exhibited during his triumph in 61 BC and ultimately dedicated to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill.[99] Similarly, Julius Caesar placed his six *dactyliothecae* in the Temple of Venus Genetrix on his Forum and one wonders if he exported some gems from the treasury of the Ptolemies while on his visit to Alexandria?[100] It is debatable if the Ptolemies indeed owned collections of engraved gems, even though the Alexandrian court appears a natural place for such cabinets.[101] As stated above, the Ptolemies, Seleucids and other Hellenistic kings employed top gem engravers at their courts, hence, it seems straightforwardly justified to think that at least a part of their production was kept in royal treasuries. A small proof for that is a record in Suetonius who informs us that even modest Octavian did not hesitate to take one precious object from the Ptolemies' treasury after the battle of Actium – a *murrhine* bowl.[102] Seleucus XII of Syria is reported to be a collector of gems on the basis of Pliny's record and the fact that he possessed books and manuscripts on engraved gemstones.[103] Apparently, some rulers enjoyed collecting and studying engraved gems as a hobby. For instance, Juba II was believed to have written a manuscript on gems and he was greatly appreciated by Pliny, even quoted by him in his *Historia Naturalis* book 37 devoted to gemstones.[104]

As will be described below (cf. chapters 8.1.2, 8.2.1, 8.3.1, 9.3.2 and 10.1), Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar, Marcellus – all of these prominent Romans owned gem cabinets that usually were based on the collections created earlier by Hellenistic kings. The ownership of a considerable set of engraved precious stones and vessels was appealing to the Romans as it guaranteed social distinction and therefore, they continued the Hellenistic tradition of collecting. Moreover, in the second half of the 1st century BC there is a dramatic rise in the production of glass gems which is possibly a result of either a considerable engagement of the Romans in political affairs or collecting of intaglios and cameos at the same time. However, as it will be shown, in the case of the famous *dactyliothecae* these assemblages not only raised the authority of their owners and confirmed high social status, but also could be used for clever propaganda moves if dedicated to the temples and thus, became goods serving a common cause of the people of Rome, at least theoretically.

6.2.4. Triumphs and processions

As far as glyptic art is concerned, there is one more royal practice of purely Hellenistic nature and origin that Romans have adopted. Engraved gems played a significant role in triumphs as recorded by ancient writers. Already Ptolemy II exhibited gems, vessels made of precious stones and other luxury objects encrusted with them in his famous procession in honour of Dionysus in the early 3rd century BC.[105] Pompey the Great followed his example. After his victory over Mithridates VI Eupator, in 61 BC he organised a triumph during which he exhibited gems and vessels taken over from the king of Pontus.[106] There is no direct proof for other Romans doing the same as Pompey. Exhibiting of gems during processions and triumphs added much splendour to the ruler or in the case of Pompey, a statesman and propagandist. It must have been influential since Pliny recorded this event in his book as a pivotal moment for mass-production of engraved gems in Rome.[107] Pompey not only initiated a fashion in Rome for possessing rings with engraved gems, but most importantly he made himself more recognisable and popular by exhibiting of the gems he brought to Rome as *spolia* of war so that the ancient writer immortalised his achievements in this respect.

6.2.5. Iconography, forms and style

Finally, the last matter in the discussion on the impact of Hellenistic glyptics on Roman Republican gems and their potential political applications are iconography, forms and styles native to the East and transplanted to Rome. This is a broad issue that deserves a separate

[96] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 300 and 342-343; Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 31-32; Lang 2012: 40; Möbius 1964; Vollenweider 1966.
[97] Plantzos 1999: 56; Vollenweider 1966: 16-18.
[98] Appian, *Mithridatica*, 115.
[99] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.11-12.
[100] Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 47. On the possible origins of Caesar's gem cabinets from the treasury of Ptolemies, see: Toso 2007: 4.
[101] For instance, Menes 2004: 18 claims that there is evidence that Ptolemies possessed gem collections, however, she does not present any proof for that.
[102] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 71.
[103] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.169; Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 23; Toso 2007: 4.
[104] Plantzos 1999: 10; Thoresen 2017: 163.
[105] Lapatin 2015: 117.
[106] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.6. See also a valuable commentary in: Isager 1991: 212-229.
[107] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.6.

study and because it is not closely related to the main concept of this work, I would like only to single out some basic points. Due to long-lasting presence of the Greeks in Sicily and southern Italy, Roman Republican gems were strongly influenced by their Greek counterparts since the very beginning.[108] One even points to a distinctive Hellenistic-Roman style in carving gemstones that flourished already in the 2nd century BC.[109] As has been proved above, over the 3rd and 2nd centuries the Romans were increasingly interested in promoting themselves through the portrait gems, employment of gem engravers, collecting etc. basically imitating the actions performed by Hellenistic kings. These beginnings of Roman patronage over Greek gem engravers resulted in their influx to Italy and consequently, the stimulation of local styles and traditions by the eastern ones. In the 1st century BC a good number of engravers transferred their business from the East to Rome.[110] Because of the Roman conquest of the East, many Hellenistic gems reached Rome and Italy either in the form of whole collections and individual pieces. Of course, this was not a single event, but a gradual process. Alongside this, some themes and ideas previously used specifically for Hellenistic intaglios and cameos also became popular in Italy. A good illustration of this process is the representation of a bust or head of Galene-Selene, which was widely popular on Hellenistic gems and it was due to Quintus Crepereius Rocus that the subject also become popular on Roman Republican gems as the moneyer employed it as his coin emblem.[111] As Crawford writes, the moneyer was connected with the Roman *negotiores* in the Greek East therefore the Galene-Selene subject as well as other marine ones used by him as control-marks are suitable for a person with such a background.[112] This example clearly shows the direct transfer of Hellenistic ideas and iconography to the Roman ground. There were many more Hellenistic themes that became widely popular on Roman Republican gems, especially bacchic and maritime themes.[113] Also in terms of composition and techniques, borrowings from Hellenistic glyptics are clear. For example, the three-quarter view from behind, naked busts of deities and mortal women and many more had been absorbed.[114] Finally, new forms such as cameos, carved vessels and small works in the round which were all Hellenistic inventions became popular especially under Augustus as will be presented below (cf. chapters 9.3.1.9, 9.3.2.9 and 10.9).[115]

6.3. Roman tradition (family symbols, personal branding, commemoration, state propaganda)

Two main external directions influencing the development of Roman Republican engraved gems in terms of their political applications have been discussed above. Both, Etrusco-Italic and Hellenistic cultures made a great impact on propagandistic actions performed by Roman statesmen especially self-advertisment and personal branding. However, the native Roman element was an important factor in the development of propaganda on gems too. Below is presented a survey of themes that in the course of time became inspirational for later propaganda messages appearing on gems or were directly transformed into such. It is combined with a critical evaluation of the ideas proposed by other scholars. Most of the examples date to the period of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC but some may span the early 1st century BC too. All of them appear to be not a regular production, which is well documented for the later 1st century BC, but they are rather first attempts and experiments. Most of the examples refer to self-presentation practices aimed at showing oneself in a positive way with the highlight of particular merits, values and virtues. Some of them refer to the commemoration of military victories and other important events as well as to personal branding. This sub-chapter also offers a discussion on a poorly researched issue of family promotion through symbolism on gems. Finally, some of the gems presented here touch a broader issue of state propaganda which links to the ideas of romanisation and Roman *imperialism* spreading throughout the Mediterranean basin.

6.3.1. Family symbols and references to familial stories on gems

Family symbols, either understood as single items or their configurations and narrative scenes referring to the history, stories or legends of specific *gentes* were commonly depicted on coins of the Roman Republic issued by *triumviri monetales*.[116] They used to promote themselves, their clan and its members in order to become more recognisable and raise authority by its transfer from legendary and historical ancestors. Such references made it clear that a person using them belonged to a small and distinctive community who often enjoyed special social status. Since engraved gems

[108] Henig 1994: 153.
[109] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 277-299; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 108-109 and 131-132; Zazoff 1983: 276-277; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 107.
[110] The most comprehensive study on this subject is still the book by Vollenweider 1966. However, many other authors contributed to our understanding of this complex phenomenon, for instance: Möbius 1964; Plantzos 1999: 83-84, 87-88 and 92-97; Sena Chiesa 1989 and 2013; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 109-119.
[111] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 342; Henig 2007: 3; Plantzos 1999: 89-90; *RRC*, nos. 399/1a-b (denarii of Q. Crepereius Rocus, 72 BC); Yarrow 2017: 87.
[112] *RRC*, nos. 399/1a-b (denarii of Q. Crepereius Rocus, 72 BC).
[113] For a more detailed discussion, see: Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 31-32; Planztos 1999: 95-96; Sena Chiesa 1989; Toso 2007: 5.
[114] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 342-343; Möbius 1964: 19-23.
[115] Megow 1987: 2; Möbius 1964: 14; Sena Chiesa 2012: 266-267 and 2013; Vollenweider 1966: 12-16; Zazoff 1983: 269; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 59-70 and 146-180.
[116] Brace 1979; Evans 1992: 28-29; Rakoczy 2006; Wiesman 1974: 159-160. For some literature on the family genealogy see also Zanker 1988: 374.

are strictly private objects, it seems natural to think that they should play the same or an even more important role in the display of family allegiances.[117] Already by the end of the 19th century Furtwängler noticed a great potential in comparisons made between gems and coins in terms of promotion of *gentes*.[118] However, a careful survey on the motifs that may refer to family propaganda on gems shows that overinterpretations are common and in fact to prove that promotion of the *gentes* and exhibition of membership to a specific family indeed occurred on gems is somewhat problematic. This is clearly noticeable in the case of the late Etrusco-Italic *a globolo* material as suggested by Hansson.[119]

We shall start investigations on the issue from analysis of the literary sources. They deliver some evidence supporting the view of the existence of family seals. One of the ancient writers who vaguely mentions them is Pliny the Elder. He does not inform when exactly Romans started to use rings with family seals or to make references to their ancestors with the use of gems, but as far as it can be judged from his *Natural History* book 37, this happened in the late 4th or early 3rd century BC.[120] Beyond the shadow of a doubt, family seals were important, and it was a great honour to carry them upon one's ring. They were passed from one generation to another.[121] As Valerius Maximus informs, young Lucius Scipio disgraced himself by coming to an election in a soiled toga and thus his relatives removed the ring with the head of his father Scipio Africanus from his hand.[122] It is clear that he inherited it, but even minor offences could be the cause of losing it which was considered a great shame and could literary ruin young Scipio's career. A family ring belonged to *pater familias* and was given to a successor or adopted son, like in the case of Julius Caesar and Octavian (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1).[123] Pliny suggests that after Augustus, all Roman emperors used as their official seal the ring with Augustus' portrait engraved upon a gem by Dioscurides.[124] Nevertheless, the record from Cassius Dio's *Historia Romana* on the seal of emperor Galba is of special importance here as well because when he became the emperor he still used his family ring with an image of a dog standing on a prow rather than the portrait of Augustus (cat. nos 6.97-98, Figure 29).[125]

Actually, this is the only one example recorded when it is clear that a ring device was employed as a family symbol, even though it seems to have been used by more than one family.[126] In any other cases, portraits of famous ancestors or deliberately created images were used to promote family through gems as in the case of Lucius Licinius Lucullus, Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar, Sextus Pompey and Augustus (cf. chapters 7.3.3, 8.1.6, 8.2.5, 9.1.4, 9.3.1.1, 9.3.1.5, 9.3.2.4 and 10.10). For this reason, it is extremely difficult to find any other family symbols employed in glyptics to be utterly convincing. Nevertheless, some attempts should be made and discussed as possible rather than completely ignored. Generally speaking, there are two categories of representations which could be of significance for family propaganda on gems. The first one consists of single symbols or their configurations. In coinage it was a common practice to form a kind of a symbolic rebus that would refer to the name of the issuer and his family. One wonders if in the case of engraved gems, the same phenomenon occurs. Some examples can be positively identified if compared to coins unless the symbols or scenes they bear have other precise and distinctive meaning in terms of glyptics, which is often the case. The second category encompasses various mythological and historical scenes so often appearing on intaglios. It is a well attested view to think that Roman *gentes* used highly sophisticated methods for their family promotion which often hides behind mythological and historical references.[127] As will be shown, it is difficult to detect and correctly identify those on gems because such themes might have served for different purposes as well. Yet, some positive results of my investigations are presented below. The earliest applications of gems for family and *origo* promotion date to the second half of the 2nd century BC and this is consistent with observations made by numismatists regarding Roman Republican coinage.[128] This correlation covers not only chronological framework, but also iconography and while comparing gems' and coins' devices one encounters some representations occurring in both media, probably at the same time.[129] This is particularly helpful for stating that not only political leaders of the main *factiones* used to promote themselves on gems but also the less prominent ones as well as whole families or their specific branches (cf. chapters 7.4.2 and 8.3.3).

[117] Barcaro 2008/2009: 6-7.
[118] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 277-279.
[119] Hansson 2005: 137-138.
[120] Particularly relevant to this discussion seems to be: Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.17. See also a commentary of Henig to this issue (2007: 1).
[121] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.27; Ergün 1999: 713-714; Gagetti 2011: 136-137.
[122] Valerius Maximus, III, 5.
[123] Gagetti 2001: 136-139 (also very useful for a general discussion on the issue of family seals); Vollenweider 1972-1974: 197-199; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 11-12.
[124] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4.
[125] Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, 51.3.7; Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 157-158; Jucker 1975.
[126] See discussion in: Vollenweider 1979, no. 442, who suggested the subject to be related to the Second Punic War and *gens* Lutatii Catulii.
[127] On this issue, see: Evans 1992; Smith 2006: 32-44; Toso 2007; Wiseman 1974.
[128] Rakoczy 2006: 21.
[129] Yarrow lists some examples of such situations in regard to coins and glass gems (2018). Her study proves a dramatic need for a thorough comparative analysis of coins and gems of the Roman Republic. However, this should by no means be limited to glass gems only and there could be multiple reasons for coins and gems sharing the same iconography, some of which are indicated in this book.

Regarding potential family symbols on gems dated to the 2nd century BC, the first group consist of individual symbols. The bull as a single motif exists on Roman Republican gems from at least 2nd century BC onwards and is usually understood as the astrological sign of *Taurus*.[130] However, a peculiar type seems to occur on some gems where the animal is charging with raised hooves (cat. no. 6.99, Figure 30). This design is mirrored on or from the denarius of L. Thorius Balbus issued in 105 BC (Figure 31).[131] Crawford as well as Campagnolo and Fallani argue that the motif may be a word-game corresponding to moneyer's name rather than a reference to Juno Sospita appearing on the obverse side, which would further suggest the gems with similar device were used by the members of *gens* Thoria.[132] However, the bull belonging to cattle may also be linked to the concept of Italy as a homeland and giving the year when the coin was minted it possibly recalls Roman common case facing the peril of the Cimbri invasion and Battle of Arausio where two Roman armies were destroyed.[133] Perhaps the gems and the coin combine both elements suggesting input of the family Thoria into the defence against the invaders.

The head of Diana of Ephesus appears on the denarii of the Aemilian family in the end of the 2nd century BC and is regarded as the emblem of that *gens*.[134] Perhaps some gems featuring the same motif were used as personal seals by the members of the Aemilian family, but there are no direct proofs for that (cat. nos 6.100-102, Figure 32). The fact that the head of Diana of Ephesus appears later on the coins issued by P. Accoleivs Lariscolus makes the hypothesis of taking her as Aemilian family's emblem even weaker and in some other cases her image suggests the particular coins were minted in Asia Minor.[135] Besides, according to some versions of mythological foundations of Rome, Aemylos, brother of Ascanius/Iulus was the eponymous ancestor of the patrician Aemilii but his images are absent in Roman Republican glyptics, or at least remain unidentifiable.[136]

The second type of representations that could be regarded as family emblems are figural scenes referring to mythology and legendary history of many *gentes*. A good number of historical, legendary, mythological and divine figures served Roman families as their ancestors or patrons at least. It seems justified to start this survey with Heracles who was said to have been ancestor primarily of the Fabia and Antonia as well as Potitia and Pinaria *gentes*.[137] According to legend, the Fabii claimed descent from Heracles, who visited Italy a generation before the Trojan War broke out, and from Evander, his host.[138] They were involved in the cult of Heracles and minted coins with his images.[139] They used to put the head of the hero on their early coin types,[140] while later his full figure engaged in various activities.[141] The Pinarii and Potitii were connected with Heracles' visit to Evander too, while the Antonii descended from a son of Heracles called Anton.[142] Full-figure studies of Heracles are common motifs on engraved gems in the Roman Republican period (cat. nos 6.103-107, Figure 33), whereas heads of the hero were especially popular in the 1st century BC (cat. nos 6.108-109, Figure 34a-b). At first glance there seem to be plenty of motifs that would be suitable for seals of families claiming descent from Heracles. However, there is little direct evidence to think that Heracles was indeed used as a family symbol on engraved gems prior to Mark Antony's references to his own legendary ancestry (cf. chapter 9.3.2.7). Heracles' popularity on gems in the Roman Republican period is due to many reasons. One of them is the fact that several place names in Italy were connected to his adventures.[143] Moreover, *vitulia* as a name for the Italian peninsula supposedly came into usage because Heracles chased a runaway bullock (*vitulus*) there.[144] It is reasonable to think that Heracles was regarded as a unifying symbol for the Romans and therefore, his cult was strong in Rome and beyond. Many Romans chose to have him engraved upon their rings seeking his blessing and protection. He was also appealing for young soldiers starting their military career. I did not find any example of a gem bearing Heracles that would be personalised enough to claim it could be used as a family seal. Even if one narrows one's research to one particular motif such as Heracles Musarum, which exists on both gems and coins alike,[145] it quickly turns out that gems and coins were merely inspirational to each other. It was not the same idea (e.g. family promotion) shared but the same source of inspiration that unifies those two categories of archaeological artefacts (cf. chapter 13). Heracles Musarum on coins refers to the moneyer's name making his issue easily recognisable and thus private, but the same scheme does not work in the case

[130] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 269; Sagiv 2018: 44.
[131] *RRC*, no. 316/1 (denarius of L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC).
[132] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 130; *RRC*, no. 316/1 and p. 719 for additional commentary.
[133] On the significance of cattle on gems as symbols of Italy and other possible meanings, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 262.
[134] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 202. However, Evans is of the opinion that *gens* Aemilia did not use images of their legendary ancestors but instead they promoted generals from their line (1992: 27).
[135] *RRC*, no. 486/1.
[136] Evans 1992: 26-27; Wiesman 1974: 153. See also other possibilities presented by Smith (2006: 35-36).
[137] Smith 2006: 36-38; Wiesman 1974: 154.
[138] Ovid, *Fasti*, II.237; Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*, 1.
[139] Evans 1992: 30.
[140] *RRC*, nos. 265/3 (quadrans of Q. Fabius Maximus, 127 BC) and 273/2 (quadrans of Q. Fabius Labeo, 124 BC).
[141] Evans 1992: 59-63.
[142] Smith 2006: 40; Wiesman 1974: 154.
[143] Hansson 2005: 98-99.
[144] Wiesman 1995: 39.
[145] The most famous representation of Heracles Musarum on gems is a cameo signed by Skylax, see: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. LVII.10, vol. II: 260; Stosch 1724, pl. LIX; Vollenweider 1966: 79, pl. 92.1 and 3. Regarding coins, see denarius struck by Q. Pomponius Musa in 66 BC (*RRC*, no. 410/1).

of gems with this motif.[146] Inscriptions referring to the names of gems' owners occurring on intaglios with Heracles' image cannot be linked with the *gentes* of Fabia, Antonia, Potitia and Pinaria (cat. no. 6.108, Figure 34a-b). To sum up, because of the insufficient context, family propaganda and promotion of *origo* is not the primary reason for Heracles to appear on engraved gems in the Roman Republican period. There are more plausible explanations, but it cannot be entirely excluded that the hero's image carried on a finger ring would testify to someone's ancestry deriving from him.

Gens Caecilia claimed descent from Caeculus, son of Vulcan, who was the legendary founder of Praeneste. For this reason, representations of Vulcan and his features appearing on coins can be regarded as promoting that family.[147] Interestingly, Vulcan working on armour for Achilles or a shield commissioned by Thetis is a popular motif on engraved gems (cat. nos 6.110-111, Figure 35). It can be debated if some of those intaglios were used as personal seals by members of the Caecilia family who wanted to promote themselves because of their legendary *origo*. There is no definite proof for that both in terms of iconographical elements and inscriptions. Vulcan, especially if paired with Thetis, indirectly refers to the Achilles story and this might be the reason for his popularity on Roman Republican gems.[148] Nevertheless, an exceptional gem is an amethyst in Vienna with the bust of Vulcan to the left (cat. no. 6.112, Figure 36). The piece exhibits considerable similarities to the bust of Vulcan appearing on coins minted by M. Caecilius Metellus in 127 BC which iconography refers to the promotion of his family ancestry (Figure 37).[149] Perhaps then, this intaglio served the same purpose as the coins.

A careful comparative analysis of coins and gems reveals further examples of the application of specific images that probably served to advertise certain families and their members. For instance, the Dioscuri on horseback rearing in opposite directions, heads facing one another with spears and stars above them, appear on the reverse of the denarius of C. Servilius M. *filius* struck in 136 BC (Figure 38).[150] Crawford remarks that the image possibly served as a reference to the moneyer's ancestor, supposedly Publius Servilius Geminus, consul of 252 and 248 BC.[151] Indeed, this makes sense from the propaganda point of view as a transfer of authority from the illustrious ancestor to the moneyer. What is more, the image of the Dioscuri seems to refer to the family name too since the *cognomen* Geminus means 'the twins'. It seems reasonable to think that the image from the coin applied to both aspects especially given the fact that Publius Servilius Geminus had a brother named Quintus Servilius,[152] and perhaps it was used by other members of that family branch as a family symbol. This is supported by gems bearing similar iconography to the one from C. Servilius' coin (cat. no. 6.113, Figure 39). It is likely that those gems like coins were used to manifest allegiance to the Gemini branch of the Servilia family and also transferred authority of the famous Publius Servilius Geminus onto their sitters.

Apart from mythological and divine figures, legendary Roman kings and their posterity were often taken as ancestors to the noble families in Rome. For instance, *gens* Marcia, one of the oldest and noblest family in Rome, claimed to descent from the fourth legendary king of Rome – Ancus Marcius.[153] The Calpurnii claimed descent from Calpus, the son of Numa Pompilius, the second King of Rome while his brother Pompo served as an ancestor to *gens* Pomponia.[154] Accordingly one finds the head of Numa on some of the coins of minted by Calpurnii and him also watching over a goat-sacrifice on the denarii struck by Pomponii.[155] Another noble patrician family that originated from a son of Numa Pompilius was the *gens* Pinaria. Although, alternative tradition we have already mentioned was that they were descendants of Heracles,[156] some of the Pinarii claimed to descent from Pinus, son of Numa too.[157] Finally as already mentioned, *gens* Aemilia in the 2nd century BC established a tradition that said they originated from Mamercus one more son of Numa, although, another legend suggests that Aemilii originated from Aemylos, brother of Ascanius.[158] The commonly used image of Numa Pompilius by the members of all these families on their coins as well as other images referring to their legendary ancestry derived from the first kings of Rome encourages us to search for similar representations in glyptics and consequently to propose that such images might have been related to one family or another.

Vollenweider noticed a class of gems, usually sards that are circular or almost circular in shape (suitable for portraits) bearing a more or less homogenous group of male heads interpreted variably as Menelaos, Mars or Mercury.[159] Indeed, these highly interesting portraits can be dated to the late 2nd and first half of the 1st

[146] See discussion on this subject in Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 282-283.
[147] Evans 1992: 24-25; Wiesman 1974: 155. However, some Caecilii also claimed to descent from Caecas who was a companion of Aeneas, see: Smith 2006: 40.
[148] Gołyźniak 2020, no. 34.
[149] *RRC*, no. 263/2.
[150] *RRC*, no. 239/1.
[151] *RRC*, no. 239/1 (denarius of C. Servilius, 136 BC).
[152] Cicero, *Lucullus sive Academica priora*, 2.56 and 2.84-85.
[153] Evans 1992: 27; Smith 2006: 39; Wiesmann 1974: 154.
[154] Plutarch, *Life of Numa*, 21; Evans 1992: 25-27; Smith 2006: 39; Wiesmann 1974: 155.
[155] *RRC*, nos. 446 (denarius of Cn. Calpurnius Piso, 49 BC) and 334/1 (denarius of L. Pomponius Molo, 97 BC); Evans 1992, pp. 25-26.
[156] Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, I.7.13. This is also reflected on coins, see: *RRC*, no. 410/1 (denarius of Q. Pomponius Musa, 66 BC).
[157] Evans 1992: 25-26; Smith 2006: 39; Wiesmann 1974: 155.
[158] Evans 1992: 26-27.
[159] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 145; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 16-17.

century BC, when majority of Roman noble *gentes* started to promote themselves through their *origo*. Moreover, according to her, a closer look to this motif reveals that the class should be divided onto two groups: older and younger males.[160] Once these portraits are compared to the coins issued by the above mentioned Roman *gentes*, it is tempting to inquire whether the first group of portraits could be identified as Numa Pompilius (cat. nos 6.114-138), while the second may show his sons (cat. nos 6.139-149). However attractive this hypothesis seems to be, it cannot be entirely accepted or rejected.

The group of elder male portraits can be split onto three further sub-types. The first one is an adult man with a long, pointy beard and crested helmet on the head (cat. nos 6.114-125, Figure 40). This is the most common representation that continues in relation to other heads which, however, do not have a helmet. These are archaistic representations of various deities: Mercury, Jupiter, Dionysus and so forth (cat. nos 6.126-128, Figure 41) which form the second sub-type. The third sub-type is unusual since it also involves a portrait of an old, bearded man who has his hair rolled around the head or wears a diadem; sometimes he also wears a helmet, but a cap-like Italic version (cat. nos 6.129-138, Figures 42-43). Noteworthy is that the gods from the second sub-group are presented in a similar way on Roman Republican coins too, though, a bit later than on gems (Figures 44-45).[161] This would suggest, the sub-type one (with a helmet) is Mars but he is also suggested to be simply a warrior.[162] However, there seems to be a universal approach to the archaising images of deities and Roman legendary kings applied by coin-die makers in the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC. Similar heads to the ones known from gems also occur on several issues of Roman Republican coins minted in the 1st century BC by representatives of the families mentioned above (*gentes* Marcia, Calpurnia and Pomponia) and they are identified with Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius (Figures 46-49).[163] It is evident that all three sub-types are based on one Italic-Roman portrait tradition as so rightly observed by Vollenweider (cf. discussion on this issue in chapter 6.3.2 below), however, not all of them should be recognised as depicting legendary kings of Rome.[164] There are multiple explanations for their iconographies from images of deities to private portraits. Only two gems belonging to this class bear inscriptions, which do not help to identify these representations with Numa Pompilius or Ancus Marcius.[165] Because of these inscriptions, Zwierlein-Diehl says that most of the gems in question represent private portraits.[166] Nevertheless, comparative analysis with coin devices gives some hope of linking at least heads from the first and third sub-groups distinguished here with legendary Roman kings (Numa Pompilius or Ancus Marcius to be precise).[167] Therefore, it might be hypothesised that some of those gems were indeed used by the members of various Roman families who claimed descent from legendary Roman kings.

As regards to the group of young male heads, they have been selected and presented here because they are cut in a similar tradition to the ones presenting older male figures discussed above (cat. nos 6.139-149, Figure 50) and examined to see if they are related somehow to the family propaganda of *gentes* descending from legendary Roman kings.[168] It turns out that there is no supportive data available from coins or any other branch of Roman Republican art and craft to claim that these should be identified with sons of Numa Pompilius or Ancus Marcius.[169] This homogenous group is cut according to the slowly-evolving tradition of the Italic-Roman portrait, which flourished at the turn of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (cf. chapter 6.3.2 below). Some reminiscence of it is even noticeable in the early portraits of Octavian occurring on both, gems and coins (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4).

Concerning other families, as mentioned, *gens* Marcia derived its *origo* from Ancus Marcius whom some moneyers of this family put on their coins alongside Numa Pompilius.[170] It is debated if those heads were family symbols used in glyptics as well, but one expects a prominent Roman *gens* to advertise its legendary ancestry in more than just one way. On a brown glass gem from Geneva Vollenweider spotted a Corinthian capital surmounted with a *horologium* – a solar device (cat. no. 6.152, Figure 51a-b). She links this peculiar motif with Q. Marcius Philippus, who constructed the *Horologium* in Rome in 164 BC.[171] There are several other intaglios made of glass with the same device engraved upon (cat. nos 6.150-151 and 153-155). Among them the most intriguing one is the gem from Vienna combining a

[160] For older male portraits, see: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 16-17. For younger male portraits, see: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 17-18.

[161] For example: *RRC*, nos. 447/1a-b (denarii of Pompey the Great and Varro, 49 BC), 460/2 (denarius of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio and P. Licinius Crassus Iunianus Damasippus, 47–46 BC).

[162] Gołyźniak 2017, nos. 145-146 (with more literature); Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 103, ill. 404.

[163] *RRC*, nos. 334/1 (denarius of L. Pomponius Molo, 97 BC), 346/1a-i (denarii of C. Marcius Censorinus, 88 BC), 346/3-4b (ases of C. Marcius Censorinus, 88 BC) and 446/1 (denarius of Pompey the Great and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, 49 BC).

[164] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 16-17.

[165] Weiß 2007, no. 167 (SECVNDI); Zwierlein-Diehl 1973a, no. 122 (ALEO(V?).

[166] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 103.

[167] See also opinions of Vollenweider on this matter (1972-1974: 16-17), Zwierlein-Diehl (1973, nos. 122-123) as well as that of Weiß (Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 40).

[168] On the workshop similarities, see: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 17-18. In my investigations, I tried to establish if the images like on cat. nos. 6.137, 142-143, 146 and 149 could be taken as sons of Numa Pompilius or Ancus Marcius from whom many Roman *gentes* derived their ancestry (see above).

[169] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 17-20.

[170] Evans 1992: 27 and see the paragraph above.

[171] Vollenweider 1979, no. 533.

male head with the capital and the solar device (cat. no. 6.154, Figure 52). Zwierlein-Diehl admits it is difficult to find a parallel among architectural elements,[172] so one wonders if the head refers to Q. Marcius Philippus which would suggest the motif to be related to the promotion of ancestry by the members of the Marcia family. Inscriptions found on some of these gems do not confirm such a supposition (cat. no. 6.155)[173] but as evidenced, the view cannot be straightforwardly rejected.

A particular case is the one concerning *gens* Minucia and especially its Augurinia branch. In about 135 or 134 BC, two representatives of this family named Gaius and Tiberius became moneyers and issued denarii presenting on the obverses a column with a figure standing at the top flanked by two other standing figures and corn ears - the so-called Minucii Monument (Figure 53).[174] A recent re-evaluation of this coinage by Yarrow reveals that both coins are one of the earliest examples for family promotion performed by moneyers. They were drawing on a positive narrative of L. Minucius, probably a legendary figure of the late 5th century BC known for his role in the Maelius incident, as a model for the conservative resolution of grain crises. Gaius and Tiberius also referred to their ancestor, the first plebeian Augur, by means of a much older claim to religious and moral authority in the person of Spurius Minucius, the severe Pontifex Maximus in the Postumia story.[175] I have already discussed augural symbols appearing on gems as plausible markers of the augural priesthood performed by their owners, but giving the context reconstructed by Yarrow, it cannot be excluded that they were also used as family symbols of the Augurini branch of *gens* Minucia (cf. chapter 6.1). Furthermore, there are several gems featuring iconography close to the one known from the coins minted by Gaius and Tiberius Minucii Augurii (cat. nos 6.156, Figure 54). As Yarrow remarks, it is tempting to regard them as family seals used by representatives of Minucii Augurii.[176] Similarly to the coins, those intaglios were purposed to transfer authority of prominent ancestors onto the gems' sitters.

There were many more Roman families that claimed descent from legendary ancestors. For instance, *gens* Gegania descended from Gyas, a companion of Aeneas, *gens* Nautunia was related to Nautes, *gens* Cloelia derived its ancestry from a Trojan hero Clonius, *gens* Memmia traditionally originates from Venus and Cupid or Mnestheus, *gens* Cluentia from another Trojan hero Cloanthus, *gens* Sergeia from Sergestus, a companion to Aeneas and so forth.[177] The goddess Juno was supposed to be a divine patroness of *gens* Junia, although, Marcus Brutus used to put a portrait of his famous ancestor Lucius Iunius Brutus – first consul of Rome on his coins.[178] Jupiter or the Capitoline triad was related to *gens* Cornelia, and the Genius of Rome to the Scipio branch specifically.[179] One finds some clues for these connections in literary and sometimes numismatic sources. Nevertheless, while analysing glyptic material dated to the 2nd or early 1st centuries BC, I was unable to identify any objects bearing the mentioned subjects combined with any unambiguous clues for linking them with those families at the same time. In the early 1st century BC the phenomenon of promotion of family and oneself through *origo*, either legendary or historical, became more popular but ceases around the middle of the century. The evidence for that is presented in the further chapters of the book (cf. chapters 7.4.2 and 8.3.3).

6.3.2. Portraits on gems – Roman tradition

In the previous sub-chapter dealing with Hellenistic influences in Roman Republican glyptics I have shown that regarding portraits and their use for propaganda purposes the Romans copied the practices of their eastern counterparts as well as kings and other dignitaries. Moreover, it looks that this idea-transfer of the application of glyptics to self-promotion and distinction from Hellenistic culture was one of the key-factors for gems to become a means of propaganda. However, Vollenweider in her monumental study on Roman portraits on gems proved that the local Italic-Roman tradition of carving gems with portraits was present very early too. Actually, even in Etruscan glyptics one finds first instances of portraying men on scarabs.[180] Later, this tradition was transferred to central Italy and subsequently to Rome in the 3rd century BC.[181] In all likelihood that local tradition also served for self-advertisement. A peculiar feature of those early Roman Republican portraits on intaglios (3rd-2nd century BC) is frontal view and Vollenweider claimed that they belonged to imperators and dictators.[182] This is possible and perhaps some of them belonged to the representatives of senatorial class as evidenced by togas they wear (cat. nos 6.157-171, Figure 55). Any certain identification of those heads and busts cannot be made. The portraits themselves are cut in the same tradition as busts belonging to deities, mythological figures or athletes,[183] but the most important thing

[172] Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 947.
[173] See, for instance: Walters 1926, no. 2018 (A•FOL).
[174] *RRC*, nos. 242/1 (denarius of C. Minucius Augurinus, 135 BC) and 243/1 (denarius of Tiberius Minucius, 134 BC).
[175] Yarrow 2017.
[176] Yarrow 2017: 87-88.
[177] Evans 1992: 25-29; Smith 2006: 39-40; Wiesmann 1974: 153-154.
[178] Evans 1992: 30; Smith 2006: 39.
[179] Evans 1992: 30; *RRC*: 727.
[180] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 3-7.
[181] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 8-13.
[182] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 39-47.
[183] Cf. Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.27; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 27.1-3 and 5, 29.5 and 8-10 and 30.1-6 and 8-9.

is that they most likely represent living people. It is difficult to estimate their propagandistic value, but one imagines that such images carried upon rings marked their sitters out among others and documented their important profession very much like the gems bearing augural symbols and images of the priests (cf. chapter 6.1). Moreover, intaglios presenting victorious generals commemorated their successes. Having a distinctive gem engraved upon a ring, ideally with one's portrait was certainly helpful in self-advertisement. There are no comparable portraits on coins from the period at that time because it was almost regarded a sacrilege to put an image of a living person upon the denarii and other denominations, which suggests that gems were the only way for living politicians to present themselves and disseminate their images among peers and followers those days.[184]

Vollenweider stated that ultimately a sort of unified Italic portrait type evolved characterised by a profile view, cubistic form, short, close-cropped hair rendered in a linear manner, and physiognomy lacking strong individual features (cat. nos 6.172-185, Figures 56-57).[185] On the one hand, this might be due to very general approach to the portrait on Roman gems at this point of time by artists producing them. On the other hand, this suggests that some of those gems do not present portraits but, for example, sons of Numa Pompilius as has been suggested above (cf. chapter 6.3.1) or other figures. The only significant feature distinguishing older and younger individuals is the presence or lack of a beard (cat. nos 6.183-185).[186] Some of those portraits are inscribed which presumably was meant to confirm the identity of the person depicted with gem's sitter (cat. nos 6.178 and 184-185). Those objects should be dated to the second half or late 2nd century BC. Towards the end of the 2nd century BC and in the early 1st century BC Roman portraits on gems were still based on the same Italic-Roman prototype, but they were becoming more and more individualised (cat. nos 6.186-197, Figure 58).[187] An important observation is that this individualisation resulted in a significant rise of the propagandistic value of these gems. It is clear that people wanted to have a distinguished portrait engraved upon their ring which was no longer used only for sealing, but rather for other private purposes including personal branding. The scale of this phenomenon was considerable and gems with such portraits were engraved in big glyptic centres like Aquileia (cat. no. 6.158). Moreover, there is some evidence in the form of sealings found in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin suggesting that such gems were used by governors of new Roman provinces as their official seals (cat. nos 6.196-197).

The unified type survived down to the 1st century BC and early portraits of Octavian on both gems and coins are based on this prototype (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4). Regarding female portraits, Vollenweider is of the opinion that many busts and heads of deities, mainly of Victory, might be in fact Roman matrons in the guise of those deities in the late 2nd century BC or even earlier.[188] However, I find it difficult to prove that such depictions indeed refer to individuals not deities. There is no indication for busts and heads of male deities to be regarded as hiding images of individuals at that time, so it is difficult to imagine that the case of women differed so significantly in this matter. Female portraits appear very rarely on Roman Republican engraved gems prior to the mid-1st century BC and where they do, it is in all likelihood for purely decorative motivations (cat. no. 6.198, Figure 59).

6.3.3. Roman generals, consuls, imperators and dictators?

In the course of the 2nd century BC Roman generals, ambassadors, consuls and other personalities visited the East, mostly Asia Minor and Egypt, where, as has been shown above, they came into contact with the use of glyptics for personal branding. On the one hand, this resulted in self-promotion through commissioning gems with their own portraits at the workshops of the best Greek gem engravers available (cf. chapter 6.2.1 above). On the other hand, this contact influenced how Roman imperators, generals and dictators perceived themselves and advertised and commemorated their successes. As a result, in Roman Republican glyptics one spots new creations that focus on highlighting a propagandist's special status (*imperium*) and praise his values, virtues and achievements. For example, a white-brown agate in Leiden possibly presents a Roman general, imperator or dictator with his left foot placed on a rock (?), holding a *parazonium* in his left hand and a trophy in his right (cat. no. 6.199, Figure 60). Maaskant-Kleibrink supposes that the gem depicts a hero,[189] which would be totally understandable given his nudity, however, the pose of the figure, which copies a well-established type deriving from the so-called Lateran type of Poseidon/Neptune's statue,[190] the *parazonium* he is holding and especially the trophy suggest him to be a Roman heroized victorious general praising his military prowess and maybe comparing himself to Diomedes?[191]

[184] But see also commentary to the gem presenting T. Quinctius Flamininus – chapter 6.2.1.
[185] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 18-20, 23-27 and 38-39.
[186] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 96; Richter 1971, no. 467; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 17-20; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 137.
[187] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 48-52.
[188] *AGDS* IV Hannover, nos. 199-200; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 21-22, pl. 13.1-15; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 10.
[189] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 131.
[190] Weiß 2007, no. 158 with informative discussion on identification of various types of that motif and their identifications with Poseidon, Neptune and Octavian-Neptunus.
[191] According to Furtwängler, the earliest examples of gems bearing a similar subject-matter appeared in the 3rd century BC, see: Furtwängler 1896, nos. 468 - although the figure puts its foot on a

Such a piece could be an object of personal adornment and commemorated a military victory. The *parazonium* was much concerned with Virtus or Mars, so the gem could highlight the particular *virtus* of the gem's owner and the favour of the god of war.[192] Noteworthy is that the dagger was a ceremonial weapon indicating a high position in the Roman army and was a sign of dignity. In later times Roman emperors presented themselves with it on their coins, thus, gems like this one would also certify to the high, perhaps even special social status of their owners.[193]

There are several other pieces similar to the intaglio from Leiden. All of them are made of glass which perhaps suggests that some of them represented one and the same person and were widely distributed or simply copied. Two glass gems from Berlin most likely depict Roman generals as figures standing to the front leaning on a lance and holding a *parazonium* in their left hands (cat. nos 6.200-201, Figure 61). They are recognised as such due to the *cuirass* they wear. Another example is preserved in the Kestner Museum in Hannover. It is a yellowish-green glass gem showing the same type of figure, but like on the stone from Leiden, he places his foot on a rock (cat. no. 6.202). Finally, a brown glass gem from Geneva presents a naked figure in profile to the left also leaning on a spear and holding a *parazonium* in the left hand (cat. no. 6.203).

Regarding those representations, Vollenweider suggested that the figures hold a sceptre, but this seems to be an overinterpretation because similar objects are usually recognised as spears (see below). She also suggested that several portrait gems are related to this group but this is unlikely as the heads are too schematised unless one focuses on the function, not the identity (cf. chapter 7.4.1).[194] Overall, it is tempting to propose the gems in question to be some of the first attempts of Roman generals, imperators or dictators – people who held considerable military power in their hands – to be depicted on those objects. Their images could be delivered to their followers through such gems and they could have commemorated their triumphs that way. Most of these gems are made of glass which would have suggested a serial production, but the number of preserved specimens is strikingly small. Two of the pieces (Geneva and Hannover) originally were a part of collections formed in Italy which indicates those glass gems to be produced in Italy, possibly in Rome itself (cf. chapter 11). The ringstone now in Leiden is engraved in a distinctive Campanian-Roman style used in the workshops located in central Italy.[195] All the mentioned gems can be roughly dated to the 2nd century BC and since no findspots are known, their chronology cannot be more precise and neither it is possible to identify the people presented on them.

Although the preceding group of gems is problematic due to its ambiguous iconography, there is another group of gems presenting Roman generals, imperators or dictators in a military setting, namely with trophies. In Leiden, a victorious Roman general standing to the front with a trophy on the side and a big shield is engraved upon a large bright red carnelian (cat. no. 6.204, Figure 62). Beyond the shadow of a doubt this is an exceptional piece. The gem itself is exceedingly large and the figure depicted is a mortal, not a hero or god since he wears a mantle arranged in large drapery and his pose resembles the Hellenistic type.[196] However, his nudity suggests heroization. The trophy erected to his side and the gesture that the man makes towards the shield allows us to identify him with a triumphant Roman general, who possibly compared or identified himself with Alexander the Great.[197] Another interesting example is an intaglio found in Bonn, which also presents a triumphant Roman general standing next to a trophy, possibly in the guise of Alexander the Great due to his pose on the spear (cat. no. 6.205). The same subject appears on a light green glass gem in Copenhagen and another young warrior crowns a trophy with a laurel wreath on a carnelian intaglio in London (cat. nos 6.206-208, Figure 63). A slightly different approach to the subject is reflected on a carnelian in Nuremberg, which presents a naked youth sitting on a rock with spear and shield and a trophy erected in front of him (cat. no. 6.209). This gem is dated to the 2nd century BC and the naked figure might be a heroized Roman general as Achilles since the Gorgoneion appears on his shield.[198] However, the most striking example of an early Roman propaganda practiced by a general, imperator or dictator is an orange carnelian from Berlin, once a part of the Dressel collection (cat. no. 6.210, Figure 64). This minutely engraved intaglio shows a Roman general handing over a legionary standard (*signum*) to the god Mars holding a trophy. Atop of the standard is a legionary eagle, not a woodpecker as Weiß suggests.[199] The gem is dated to the early 1st century BC and I could not find a parallel

dolphin instead of a prow and probably holds the Palladion, thus it might be Diomedes? 526 – which possibly also presents Diomedes? and 1439 is another very early example in the Berlin collection with an interesting inscription: L ANTON SALVIVS – L(ucius) Anton(ius) salvivus – long life to Lucius Antonius?

[192] The iconography of the gem could be explained as Mars with *parazonium* and trophy, but the pose of the figure is unusual for the god and he does not wear a helmet or any other military attribute.

[193] For instance: *RIC* II Trajan 642 (sestertius of Trajan, AD 114-117); *RIC* V.2, no. 306 (bronze coin of Diocletian).

[194] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 43-44.

[195] On the gems executed in the Campanian-Roman style see: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 108-109; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 97-98.

[196] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 42-43.

[197] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1154. Compare this image with a gem from Berlin executed in the Augustan period which is may depict Augustus as Alexander (Furtwängler 1896, no. 2299 and cf. chapter 10.6).

[198] Weiß 1996, no. 232.

[199] Weiß 2007, no. 35.

to it in the corpus of Roman Republican gems. This exceptional piece testifies to the extraordinary bond between a mortal and god which has been highlighted here by the legionary standard as an object that is a subject of the action between the figures. It illustrates the dedication of the gem's owner to the care of Mars, patron of the Roman army. The intaglio suggests that because the commander offers his military troops the protection of Mars (symbolised by handing over the standard) he is going to be granted a victory (Mars holds a trophy). The gem could have been used as a personal amulet, but on the other hand, its propagandistic value must have been considerable too. The propagandist would be praised for his special connection with the deity and his authority would rise among his comrades in the army. The gem also illustrates the intimate relationship between the gem's sitter and the god reflecting his *pietas erga deo*.

Two of these come from Bergau and Dressel collections, which were formed in Italy, more specifically in Rome and this might indicate they were produced in the city. Other examples, according to their style, were also cut in central Italy. Perhaps then those gems were objects commemorating conquests of the Roman army with special regard to military and political leaders. Although they remain unidentified, it is plausible that the intaglios were produced on the occasion of their triumphs celebrated in Rome.

The idea that gems depicting triumphant Roman generals were issued to commemorate their triumphs is even more clear on the next examples. A yellowish-brown glass intaglio from Nijmegen presents a warrior wearing *cuirass* and helmet, leaning on a long spear with a shield in his right arm. Before him at his feet is another *cuirass* (cat. no. 6.211, Figure 65). Maaskant-Kleibrink recognises here a heroic-warrior, an extremely popular motif existing in early Roman Republican glyptics in many variants.[200] However, this one seems special, since the figure presents spolia he won from his opponent. In fact, there are not many close analogies to this specific scene (cat. nos 6.212-213). Such a motif would be suitable for self-presentation since it is focused on the person depicted: it highlights his *virtus* and contemplates his success in combat and perhaps only in a broader sense in war. Military prowess was something which a Roman should be proud of in particular, therefore, it was a subject especially suitable for display on a personal ring.

Less spectacular but of similar importance are representations of armed Roman warriors. There are many variants where figures are naked, and thus probably heroized (alternatively these are young soldiers exercising as athletes did which could also explain the nakedness) or simply presented with their military equipment. In Paris there is a carnelian with a Roman soldier or general standing with spear and shield to the front with head turned to the left (cat. no. 6.214, Figure 66). As Vollenweider suggested, this as well as many similar gems might have been related to the wars that Rome conducted in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC during the conquest of Italy and beyond.[201] It could be a common practice to parade with a ring highlighting physical strength, military skills and successes as well as commemorating a person's input into the conquests or simply membership of the army, which was highly valued those days. Single figures seem refer to self-presentation and most of them should not be recognised as propaganda pieces. Motifs of these kinds exist both on gemstones and glass gems and the latter, as cheaper versions, testify to the common use of these gems among soldiers (cf. also discussion in the chapter 6.1 above). Yet, sometimes self-advertisement takes a more elaborate form and the warrior is probably being compared to a Greek hero. The key to heroization seems to be nakedness, but it is mostly incomplete as the figures often wear tunics on their hips. There are not many gems presenting such a variant and it is plausible that they were distinctive, perhaps reserved for high-rank officers? In Oxford, there is a sard presenting a naked warrior or a Roman general resting his right foot on a fallen column or a rock, grasping a spear in his left hand and holding a sword in his right (cat. no. 6.215). Several glass pieces from the Geneva collection are especially interesting since they show a naked heroized Roman general leaning on a long object which Vollenweider recognised as a sceptre and thus supposed that the gem owner compared himself to Jupiter, but I believe this to be an overinterpretation and the object is simply a spear (cat. nos 6.216-218).[202] In Göttingen there is another glass gem presenting a similar approach to the subject (cat. no. 6.219, Figure 67) and a close analogy is a brown glass gem in a private collection (cat. no. 6.220), apparently moulded from the same matrix? An interesting variation is a carnelian in Leiden presenting possibly a Roman general or warrior on a prow (cat. no. 6.221, Figure 68). All these gems exhibit similarities in their forms, styles and subject and should be dated from the late 3rd to early 1st centuries BC. The pieces from Paris, Geneva and Oxford come from collections formed in the 19th century in Rome, so there is a good probability that the whole class was produced in local workshops in the city or maybe more broadly in Italy (cf. chapter 11).

The next motif that possibly refers to self-presentation of Roman generals, high-rank officers, imperators, dictators or simply soldiers from the *equites* class are figures standing next to their horses (cat. nos 6.222-

[200] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 40.

[201] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 7.

[202] Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 41.5.

230). This type probably derives from representations of Dioscuri and might have had a social-military significance.[203] It occurs on both gemstones and glass gems. While the production of the latter seems considerable, it indicates that the type was commonly used not only by high-rank members of the Roman army, but also ordinary soldiers. A glass gem imitating banded agate from Hannover is of special interest because the general holds a legionary standard which allows us to identify this subject as related to Roman army without question (cat. no. 6.227, Figure 69). In Perugia there are two good studies of this subject: one on a carnelian and one on a glass gem (cat. nos 6.222-223). Similarly to the previous categories, in this type cuirassed and naked figures also exist, like on the gems from Vienna, Berlin, Hannover, and the art market (cat. nos 6.224-226 and 6.228-230, Figure 70).

The last motif that seems related to the previous ones is a representation of a Roman general galloping on his horse. In some instances, the gems may reproduce equestrian statues that were placed on Forum Romanum and elsewhere. This seems to be the case of a carnelian intaglio from Krakow which shows a rider on a horse in profile to the left wearing a tunic across his body and a *pilos* on his head; he raises his right hand and is holding a spear in the left one behind him (cat. no. 6.231, Figure 71).[204] The gesture of salutation or greeting is typical for equestrian statues and similar representations occur on Roman Republican coins, for instance, on a denarius of L. Marcius Philippus minted in 113–112 BC or a denarius of L. Marcius Philippus struck in 56 BC.[205] Sometimes, the figures are depicted with military equipment. Many of these gems are made of glass which on the one hand suggests they were produced in large quantities for legionaries (cat. nos 6.232-234). On the other hand, some examples are peculiar like the gem from Hannover, which shows a horse rider with a spear and legionary standard (cat. no. 6.235, Figure 72). The latter attribute allows us to identify him as a Roman general or high-rank officer and must have been a distinctive feature of this intaglio making it an exceptional item. Furthermore, scenes presenting men riding a biga or quadriga on the one hand might simply be related to the circus games, but on the other hand they can be related to the triumphs and other celebrations of military victories (cat. nos 6.236-237). Among these there are representations of Roman generals, imperators or dictators that involve also divine elements. A good example of that is a fragment of a glass gem in Copenhagen engraved with a victorious Roman standing with a spear beside his horse to the left and behind him there is Roma, city goddess of Rome (cat. no. 6.238, Figure 73). The special bond between a propagandist and the goddess supporting him has been successfully highlighted here. Such a piece presents him as a leader acting under the auspices of the personification of the state. It is not a coincidence the goddess is Roma since the intaglio fits well into the overall trend of promotion of state issues (cf. chapter 6.3.4).[206]

Regarding equestrians, there is one recurring representation. It is a galloping horseman in a three-quarter back view. He wears a chlamys, has short, curly hair and holds a whip in one hand while the second grasps reins or spears. Sometimes he holds a round shield in the arm as well. This common motif exists on both gemstones and glass gems (cat. nos 6.239-253, Figures 74-75). It was already Furtwängler who suggested the motif to be related to one of the wars the Romans conducted during the late 3rd and 2nd century BC.[207] Vollenweider took one step forward and initially proposed to link this motif precisely with the Second Punic War and identified the rider as Scipio Africanus who was the most popular military leader those days.[208] Over the decades scholars either accepted Vollenweider's vision or limited themselves to describe the basic features of this peculiar motif. Later, Vollenweider changed her mind and decided to date that motif to the end of the 2nd and early 1st century BC. This time, she suggested that the rider might be related to the Social War (91-88 BC).[209] This particular case requires a deeper analysis.

Overall, the group of gems engraved with the subject in question is relatively big and there seem to be some distinctive objects within it that help us understand the peculiar and vague iconography. Almost all the pieces are homogenous in terms of the style which should be defined as Campanian-Hellenistic-Roman. This is due to the type combines Campanian pelleting engraving with Hellenistic composition and some purely Roman elements.[210] Zwierlein-Diehl observes that in terms of style the type has much in common with Roman coins executed in the Campanian-Roman manner.[211] However, in coinage of the 3rd, 2nd and early 1st centuries BC I do not find any iconographical parallel and the hypothesis that the image should be linked with Scipio Africanus seems far-fetched. In any case, analysis of style but also the collections' provenance (cf. chapter 11) points to a good number of the gems bearing this motif being cut in Italy, most likely, its central or southern part.

[203] Vitellozzi 2010, no. 340.
[204] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 140.
[205] *RRC*, nos. 293/1 and 425/1 respectively. For a more detailed discussion of a possible equestrian prototype for the motif, see: *RRC*: 448-449.
[206] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 443; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 14.
[207] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 284.
[208] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 58-60, pl. 39.2-5, 7 and 11-12; 1979, nos. 94 and 96-99.
[209] Vollenwedeir and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 12.
[210] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 108-109.
[211] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 105. See stylistically close representations of Dioscuri on denarii struck by C. Servilius in 136 BC – *RRC*, no. 239/1.

Furtwängler observed that some of them could be based on a Greek painting brought to Rome by C. Popilius.[212] The equestrian statue installed on the Capitoline Hill by Fabius Maximus who defeated the Carthaginians in 209 BC at Tarent has been suggested as a potential source of inspiration for the iconography too.[213] However, the piece once in the Leo Merz collection and now in Bern is of crucial importance here since it is cut in garnet and mounted in a massive gold Hellenistic ring (cat. no. 6.252, Figure 74). Both, the stone and the ring are Hellenistic. I think that this object testifies to the early transfer of a Hellenistic motif maybe by a Greek artist travelling to Italy who derived it from an unidentified sculptural or painting prototype. If the type had been commissioned by a Roman general or a political leader in the 2nd century BC, it would have commemorated his military success or praise his prowess in this matter and testified to his exceptional social status. The frequent copies, on the one hand, might have served his followers and enthusiasts who used to carry them upon their own rings to manifest their support for his cause. However, on the other hand, they may indicate that the original Hellenistic creation was quickly adapted by the local Roman engravers and copied to a considerable degree, even sometimes aspiring to imitate the gemstone type used (cat. no. 6.253, Figure 75a-b).[214] Perhaps then, the type did not serve any specific Roman politician, but was just one of the many subjects transferred from the Hellenistic repertoire to the Roman one. Vollenweider's hypothesis to link this kind of representation with the Social War seems quite far-fetched and should be rejected because most of the gems in question can be securely dated to the 2nd century BC.

6.3.4. Roman state propaganda: subjects related to wars and conquests (Gallic Wars, Punic Wars, Greek and Macedonian Wars, Social War 91-88 BC)

In the course of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC Roman society became increasingly militarised which is reflected on engraved gems. Subjects related to the wars that Rome conducted first on the Italian Peninsula and later beyond were often picked up either by commissioners of the gems or their carvers. Gems presenting fighting scenes between the Romans and barbarians were surely the favourite objects of this kind among soldiers. Within this group, there might have been individuals who wanted to highlight their military prowess, exceptional merits and successes on the battlefield. Such acts may be counted as self-advertisement since the goal was to present oneself in a positive way with the intention of making an impression on other members of the community. Besides, the military world in Roman society constituted a separate social class and if someone truly wanted to manifest his allegiance to it because he was proud of being a part of that community, the best way to do that was to put an image upon his ring alluding to his profession and military unit or event (a battle or triumph) that could be easily associated with it.[215] These were the reasons why several individual subjects have been selected and discussed above in detail as I believe many of them could have been produced on the commissions of outstanding individuals. Nevertheless, there are many more far more popular and universal warfare subjects related to the Punic, Gallic, Greek and Macedonian Wars conducted by Rome in the 3rd and 2nd centuries that appear on gems. They were usually illustrated in a form of warriors or cavalry men fighting barbarians, but also scenes of pre- and post-war rituals were of some importance. It is debated whether they had any political significance, and, in this chapter, I would like to put that issue into a test.

Taking images of equestrians for example, it should be remembered that if they appear on engraved gems, they might have represented a higher social status (*equites* class) and by definition were objects of distinction. This was true either in the Greek and Roman case.[216] Putting a horse rider on a personal gem could simply be an act of self-presentation since this kind of activity was closely related to hunting and required special skills.[217] One guesses that some of the cavalry men appearing on Roman Republican gems are related to the wars the Romans conducted from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BC. Extremely popular are representations of Roman horse riders engaged in combats with Gallic footmen, the so-called celtomachy motif (cat. nos 6.254-273, Figures 76-77). Many of those gems should be dated to the mid-1st century BC and surely reflect fighting during Julius Caesar's conquest of Gaul. Some are even supposed to present the dictator himself and those will be discussed later (cf. chapter 8.2.7). Nevertheless, others date to earlier periods and thus perhaps relate, for instance, to the victories of Marius over Teutons and Cimbri in 102-101 BC.[218] Many of them are made of cheap glass which means they were distributed among or preferred by Roman soldiers.[219]

The Celts are distinguishable due to their typical military equipment, especially, long oval shields. However, some of the horse riders appearing on gems are Romans fighting with other kinds of barbarians and consequently some scenes seem to be related to other conflicts like the Punic Wars and conflicts with the Greeks and Macedonians (cat. nos 6.274-280, Figures

[212] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 284.
[213] Zazoff 1983: 278-279.
[214] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 139.
[215] Maderna Lauter 1988: 443.
[216] Sagiv 2016: 36.
[217] Sagiv 2016: 37-39.
[218] Sagiv 2016: 40-41; Zazoff 1983: 297.
[219] Vollenweider 1955: 102.

78 and 80). Perhaps those gems commemorate specific victories like the one at Pydna in 168 BC, which was a success of Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus.[220] A peculiar type seems to be a helmeted horse rider with a round shield and spear charging to the left or right who was repeatedly engraved on gemstones and moulded on glass gems (cat. no. 6.281, Figure 81). Exact the same motif appears on the denarius of L. Manlius Torquatus struck in 113 or 112 BC (Figure 79).[221] The occurrence of the design in both media suggests the commemoration of a specific event. As Crawford observes, the *cognomen* of the moneyer and torque on the obverse side make reference to a single-handed victory of T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus over a Gaul, but this duel was fought on foot so the scene from the reverse remains obscure.[222] Fossing noted a similar depiction to exist on the coins of Larinum in the 3rd century BC.[223] However, Yarrow makes an interesting remark on the similarity of the rider in question to the ones from the Paullus Monument erected in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi shortly after 167 BC in order to commemorate the Roman victory at the Battle of Pydna.[224] Indeed, the Macedonian riders depicted on the monument use rounded shields and spears and their composition is very close to the one known from gems and the coin of Torquatus. Perhaps, the moneyer made an allusion to the Battle of Pydna in which his ancestor fought. The gems are more plausible to commemorate this battle or the final Macedonian War in general. Other popular motifs related to the wars Rome conducted mostly in the 2nd century BC are scenes presenting the Romans with their captives or just captives, usually Gallic warriors (cat. nos 6.281-289, Figures 81-82). The motif of a captive Celt is borrowed from Hellenistic art, but if applied to the Roman context, it reflects Roman supremacy over barbarians.

The difficult moments of Roman history were also illustrated in Roman Republican glyptics. For instance, the Second Punic War was a great threat to Rome and seems to have triggered a production of gems with themes that would raise the morale of the people of Rome. Images like oath-taking scenes, sacrifices, *Caput Oli* and even a goat standing on a prow – all of them might have served one goal, to unite people and assure protection from the gods as well as boost positive thinking towards ending the conflict with good results (cat. nos 6.290-298, Figures 83-86).[225] Some scenes are repeated on coins minted during those particularly difficult moments which strengthens the hypothesis to think about them as a sort of 'state propaganda' transmitters (Figure 87).[226] A peculiar example of that phenomenon is Marcus Curtius falling into an abyss on a carnelian in St. Petersburg (cat. no. 6.299, Figure 88).[227] This mythological young Roman offered himself to the gods of Hades for the cause of the commonwealth,[228] and he was a perfect visualisation of self-sacrifice and commitment to the common cause. The motif was not particularly common, which suggests a very private and specific use of this kind of iconography.[229] A glass gem from London featuring armed Roma standing with her left foot on a globe, approached by a winged Victory carrying a wreath and palm branch is another example of 'state propaganda' message on gems (cat. no. 6.300, Figure 89). In this instance, the message clearly speaks about the supremacy of the Roman nation and state over others with a further suggestion of the Romans to be predestined to rule the world.

It is noteworthy to remark that there are many more images on gems serving all Romans as unifying symbols of their homeland, some of which faithfully copy coins' designs. A good illustration of this is the head of Roma motif that was used for coin obverses from the late 3rd to the early 1st centuries BC. It was one of the most common illustrations of the Roman state and exactly the same head appears on engraved gems (cat. nos 6.301-303, Figure 90). The correlation between gems and coins sometimes is close as in the case of the glass intaglio in London which was possibly made after a coin due to the border of dots moulded around Roma's head (cat. no. 6.303, Figure 90) or a cornelian in Paris (cat. no. 6.301) that faithfully copies the design of the obverse of the denarius minted by P. Licinius Nerva c. 113-112 BC (Figure 91).[230] Another scene referring to the same idea of the Roman state and special divine favour and protection over the Romans is *lupa romana* motif often presented on gems in the more pastoral context rather than on coins (cat. nos 6.304-305, Figure 92).[231] Gems bearing this iconography were consistently produced for a long period of time, but noticeable is the revival of this subject under Augustus due to his promotion of the mythological foundations of Rome (cf. chapter 10.7). Pieces of evidence for combining the two, Roma and *lupa romana* in one are gems in Berlin collection featuring Roma seated on pile of arms observing the she-wolf suckling the twins and there is an eagle in the field (cat. no. 6.306, Figure 93). Such iconography is the best illustration of Roman patriotism and 'state propaganda' and the design was also promoted by an

[220] Zazoff 1983: 279.
[221] *RRC*, no. 295/1 (denarius of L. Manlius Torquatus, 113-112 BC).
[222] *RRC*, no. 295/1.
[223] Fossing 1929, no. 250.
[224] Yarrow 2018: 51, note 75.
[225] Weiβ 2007, no. 321 and 457; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 137. For the various semiotics of the *Caput Oli* motif, see especially Yarrow 2018: 46-48. Regarding the oath-taking scene, Evans proposes to explain the iconography as related to Aeneas and the mythical Roman alliance with other cities or Sabines or any other alliance in the history of Rome (1992: 54-57).
[226] Hannestad 1988: 20; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1098; 2007: 104-105.
[227] Neverov 1976, no. 78; Zazoff 1983, pl. 86.4.
[228] Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 7.6.
[229] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 284-285.
[230] *RRC*, no. 292/1; Yarrow 2018: 44-45.
[231] Dardenay 2009 and 2012; Yarrow 2018: 45-46.

anonymous moneyer on a denarius minted c. 115-114 BC (Figure 94).[232]

It is believed that gems presenting various configurations of individual symbols reflect conflicts between the Romans and other nations (cat. nos 6.307-316, Figures 95-98).[233] Such a view is highly controversial due to there being plenty more plausible alternative explanations of the iconography appearing on those gems. For instance, Vollenweider claimed that a rhyton terminated with a protome of a bull was related to the Macedonian Wars,[234] while I think the gem could simply work as an amulet ensuring abundance and well-being to a person whose private horoscope was *Taurus* or *Capricorn* since there are versions of this motif when the rhyton terminates with a protome of a goat (cat. no. 6.308, Figure 95). It is difficult to figure out if a trophy as a sole symbol should signify a specific military success, as Vollenweider claimed, unless it is accompanied with other symbols indicating that or it is being erected by a figure (cat. nos 6.307-311, Figure 96).[235] The latter case could work for a certain Roman as a sort of self-presentation, but having no context available today, it is pointless to even hypothesise on this matter as far as sole symbols of trophy are concerned. Going further with Vollenweider's proposals, the configuration of a club, bow, arrows and palm branches is more likely to stand for Heracles and his attributes which in my opinion gives amuletic properties to a gem rather than to be a sophisticated reference to the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC (cat. no. 6.312, Figure 97).[236] In contrast to Maaskant-Kleibrink, I believe that a palm tree flanked by cornucopiae was by all means meant to ensure good luck and prosperity to gem's owner rather than to be an allusion to the Punic Wars (cat. no. 6.313, Figure 98).[237] The few examples evoked here illustrate some common overinterpretations. Similarly, I do not recognise any motifs clearly related to the Gracchi Brothers' internal Rome conflict even though Vollenweider suggested their possible existence.[238]

Consequently, most of the subjects discussed in this sub-chapter were not only used for self-presentation performed by individuals, but they also fit a general trend of the 'state success' and Roman *imperialism*. Definitely, private objects such as the above-described intaglios testify to the nascent Roman national consciousness and identity. The Romans, proud of their numerous conquests, probably used those images either for patriotic reasons as well as in moments of threats in order to bolster national pride.[239] The observations based on the glyptic material fit general trends in the Roman art. The actions described above should not be treated as regular propaganda unless one treats those objects as highlighting Roman identity and that the people of Rome regarded themselves as superior to other nations. It cannot be assessed if in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC there were figures stimulating production of such pieces or not. The only reliable data appears for 1st century BC political leaders and it is noteworthy that to some of them creation of a special climate for their political activities (stimulation of the impression that thanks to them Rome will be once more a stable and secure state) was crucial for making their propagandistic actions successful. Gems were a part of this phenomenon (cf. chapters 8.2.9, 10.8 and 12).

[232] *RRC*, no. 287/1 (denarius of anonymous moneyer, 115-114 BC) and p. 729 for a commentary.
[233] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 43; Vollenweider 1979, nos. 415, 522, 537 and 541.
[234] Vollenweider 1979, no. 415.
[235] Vollenweider 1979, no. 522.
[236] Vollenweider 1979, no. 541.
[237] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 43.
[238] Concerning the Gracchi Brothers' Roman internal conflict, see: Vollenweider 1979, no. 474. Regarding themes possibly related to the Social War, see: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 23-24.
[239] Yarrow 2018: 44-48.

7. Early 1st century BC

Although there is some evidence that in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC gems were sometimes used for self-presentation and for specific propagandistic activities, such instances are still quite far from the clear-cut definition of propaganda (cf. chapter 4.1). By the turn of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC the situation had dramatically changed, and the first evidence for very clear propaganda actions performed on intaglios and later also cameos occurs. Many of them are mentioned and even sometimes evaluated by ancient writers. For the discussion on the beginnings of propaganda on gems, Sulla's political activity is of crucial importance. In this chapter I am going to present the role of glyptics in his propaganda as well as show how other contemporary leaders of the Roman political scene employed glyptics to make themselves more recognisable and popular, to enhance their authority as well as demonstrate and commemorate their successes.

7.1. Lucius Cornelius Sulla

In his thorough study of Sulla's propaganda actions, Ramage touches on all its aspects and investigates all types of archaeological and historical evidence, surprisingly, except for engraved gems. Sulla's domination is the first period of time when engraved gems are clearly attested asto being used for propaganda purposes. The information testifying to that yields from both, literary and archaeological sources. Sulla is the first Roman about whom we know with all certainty that he intentionally employed gem engravers for his personal motivations to influence others. They could carve gems to popularise his image as well as to commemorate his successes. In this sub-chapter I would like to analyse all those aspects of Sulla's propaganda on gems and examine also mythological references he could have used on intaglios to advertise himself. Finally, symbols and their configurations, traditionally regarded as having political meaning, will be critically discussed here as well.

7.1.1. Seals of Sulla

The most powerful ancient record about Sulla as a propagandist using engraved gems for self-promotion comes from literary texts. Pliny in his *Historia Naturalis*, Plutarch in his *Life of Sulla* and *Life of Marius* as well as Valerius Maximus specify that Sulla sealed his documents with an image of himself seated on a raised seat with a bound Jugurtha kneeling beside him while before him kneels Bocchus, offering an olive-branch.[1] The seal portrays Sulla's first great victory, in which he ended the Jugurthine War (112-106 BC) and its iconography was most likely based on the sculptural prototype which was a gilded statuary group sent by Bocchus to Rome and installed on the Capitol.[2] That event enormously boosted his political career and for a nobleman seeking to raise his authority it was a perfect occasion to promote his success. There was no better way to illustrate his exceptional military and political achievement than upon a personal seal. The seal itself as well as the statuary group have not survived, but the seal's iconography inspired the son of Sulla, Faustus Cornelius Sulla (questor in 54 BC), who in 56 BC minted a denarius presenting exactly the same scene (Figure 99).[3] It is suggested that Sulla used this image for some time after his arrival in Rome in 105 BC.[4] His seal is the first powerful propagandistic message encoded on an intaglio in the Roman Republican period. The value of this gem is beyond measure since Sulla by sealing all his documents, letters etc. reminded the recipients about his achievement and highlighted that he was the designer and main author of the success. For it is important to remember that Sulla was serving under Marius at the time, who took all the public credit for this feat. Putting such an image upon a personal seal was the only option Sulla had for popularising himself and commemorating his achievement even though he was risking a conflict with Marius, as has been said by Plutarch and Valerius Maximus.[5] According to these writers, Sulla's seal was an open provocation that might have ended up in a civil war. It seems that Sulla's propagandistic move was successful since as a result he was credited by many Romans for the victory in the Jugurthine War.[6] He did not risk an open rebellion against Marius, but gradually undermined his authority in a very sophisticated way using engraved gems. As one sees, intaglios could be powerful and fascinating propaganda tools. The seal is also of crucial importance in the discussion of the matter as to whether the above-mentioned gilded statue presenting the same scene was delivered by Bocchus independently or whether it was Sulla himself who instructed his ally to do so. Giving the fact that Sulla chose the same scene for his personal seal at the same time suggests it was no coincidence and the whole action was a carefully designed propagandistic plan. It was impossible for Sulla to have erected the

[1] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.9; Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 3.4; Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, 10.5-6; Valerius Maximus, VIII.14.4.

[2] Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 6.1. However, Flower has suggested that Bocchus took the inspiration for his monumental sculptural group directly from Sulla's ring device (2006: 113).

[3] *RRC*, no. 426/1.

[4] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 304; Instinsky 1962: 20; Lapatin 2015: 113; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 444; Plantzos 1999: 85-86; Vollenweider 1955: 102; 1966: 17-18; Zazoff 1983: 315; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 10.

[5] Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, 10.5; Valerius Maximus, VIII.14.4.

[6] Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, 10.6; Valerius Maximus, VIII.14.4.

statue for himself, so he must have acted through Bocchus' hands. This showed the Roman dictator as the one to whom external kings subordinate themselves which contributed to his *auctoritas*. In the case of glyptics, there were no such limits and the image could be used without any restrictions. The statue, due to its prestigious location must also have been approved by the Senate so that both media transmitted a consistent picture in order to disseminate a particular message about its subject that was consecrated by the most important institution of the Roman Republic.[7]

Toso observes that taking such an image as Sulla did as a personal seal was a continuation of an Italic-Roman tradition called self-presentation.[8] This is very true as the seal image was not only aimed at provoking Marius or commemorating a specific event, but also highlighting Sulla's *virtus*, military prowess and other positive features of his character. On the other hand, this act was a kind of precedent which is typical of Sulla, as for instance, the mentioned gilded statues presenting his victory over Jugurtha donated by Bocchus and installed on the Capitol, the tablets set up by Bocchus on the Capitol and his coinage suggest too.[9] Another, very important observation is that the image known from glyptics was inspirational for the later coin die makers and Sulla's son who used it to recall his father's success on his own coins. By acting like this, he transferred Sulla's *auctoritas* onto himself. This sort of reception should be regarded here as a transfer of authority from a great ancestor to a new propagandist. No literary or archaeological record survived suggesting Faustus Cornelius Sulla used the seal of his father but giving the fact that it was a common practice in the Roman Republican period to pass seals from one generation to another, one surmises that this could have happened.

There is evidence that Sulla continued to use engraved gems for propaganda purposes during his whole political career. In contrast to Pliny and Plutarch, Cassius Dio, while writing about the seal of Pompey the Great sent to Rome by Caesar to prove his opponent had died, states that Pompey used to seal his documents with an image of three trophies as Sulla had done.[10] Based on this information, it is argued that this was Sulla's next seal.[11] However, Crawford thinks that Cassius Dio was wrong about linking Pompey's three trophies ring device with original Sulla's one.[12] Instead, he refers to the coins minted during Sulla's lifetime, especially to the aurei struck between 84-83 BC by Sulla himself. On the reverse side there are only two trophies and a jug with *lituus* between them.[13] This iconography refers to the battle at Chaeronea in 86 BC after which Sulla erected two trophies: one dedicated to Mars, for delivering victory to Rome, and the second to Venus, in the spirit of fortune for the luck granted to the Romans and as Sulla's personal patron deity.[14] Basing on such a fragmentary evidence, it is difficult to judge whether Cassius Dio was indeed wrong to mention Pompey's ring while referring to Sulla's one at the same time. But to my mind, there is no strong argument why we should not believe him.

Again, coinage is helpful in determining what kind of iconography was featured upon Sulla's next potential ring. A series of denarii minted in 56 BC by Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of Sulla, under Pompey the Great bears three trophies on the reverse side (Figure 100).[15] It is believed that the three trophies appearing on this coin as well as on one of Pompey's rings stand for his victories on three continents which was a success unique for Pompey because he was the first Roman to accomplish that after Romulus.[16] The most striking question is why should we believe Cassius Dio and other authors when they first mention Sulla's ring with surrendered Jugurtha and not with the second one featuring the three trophies? It seems reasonable to believe that Faustus Cornelius Sulla depicted on his second coin struck under Pompey the Great another motif referring to his father's seal so apart from glorifying Pompey, his goal was also his own self-promotion. Some numismatists believe that the three trophies on these coins refer to Sulla's triumphs in Cilicia, Greece (against Mithridates VI Eupator) and Italy.[17] Even though in the context of 56 BC and minting coins under Pompey the Great, such a reference is certainly plausible. Kopij argues that this coin type has a double meaning and refers to Pompey's three triumphs as well as those of Sulla at the same time.[18] What Crawford misses is the fact that some Roman politicians used to have two or even more seals at their disposal at the same time or used them one after another (cf. chapters 8.14, 9.3.1.3 and 10.3). It is probable that Sulla first used the ring with the surrendered Jugurtha and then another ring with three trophies. Furthermore, it seems that indeed, the son of Sulla issuing his coins killed two birds with one stone: he promoted himself and his family while delivering Pompey's propaganda at the same time.

As mentioned, Sulla used his next seal with three trophies to make a clear reference to his military successes. This is another example of his propaganda

[7] Noble 2014: 77.
[8] Toso 2007: 16.
[9] *RRC*: 450, 732-733; Zanker 1988: 6.
[10] Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, 42.18.3.
[11] For instance, see a discussion on this matter in: Plantzos 1999: 85-86.
[12] *RRC*: 450.
[13] *RRC*, no. 359/1.
[14] *RRC*: 373.
[15] *RRC*, no. 426/3.
[16] Kopij 2017: 94-95 and 260; Kraft 1952-1953: 34-35.
[17] Mackay 2000: 208-209; Morawiecki 1996: 46.
[18] Kopij 2017: 94-95 and 260.

actions performed through glyptics. Having no precise information as to the specific occasions the seal commemorated, it might only be repeated that plausible candidates are Sulla's triumphs in Cilicia, Greece (against Mithridates VI Eupator) and Italy.[19] The propagandistic value of this seal was comparable to the first one and it is noteworthy that the subjects are consistent with Sulla's general propaganda objectives e.g. focus on his military accomplishments and they were not isolated cases but a part of a well-designed programme.[20]

7.1.2. Possible employment of gem engravers and collecting

As described above, Sulla is the first among prominent Romans (at least of whom any records in ancient literary sources survived) who used their personal seals for political purposes. Both his seals bore clearly propagandistic images deliberately created to affect other people, promote the propagandist, especially his values, and immortalise his successes. We are justified in believing that Sulla hired gem engravers to produce those seals for him and maybe other intaglios for his personal use. During his numerous eastern quests and while governing Cilicia, he surely met gem engravers working at the courts of Hellenistic rulers or at least their products. It is supposed that a Greek gem engraved Protarchos first worked for Mithridates VI Eupator, but around 80 BC or even earlier, he transferred his business to Rome and worked for the Roman aristocracy including Sulla.[21] Indeed, such a supposition seems to be correct if one analyses the iconography of Protarchos' signed works as well as those attributed to him.[22] These constitute a homogenous group of cameos illustrating Venus and Cupid. On the signed cameo in Florence, Protarchos depicted Cupid playing a *cithara* while a riding on a large lion to the right (cat. no. 7.1, Figure 101). On the onyx cameo in Boston signed by Protarchos, Venus is presented with a veil over her head and Cupid on her arm (cat. no. 7.2, Figure 102). On a cameo from Naples Venus rides on a large lion with her veil flying and her son Cupid holds a branch and leads the lion on a leash (cat. no. 7.3, Figure 103). Finally, on another cameo in Naples, the artist cut Venus seated on a rock in conversation with a Hermaphrodite lying on a column and with Cupid on her knees (cat. no. 7.4, Figure 104).

The pair of Venus and Cupid was much venerated by Sulla which is reflected in his coinage and beyond.[23] It is noteworthy that Venus accompanied by Cupid raising a branch towards her is an element of the trophies erected after the Battle of Chaeronea (86 BC) and the warlike qualities and accoutrements are ascribed to her in the case of this monument.[24] It is argued that by doing this Sulla was drawing attention to the tradition of the mythical origins of Rome as Venus was believed to be the mother of Aeneas.[25] A useful metaphor of this was a configuration of Venus and her son Cupid which one observes precisely on the afore-mentioned cameos executed by Protarchos.[26] His works showing Cupid riding a lion and leading a lion with Venus riding on it symbolically recall the voyage of Aeneas, son of Venus, with his father Anchises and son Ascanius to Italy and foundation of Rome, while the cameo from Boston is a less direct allusion to that myth.[27] The lion, as an exotic animal in Rome, could reflect the starting point of that travel as Asia Minor.[28] The second cameo from Naples, where apart from Venus and Cupid there is a Hermaphrodite, is attributed to Protarchos on stylistic grounds. If it is indeed his work, it could have served for the personal adornment of Sulla or someone from his circle, but it could have been made for another customer as well. If indeed the first three cameos were ordered by Sulla himself, they would have had a considerable propagandistic value which was a reference to Venus' role as the ancestress of the Roman state proving Sulla's legitimacy to govern the Roman Republic.[29] Furthermore, Sulla is credited for his efforts towards reconciliation between Greek and Roman elites.[30] The employment of Protarchos as his gem engraver by Sulla could be the best illustration of this and perhaps his cameos were intended to influence well-educated groups that could understand the sophisticated language of his propaganda encapsulated in those objects. Furthermore, they are not isolated examples but fit Sulla's political programme combining military distinctions with mythological references.[31]

Finally, it is worth mentioning that some scholars claim that there seems to be fashion for gem collecting already in the times of Sulla;[32] however, I do not find any credible evidence for such practices before Marcus Aemilius Scaurus and Pompey the Great (cf. chapter

[19] Mackay 2000: 208-209; Morawiecki 1996: 46.
[20] Noble 2014: 173-174.
[21] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 27. See also the discussion of Protarchos' activities in Rome as a gem engraver and coin die maker by Vollenweider (1966: 23-25). She does not link him with Sulla.
[22] Vollenweider 1966: 23-25, pls. 12.1 and 5 and 13.1, 3, 5 and 7.
[23] Regarding coins, see: *RRC*, nos. 359/1-2 (aurei and denarii of Sulla, struck in 84-83 BC). See also a recent discussion in: Noble 2014: 169-173. Regarding Sulla's veneration of Venus, see: Ramage 1991.
[24] Noble 2014: 114-115 and 163-168.
[25] Noble 2014: 168.
[26] Cupid was often employed to recall the myth of Venus and Aeneas in the times of Augustus as in the case of his famous cuirassed Prima Porta statue, see: Zanker 1988: 145, 188-192 and 196.
[27] On alternative meaning of Cupid/Eros riding a lion, see: Sagiv 2018: 102-104.
[28] The animal was also a symbol of the sun and thus associated with Apollo (Sagiv 2018: 91), another deity venerated by Sulla.
[29] Noble 2014: 115.
[30] Santangelo 2007: 197 and 206-207.
[31] On which, see: Noble 2014: 173-174.
[32] Toso 2007: 4; Zazoff 1983: 269.

8.1.2).[33] Nevertheless, it is evident that during Sulla's political activity the influx of Greek gem engravers to Rome began to gain strength and Pompey the Great should not be given the whole credit for the promotion of engraved gems among the Romans as suggested by Pliny.[34]

7.1.3. Personal branding - portraits

After examining Sulla's personal seals as well as possible gem engravers working for him, it is time to investigate whether or not glyptics were employed by him or in his name for personal branding to any considerable degree. In her thorough study of Roman portraits on Roman Republican engraved gems, Vollenweider described only one intaglio presenting the likeness of Sulla.[35] This is hardly surprising since comparative material is so scanty and all the known examples of Sulla's portrait in other branches of Roman art are copies from later periods. There are a few images of Sulla on coins and only three sculptural heads can be more or less securely attributed to him.[36] However, as I have already pointed out, portraits of living people are more likely to appear on gems than on coins or sculpture in the Middle Republic. Therefore, if there had been a medium where Sulla's portraits occurred during his lifetime, it would have been definitely glyptics. Identification of portrait gems is always extremely difficult and problematic and so is dating them. The examples investigated below should be treated with a considerable reserve for both attribution and date. My judgments are just proposals, not definitive verdicts and they cannot be anything more due to the puzzles and problems listed above.

The Musei Capitolini in Rome preserves an outstanding black glass gem engraved with a laureate bust with drapery on the right arm of a Roman to the right (cat. no. 7.5, Figure 105). In front of him there is an object interpreted as a sceptre surmounted with *aquila*. The man depicted on this object has been identified as Sulla by Vollenweider and Molinari, however, Righetti and Richter claimed it to be a post-classical intaglio showing Julius Caesar.[37] In my opinion, there seem to be no definite arguments for regarding the gem in question as a modern work. The provenance of the piece (Martinetti collection), the stylistic features of the engraving, form and most importantly traces of considerable wear – all combine to testify to that. The identification of the portrait is a much more complex issue, though. Although the facial features including deeply cut mimic wrinkles and the strong physiognomy of a powerful man are well exhibited and similar to the faces of Sulla known from coins and sculpture,[38] the treatment of the hair is problematic. It is consistent with the Italic-Roman tradition of hair rendered with numerous, short strokes constructing a sort of casque on the head, but different to the sculptural hairdos of Sulla.[39] Nevertheless, the unusual attribute the man is wearing on his head – a myrtle wreath – might have caused this sort of neatly combed hair and also the individual approach of the engraver who might not have had a prototype of Sulla's likeness to inspire him.

Vollenweider observed that the myrtle wreath should be linked with Venus whom Sulla venerated as his patron goddess and this was one of her arguments for attributing the portrait to the dictator.[40] However, to my mind, no male portraits in glyptic art from the 1st century BC are known to have been decorated with this particular kind of wreath. In the late 1st century BC and early 1st century AD, the Roman empress Livia was presented on cameos with this kind of attribute while identified as Venus Genetrix – mother of the Julio-Claudian family (cf. chapter 10.10).[41] The eagle-sceptre is another unusual attribute that can be compared only to the one occurring on the cameo mounted in the centre of the Cross of Lothair in Aachen presenting a laureate and draped bust of Augustus.[42] It is a legionary sign that in the context of Sulla would highlight his position as the chief commander of the Roman army. Those two exceptional attributes could not be used for an ordinary Roman citizen or politician for sure; they must have belonged to the most powerful man at the time of the first third of the 1st century BC, which date is suggested on the stylistic grounds of the intaglio. Yet, the material – glass – does not match its extraordinary iconography. For these reasons, identification of the man portrayed as Sulla is possible, but largely uncertain. If the attribution of the portrait is correct, the intaglio perfectly encapsulates Sulla's veneration of Venus as well as his outstanding position in the Roman army. The object would transmit a powerful propagandistic message that could have been created only in the late 80s once Sulla became a dictator and consolidated his position in Rome. By this image, he

[33] I did not find any information on collections of gems prior to these, however, Pliny accidentally mentions auctions of finger rings that could be set with engraved gems, which maybe were intended to build a cabinet of gems (*Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.6).

[34] Plantzos 1999: 111-112; Vollenweider 1966: 17-18.

[35] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 30-31, pl. 21.1, 4 and 6.

[36] For coins, see: *RRC*, no. 434/1 (denarius of Q. Pompeius Rufus, 54 BC); Strocka 2003: 37-55 (appendix study by T. Ganschow). Regarding the marble heads, see a thorough discussion on this subject in: Strocka 2003: 7-36, though, see also Poulsen 1974, no. 30.

[37] Sulla: Molinari *et al.* 1990, no. 8; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 21.1, 4 and 6. Julius Caesar (post-classical): Richter 1971, no. 761; Righetti 1955a, no. 216.

[38] For coins, see: *RRC*, no. 434/1 (denarius of Q. Pompeius Rufus, 54 BC); Strocka 2003: 37-55 (appendix study by T. Ganschow). Regarding the marble heads, see a thorough discussion on this subject in: Strocka 2003: 7-36.

[39] Compare the head from Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (inv. no. 1811) – Strocka 2003: 14-18, ills. 1-3, 5-7, 10, 13, 16, 18). Strocka is of the opinion that the gem in question does not present Sulla's portrait (2003: 33).

[40] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 31.

[41] On this issue, see: Flory 1995; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 718.

[42] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 148, ill. 608 (with more literature).

was not only presented as a powerful individual but also, as a governor supported by Venus, the only one who was able to conduct necessary reforms in Rome.

Another interesting and no less controversial object that should be mentioned here is an iron ring engraved with a head of a man to the left in the collections of the Louvre Museum in Paris (cat. no. 7.6). Coche de la Ferté identifies the individual presented on the ring as Sulla.[43] According to museum's documentation, the ring was found in Smyrna (modern Izmir) and due to the kind of material used, it has been suggested that the ring belonged to a Roman soldier fighting for Sulla during his engagement in the First Mithridatic War (87-85 BC).[44] Although such an interpretation is tempting, it should be stressed that any identification of the portrayed person with Sulla is largely speculative. In contrast with the previous piece, here, the portrait lacks attributes, while the physiognomy and coiffure seem to be far from those met on coins and marble heads presenting Sulla later.[45] Even though the ring should be dated to the early 1st century BC based on stylistic and technical grounds, it is more likely that it represents a Roman general or a high-ranking officer rather than Sulla himself.

Much closer to the images of Sulla known from coins and sculpture is a head engraved upon a dark orange carnelian now preserved in the Kestner Museum in Hannover (cat. no. 7.7, Figure 106). Here, the facial expression suggesting a powerful individual is well elaborated through deeply cut mimic wrinkles, wide open eye, big nose, open mouth and clearly marked Adam's apple. The coiffure presented as a mass of medium-long locks in disarray is particularly close to Sulla's portrait appearing on a denarius minted by Q. Pompeius Rufus in 54 BC.[46] Moreover, the sense of Hellenistic engraving is noticeable here and the cutting is of exceptional quality. Although the individualisation is far reaching, this portrait clearly stands out from the mass of other gems with Roman heads. Although Vollenweider compared it to the coins of Q. Pompeius Rufus, she hesitated to identify the head with Sulla.[47] Such an attribution was proposed by Zazoff and I believe he is right.[48] The stylistic features of this intaglio suggest dating it to the 80s of the 1st century BC, however, due to lack of comparative material a more specific date cannot be determined. Nothing certain is known about the provenance of this piece, but owing to its somewhat Hellenistic character, it could have been cut for Sulla during one of his eastern campaigns. The intaglio was a powerful propaganda tool contributing to Sulla's personal branding and enhancing his authority. It certainly helped to disseminate his image.

In Hannover, there is another interesting carnelian gem depicting a head that might belong to Sulla (cat. no. 7.8, Figure 107).[49] This portrait exhibits characteristics of Sulla's face which are an open mouth, big eyes, deeply cut mimic wrinkles, straight nose and hollow cheek. The physiognomy of a powerful individual is well highlighted here. The hair is formed in short and thick locks carelessly arranged on the head like the head from Copenhagen.[50] The gem seems to be a local Roman work, and in contrast to the one described above, there is no trace of Hellenistic manner here. Most likely, the intaglio was cut after Sulla's death (after a sculptural prototype?), perhaps around the middle of the 1st century BC when his legend had been the subject of coins struck by Q. Pompeius Rufus. The gem may be a part of Sulla's image reception from that time and the owner wanted to advertise his relationship with the dictator and transfer his authority onto himself.

Vollenweider suggested two more gems which plausibly bear portraits of Sulla. One of them is a carnelian in Florence,[51] and the other is a carnelian from the Bollmann collection in Switzerland featuring a portrait of a Roman identified by her as possibly Sulla.[52] Nevertheless, comparison of those images with the gems described above as well as Sulla's portraits known from later coins and sculpture suggests a negative answer and I think the intaglios in question present private portraits of two unknown Roman individuals.[53]

Strocka points out several other gems possibly bearing the portrait of Sulla. One of them is a carnelian now in Bern showing a head of a man whose facial expression as well as the coiffure, in Strocka's opinion, are close to the head of Sulla from Copenhagen.[54] Another carnelian from Paris according to him is executed in a similar manner and shows a head of a man with a powerful facial expression and minutely engraved hair. It also bears an inscription FAL (cf. cat. no. 7.59, Figure 137 below).[55] This portrait was dated by Vollenweider to c. 50-40 BC which is unacceptable because it exhibits more features of the early 1st century Hellenised portraits of the Romans and in this respect Strocka's observation is correct.[56] I believe that those two portrait gems were

[43] Coche de la Ferté 1956, pl. XLII.3, p. 88.
[44] Coche de la Ferté 1956: 88.
[45] For coins, see: *RRC*, no. 434/1 (denarius of Q. Pompeius Rufus, 54 BC); Strocka 2003: 37-55 (appendix study by T. Ganschow). Regarding the marble heads, see a thorough discussion on this subject in: Strocka 2003: 7-36.
[46] *RRC*, no. 434/1.
[47] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 49-50.
[48] Zazoff 1983: 280.
[49] *AGDS* IV Hannover, no. 563.
[50] Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (inv. no. 1811) – Strocka 2003: 14-18, ills. 1-3, 5-7, 10, 13, 16, 18.
[51] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 86-87, pls. 55-56.1.
[52] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 85, pl. 54.1-3.
[53] See also discussion on these two gems in: Strocka 2003: 33-34.
[54] Strocka 2003: 24, ills. 19-20.
[55] Strocka 2003: 26, ills. 21-22.
[56] Compare Strocka 2003: 26, ills. 21-22 and Vollenweider and Avissau-Broustet 2003, no. 15.

created in the early 1st century BC, perhaps in the 80s BC, but I do not recognise many features of Sulla on them and it is more secure to take them as private portraits. Strocka brings in one more portrait of a Roman cut in garnet, now in private hands,[57] which, however, seems to be a complete misunderstanding as it is clear that the intaglio was executed by a Greek engraver in the East in the second half of the 2nd century BC, not later (cf. cat. no. 6.88, chapter 6.2.1 above).[58]

The survey of portraits of Sulla on engraved gems resulted in a relatively small number of objects that can be linked with this Roman statesman. In the mass of anonymous portrait intaglios dated to the first half of the 1st century BC, there is no homogenous group that could be identified with Sulla. Only single objects can be identified with this Roman dictator and even those on quite speculative grounds. It seems that the personal branding of Sulla through gems and other channels was extremely limited. The gem from Musei Capitolini in Rome is an exceptional piece possibly executed during Sulla's lifetime. His attributes suggest a special occasion upon which the intaglio was made. The material used (glass) and the level of workmanship rather excludes this gem being made for Sulla himself. Perhaps it had been gifted to one of his followers or made on the commission of such a person. Noteworthy is the intaglio from the Hannover collection which betrays considerable Hellenistic influences. It was possibly cut during one of Sulla's eastern campaigns or his governorship of Cilicia, but it is hard to tell whether it served the dictator as an extraordinary piece of jewellery or one of his followers. There is also evidence for the reception of Sulla's portrait in glyptic art which is suggested by another intaglio from Hannover described above (cat. no. 7.8, Figure 107). It does not concern Sulla's propaganda itself but is an interesting example of the long-lasting popularity of the dictator that was utilised by his son, which is also confirmed by numismatics.

7.1.4. Commemoration

The two seals of Sulla discussed above make one aware that one of the most important propaganda practices performed on engraved gems is commemoration of important events. It became popular in the second half of the 1st century BC but already at the time of Sulla one observes the first symptoms of that phenomenon and there are more examples testifying to that than the dictator's seals. A carnelian in Munich features highly interesting iconography including two male busts to the left on a round altar flanked by two Victories holding palm branches and crowning the heads with wreaths (cat. no. 7.9, Figure 108). This unusual piece seems to have no parallels whatsoever but Vollenweider compared the heads with coins and identified them as belonging to Sulla and Quintus Pompeius Rufus presented here as a pair of consuls appointed in 88 BC.[59] The latter was a faithful follower of the dictator. He accompanied him on his first march on Rome and gave him his complete support in his campaign against Sulpicius as well as during the occupation of Rome. Together, the consuls passed a series of laws, including the exile of Marius and his supporters. The identification proposed by Vollenweider is controversial given the fact that regarding Sulla's portrait there is little comparative material available. To some degree, the bust on the foreground is consistent with images of Sulla appearing on later coins and sculpture and it is similar to the intaglios from Hannover and to lesser degree also to the one in Rome discussed above. Noteworthy is that Sulla is not distinguished here by any kind of attribute, yet he is presented in the foreground. He does not have any specific attribute and there are two Victories crowning the men who seem to be presented as equal. Perhaps this was the intention of Sulla's propaganda here.[60] He wanted to justify his actions and avoided openly showing his ambition to be sole ruler. Instead, on this intaglio, he presented himself next to his colleague in office which also ensured his support for Sulla's cause in the fierce rivalry with Gaius Marius (Rufus was known for that). The presence of Victories normally suggests a victory and thus Vollenweider argued that the gem refers to Sulla's military accomplishments.[61] However, I think this is impossible given the circumstances and the fact that a victory over another Roman was not considered a triumph at the time. In contrast to Vollenweider, I do not believe that the motif had any divine or mythological reference. Such a hypothesis seems quite far-fetched and comparison to the bronze coins of Mantineia (c. 431-370 BC) is misleading.[62] It is far more possible that the intaglio was of purely commemorative character and transmits a message of the new world order, peace and prosperity as well as restoration of the Republic that has been proclaimed by two new consuls. Sulla was cautious with his propaganda language and he carefully designed the messages he sent to society. For this reason, there are two Victories illustrating this triumph, not just one.[63] The gem is of special importance since it can be identified with historical figures and specific events allowing one to date it precisely to 88 BC or slightly

[57] Strocka 2003: 26, ills. 23-24.

[58] See also discussion on it in: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 83-84, pl. 53.1-4.

[59] Vollenweider 1958-1959: 23-24; 1972-1974: 46-47, pl. 34.3-4. Such an interpretation is also accepted by Zazoff 1983: 280.

[60] Vollenweider argued that the Victories symbolise two military victories of Sulla (1972-1974: 46-47), while Strocka rejects identification of the portraits with Sulla and Rufus at all (2003: 33).

[61] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 46-47.

[62] BMC Peloponnesus, no. 6, p. 184; Vollenweider 1958-1959: 24; 1972-1974: 46.

[63] For the meaning of Victory in the coinage of Sulla and references to his successes and triumphs, see: *RRC*: 732.

later. The intaglio once belonged to Paul Arndt (1865-1937) who created his collection while in Rome (cf. chapter 11). This fact strengthens the probability that the gem was cut in Rome just after Sulla and Rufus were appointed consuls.

Regarding the commemoration of important events related to Sulla on gems, one more intriguing example is a glass intaglio preserved in Geneva. It presents a rider on a *biga* holding a spear and behind him there is another figure dressed in a toga mounting the chariot (cat. no. 7.10, Figure 109).[64] As suggested by Vollenweider, the iconography closely copies the reverse side of the denarius minted in 75 BC by L. Farsuleius Mensor (Figure 110).[65] She claimed that the coins and the gems to commemorate Sulla's triumph over Mithridates VI Eupator in 81 BC. She based her hypothesis on the fact that head of *Libertas* who was venerated by Sulla appears on the coins' obverses.[66] However, the gem lacks the scorpion sign under the horses and it is difficult to judge if the male warrior standing on a chariot is cuirassed and helmeted as he is on the coins. These differences are possibly due to the material used for the gem – glass and its overall poor quality. Regarding coins, Crawford suggests the figure on the *biga* to be god Mars, but he hesitates to identify the scene with any specific historical event.[67] Among Roman deities, Sulla venerated mainly Venus and Apollo, but he also had some appreciation for Mars.[68] Given the lack of any more meaningful clues, Vollenweider's interpretation of the Geneva gem is not utterly convincing. The cheap material and simple moulding technique used suggest the gem to have been mass produced. However, I was unable (as was Vollenweider herself) to find any parallel to this object. Perhaps the gem's iconography like the coin's, alludes to a general concept or demand for the restoration of peace and reconciliation between soldiers and civilians after the assimilation of the new citizens enfranchised after the Social War (91-88 BC). *Libertas* from the coin would fit this context perfectly.[69] The gem then would not be an effect of Sulla's propaganda but rather an ordinary item reflecting social needs and desires at the time.

In the previous chapter I described a number of gems presenting conflicts between the Romans and Gauls. Some of them are dated to the late 2nd or early 1st century BC (cf. chapter 6.3.4) and a part of this production may commemorate Sulla's fights with the Cimbri and Teutones in the years 104-101 BC. Perhaps such subjects were suitable for Roman veterans and could be distributed to them as Vollenweider thought.[70] However, there is no direct evidence that those gems were commissioned by Sulla or that he stimulated or encouraged their production. They were probably produced by gem engravers simply to answer the market's need for these kinds of objects. Still, this supply was caused by a considerable demand of Sulla's followers, probably soldiers, who wanted to mark their affinity with him. This suggests that the dictator's propaganda was largely successful. As far as can be judged from the material available in public and private collections there are no more examples of Sulla's successes commemorated on engraved gems. As outlined above, only the intaglio from Munich can be more or less securely linked with Sulla's propaganda activities in this respect apart from his own seals.

7.1.5. Divine and mythological references

During his whole political career, Sulla venerated various deities. He highlighted his connections with Venus, Apollo, Victory, *Libertas* and Heracles in particular.[71] Apart from these, in his propaganda he less frequently referred to mythological and legendary figures such as Romulus (in the beginning) and Diomedes (later).[72] In contrast to architecture or coinage, in glyptics one identifies a relatively small number of subjects that might be related to Sulla's propaganda highlighting divine protection over him and his special connections with specific deities. I have already discussed the issue of potential employment of a Greek gem engraver Protarchos by Sulla and the significance of his cameos in relation to the dictator's veneration of Venus (cf. chapter 7.1.1 above). One of the issues touched on was the warlike qualities of Venus highlighted on the Chaeronea trophies which possibly refer to her role as ancestress of the Roman state. Following this unusual attribution, one wonders if early representations of armed Venus (*Victrix*) on gems could be related to Sulla's special connection with the goddess. I did not find a single proof of this and it should therefore be accepted that these gems are more likely to be related to the *gens* Julia Caesarea and Julius Caesar's propaganda activities (cf. chapters 8.2.8 and 8.3.3).

Concerning Apollo, his cult was much promoted by Sulla especially among his soldiers and the god was a symbol of *libertas* so much venerated by the dictator

[64] Vollenweider 1979, no. 142.
[65] *RRC*, no. 392/1a-b.
[66] Vollenweider 1979, no. 142.
[67] *RRC*: 406-407.
[68] Sulla did not highlight his sympathy for Mars very often, although he put the god's name on the trophies erected after the battle at Chaeroneia alongside those of Victory and Venus, see: Ramage 1991: 98.
[69] *RRC*: 406-407. However, Yarrow proposes to decipher the scene as apotheosis of Romulus (forthcoming).
[70] Vollenweider 1955: 102.
[71] Barcarro 2008/2009: 16-17 and 100; Morawiecki 2014: 50-52; Noble 2014; Plantzos 1999: 85-86; Ramage 1991.
[72] Evans 1992: 89-90 and 107 (a sort of reception performed by Sulla's son Faustus); Toso 2007: 55-64.

too.[73] Sulla is even said to carry a small gold figurine of the god in his bosom to which he prayed during the battle of the Colline Gate (82 BC).[74] One observes a significant number of gems cut with the head of Apollo produced in the 1st century BC. This trend seems to start while Sulla was in charge of the government of Rome and a good number of those intaglios can be dated to the early 1st century BC, also if compared to similar representations appearing on coins (cat. nos 7.11-12, Figure 111).[75] Although there are plenty of other reasons for Apollo's heads and busts appearing on gems popularity other than political ones,[76] the abrupt and significant increase in the early 1st century BC is hard to explain in another way than that his cult was promoted by top Roman politicians, in this case Sulla. I do not find any example clearly indicating that Apollo's head was engraved upon a gem related to the dictator. Therefore, it is difficult to regard engraved gems with the image of this god as propaganda objects the production of which was encouraged by Sulla himself, but they could work as such on a much less obvious level which due to the lack of sufficient context escapes us today. Plutarch suggests that Sulla's veneration of Apollo was targeted to influence the army and one surmises that since the commander gave an example, his followers cherished the same god.[77] As a result, carrying rings with gems bearing Apollo's images could be one of the variants of this practice. It would have strengthened the bonds between a propagandist and his audience. Ultimately, the image of Apollo might have been automatically associated with Sulla and thus, gems with the god's head were desirable products also for showing one's allegiance to the group of Sulla's supporters.

Regarding other motifs involving Apollo and potentially referring to Sulla, Toso suggests that some intaglios presenting the punishment of Marsyas by Apollo may be related to Sulla's propaganda (cat. nos 7.13-14, Figure 112). She bases her hypothesis on the fact that an original Hellenistic statuary group illustrating that myth created in Pergamon in the second half of the 3rd century BC was copied in the times of Sulla in Rome.[78] This was due to the fact that the group was a perfect allegory of Sulla's victories over barbarians (Cimbri and Teutones) as well as the East (the First Mithridatic War). This concept is illustrated on a glass gem from London where Apollo plays a lyre standing next to Marsyas who hangs on a tree and on the other side stands Victory (cat. no. 7.13, Figure 113). The subject of Marsyas' punishment became indeed popular from the early 1st century BC. However, one should remember that Sulla's opponents used that motif for their own political reasons too. For instance, L. Marcius Censorinus issued coins depicting Marsyas, at a time when the augural college was the subject of political controversy during the Sullan civil wars of the 80s BC (Figure 165).[79] He was later killed by Sulla for this mockery. As a matter of fact, it is debatable if the subject of Apollo punishing Marsyas could be applied in glyptics in favour of Sulla, for his propaganda, or whether it was also used by his opponents. An argument in favour of Sulla is that the motif could have been used in his integrational propaganda focusing on Apollo. Later, it was employed for similar reasons by Octavian (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7).

Less controversial is the issue of Victory's employment for Sulla's propaganda and possible reflections of that on engraved gems. In Geneva and London there are two highly interesting glass gems presenting Victory flanked by two trophies (cat. nos 7.15-16, Figure 113). As Vollenweider suggested, this iconography existed first in the Hellenistic East appearing, for instance, on the coins of Antiochos VIII Grypos among others.[80] A similar layout for trophies (without Victory, though) had been applied by Sulla on his coins celebrating his military success in the Battle of Chaeronea in 86 BC but the statue of Victory was a part of the trophies erected after the battle near Aphrodisias. Perhaps then, these intaglios served the same purpose and were supposed to commemorate this particularly important event in Sulla's career. Noteworthy is that just as the bust of Apollo, the one of Victory gains popularity in the early 1st century BC. Vollenweider discussed whether the motif was a symbol of the *populares* or could stand for Sulla's military victories (cat. no. 7.17, Figure 114).[81] Finally, Weiß draws attention to another glass gem representing an unusual type: this time Victory is shown as holding a palm branch and throwing something into a *hydria* standing beside her (cat. no. 7.18, Figure 115). She argues that the motif may commemorate the *ludi Victoriae Sullanae* or *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*.[82] The first were the games performed in early 81 BC, after Sulla's victory at Porta Collina in 82 BC. This exceptional occasion might have been commemorated on engraved gems by using just such unusual iconography.[83] It is probable because Victory was employed by Sulla on his coins proclaiming his expected victory just before the battle at Porta Collina.[84]

Regarding Heracles, as Plutarch says, he was regarded by Sulla as his patron god to whom he dedicated a statue

[73] Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 29. On Apollo as symbol of *libertas*, see: *RRC*: 732.
[74] Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 29.6.
[75] See an extremely important iconological analysis of that motif in: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1989/1993: 196-200.
[76] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1989/1993: 196-200.
[77] Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 29.
[78] Toso 2007: 222.
[79] *RRC*, nos. 363/1a-d (denarii of L. Marcius Censorinus, 82 BC).
[80] Vollenweider 1979, no. 525.
[81] Vollenweider 1979, no. 123.
[82] Weiß 2007, no. 239.
[83] Hölscher 1967: 143-147.
[84] *RRC*, nos. 367/1-5 (aurei and denarii of Sulla, 82 BC).

on the Esquiline called *Heracles Sullanus*.[85] In Roman Republican glyptics the motif of a head of Heracles or his bust became popular in the early 1st century BC which is consistent with Sulla's veneration of the Greek hero (cat. nos 7.19-20, Figure 116). The peak of popularity of that motif occurs around the mid-1st century BC, which might be related to another Roman propagandist referring to the hero – Pompey the Great (cf. chapter 8.1.9). Naturally, as has already been pointed out, there could be a plenty of reasons other than political for the popularity of Heracles on gems those days (cf. chapter 6.3.1). Nevertheless, the political factor should not be entirely ignored. One imagines a situation when the cult of this particular Greek hero is promoted by Sulla and the practice is further imitated by his followers (especially soldiers). Moreover, perhaps some of them even identified the propagandist with Heracles and thus chose to have had his likeness engraved upon their own rings. This would have testified to the considerable authority and influence of Sulla as well as to the fact that his propaganda was successful. As has been said in the introduction (cf. chapter 4.7), propaganda proves successful when the audience does not have to be stimulated anymore, but processes messages and issues related to the propagandist on its own and this might be the case here. Another consideration is the reception of Sulla's propaganda performed by his son Faustus who struck an issue with Heracles' head wearing a lion skin.[86] Due to the three wreaths appearing on the reverse, it is traditionally identified with the propaganda of Pompey the Great,[87] but one cannot exclude that the moneyer intended to compare Pompey to Heracles and Sulla (also as Heracles) at the same time. Interpreted that way, it is a confirmation of a subtle political language that was preferred by propagandists of all kinds. This instance makes one aware that even on coins equipped with legends and other helpful indicators, the proper meaning of the propagandistic message remains obscure for us today. Still, for the Romans just one symbol was often a sufficient allusion, thus the political significance of Heracles on gems should be taken into consideration.

Finally, one of the most discussed motifs in glyptics and coinage often associated with Sulla is the so-called 'Dream of Sulla' scene (cat. nos 7.21-23, Figure 117). According to Plutarch, the following dream occurred to Sulla on the night before he attacked Sulpicius and Marius in Rome in 88 BC: *'(...) the goddess whom the Romans had learned to worship from the Cappadocians, whether she is Selene or Athena or Enyo (Bellona), appeared to Sulla as he was sleeping. She handed him a thunderbolt and naming his enemies one by one, she ordered him to strike them. When he did so, all his enemies fell down and vanished. Sulla was encouraged by this dream and after he told it to his followers at dawn, he marched upon Rome.'*[88] Based on this account, Vollenweider connected the imaginary of the goddess Selene appearing to Endymion occurring on a considerable series of gems with that dream of Sulla. She claimed that a number of glass gems with that motif should be linked to Sulla's propaganda practices because they were distributed to the soldiers faithful to the statesman and worn by them as amulets.[89] Vollenweider as well as some numismatists pointed out the denarius struck by L. Aemilius Buca in 44 BC presenting on the obverse side the head of Venus and the goddess approaching a sleeping man on the reverse (Figure 118).[90] Because Venus was venerated by Sulla (and Caesar), it was tempting to associate the scene from the reverse side with the 'dream of Sulla' story as Crawford did.[91] However, over recent decades more attention has been given to that motif by numismatists and scholars focusing on glyptics.[92]

For a start, one notices that in the dream described by Plutarch the goddess appearing to Sulla gives him a bundle of thunderbolts which is absent both on coins and gems. Crawford explains that this element is replaced on the coins by Victory with a staff, however, she does not appear on any intaglio except for one glass gem in Copenhagen which clearly copies the design of L. Aemilius Buca's coin from 44 BC and thus, cannot be linked with Sulla's propaganda (cat. no. 7.24). Instead, the Eastern goddess depicted on coins grasps her veil, while on gems she holds a torch. Vollenweider tried to justify this inconsistency between the iconography and Plutarch's story by quoting other authors describing a similar event and combining some linguistic studies. Moreover, she noticed that the goddess from the scene in question appears separately on a good number of gems but she explains that as a sort of a shortcut of the story, which is unacceptable.[93] Her hypothesis has been rejected and it is now a common view that the scene depicts Selene approaching Endymion in a deep sleep.[94] As Spier observes, the motif of Artemis-Selene (which is a more correct identification of the goddess) either appearing to Endymion or alone occurs on the gems of various kinds in respect of their shapes, materials, forms and style of engraving. They do not constitute a homogenous group and should be dated from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD.[95] I believe this to

[85] Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 35; Barcaro 2008/2009: 100 (with more literature on the subject).
[86] *RRC*, no. 426/4b (denarius of Faustus Cornelius Sulla, 56 BC).
[87] Plantzos 1999: 85-86; *RRC*: 450-451.
[88] Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, 9.
[89] Vollenweider 1958-1959.
[90] *RRC*, no. 480/1.
[91] For the coins, see: *RRC*, no. 480/1 (denarius of L. Aemilius Buca, 44 BC).
[92] Zazoff 1983: 295.
[93] Vollenweider 1958-1959: 26-29.
[94] See for instance a detailed discussion in: Fears 1975; Toso 2007: 217-219. The motif is sometimes related to the death of Caesar and his apotheosis, but this seems to be exaggerated as well.
[95] Spier 2001, no. 35.

be the case and the increasing popularity of Artemis-Selene on engraved gems in the 1st century BC/AD is due to a general trend observed by Pliny the Elder who claims that many Egyptian and eastern deities were becoming popular as signet images at that time.[96] As regards coins, Venus on the obverse refers to Caesar and *gens* Julia in general, while the scene on the reverse is thought to be a personal choice of the moneyer.[97] A similar study of the goddess (recognised as Diana), though riding a *biga*, is presented on denarii of Faustus Cornelius Sulla minted in 56 BC, which Crawford also correctly explains as a personal preference for the deity of the moneyer.[98] This confirms the words of Pliny and might be the case for the issue of L. Aemilius Buca from 44 BC as well as the gems showing the so-called 'dream of Sulla' scene.

Regarding other possible identifications of Sulla with mythological or divine figures, Toso points out that similarly to Apollo and Heracles, representations of Diomedes became popular in the early 1st century BC (cat. no. 7.25, Figure 119). This might be due to the fact that the motif was related to a general concept of Roman power, *imperium* and even *pietas* towards Venus whom Sulla venerated so much.[99] Besides, Sulla, the victor of the First Mithridatic War and governor of Rome could be regarded as the new Diomedes which might have triggered production of gems with his figure.[100] Concerning *Libertas* – Sulla considered himself a champion of that personification, but she was mostly indirectly promoted on his coins through Apollo and the same probably happened on gems because her images, either heads or in figural form, do not occur on engraved gems.[101]

7.1.6. Political symbols

Gems bearing various configurations of symbols are often treated by scholars as a means of propaganda usually with some political references and messages decoded (cf. chapter 5.1.13). Sena Chiesa remarks that already in the times of Sulla symbolic gems were used for propaganda because similar constellations of symbols known from gems appear on coins. In her opinion, those symbolic gems were used by *nobilitas* to identify their political views.[102] Such an opinion might be confronted with the one of Gesztelyi, who claims that symbolic gems were produced mostly to be delivered to soldiers wishing to express their political allegiances that way too.[103] This reasoning is attractive as in the times of Sulla the political situation in Rome was far from stable and the dictator promoted his programme addressing the needs and desires of people through various channels. It should be examined whether the symbols appearing on his coinage and gems produced in the early 1st century BC conform with each other or not and whether they may have had any political applications.

Regarding the coinage of Sulla, the symbols used in it span from augural symbols (*lituus*, jug) and trophies to cornucopia, bundle of thunderbolts and wreath composed of an ear of barley, an ear of wheat and assorted fruits.[104] The first seems to be a standard set appearing on the coins of every moneyer that performed the augural office, though there is a fierce debate on the precise meaning of its application on this specific coin.[105] Of course, on coins the symbols played a significant propagandistic role highlighting the status and importance of the person to whom they refer, thus, also raising his authority. Augural symbols appear on engraved gems usually without any other symbols that would allow them to be associated with a specific politician (cf. chapter 6.1), unless they accompany busts or portraits, however, this is not the case with gems produced during Sulla's political activity. Besides, as has been stated above, such symbolic gems were used by priests and other people performing sacrifices and rituals. This is most evident from a sard intaglio in London which apart from the symbols also carries an inscription: AV - probably a shortcut from *augur* or *augurate* (cat. nos 7.26-27, Figure 120). Naturally, it cannot be entirely excluded that one of those early 1st century BC gems with augural symbols once belonged to Sulla. I have already mentioned that Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples preserves an outstanding bronze statue of the emperor Tiberius depicted as chief priest of Rome wearing a veil over his head and a ring on his finger with *lituus* engraved upon it.[106] Another statue equipped with a ring with augural symbols is that of Augustus as a rider found in Cumae.[107] These statues give us a context for the use of gems with augural symbols by the most prominent personalities in the Roman Empire. However, it is not clear whether or not Sulla was an augur or whether he was making a claim to be one so the hypothesis of his potential use of a gem with augural symbols has no supporting evidence.

[96] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.41.
[97] Woytek 2003: 428-430.
[98] *RRC*, no. 426/2, see the commentary on p. 450.
[99] Toso 2007: 61.
[100] Toso 2007: 63.
[101] Regarding coins, see: *RRC*, nos. 369/1 (denarius of M. Metellus Q. f., 82-80 BC), 370/1a-b (denarii of G. Servilius, 82-80 BC) and 371/1 (denarius of Q. Max, 82-80 BC) and p. 732 for a commentary on the issue.
[102] Sena Chiesa 2012: 257.
[103] Gesztelyi 1982: 193-195.
[104] For augural symbols see: *RRC*, nos. 359/1-2 (aurei and denarii of Sulla, 84-83 BC). Regarding the bundle of thunderbolts and cornucopia, see: *RRC*, no. 371/1 (denarius of Q. Fabius Maximus, 82-80 BC).
[105] Nobel 2014: 169-172.
[106] Inv. no. 5615. The statue was dedicated at Herculaneum's Theatre in 37 and was found there in the 18th century, see: Lapatin 2015: 6.
[107] Ergün 1999: 713, note 6.

Another matter is that augural symbols could stand for other offices or issues than the augurate or the priesthood in general. One of the hypotheses says that on the above-mentioned coin, jug and *lituus* appear due to the passing of the *lex curiata* which conferred *imperium* on Sulla.[108] Such a meaning makes sense when jug and *lituus* are set in combination with other symbols clearly related to Sulla, which does not happen on gems. As a result, I do not find any gem presenting augural symbols that could be convincingly associated with the dictator.

As to the trophies accompanying augural symbols on Sulla's coins, their significance is explained as objects commemorating his military victories at Chaeronea and Orchomenus (Figure 121).[109] As already explained above (cf. chapter 6.3.4), trophies, as separate symbols, exist on gems in vast quantities from the late 2nd century BC. One wonders if some of them could stand for any of Sulla's military victories and are related to his coins. Even a thorough analysis covering a good number of gems does not bring results that would suggest a direct reference to Sulla (see some examples dated to the first third of the 1st century BC, cat. nos 7.28-30). This fact only strengthens the hypothesis that such gems were primarily private objects symbolising personal victories of the ring bearers as well as the wishes to win some cases and military conflicts, in other words, they were personal amulets. They are not distinctive enough to be linked with Sulla. I also do not find any evidence in literary sources to suspect Sulla's involvement in the promotion of such iconography among his followers, hence, I presume those gems to be produced for the market by gem engravers who attempted to meet the preferences of their clients.

Concerning the last configuration of symbols appearing on coins, it consists of cornucopia, bundle of thunderbolts and wreath, and Crawford does not link it to any specific event or issue related to Sulla, but for his veneration of Apollo.[110] This provoked some scholars to accept the view that combinations of symbols on Roman Republican gems refer to specific deities and thus, might be indirectly related to politics.[111] According to my research the configuration known from Sulla's coins does not exist on gems; however, individual symbols do appear either alone or in other variants and one tests if they present any reference to Sulla (cat. nos 7.31-34, Figure 122). Vollenweider compared various glass gems presenting a cornucopia above a prow and staff (thyrsus?) to a quadrans minted by Sulla in 82 BC ascertaining that they transmit the same political message of *ordo rerum* – one of the key points of Sulla's political programme.[112] However, there are significant differences between the iconography of these coins and gems. The former bear two *cornucopiae* over a prow which is a completely different set to those presented on gems and there is no staff at all. It is more plausible to explain the appearance of such symbols on intaglios as due to their positive associations and the values they conferred on the gem's sitter or were wished by him. Cornucopia symbolises plenty, well-being and abundance, and it may refer to Fortuna as her attribute. The bundle of thunderbolts surely stands for Jupiter, the chief Roman god whose blessing the intaglio's owner sought, while the wreath may be another symbol of abundance and wished or expected victory. Engraved gems were highly personal objects and I believe these personal needs and desires to be the primary reasons why iconography such as that discussed here appears on them. It seems far more correct to treat them as amulets. Still, there is a possibility that they also had political significance. Sulla's commitment to their production cannot be, of course, proven to any reasonable degree but his programme of restoration of the Roman Republic could be influential. The gems referring to this idea and Sulla's ideology could be cut on a daily basis in Rome once his domination was established in a common spirit. The people united after a long period of Civil War would have expressed their energy and positive thinking towards the future. A similar 'outburst' occurred when Julius Caesar controlled Rome and Augustus became its first emperor (cf. chapters 8.2.9 and 10.8).

7.2. Gaius Marius

The main opponent of Sulla, Gaius Marius (157-86 BC) because of his numerous merits towards the Roman Republic was called 'the third founder of Rome'.[113] He is supposed to have performed some propagandistic actions in order to promote his successes and also to compete with Sulla in the later phase of his career. Coins were presumably used for that purpose, especially if commemorating of Marius' triumph over the Cimbri and Teutones in 101 BC.[114] In this sub-chapter I would like to investigate whether there is any grounds for claiming that engraved gems were a part of Marius' promotional practices too.

7.2.1. Triumph

In 104 BC the Romans finally defeated the Numidian king Jugurtha with the invaluable help of Bocchus, king

[108] Noble 2014: 171-172.
[109] *RRC*, nos. 359/1-2 (aurei and denarii of Sulla, 84-83 BC).
[110] *RRC*: 387-388.
[111] For example, Vollenweider 1979, no. 421.
[112] For example, Vollenweider 1979, no. 421.
[113] Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, 27.5. See also commentary on this issue in: Evans 1992: 88-89.
[114] For instance, see an issue struck on this occasion: *RRC*, nos. 326/1-2 (denarii and quinarii of C. Fundanius, 101 BC). Another issue was minted slightly later, see: *RRC*, nos. 332/1a-c (quinarii of T. Cloulius, 98 BC) and *RRC*: 629. Another issue related to Marius' military victories is: *RRC*, no. 333 (quinarius of C. Egnatuleius, 97 BC).

of Mauretania (c. 110-80 BC). The success had many fathers and all three major generals involved in the conflict on the Roman side claimed credit for winning the war: Gaius Marius, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (c. 160-91 BC) and Sulla. I have already discussed very well-thought-out propaganda issued to commemorate and proclaim Sulla as the true leader of Roman forces and winner of the war through his personal seal and other channels. Metellus Numidicus celebrated the triumph over Jugurtha by publishing an oration explicitly entitled *De Triumpho Suo* and his adopted cognomen.[115] However, it was Marius who appeared in a triumphal chariot with Jugurtha in chains before him presented to the people of Rome.[116] During his procession and shortly afterwards, the Roman statesman committed two unprecedented but clearly deliberated actions. Unlike other triumphators, he wore a gold ring on his finger while it was a well-established habit for a triumphator to wear an iron one (like the slaves and soldiers did) to show modesty and *pietas*.[117] This was much criticised. Even more outrageous was the second act of Marius who appeared at the first senatorial meeting of his consulship still dressed in triumphal robes. The senators felt so offended that Marius had to go back home and change his clothes before the meeting could resume.[118] These two actions clearly exhibit Marius' intentions to highlight his role in defeating Jugurtha and bringing splendour to Rome. The fierce rivalry with Metellus Numidicus and Sulla forced him to take extraordinary steps. He must have felt so confident that he decided to break the habits and perform these two acts of individual and ostentatious display. The choice of a gold ring over the iron one shows that there was an increasing demand among top Roman politicians and statesmen to highlight their extraordinary status and abilities. As Isager observes analysing Pliny's text on gold in his *Historia Naturalis*, gold rings became increasingly popular among the Romans who travelled to the East.[119] This is consistent with observations that in the course of the 2nd century BC, finely engraved portrait gems were produced in the East for the Romans who visited Asia Minor or any other relevant region (cf. chapter 6.2.1). The case of Marius shows that this tradition was slowly transferred to Rome itself by the end of the 2nd century BC. It is not known if Marius had his portrait or any specific gem engraved upon his ring, but this seems likely since his opponent, Sulla, reacted to this private rivalry with a seal presenting him as a victor over Jugurtha (cf. chapter 7.1.1). However, noteworthy is the increasing significance of rings and gems as objects marking extraordinary social status. Marius' gold ring became a transmitter of an important propaganda message confirming his position not only among his contemporary rivals but also in history. It is also interesting to observe the reaction of the public, which was negative to the action of Marius, while Sulla was not criticised for making an allusion to the Jugurthine War on his seal, at least no ancient writer mentions that. This is due to the fact that Marius violated a deeply-rooted custom which was a major offence situated in the public sphere, while Sulla with his seal still stayed in the private sphere. Roman society was not ready to accept Marius' ostentatious behaviour neither was the senatorial class who in addition was able to punish him for it. In contrast, Sulla created a precedent that endured since he also made a reference to his next military victories on his second seal later (cf. chapter 7.1.1).

7.2.2. Personal branding – portraits

Apart from such ostentatious acts as the two described above, one wonders if Marius like Sulla used engraved gems for personal branding, that is to popularise his own image among his followers, or if they commissioned gems with his likeness to show their allegiance to him. As one could see, in the case of Sulla, there is little evidence for him using engraved gems for personal branding. However, it seems likely that Marius wished to have his portrait cut on gems and perhaps his supporters also wanted to carry the likeness of their beloved commander upon their rings.

Particularly interesting in those terms is a garnet now in Paris depicting a portrait of an old, partially bald man to the right (cat. no. 7.35, Figure 123). His exceptionally long, pointy nose and wrinkled forehead, small eye and tightly pursed lips make an impression that one is dealing here with a military commander. Vollenweider recognised him as an important individual and noticed that the portrait may illustrate Gaius Marius.[120] It is arguable if such an identification is plausible, but she is right to date the gem to the early 1st century BC. Her stylistic observations point to that and one should also notice the type of material used, the size of the gem and its form. All of them suggest that even though the portrait itself exhibits purely Roman verist and far reaching individualisation, the hand of a Greek artist is noticeable here. In 98 BC Marius travelled to the East where he spent the next eight years of his life. One presumes that he may have come into contact with Hellenistic glyptic art there and if he had wished, he would have had his portrait cut upon a gem. The intaglio from Paris may testify to that and makes sense even

[115] Gisborne 2005: 108.
[116] Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, 12.
[117] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.11-12. See also a commentary on this issue in: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 16 and a contrary view in: Isager 1998: 60.
[118] Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, 12.7.
[119] Isager 1998: 60.
[120] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 27-29, pl. 19.1-4; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 13 (with a detailed discussion on relevant portrait types known from coins and sculpture).

more if one remembers Marius ostentatious parading with a gold ring during his triumph in 104 BC, which points, among other things, to his taste for luxury. It is clear that he liked to show his high social status and popularity off among ordinary people to impress them. Perhaps, Marius hired a Greek engraver earlier and wore a gold ring with a gem presenting himself during his triumph as stated above. Naturally, the identification of the Paris gem with Marius should be treated as tenuous and comparative material in regard to this politician is also highly problematic.[121]

Still, one of the arguments in favour of considering the intaglio from Paris as depicting a prominent Roman politician, perhaps Marius, is the fact that there are several other gems, although less skilfully executed, presenting a similar portrait type. For instance, there is a dark brown glass gem in St. Petersburg presenting a similar head with a long, pointy nose, but with more hair on the top of the head (cat. no. 7.36). Close parallels are also a sard in a private collection, another sard in Leiden, a violet glass gem in Munich, and one more glass gem in Berlin (cat. nos 7.37-40). Vollenweider pointed out that this series stems from the Roman tradition of portraits on gems but it exhibits powerful individual features that should be treated as a homogenous group.[122] It is tempting to suggest the intaglio from Paris is a prototype executed in the East which was later copied in Italy, perhaps shortly before or during the Social War (91-88 BC) when Marius was appointed a general, though he must have resigned due to health reasons. Provenance of some of those gems (especially glass ones) confirms that they were made in Italy. The highly convex obverse form of some sards bearing the type of portrait in question also suggests their production in central Italy.[123] Some scholars suggest that the portrait type in question could be more widely used.[124] For one of the brown glass intaglios from Berlin collection classified as belonging to the group by Vollenweider bears a head of a man wearing a *petasos* which would suggest his connection with Mercury.[125] Such a connection in the case of Marius is not known in literature, coinage or any branch of art. For this reason, it is problematic to regard all the gems collected above as presenting the likeness of Marius. Some might be private portraits, perhaps of his followers aspiring to imitate their patron. Be that as it may, a trace of Marius' personal branding seems to be reflected in glyptics but whether on his own or his followers' initiative, it is hard to tell.

Finally, in Würzburg, there is a glass paste made after an ancient intaglio presenting the head of a Roman that has been identified with Gaius Marius since the 18th century onwards (cat. no. 7.41, Figure 124). The paste was copied and as Zwierlein-Diehl rightly says, the inscriptions accompanying two examples (a copy is in Bonn) in the form 'VII' or 'VII C' were added in the first half of the 18th century to confirm identification with Marius.[126] It is difficult to ascertain whether the original gem was intended to show Marius himself or not. The comparative glyptic and numismatic material suggests a portrait of a Roman from the 1st half of the 1st century BC.[127] No Hellenistic traits are observed in the case of this portrait and fully verist manner is observed suggesting the gem to be a Roman product. Perhaps, a plausible explanation is that the original gem testified to the reception of Marius' portrait in later (second half of the 1st century BC) gem engraving. It could have resulted from an unidentified politician's aspirations to recall him as his ancestor or example that he followed.

Summing up, there is a possibility that Gaius Marius had his portrait cut upon his personal seal, most likely while in the East. There is also a group of interesting gems exhibiting some similarities to his own portrait, however, certain identifications are difficult due to some sort of schematisation of Roman Republican glyptic art at that phase of development as far as portraits are concerned. It is likely that some sort of personal branding or manifestation of loyalty by Marius' followers was performed through gems, but this claim is based on relatively weak foundations. Finally, there are some signs of the later reception of Marius' likeness in glyptics which confirms his position in Roman politics even decades after his death.

7.2.3. Commemoration

Marius like Sulla tended to make references to his military successes using coinage.[128] He did so mainly by the images where he is a chariot driver with his eight-years-old son riding one of the horses or Victory crowning a trophy under which kneels a barbarian captive, or Victory inscribing a shield next to a trophy. In both last cases, an important detail is the *carnyx* as a symbol of defeated Celts. According to my research,

[121] Several marble busts are said to represent Marius, however, none with a considerable degree of certainty, see: Ohly 2002: 158.

[122] Perhaps the best to compare are the following objects: *AGDS* III Göttingen, nos. 448-449; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 97.

[123] The gem from Munich was once a part of Paul Arndt collection of gems and the two glass gems from Berlin belonged to Philipp von Stosch. Both collections were formed while their creators were in Italy, therefore, it is probable they originate from this region or even from Rome specifically, cf. chapter 11.

[124] For instance, Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 97.

[125] Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 20.8 (= Furtwängler 1896, nos. 5065).

[126] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 536. Another reproduction of the same gem is in Museo Archeologico in Verona, see: Facchini 2012, no. 34.

[127] See related gems showing portrait of Marius above, although, Zwierlein-Diehl notes some resemblance of the person depicted here to the heads of Cicero, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 536 (analogies). Regarding coins, see, for example: *RRC*, no. 455/1a (denarius of C. Antius Restio, 47 BC).

[128] Related to these matters are the following issues: *RRC*, nos. 326/1-2 (denarii and quinarii of C. Fundanius, 101 BC), 332/1a-c (quinarii of T. Cloulius, 98 BC) and 333 (quinarius of C. Egnatuleius, 97 BC).

none of these scenes is repeated on engraved gems. The motif of Victory inscribing a shield or crowning a trophy is of course a popular one in glyptics, but it does not exist with the *carnyx* making an explicit reference to defeated Celts and thus, the victories of Marius. Regarding barbarian captives (mostly Celts), they are present on intaglios in the late 2nd and early 1st century BC indeed but it is hard to say if they refer exclusively to Marius' military accomplishments (cf. chapter 6.3.4). The popularity of such gems may be due to the overall positive climate and reaction of people after dealing with the peril of the barbarian Celto-Germanic tribes in 101 BC. Like another category of intaglios presenting conflicts between the Romans and barbarians, these could have been produced as commemoration of Sulla's successes instead of Marius'. Because no specific details occur on them and the representations differ to a considerable degree from those appearing on coins, it is difficult to determine whether one should link them with one propagandist or another. The most plausible theory seems to be that gem engravers produced those gems to meet the expectations of their customers and the need of the market for such products. A soldier of Marius or of Sulla equally wanted to boast about their involvement in the defeat of barbarians and could have ordered intaglios referring to this. On the other hand, a similar category of glyptic artefacts was produced under Julius Caesar's domination and some examples can be convincingly related to him (cf. chapter 8.2.7). Perhaps then, some gems produced under Marius and Sulla indeed referred to them, but having no clear context, today one is unable to identify such objects.

7.2.4. Divine and mythological references

In contrast to Sulla, who employed or referred to a number of deities and personifications (Venus, Apollo, Heracles, *Libertas* and so on), Marius did not extensively exhibit his connections with specific gods and goddesses. One of his most plausible divine patrons appears to be Heracles as a guarantee of military power, even though contrary to Sulla he did not personally engage in his cult.[129] Toso remarks on the possibility that dionysiac subjects on gems appearing in vast quantities from the early 1st century BC could be related to Gaius Marius and the Dionysus *thiasos*, often illustrated on gems, would have referred to Marius' triumph over Jugurtha and Gallic tribes.[130] However, I do not find any gems of this kind include direct references to Marius. Also, because a broader context of Marius' engagement in the veneration of Dionysus is unknown, it is difficult to point to some groups of intaglios and cameos as illustrating this connection as it was in the case of Sulla and engraver Protarchos (cf. chapter 7.1.2). For these reasons, I believe that it is rightly observed by other scholars that the increasing popularity of dionysiac themes on Roman gems is due to a better exposure of Roman Republican glyptics to Hellenistic culture and art.[131]

7.2.5. Political symbols

Regarding the combinations of symbols on gems in the early 1st century BC, it has been argued that some of them could be directly or indirectly related to Gaius Marius and his political career. For instance, Vollenweider suggested that the motif featuring a sparrow-like bird perching a pomegranate and ear of corn and similar compositions could refer to the invasion on Rome by Marius and Cinna in 87 BC and to the subsequent supply of free grain from Sicily for which C. Norbanus Balbo (d. 82 BC), one of Marius' close followers (cat. no. 7.42, Figure 125a-b) was responsible.[132] She bases her theory on a comparison to C. Norbanus Balbo's coins presenting on the reverse side a combination of prow stem, fasces with axe, caduceus and corn ear (Figure 126).[133] However, only one element – corn ear – appears on both the gem and the coin, while the rest of the iconography differs, hence, following the basic principles of image studies, the two repertoires would have different meanings. In fact, the sparrow-like bird frequently appears on late 2nd-early 1st century Roman Republican gems in other configurations (with fruits, poppies, skyphos, club, wine-branch, plough and so on) and thus it is clear that the theme illustrates a general concept of prosperity and food rather than a specific political act.[134] Furthermore, some of the symbols accompanying the bird suggest the evocation of ideas such as fertility and well-being. It has been rightly pointed out that the gems bearing such iconography belong to a specific stylistic class and they were produced in northern Italy (possibly Aquileia) rather than in a workshop controlled or influenced by a politician or on his direct commission.[135] They were surely worn as amulets ensuring the issues stated above or expressed the wish for peace and prosperity to come after the civil wars. If they had any political significance, this was more likely to be related to Sulla and his complex programme of restoration of the Roman Republic rather than to Marius.

Another motif that Vollenweider links with Marius, and this time also with Social War (91-88 BC), is a combination of a rudder or anchor and dolphin (cat. nos 7.43-46, Figure 127).[136] However, as Maaskant-Kleibrink observes, the combination does not exist on Roman Republican coins minted during this conflict,

[129] Ritter 1995: 85.
[130] Toso 2007: 204.
[131] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 280; Plantzos 1999: 86-87; Zazoff 1983: 291-292; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 140.
[132] Vollenweider 1979, no. 476.
[133] *RRC*, no. 357/1a-b (denarii of C. Norbanus, 83 BC).
[134] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 183.
[135] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 151; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 105.
[136] Vollenweider 1979, no. 478.

but a set of a rudder and anchor appears on coins of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi in 87 BC which may refer to the naval victory of Marius (Figure 128).[137] The same opinion has been expressed by Guiraud and Maaskant-Kleibrink in the case of the two comparable gems found in France and from Leiden (cat. nos 7.45-46).[138] For this reason, it seems far more convincing to explain a combination of a dolphin and rudder/anchor as related to one's wishes for good luck and divine blessing of both Fortuna (whose attribute was the rudder) and Neptune (whose messenger was the dolphin).[139] Configurations like this are common in Roman Republican glyptics in both gemstones and in glass. They were probably mass-produced by gem engravers and delivered to the market as popular amulets rather than on a specific occasion related to an important political event.

Concerning other symbolic combinations, one does not find any similarities between the coinage in favour of Gaius Marius and engraved gems, therefore, it seems they were not intended to transfer any political message. Overall, it can be said that there is much less evidence for propaganda on gems in the case of Gaius Marius than Sulla because he was generally less interested in such practices than his opponent. In coinage as well as other branches of Roman art one does not find reflections of Marius' political programme as strong as in the case of Sulla. The only one exception are portrait gems. There are relatively many portraits of Marius on gems in contrast to Sulla and their attribution is less problematic as well. Whether those were cut under the encouragement of Marius to popularise his image or on the private initiative of his followers in order to manifest their loyalty and support it is hard to say.

7.3. Lucius Licinius Lucullus

Lucius Licinius Lucullus (118-56 BC) is probably the most intriguing Roman politician and general from the second rank about whom there is information regarding his experiences with engraved gems. Starting from the famous story of the diplomatic gift he received from Ptolemy IX Soter, I would like to present here several gems that might be related to his political career and wandering across the East. All these objects testify to an increasing application of glyptic art in the first century BC by the prominent Romans, especially those who travelled to the East at various occasions, either in a military, political or diplomatic capacity.

7.3.1. Diplomatic gift and collecting?

It is due to Plutarch that we are told a story that Lucius Licinius Lucullus was offered a gold ring with emerald engraved with a portrait of king Ptolemy IX Soter during an audience at his court in 86 or 85 BC.[140] This happened during the First Mithridatic War when Lucullus was sent by Sulla to collect a fleet that would have enabled Rome to combat Mithridates VI Eupator's control of the sea lanes. In order to do so, Lucullus asked Roman allies for help, including Ptolemaic Egypt. After a turbulent journey, during which he was attacked and robbed by pirates at the Egyptian seashore, Lucullus was given an audience by Ptolemy IX Soter, the king of Egypt, at his court. According to Plutarch, the Roman general did not receive Egyptian help in terms of ships or any other kind of aid, but he was given a gold ring as a diplomatic gift. At first, he declined to accept it out of modesty, but Ptolemy showed him that the engraving on it was a likeness of himself, therefore, the Roman general accepted the gift not wishing to offend the king.[141] As Plantzos observes, the passage offers invaluable information for our understanding of royal portraiture in glyptics. It was regarded as a great personal honour to be offered an intaglio with an image of a ruler. This privilege was reserved to the few and could not be simply rejected.[142] Moreover, the ring Lucullus received was made of gold, a material normally not in use by pious Romans except for diplomatic missions, so the story confirms words spoken by Pliny that only those who travelled to the East became bold enough to carry such rings.[143] So the ring itself was exceptional and so was the gem set in it – an emerald possibly imported from Sri Lanka like other rare and particularly beautiful gemstones (aquamarines or sapphires), since these kinds of gemstones became more accessible after Alexander the Great's conquests.[144] Actually, one should consider if the gem made of emerald was a sort of *imitatio Alexandri* practiced by Ptolemy IX Soter as his great predecessor had had his portrait also cut upon such a stone by Pyrgoteles, which is another example of using gems for propaganda purposes.[145] Gross correctly observes that the passage on Lucullus and the gold ring with engraved emerald probably testifies that many of the finely engraved intaglios and cameos could have been presentation pieces.[146] Lucullus' experience with engraved gems and rings could possibly have resulted in him developing a great admiration towards this branch

[137] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 4; *RRC*, no. 340/6c.
[138] Guiraud 2008, nos. 1400-1401.
[139] For other configurations and their possible meanings see: Gołyźniak 2007, nos. 218-219.
[140] Plutarch, *Life of Lucullus*, 3.1. Plantzos (1999: 111) and (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 108) suggest the king to be Ptolemy IX Soter II, but Lapatin 2015: 110 claims it was Ptolemy XI, but this can be author's typo since that king ruled briefly in 80 BC?
[141] Plutarch, *Life of Lucullus*, 3.1.
[142] Plantzos 1999: 111.
[143] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.11-12; Isager 1998: 60.
[144] Zwirlein-Diehl 2007: 309. However, emerald specifically could be mined after 31 BC in the Egypt's Eastern Desert, see: Thoresen 2017: 175 and 183. Perhaps that source was already known at the time of Ptolemy IX Soter so it is not known if the emerald with his portrait would have come from Egypt instead of being imported?
[145] Plutarch, Life of *Alexander*, 4.1; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4.
[146] Gross 2008: 16.

of art. It is supposed that he possessed a collection (*dactyliotheca*) of gems which would have been formed while he was in the East like in the case of Scaurus and then transferred to Rome since he was renowned for his luxurious lifestyle.[147] However, analysing Plutarch's text about him thoroughly, it is evident that Lucullus brought to Rome booty and spolia of wars, displayed during his triumph in 63 BC, decorated with inlaid gemstones rather than an assortment of engraved ones.[148]

7.3.2. Personal branding and commemoration

There is not much evidence for Lucullus' practising deliberate propaganda actions aimed at influencing people as could have been the case of Sulla and Marius in general, however, it seems probable that once gifted with a gold ring set with an emerald portrait gem, the Roman general became inspired and wished to have his own portrait cut upon a gem. Today, one is unable to identify Lucullus' portrait on intaglios definitely, however, in his monumental study of ancient engraved gems Furtwängler published a highly interesting (now lost) carnelian presenting the head of a Roman surrounded with an inscription L and L on both sides of the head and a dolphin with an olive branch in its mouth beneath (cat. no. 7.47, Figure 129). The stone was recognised as ancient first by Bernoulli and then by Furtwängler who also noticed that the dolphin with olive branch is a reference to Lucullus' victory at Lemnos in 73 BC. Judging only by the photo, it is difficult to say more than Furtwängler, but the two L letters are located on both sides of the head like the two P letters in the case of a portrait gem from Berlin presenting Pompey the Great.[149] They look genuine, not added in the post-classical era. There seems to be no better explanation for them than as the reference to the name of the person depicted, which might indeed be Lucius Lucullus or Licinius Lucullus. The portrait itself is problematic because of the lack of comparative material (Lucullus' portrait cannot be securely identified in the coinage or sculpture). The dolphin might have in its mouth a palm and not an olive branch, which is more suitable for presenting a naval victory. These symbols appear to give the context for the portrait. The suggestion of Bernoulli as to the portrait's identification and the event the gem may commemorate agreed by Furtwängler is not impossible. Vollenweider suggested some portrait gems presented Lucullus' likeness.[150] However, these are far more unconvincing, and they seem to be just Roman private portraits that remain anonymous for us today.

Regarding the commemoration of Lucullus' military victories, a carnelian intaglio once in the Marlborough collection may refer to one.[151] It shows a date palm at the centre with a shield leaning at its foot, a sword, greaves and a palm branch on one side and a walking dog, helmet, spear and wreath on the other side. There is also an inscription reads as MENANDER above (cat. no. 7.48, Figure 130). The complex iconography suggests a military victory due to the accumulation of equipment as well as symbols such as a palm branch and wreath which possibly stand here for the goddess Victory and her attributes. The date palm implies the event occurred in the East, while the dog might represent fidelity.[152] Because of the inscription, King argued the gem refers to an episode of the Second Mithridatic War when Lucullus and his soldiers defeated one of Mithridates' generals Menander.[153] His hypothesis is attractive, although it seems more credible to regard the intaglio as a personal amulet belonging to a Roman soldier whose name was Menander or Meander.[154] Accumulation of military equipment (a panoply) is a popular motif on gems used by Roman legionaries; however, the date palm and the dog are unusual elements and indeed suggest war occurring in the East. Whether the gem was issued to commemorate specifically the victory of Lucullus cannot be said with certainty but due to the dog, the gem could be used to manifest loyalty to Lucullus by one of his soldiers.

7.3.3. Promotion of family and political symbols

As far as Lucullus is concerned, there seems to be at least some evidence for his promotion among his family members. In Geneva there is a greyish-white chalcedony intaglio engraved with a parrot standing on a poppy with a butterfly riding it (cat. no. 7.49, Figure 131a-b). The gem is inscribed C•LUC which surely refers to intaglio's name owner and may be deciphered as Gaius Lucilius or Lucullus.[155] If the latter is the case, as suggested by Vollenweider, it would be tempting to interpret the gem's iconography as referring to Lucullus' famous, extravagant and luxurious lifestyle. The parrot was a symbol of luxury, wealth and the exotic East, and it was a sacred bird of bacchus, while the poppy was a common symbol of plenty and prosperity.[156] These symbols match Lucullus and his passion for comfortable life and extraordinary food. However, the butterfly is a crucial element here as it stands for brevity of life and soul (*psyche*).[157]

[147] Plutarch, *Life of Lucullus*, 40; Vollenweider 1966: 17.
[148] Plutarch, *Life of Lucullus*, 7, 34, 37 and 40.
[149] Furtwängler 1896, no. 6536 (=*AGDS* II, no. 415; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.38, vol. II: 227; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.5 and 7; Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.5).
[150] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 91.
[151] Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 431.
[152] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 186.
[153] Plutarch, *Life of Lucullus*, 17.1; King 1861: 317.
[154] It was a common practice to put an intaglio's owner's name upon engraved gems. For a more detailed study of this problem, see: Aubry 2009 and 2016.
[155] Vollenweider 1979, no. 457.
[156] For a similar match and explanation of both in glyptic art., see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 197.
[157] Compare: Gołyźniak 2017, nos. 181 and 274.

Therefore, the whole composition makes more sense as a personal amulet ensuring abundance, well-being and a prosperous afterlife rather than a gem referring to Gaius Lucullus' famous ancestor.

Ancient literary sources as well as the material itself provide only vague proofs for Lucullus using engraved gems for propaganda purposes. It is difficult to say if he possessed a collection of engraved gems and had his portrait engraved upon his own as well as some other gems due to the limited context and scarce material and literary sources. Regarding other potential propagandistic practices, as illustrated above by several examples, they are barely evidenced by glyptic material. The only one which possibly had propagandistic value seems to be a portrait on a lost gem accompanied with symbols of naval victory that indeed may refer to Lucius Licinius Lucullus.

7.4. Other politicians

In the previous sub-chapters I described potential range of propaganda practices reflected on engraved gems performed by some of the most important and influential Roman statesmen active in the late 2nd and early 1st century BC. I have also discussed some problematic issues for example the case of the so-called combinations of political symbols. In the last part of this chapter I would like to focus on less prominent Roman politicians and inquire whether they used intaglios and cameos in their political activities or not. Basically, my survey resulted only with portrait gems except for one predatory she-wolf motif possibly referring to the rebel Italians fighting Rome in the early 1st century BC. I do not find any significant piece commemorating important events or someone's particular veneration of a specific deity. This drives me to a conclusion that in the early 1st century BC propaganda on gems was indeed limited to the few examples I have indicated above and identified mainly with the political leaders of the period. It seems that the rest only tried to imitate them. Naturally, the lack of proper context and scanty documentation found in literary sources affect the results but probably not to a considerable degree. Much better documentation of various applications of gems in political propaganda in the second half of the 1st century BC, especially in literary sources, is due to their increasing significance. Still, I believe it is necessary to comment on portrait gems that became very popular in the first third of the 1st century BC because one finds some indications that apart from being used as private seals, they could boost personal branding or even commemorate important moments of the careers of their owners.

7.4.1. Personal branding - portraits

In the late 2nd and early 1st century BC one observes a considerable increase in the production of portrait gems presenting Romans. These are either objects clearly executed by Greek artists, who might have cut them in the eastern Roman provinces as well as in Italy and Rome to be more precise since they had been gradually migrating there, as well as local Italo-Roman products created by local engravers. However, the first dominate which means that possessing an intaglio with one's own portrait was also concerned with the artist who cut the piece. In other words, if the seal was created by a distinguished artist in a good style and high level of workmanship, it added splendour to the gem's owner contributing to his social distinction. As Vollenweider observed, in the course of time Roman portrait gems became more and more individualised.[158] Perhaps this is the reason why there are so few inscriptions accompanying them since for their recipients and people surrounding them it was clear that the seal represents a specific person. The quality of the portrait gem mattered for sure, but it is noteworthy that apart from the groups I associate with Sulla or Marius, at the turn of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC or even earlier with Scipio (cf. chapter 6.2.1), there is no evidence for the existence of larger concentrations of gems presenting the same or at least more or less the same identifiable individuals. In conclusion, even if gems with personalised and individualised portraits were important for creating a positive image and raising the authority of a propagandist among people, they were not, at that time, primarily used for personal branding or any other kind of self-promotion targeted to influence a larger audience. These gems should not be considered useless from the propaganda point of view but their scope was rather limited. Here, I would like to briefly comment on some portrait gems and explain their potential propagandistic value, but I do not aim to discuss all the portrait gems produced at the turn of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. This work was done by Vollenweider 40 years ago and even though new material constantly reappears from newly published private and public collections, on the whole, it does not distort or revolutionise the general picture outlined by her.

I start my presentation with those portrait gems that exhibit a considerable Hellenistic influence. In some cases, they are even signed by Greek artists, but this practice seems less frequent than it was in the early and mid-2nd century BC (cf. chapter 6.2.1). One such example is a garnet intaglio preserved in the Antikenmuseum Universität Leipzig. It presents a head of a young Roman to the left and is signed by a Greek artist named Skopas (ΣΚΟΠΑΣ) (cat. no. 7.50, Figure 132). The gem has been much discussed;[159] the facial elements

[158] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 73-93.

[159] Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXIII.8, vol. II: 161; Lang and Cain (eds) 2015, no. II.14; Plantzos 1999, no. 618; Richter 1968, no. 676; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 15.1 and 3; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 59.4; Zazoff 1983, pl. 79.9.

of the portrayed person are delicately engraved with a considerable amount of individualisation, though, Hellenistic influence is reflected by wide open eye, slightly open mouth, attention to details such as the eyebrow and delicate treatment of cheekbones. The proportions of the head as well as rendering of the haircut are impressive. Overall, this is an extremely well-accomplished study of someone's physical appearance testifying to the significant skilfulness of an engraver who is otherwise unknown. In my opinion, he must have worked somewhere in the East, which is suggested by the signature, type of the stone used, its form as well as the style. The piece is dated to the mid-1st century BC by Vollenweider;[160] however, I think Plantzos and Lang are correct to place it in the early 1st century BC.[161] The gem proves the continuation of the trend that began in the 2nd century BC when the Romans travelling to the East started to commission portrait gems by Greek engravers. The person depicted on the Leipzig intaglio remains unidentified. Nevertheless, it is clear he must have been an important statesman, politician, general or province's administrator who was proud to have his own portrait engraved upon his ring. Moreover, the signing of the gem was mutually beneficial for him as well as for the artist Skopas since the latter was surely proud to be under patronage of a prominent Roman.[162]

The Universität Leipzig collection of engraved gems includes one more interesting portrait gem, this time, it is a cornelian engraved with a head of an elderly Roman to the right (cat. no. 7.51, Figure 133). His physiognomy was perfectly captured by the engraver who highlighted the mimic and other wrinkles, strongly bowed nose, tightly clasped mouth and double chin. This far reaching individualisation meets with overall good proportions of the head and minute rendering of the hair. Combined together, they create an image of a powerful maybe even brutal individual who must have been a prominent Roman.[163] It is disputable if the piece was cut in the east or in Rome. As Lang observes, the head is very close to a black jasper intaglio in Boston (cf. chapter 6.2.1), which is correct, but I do not share his opinion that both gems depict the same man.[164] As Beazley remarked, the superiority of the Boston intaglio is not due to the stronger personality of the man represented, but to a combination of varies realism in the treatment of substance with the strength and understanding which charge the form with compact and characteristic life.[165] Apparently, the portrait gem in Leipzig exhibits more Roman treats and the verist is far reaching than in case of the Boston intaglio. This combined with more circular form of the intaglio and the type of stone used suggest that the piece was carved in Italy or even more precisely in Rome in the early 1st century BC possibly by Greek engravers migrating there from the east. A noteworthy fact is that an almost identical replica has been reproduced in a form of a glass paste in Würzburg.[166]

Regarding Boston collection of engraved gems, it includes several intriguing intaglios that exhibit high respectability for glyptic art by prominent Romans, most likely still those travelling to the east. One of them is a black jasper intaglio once in the Morisson and Saulini collections, bearing a portrait bust of a young, bearded Roman to the right. He wears a cloak or toga which is unusual for the early 1st century BC, but truly interesting is the inscription appearing above his right shoulder: Π•ΠΑΙΤΙΝΙ•ΣΕΠΤΙΚΑΙ (P. Paetinius Septicianus) (cat. no. 7.52, Figure 134). Although there is a considerable debate between Furtwängler and Beazley on that inscription, ultimately one connects it with the intaglio's owner's name who remains an anonymous figure.[167] Whether the gem was carved in the East or Rome is uncertain, though, the fact that it was once a part of the Saulini collection suggests the latter possibility. This peculiar stone should be dated to the early 1st century BC and probably shows a prominent Roman politician (perhaps a senator?) who hired a Greek gem engraver in Rome to cut his portrait upon his personal seal. Another example of such a practice is a carnelian in Boston which similarly presents a Roman senator wearing a toga thrown over his right shoulder, but this time in full profile to the left (cat. no. 7.53, Figure 135).[168] The gem is inscribed CNTS and although it is carelessly cut, it appears genuine. It is an abbreviation of the full name (*tria nomina*) of the person depicted who was the gem's owner at the same time (possibly G(aius) N(---) T(---) S(---) or rather Gn(aeus) T(---) S(---)). Apart from these, in Boston there are: a sard presenting head of an elderly man said to have been found near Rome (cat. no. 7.54) and a brown chalcedony showing an aged Roman as well (cat. no. 7.55).[169] In addition, a carnelian set in the early 1st century gold ring bearing a portrait of a middle-aged Roman, engraved in a similar manner to the gems from Boston, has been found in Pompeii and another similar piece is now in Leiden (cat. nos 7.56-61, Figure 136).[170] All these examples according to the provenance

[160] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 87-89.
[161] Lang and Cain (eds) 2015, no. II.14; Plantzos 1999: 93-94.
[162] Lang and Cain (eds) 2015: 104-105.
[163] Lang and Cain (eds.) 2015, no. II.13.
[164] Lang and Cain (eds.) 2015: 104.
[165] Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 101.
[166] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 525. Lang claims after a communication with Zwierlein-Diehl that the paste in Würzburg is not a copy of the intaglio in Leipzig (Lang and Cain (eds.) 2015: 137) which to our mind seems unlikely.
[167] Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 121.
[168] Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 118.
[169] Boardman (ed.) 2002, nos 119-120.
[170] Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, no. 59; Maaskant-Kleibrink (1978, no. 1153) following Vollenweider dated the specimen from Leiden to the second half of the 2nd century BC, but in my opinion, this gem exhibits more features of Roman tradition in engraving and an early 1st century BC date is more suitable.

information reconstructed and judging by their style were most likely imported to Rome or central Italy in the early 1st century BC from the East or cut there by migrating Greek artists.

Further evidence for production of this kind of gem in Rome or its surroundings comes from the collection of engraved gems in Paris. There are three carnelians, once in the Pauvert de la Chapelle collection that are said to have been found in Rome. One of them presents a bust of a man to the right, the second another individual but this time a bearded one while the third bears the head of a Roman to the left with inscription (FAL) bearing an abbreviation of his or the gem's possessor's name (cat. nos 7.57-59, Figure 137).[171] Less Hellenistic on stylistic grounds is a portrait appearing on a lost gem once in the collection of Lucien Naville (cat. no. 7.61).[172] These pieces provide evidence for an increasing demand for this kind of gem among prominent Romans and it could not have been entirely supplied with portraits cut in gemstones. For this reason, cheaper and less beautiful objects started to be made for those less wealthy customers.

At the other extreme, there is a production of portrait gems by local Roman and Italic gem engravers. Although they must have been under a strong Hellenistic influence, their works present a completely different attitude towards physiognomy, styles and so forth, and sometimes there was more than just a portrait the commissioner requested from them. A good example of that is a carnelian intaglio in Berlin presenting a bust of a young, bearded man crowned by Victory with a laurel wreath and inscription referring to his name: LCORNELIUSLF, which should be read as L(ucius) Cornelius L(ucii) f(ilius) (cat. no. 7.62, Figure 138). As Weiß observes, the portrait itself, according to the stylistic and iconographical features, should be dated to the late 2nd or early 1st century BC.[173] The gem is exceptional not only due to its iconography suggesting a reward after obtaining an important office or commemorating a military victory since Victory carries a laurel wreath behind the man as was done during the triumphal processions, but also because the inscription suggests that the object may present Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus IV (consul in 83 BC). He belonged to the party of Gaius Marius in Sulla's first civil war and Sulla's second civil war. In 83 BC he was appointed consul with Gaius Norbanus (d. 82 BC). When Sulla returned to Italy from the East in 83 BC, the troops of Scipio deserted their general. Although Sulla at first spared him, he was included in the proscription list in the following year 82 BC. Subsequently, he fled to Massalia where he spent rest of his life. It is not known for sure if Scipio's father was named Lucius, but it seems likely since he named his son Lucius, perhaps in commemoration of his own father. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that this intaglio served as an object commemorating Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus IV's consulate in 83 BC, especially if one compares the piece to the carnelian from Munich possibly featuring portraits of Sulla and Q. Pompeius Rufus crowned by two Victories (cf. chapter 7.1.4). The scene is very similar and even though the gem does not have any other parallels, it seems to have some propagandistic value.

At the turn of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC one observes that putting inscriptions indicating the name of the person depicted on portrait gems becomes common. The most frequent are abbreviations of the *tria nomina* like on a lost carnelian published by Furtwängler, where a bearded head of a Roman appear together with the letters L•S•C (cat. no. 7.63). Another piece, also published by him, is preserved in St. Petersburg and bears a portrait of a Roman and the letters HA indicating the initial of his name (cat. no. 7.64). Further examples have been collected by Vollenweider in her monumental study of Roman portrait gems, for instance, a dark green jasper intaglio presenting a head of a middle-aged Roman to the right with the letters PLA engraved behind the head and C under his chin (cat. no. 7.65). That gem is somehow close to the intaglios from Boston (see above), however, the man presented here has a much less powerful expression; in fact, the engraver focused mainly on the study of his physiognomy marking numerous wrinkles as in the case of the intaglio from Leipzig (cf. above) and thus, the piece is more Roman in the character of its engraving. This is confirmed by the gem's provenance which is Aquileia. Overall, it seems reasonable to suggest that portrait gems belonging to less known Roman politicians and private figures were inscribed so that they should not have been confused with anyone else. One does not observe the same phenomenon in the case of the Hellenistic gems with Roman portraits described above since they are supposed to present well-known figures of the Roman political elite. The case of the gem from Aquileia proves that possibly more and more portrait gems were produced on the local market in Italy (cat. nos 7.66-67).

One cannot study Roman portrait gems without paying attention to the contemporary coinage. Sometimes people presented on intaglios are strikingly similar to those portrayed on coins. A good example of that is a carnelian in a private collection presenting the head of a Roman to the left. He is distinguished by hollow cheeks, prominent, bowed nose, small clasped lips and hair rendered as numerous short strokes (cat. no. 7.68, Figure 139). An identical portrait appears on a denarius struck by C. Numonius Vaala in 41 BC and he is identified as the moneyer's ancestor who presumably achieved

[171] Babelon 1899, nos. 153-154.
[172] Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 34.1-2.
[173] Weiß 2007, no. 377.

curule office (Figure 140).[174] Nevertheless, his full identity is unattested, but actually, the portrait from the gem proves helpful in determining that he lived in the early 1st century BC since the gem is dated to that period on stylistic grounds. Another example is an onyx intaglio housed in Musei Capitolini in Rome portraying an elderly Roman to the left (cat. no. 7.69, Figure 141). His face is strongly wrinkled, his Adam's apple is well carved, his nose bowed and prominent, his eye big and the lips tightly clasped. One finds the same features on coins minted by C. Coelius Caldus (questor in 50 BC) in 51 BC (Figure 142).[175] They show the head of his father Gaius Coelius Caldus who was appointed consul in 94 BC alongside Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus. In this case the gem and coins match quite well. If the person depicted on the intaglio is indeed Gaius Coelius Caldus, it would be clear that portrait gems were commissioned only by important politicians and statesmen to popularise their image. Ordinary citizen would not have afforded such a piece of extravagant jewellery as a ring with a personalised engraved gem.

Among early 1st century BC Roman portrait gems there are some exceptional objects involving unusual attributes or specific view suggesting self-presentation combined with promotion of specific offices and skills that would have been appreciated within Roman society. For instance, there is a nicolo gem in a private collection showing a middle-aged Roman wearing a toga and there is a corn ear behind his head (cat. no. 7.70, Figure 143). This unusual attribute combined with the garment suggests that the person depicted, although his identity remains a mystery, was responsible for the supply of free grain to Rome. This activity must have gained him much popularity, therefore, he decided to depict it upon his personal seal. The intaglio proves that portrait gems sometimes were used not only for sealing and dissemination of images, but also for self-presentation. Even though issued as single objects, their propagandistic value must have been considerable and they influenced people from the propagandist's inner circle and beyond. Military distinctions are also marked on portrait gems like, for example, on two glass intaglios in Berlin which present heads of the Romans to the right with two spears behind them cat. nos 7.71-72, Figure 144). Interesting are gems presenting laureate busts of the Romans to the front that date to the second half of the 2nd and early 1st century BC (cat. no. 7.73, Figure 145 and cf. chapter 6.3.2 above). According to Vollenweider, they represent Roman imperators and should be related to the period of civil wars of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC.[176] The subject is repeated on several intaglios in Munich both to the front and in profile (cat. nos 7.74-77, Figure 146).[177] Nothing certain can be established regarding the identity of the men portrayed. The objects from Munich come from the Paul Arndt collection which may suggest they were made in Rome or central Italy. This conforms with the style and forms of those gems. I share Vollenweider's opinion that they present important Roman individuals, perhaps they are triumphators immortalised this way on the occasion of their triumphs awarded after significant military successes? This would make sense because only they could use the laurel wreath as an attribute of personal victory, though not by carrying it directly on their heads, but by someone standing behind them in the triumphal car. A similar situation occurs on the carnelian in Berlin mentioned earlier, where Victory carries the wreath behind the man (see above).

Noteworthy is continuation of the trend of putting upon a gem a universal type of portrait that commenced already in the late 2nd century BC (cf. chapter 6.3.2). In the early 1st century BC both male old heads as well as young ones were cut, sometimes bearded (cat. nos 7.78-89, Figures 147-148). Some of them are inscribed which suggests that they were used by regular politicians who had to distinguish their seals by adding inscription abbreviating their name (cat. no. 7.88). They usually refer to *tria nomina*. This fact confirms that gems of this kind were produced on special, private commissions, not as mass production of the gem engravers, though, some still would have been produced in large workshops like the one in Aquileia (cat. no. 7.78). The uniformity of their stylistic features is due to the current trends in the local glyptic portraiture. The provenance of many of these pieces suggests that they were cut in Rome and central or northern Italy, not beyond. Their propagandistic value was not as high as those Hellenistic gems presenting Roman portraits, but still, they must have been regarded as valuable objects within the Roman middle class. Few could afford them which means that apart from practical usage, they were employed for self-promotion and confirmed high social status.

Finally, I shall touch on the controversial issue of female portrait gems presenting Roman matrons and ladies that date to the early 1st century BC. Vollenweider was of the opinion that increasingly influential Roman matrons who in the course of the 1st century BC became seriously engaged in politics wished to manifest their importance, for example by carrying rings on their fingers with gems presenting their own likenesses.[178] This view is an attractive one but one should carefully examine if that trend started in the early 1st century BC

[174] *RRC*, no. 514/2.
[175] *RRC*, nos. 437/1a-4b.
[176] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 40-41.
[177] Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 35.6. Vollenweider includes in this group also a praser in London (pl. 35.4-5), however, I believe this gem to be a product of the so-called lapis-lazuli workshop operating in Milan in the late 16th and early 17th century, see: Tassinari 2010.
[178] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 223-228.

as she suggested, or is a later phenomenon. Moreover, one should consider that female portraits on Roman Republican gems may have appeared more due to their decorative function rather than political purposes. As an early 1st century BC example of the practice analysed here, Vollenweider took an amethyst once in the Ionides collection. It presents a veiled bust of a middle-aged lady to the right (cat. no. 7.90, Figure 149). She proposed to regard the lady as a vestal virgin who could be a representative of one of the most important Roman *gentes* like Mucia, Iulia, Atia or Pompeia.[179] However, it was already Furtwängler who considered this peculiar piece as a Hellenistic intaglio, and even identified the portrait with the Greek queen of Egypt, Arsinoe II.[180] Boardman partially shares his opinion, but he thinks the intaglio presents an Alexandrian Greek lady of the Ptolemaic court.[181] Indeed, the style, the iconography which at that time suggests linking veiled portraits with the Ptolemaic dynasty,[182] as well as the treatment of face features and hair suggest in my opinion the gem to be a Hellenistic product. Another case is a circular garnet intaglio in London that indeed presents a Roman lady in profile to the left (cat. no. 7.91, Figure 150).[183] Both Walters and Vollenweider are right in their judgments of the gem. The coiffure is distinctively Roman which enables to identify the presented person as a Roman lady, but the style of cutting, the material used as well as the overall quality of the workmanship invested in the creation of this piece is wholly Hellenistic and was engraved in the East. Most likely, one dealing here with a special gift that has been given from a loving man to his spouse. He could be a Roman diplomat, ambassador, general or administrator of one of the Eastern provinces. Neither the first nor the second gem mentioned here confirm the thesis put forward by Vollenweider of the deliberate use of engraved gems for propaganda purposes in the early 1st century BC among women. This phenomenon was probably practiced only later from c. mid-1st century BC onwards.

7.4.2. Family symbols and references to familial stories on gems

In the early 1st century BC promotion of family members or oneself through *origo* greatly intensifies in Roman Republican coinage. There is much evidence to claim the same phenomenon occurred in glyptics as one identifies many more examples of subjects suitable to the role of the family emblems on gems than in the 2nd century BC (cf. chapter 6.3.1). Moreover, there seem to be close interconnections between coins and gems regarding such promotion which suggests use of both those propaganda channels at the same time maybe even by the same people. Nevertheless, sometimes scholars label representations as related to a specific Roman *gens* erroneously and too boldly and those instances are discussed and corrected below.

The first motif to be analysed here is a fly appearing on several gems dated to the Roman Republican period (cat. nos 7.92-94). The insect might refer to the *cognomen* Musca used by several members of the Sempronia family starting from the 2nd century BC and thus, might be a family symbol testifying allegiance to this branch of the *gens* as well as to the Terentia family.[184] On some examples the fly is accompanied with abbreviated name of gem's owner like on the specimen from the British Museum, where DIOD is inscribed, possibly to indicate the name of Diodotus or Diodorus (cat. no. 7.93, Figure 151). However, 'fly' was associated with a nickname arising from someone's height or perhaps his persistence too. In the latter case, it should be regarded as a reference to gem owner's *virtus* and hence it could technically be classed as propaganda but not as a family symbol.[185] It was also commonly recognised as a symbol of poetry so that it could inform about one's occupation.[186] Furthermore, the fly is often depicted on intaglios as combined with a bearded head, crescent or scorpion – the so-called *Panorpa*.[187] All of them suggest that the motif had astrological-chthonic meaning too.

Another similar case is 'ant'. This insect is extremely common on intaglios especially in the Roman Imperial period, but not so much in the 1st century BC or earlier (cat. nos 7.95-96, Figure 152). Boardman and Vollenweider notice that an ant in a political sense appears on quinarii of M. Porcius Cato struck in 89 BC and one wonders if it could be regarded as his family symbol.[188] It does not seem to be the case since the symbol indeed is present on those coins but only as one of the many control marks (among which is also the fly).[189] In fact, the ant was a popular symbol of diligence and plenty often accompanying Rhea Silvia and Ceres (cf. chapter 10.7).[190] For this reason, it is doubtful whether an ant on a gem should be considered as

[179] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 223-224.
[180] Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXI.22, vol. II: 154.
[181] Boardman 1968: 21.
[182] Fulińska 2017: 168-169.
[183] Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 162.3-4; Walters 1926, no. 1193.
[184] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 76. Similar examples could be here multiplied. For instance, a crawfish (in Latin *locusta*) was a popular *cognomen* of the members of *gens* Licinia (Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 50). Another example is gecko/lizard that might stand for the *cognomen* Stellio (Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 98). Should they be automatically recognised on coins and gems as kinds of personal signatures and family emblems? There are many other more plausible explanations for the use of such symbolism, therefore, in this study, I limited myself to the most significant examples to inform us about the phenomenon and show various ways of interpreting it.
[185] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 58; Gallottini 2012, no. 257.
[186] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 58.
[187] Walters 1926, nos. 2563-2567.
[188] Boardman and Vollenweider 1978, no. 339.
[189] BMC Roman Republic II: 305, no. 677; *RRC*, no. 343/2a-b (quinarii of M. Porcius Cato, 89 BC).
[190] Alföldi 1950; Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 66-70; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 573.

related to any Roman *gens*; however, it definitely could be used for self-presentation to reflect a positive *virtus* of the gem's sitter.

Many more animals serve on Roman Republican coins as symbols related to familial histories and one of the most significant was a boar. According to numismatic sources, it was a symbol related to two Roman *gentes* – Caelia and Volteia. On the denarii minted by C. Coelius Caldus in 51 BC the image of C. Coelius Caldus consul of 94 BC and the moneyer's father is accompanied with a boar standard commemorating his victory over Gauls.[191] On the denarius struck by M. Volteius M. *filius* in 78 BC the head of Heracles wearing a lion skin appears on the obverse side and the Erymanthian boar on the reverse (Figure 153).[192] This combination remains unclear in reference to family history since the moneyer is otherwise unknown. However, a plausible explanation would be that Heracles was regarded as a legendary ancestor of the family Volteia at some point. The boar as a single subject on gems does not appear frequently in contrast to the sow and it might refer to hunting, force, good luck or one of Heracles' labours.[193] Nevertheless, it might be that glyptics delivers proof of one more family using the boar (perhaps the Erymanthian one) as a family emblem because on a carnelian intaglio in Philadelphia the boar is presented together with inscription CASI which possibly refers to *gens* Cassia (cat. no. 7.97, Figure 154).[194] It is not known if the members of that family used to take Heracles as their legendary ancestor but in the absence of science, this cannot be entirely excluded. Regarding the *gens* Volteia and the mentioned coin, a sard gem in Berlin features exactly the same boar design and an inscription that is largely illegible but as far as can be ascertained, it does not point to Volteia family (cat. no. 7.98, Figure 155). Another intaglio in Berlin also bears a boar and inscription that does not refer to a member of the Volteia family (cat. no. 7.99).

Concerning other animals suitable to be family symbols, the elephant or just its head is often associated with *gens* Caecilia Metella according to the numismatic evidence.[195] On the coins of L. Caecilius Metellus, consul of 117 or another consul with the same name active in 119 BC, the head of an elephant refers to the victory of L. Caecilius Metellus, consul of 251 BC, over Hasdrubal at Panormus in 250 BC and capture of his elephants.[196] The denarius struck by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius in 81 BC bears an elephant walking to the left on the reverse side the presence of which is explained in the same way as on the previous coin (Figure 156).[197] It is assumed that in both instances the moneyers transferred authority of their famous ancestor onto themselves by making a reference to his accomplishment through the image of an elephant. Regarding the elephant's appearance on gems, it occurs on intaglios rather rarely and the preserved examples from various collections do not deliver any direct proofs that they were used as family seals or tokens confirming one's allegiance to the Caecilia Metella family except one glass gem from Berlin that mirrors the animal from the coin of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (cat. nos 7.100-109, Figure 157). This case is an interesting one because it should be concluded that generally, an elephant appearing on gems is related to Bacchus because some gems present a head of an elephant raising a palm branch or thyrsus in the trunk which refers to god's Indian triumph (cat. nos 7.107 and 116, Figure 158). Only single items should be considered as serving as family seals of *gens* Caecilia Metella, like the mentioned glass intaglio from Berlin (cat. no. 109, Figure 157).[198]

Another motif frequently considered as a family emblem on engraved gems is Pegasus linked with *gens* Titia.[199] Similarly to the case of triskeles, that association is based primarily on the fact that Pegasus appears on a specific denarii issue. For the moneyer Quintus Titius had Pegasus and Q. Titi stamped on the reverse of his coins in about 90 BC (Figure 159). He is otherwise unknown and apparently, there is no agreement among numismatists as to why Q. Titius put Pegasus upon his coin.[200] On some examples of this issue the male head from the obverse is identified with Mutinus Titinus, a phallic marriage deity in some respects equated with Priapus, and it is speculated if there is any allusion between the deity's name and that of Q. Titius.[201] Other variants of that coin bear Victory and Liber-Bacchus images on the obverse side.[202] The religious connotations appear particularly important for the moneyer, thus, perhaps the key to solving Pegasus problem on his coins is the fact that the creature springs up in the air which recalls its birth story that is in turn comparable to that of Athena/Minerva. Pegasus was born from the severed neck of the gorgon Medusa slain by Perseus, while Athena jumped out of Zeus' head. It is noteworthy that on coins struck in AD 76 by Vespasian (AD 69–79, who belonged to the Titus family as well), a trotting Pegasus appears too and the emperor willingly linked himself

[191] *RRC*, no. 437/2b-3b.
[192] *RRC*, nos. 385/1-2.
[193] On the meaning of the sow in Roman glyptics, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 198 but see also Wiesman 1974: 153 who proves the design to resemble the sow of Lavinium, which may imply a claimed descent from Troy and the Alban kings. Regarding the significance of the boar on gems, see: Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 238-243; Gołyźniak 2017, nos. 178 and 548.
[194] Berges 2002, no. 105.
[195] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 194; Evans 1992: 67-68.
[196] *RRC*, nos. 262/1-5 (coins of L. Caecilius Metellus, 128 BC).
[197] *RRC*, no. 374/1.
[198] For a detailed discussion, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 189.
[199] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 202.
[200] Mattingly 1926: 239; *RRC*, nos. 341/1-3.
[201] Middleton 1998, no. 45.
[202] For all three types, see: *RRC*, nos. 341/1-3 (denarii of Q. Titus, 90 BC).

to Athena/Minerva.[203] The emperor Domitian (AD 81-96), from the same line, also claimed the goddess to be his special protectress and he commissioned a temple to her in the Nerva Forum in Rome in the second half of the 1st century AD.[204] Based on these facts, it seems that Pegasus indeed served as a family emblem to the members of *gens* Titia which might have pointed to their legendary ancestry or particular veneration of Athena/Minerva. Regarding glyptic art, Pegasus is already present in Etruscan glyptics,[205] but became widely popular only in the 1st century BC and later in the Roman Imperial period (cat. nos 7.110-116, Figure 160). This popularity results from Pegasus' connections with funerary themes as well as apotheosis.[206] The inscriptions appearing on some gems with the Pegasus device do not directly confirm the hypothesis of its use as a family emblem (cat. nos 7.111-112). However, one peculiar intaglio is preserved in Berlin one side of which bears Pegasus, whereas the other a male head (cat. no. 7.113). It illustrates the dependence between the owner and its emblem and perhaps proves that in some cases Pegasus indeed served as a family symbol.

Lastly, the representation of a bust or head of Galene-Selene, which was widely popular on Hellenistic gems, appears on denarii of Quintus Crepereius Rocus in 72 BC (Figure 161).[207] From that date, the subject became popular on Roman Republican gems as the moneyer adapted it as his coin emblem. It is supposed that members of his family used it as a family symbol, however, numerous glass gems survived suggesting also different applications from the decorative to the commercial ones (cat. nos 7.117-118, Figure 162; cf. also chapter 6.2.5 above).[208]

Much more complex is the case of Ulysses who is traditionally regarded as the legendary ancestor of *gens* Mamilia. The Mamilii traced their *nomen* and origin to the mythical Mamilia, the daughter of Telegonus, who was regarded as the legendary founder of Tusculum too.[209] Because the motif of Ulysses welcomed by his dog Argos appears in the same configuration on gems as on coins, for instance those struck by C. Mamilius Limetanus in 82 BC (Figure 163),[210] it is an ancient and popular view to suggest that the rings with gems bearing such a motif were used by the family members of *gens* Mamilia (cat. nos 7.120-124, Figure 164).[211] Indeed, they could put this image on gems as well as another one known from coins, that is Ulysses on a prow,[212] in order to advertise their *origo*.[213] Such an explanation seems plausible, although, I did not find any gem with an inscription referring to *gens* Mamilia. Moreover, Ulysses was popular already in Etruscan glyptics,[214] and continued to be so in the Roman Republic due to the fact that he was a founder of many cities in southern Italy.[215] His image upon a ring was considered to guarantee secrecy which must have been the primary reason for using it as a seal.[216] It is rightly observed first by Toynbee and later also by Yarrow that the die maker of the coin of C. Mamilius Limetanus minted in 82 BC drew inspiration for his coin-device from gems.[217] Regarding the bust of Ulysses, noteworthy is the opinion of Vollenweider about coins of L. Aurelius Cotta issued in 91 BC. She interpreted the bust appearing on them as that of Ulysses and compared it with an intaglio from Hannover,[218] proposing them to be linked and referring to the family advertisement during the Social War (91-88 BC). However, it has been established that the bust from these coins belongs to Vulcan and they were minted in 105 BC, not during the Social War.[219] The intaglio with the bust of Ulysses from Hannover was presumably cut for the same reasons as the figural types of the hero discussed above. All in all, there is certainly some evidence for members of *gens* Mamilia to promote their ancestry on intaglios, but it should be kept in mind that Ulysses' appearance on a gem does not automatically means family propaganda in action as other explanations are equally possible. The relatively numerous Roman Republican intaglios featuring Ulysses demonstrate that the iconography had a wide resonance as a marker of identity and should not be thought of as restricted to just a single *gens* or even just the hometown of that *gens*.[220]

The representatives of *gens* Marcia could use one more emblem for their family advertisement. On the denarius struck in 82 BC L. Marcius Censorinus put an image of Marsyas walking left with his right arm raised and holding wine-skin over left shoulder, behind him there

[203] *RIC* II, nos. 921–22 (denarii of Vespasian, AD 76). This issue is well illustrated on a cameo in London where Athena/Minerva's helmet is decorated with Pegasus, see: inv. no.: 1866,0504.119.
[204] Noteworthy is also that one of the Republican denarii of Q. Titus (*RRC*, no. 341/1) was restored by emperor Trajan (AD 98-117), however, this action had no political but just economic motivations, therefore, it does not distort the reconstruction of Pegasus and *gens* Titus relationship presented here, see: Mattingly 1926 (especially p. 239); *RIC* II Trajan 776.
[205] *LIMC* VII (1994), 218 s.v. Pegasos, no. 58 (C. Lochin).
[206] *LIMC* VII (1994), 230 s. v. Pegasos (C. Lochin). Regarding the funerary aspect of Pegasus, see, especially, an unpublished intaglio in Paris (inv. no.: Luynes.101) where Pegasus flies in the air with a scorpion under his hooves and an inscription AE being most likely an abbreviation from Latin *aeternitas*.
[207] *RRC*, nos. 399/1a-b.
[208] Furtwängler 1900: 342; Henig 2007: 3; Plantzos 1999: 89-90; Yarrow 2018: 48-49.
[209] Evans 1992: 27; Smith 2006: 40; Wiesman 1974: 155.
[210] *RRC*, no. 362/1. Noteworthy is that Ulysses on a prow exists on earlier coins produced by *gens* Mamilia too, see: *RRC*, nos. 149/1a-5a (dated 189-180 BC).
[211] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 168; Henig 1994: 155.
[212] *RRC*, nos. 140/1a-5b (bronze coins of L. Mamilius, 189-180 BC).
[213] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 232; Henig 2007: 3; Toso 2007: 41.
[214] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 99.
[215] Boardman and Vollenweider 1978, no. 381.
[216] Toso 2007: 43.
[217] Toynbee 1977: 3-4; Yarrow 2015: 342-343.
[218] *AGDS* IV Hannover, no. 194; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 24.
[219] *RRC*, no. 314/1a-d (denarii serrati of L. Aurelius Cotta, 105 BC).
[220] Yarrow 2015: 343.

is a column with a statue of Victory atop (Figure 165). Crawford states that the figure of Marsyas is merely an allusion to moneyer's *nomen*.[221] The design is quite faithfully copied on a few gems. The only noticeable differences are the Palladion instead of a Victory on the column or the lack of the column (cat. nos 7.125-126, Figure 166). As a result, one wonders if they were used by the members of *gens* Marcia as family seals.[222] Indeed, it was considered an honour to belong to a well-respected family so the use of a ring with such an emblem possibly raised the gem user's authority and advertised that he belonged to the noble class. Nevertheless, as suggested by Furtwängler and confirmed by Evans, the image was borrowed to glyptics from the statue of Marsyas installed on the Forum Romanum.[223] Perhaps then both gems and coins share the source of inspiration and the usage of the motif as a family emblem is uncertain.

Apart from the figures described above there are some other motifs that could be used as family symbols on engraved gems. One of them is the so-called Victoria Virgo – enthroned Victory holding a patera and a palm branch in her hands, usually presented in profile. This image derives from the cult statue located in a shrine of the goddess founded by Cato Censorius in 193 BC on the Palatine Hill.[224] Members of *gens* Porcia used to put this image on their coins,[225] and it seems probable that they could use it for their personal seals as well (cat. no. 7.127, Figure 167).[226]

7.4.3. Political symbols

Regarding subjects appearing on gems other than portraits and family symbols that possibly had some propaganda, political or social applications, particularly interesting examples are intaglios featuring a single she-wolf (cat. nos 7.128-131, Figures 168-169) which almost mirrors the one featured on denarii of P. Satrienus issued in 77 BC (Figure 170).[227] She is believed to be a symbol of victory over the rebel Italians who likened Rome to a predatory wolf in the early 1st century BC.[228] It is then argued whether intaglios with such an image were used by those rebels as a sort of black propaganda manifesting their contempt for the sacred image of the she-wolf that nursed Romulus and Remus.[229]

[221] *RRC*, no. 363/1.
[222] Yarrow 2018: 52.
[223] Evans 1992: 77; Furtwängler 1896, no. 6963.
[224] Hölscher 1967: 137.
[225] *RRC*, nos. 343/1a-2b (denarii and quinarii of M. Porcius Cato struck in 89 BC).
[226] Weiβ 2007, no. 42
[227] *RRC*, nos. 388/1a-b.
[228] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 174.
[229] At least this was the reason why the image appeared in the coinage, see: *RRC*, nos. 388/1a-b.

8. Civil War: Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar and contemporaries

In the early 1st century BC engraved gems clearly became a means of political propaganda. There were many applications of intaglios and possibly some cameos in self- and family-promotion which makes gems' propagandistic value comparable to that of coins. In this chapter, I present further developments in the use of engraved gems for self-advertisement and propaganda during the conflict between Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar. The research focuses mainly on those two political leaders, however, the potential engagement of other politicians like Marcus Licinius Crassus or Cicero is not ignored as are supplementary examples of self-presentation and family propaganda practices applied by various, mostly unidentifiable Roman statesmen, politicians, generals etc. The range of gems employed for such purposes clearly expands between c. 70-44 BC, which is confirmed not only by archaeological, but also literary sources. Nevertheless, the climax was to come in the next Civil War when the younger generation of Roman politicians realised that all branches of Roman art, including glyptics, were suitable propaganda channels for transmitting powerful messages influencing the people of Rome. At the same time, the considerable increase of the production of gems (especially the glass ones) related to political and social affairs suggests that people were largely engaged in politics and the propaganda campaigns conducted by top statesmen were successful.

8.1. Pompey the Great

According to Pliny, Pompey the Great was the first man to introduce a general taste for pearls and precious stones to Rome just as the victories, gained by Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (3rd century BC-183 BC) and Gnaeus Manlius Vulso (consul in 189 BC) had first turned the public attention to chased silver and banqueting-couches decorated with bronze; and the conquests of Lucius Mummius (2nd century BC) had brought Corinthian bronzes and pictures to public notice.[1] He did so after defeating Mithridates VI Eupator in the East and his passion for carved gemstones and vessels was a pure imitation of the eastern, Hellenistic attitude towards this kind of artform. I have argued above that gems were increasingly popular during the second and early first century BC and used for personal branding, commemoration of special events and other political activities, among other factors, due to the contact of Romans with Hellenistic culture in the East. The figure of Pompey is indeed of key importance in both gems' production and their political use. In this chapter I present what kind of propaganda actions he performed with the use of glyptic art and to what extend glyptics confirms that his propaganda was successful since his supporters choose the subjects related to him for their personal rings.

8.1.1. Triumph

Much has already been said about Pompey's triumph in 61 BC over Mithridates VI Eupator in which gems and *muhrrine* vessels played a significant role but let us evaluate all the information available and decide whether that ostentatious use of gemstones had any positive impact on the people it was addressed to. According to Pliny and Appian, during his triumph, Pompey exhibited a variety of objects made of gemstones including a remarkable portrait of himself made of pearls and his chariot was decorated with gemstones too.[2] It is not entirely clear what kinds of objects Pompey displayed since in chapter 5 of the XXXVII book of his *Natural History* Pliny mentions that Pompey took over the *dactyliotheca* once belonging to Mithridates VI Eupator and then installed it in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill,[3] while in chapter 7, a vast collection of *murrhine* vessels reaching the number of 2,000 objects is mentioned as a part of the triumphal procession.[4] One supposes that both the *dactyliotheca* and the *murrhine* cups were displayed alongside other precious objects making his procession extraordinarily rich and appealing to ordinary people.[5] This whole action had purely propagandistic motivations. Pompey wanted to present himself as the most powerful Roman and make his victories the most impressive ever seen in Rome, thus, the more treasuries taken from Mithridates he showed, the greater was his victory. For it was a popular practice among Roman triumphators to even exaggerate the greatness of their opponent to transfer their authority onto themselves. The success of Pompey's propagandistic action was great. Everyone wanted to be like him which included imitating his passion for engraved gems that became highly popular objects. On the one hand, this triggered a considerable production of glass gems and vessels, on the other hand, it was immensely beneficial for Pompey as a propagandist who became extremely popular among the people.[6] Although, there is no direct

[1] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.6.

[2] Appian, *Mithridatica*, 12 and 17.117; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.5-7.

[3] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.5.

[4] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.7.

[5] Lapatin 2015: 122; Plantzos 1999: 56; Toso 2007: 3; Vollenweider 1966: 18 and 23.

[6] Vollenweider claimed that portrait glass gems became highly popular since Pompey returned to Rome with Mithridates'

evidence for some gems being distributed on Pompey's command during his triumph among people,[7] even their exhibition must have been highly influential since Pliny recorded this event in his book as a milestone for the mass-production of engraved gems in Rome. There were also gems produced to commemorate this specific event and a proof of that is a carnelian intaglio housed in Paris. It was published just once by Chabouillet in 1858 (unillustrated) who recognised on it a triumphal athlete.[8] However, a close examination of the piece reveals that it depicts a triumphal Roman general who rides a *quadriga* wearing full cuirass and holding a palm branch in his right hand, while raising a laurel wreath in the left one in the salutation gesture; before him is a horse rider trotting forward and carrying a trophy. In the upper part there is an inscription incised CN PM which should be probably read as Gnaeus Pompey Magnus (cat. no. 8.1, Figure 171). The inscription allows identification of this utterly extraordinary scene as an illustration of Pompey's triumphal procession and the general himself. He is depicted here as saluting to the viewers and a trophy carried by his companion riding before him indicates his military victory over Mithridates.

It is noteworthy that Pliny criticised Pompey for his ostentatious parading with gems and vessels in 61 BC procession but in a typical hypocritical manner and from the perspective of a much later observer.9 Pompey was a cautious politician calculating all the profits and potential risks of specific actions and he would not have risked exhibiting gems if it had been harmful for his reputation. Officially, they were treated as the usual spolia of war. Furthermore, after the triumph, Pompey installed his collection in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill.10 Although this could have been a natural part of his triumph, because normally the booty was first displayed to the soldiers, prior to the celebrations, then to the people in Rome and finally to the gods, such an action must have had a powerful resonance since it was a great manifestation of Pompey's pietas erga deos.11 For doing this Pompey renounced those spolia of war and offered them to the chief god of the Roman pantheon. This was the next, purely directed move having a powerful and unparalleled impact on the society as a whole. The propagandist did not keep his treasures only for himself, but he made them public objects, at least in the eyes of ordinary people. He fulfilled his duty towards Rome and showed his pietas erga patriam that way too. Moreover, he appeared as a connector between the people and the gods. An offer made of such valuable objects was an important act for the good of everyone. Because of this Pompey probably gained even more support among common people than thanks to the exhibition of gems during his triumph alone. At the same time, he did not break any habit or behave inappropriately like Marius did when wore a gold ring during his triumph (cf. chapter 7.2.1 above). In conclusion, I believe that Pliny's criticism is biased and the use of Mithridates' dactyliotheca by Pompey did him more good than harm.

8.1.2. Collecting

Pompey the Great is regularly, somehow automatically, recognised as a collector of gems,[12] but in fact, there is little evidence to consider him as one. As specified above, when he came back to Rome in 61 BC, he brought the *dactyliotheca* of Mithridates VI Eupator and 2,000 *muhrrine* vessels which also belonged to the last king of Pontus. Nevertheless, there is no information about Pompey forming his own collection of engraved gems or continuing the expansion of the cabinet. He merely confiscated the already existing collection of Mithridates and used it, as it has been demonstrated, for his propaganda during the triumph in the form of spolia of war and to make it more spectacular. Moreover, he did not treat it as his personal war gain. On the contrary, he soon deposited the collections in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill making them public wealth. Therefore, technically, Pompey was not a collector in a traditional sense like the Ptolemies, Mithridates, Marcus Aemilius Scaurus or Augustus and as he is often considered by scholars. Nevertheless, there is some evidence for him hiring gem engravers who cut intaglios and cameos for him (cf. chapter 8.1.3 below). Whether these were later distributed to his followers and family or kept for himself is hard to tell, but the last option cannot be entirely excluded. As I have specified earlier, collecting gems could have raised social status and shown that the collector is capable of purchasing the best pieces on the market which strengthened his authority as well. Therefore, the practice should be classed as propaganda. In the case of Pompey there is a special treatment of Mithridates' gem cabinet for sure. Essentially, it was handled as an object, a thing destined to raise his popularity and give him recognition among people. At the same time, perhaps Pompey kept some pieces from Mithridates' collection for himself and commissioned gems from celebrated artists becoming a collector who imitated Hellenistic practices. This remains disputable because it depends how one

dactyliotheca (1955: 110), however, Kopij rightly questions that view pointing out that one cannot be sure if a considerable number of Pompey's portrait gems was produced during his lifetime (2017: 257). I shall discuss this issue in one of the sub-chapters below.

[7] Such a possibility has been proposed by Vollenweider 1955: 103. See also: Kopij 2017: 255.

[8] Chabouillet 1858, no. 1870.

[9] Isager 1998: 212-229.

[10] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.11.

[11] Casagrade-Kim 2018: 103.

[12] Boardman 1968: 23 and 27; Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 304; Lapatin 2015: 117; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 442; Plantzos 1999: 9, 56 and 105; Platt 2006: 238; Ritter 1995: 101; Rush 2012: 31; Vollenweider 1955: 100; 1966: 18; Zazoff 1983: 329.

interprets the words of Pliny the Elder who states that it was this conquest by Pompey and his triumph that first introduced so general a taste for pearls and precious stones in Rome.[13] He is presented here as an owner of a considerable collection which as Pliny says a bit earlier, was far more impressive than the one owned by Scaurus.[14] Pompey might have inspired others but Pliny possibly uses his example as a rhetorical figure illustrating the initial spark that started the later considerable hardstone and glass gems' production and utilisation in Rome, while as proved above, gems had been produced in Italy for centuries in relatively large quantities.

8.1.3. Possible gem engravers working for Pompey

Generally speaking, ancient literary sources do not provide good evidence for linking gem engravers with specific historical figures. Despite some direct mentions in the *Natural History* by Pliny about Pyrgoteles working for Alexander the Great or Dioscurides for Augustus, there are not many records testifying to gem engravers being employed by other political leaders.[15] Nevertheless, an analysis of iconography and other evidence results in some more or less likely links between artists and their patrons. I have already discussed the first evidence for Roman patronage over glyptic art and specific engravers citing portrait studies signed by ancient masters cut in the 2nd and early 1st century BC (cf. chapters 6.2.1 and 7.4.1) as well as a plausible connection between Sulla and Protarchos (cf. chapter 7.1.2). Considering the fact that Pompey transferred to Rome Mithridates' *dactyliotheca* and *muhrrine* vessels, one wonders if he could have encouraged some Greek artists skilled in carving gemstones to work for him in the East and later also in Italy?[16] Such a view seems justified.

First, one should analyse who might have worked for Mithridates, since it seems most logical to think that the same artists or at least some of them sought a new employer after Mithridates' defeat. A natural candidate seems Pompey. Following this logic, there is a popular view that a Greek gem engraver Apollophanes worked for Pompey the Great. He is an author of an intaglio presenting the head of Medusa where one notices the same facial features of Mithridates VI Eupator himself as on his coins (cat. no. 8.2, Figure 172).[17] It has been thought that Pompey commissioned this gem to present Mithridates as a Medusa monster after his victory over the king of Pontus, however, Plantzos recently pointed out that Medusa made perfect sense as Mithridates' emblem and therefore should not be regarded as his caricature.[18] While indeed, Apollophanes' masterpiece was most likely cut at the Pontic court and reflected Mithridates' emblem, there is no reason to think that the undeniable skills of Apollophanes or other engravers could be later used by Pompey when he defeated Mithridates for his own reasons. Certainly, the motif of Medusa's head in profile has been adapted by gem engravers like Sosokles, Pamphilos and Diodotos who all worked in Rome in the second quarter of the 1st century BC and signed their cameos and intaglios (cat. nos 8.3-10, Figures 173-175).[19] It seems plausible to think that they copied Apollophanes' original or another source, which was a common practice between engravers those days. One imagines that after 61 BC the symbol of Medusa's head earlier associated with Mithridates in a positive way was now meant to reflect Mithridates as Medusa monster in a new Roman cultural circle. If that was indeed somehow related to Pompey, it would be an example of black propaganda aiming at the destruction of the authority of the opponent by comparing him to one of the most dangerous monsters ever existing in Graeco-Roman mythology. At the same time, it would raise Pompey's authority as he had chased away the embodiment of a great peril for Roman domination in the Mediterranean basin. Actually, the popularity of Medusa's head in glyptics in Rome c. 60 BC from the present perspective might seem misunderstood; however, it could simply work in a different way for people living in Rome instead in Greece and Asia Minor. The Medusa's head motif when transferred to another cultural circle could change its meaning for the new recipients. Yarrow reads the popularity of the motif in question on glass gems as an effect of Pompey's triumph. According to her, Mithridates' heads on glass gems were still produced at the time perhaps indeed for Pompey's veterans who identified that triumph as their own.[20] I do not suggest that all the mentioned artists worked for Pompey since as stated above, his interest in engraved gems was rather perfunctory and one lacks definitive proofs. However, Pamphilos might have cut a beautiful amethyst presenting Achilles playing a *cithara* for Pompey, who tended to compare himself to the hero as it will be explained in chapter 8.1.9 below. The two works of that artist complement each other in political terms suggesting their connection with Pompey.

Regarding other artists, Vollenweider supposed that the gem engraver Solon worked for Mithridates VI Eupator since he is another artist cutting Medusa's

[13] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4.
[14] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.3.
[15] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4. See also a commentary to this issue in: Plantzos 1999: 9-11.
[16] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 113.
[17] For a thorough discussion including comparisons between gems and coins, see: Spier 1991.
[18] Plantzos 1999: 88 (with full discussion on this matter and concepts of other scholars).
[19] See a discussion of this issue in Plantzos 1999: 88-89 and each artist referred to has been described in Vollenweider 1966: 27-28. Regarding the work of Sosokles, it was recognised as a modern copy, see full discussion and literature on this subject in Plantzos 1999: 129.
[20] Yarrow 2018: 38-39.

head in profile and signing his work – the famous *Strozzi Medusa* (cat. no. 8.12, Figure 176).[21] This was acceptable before Spier found out that it was most likely the work of Apollophanes that inspired later gem engravers, including Solon himself, who cut Medusa's head on intaglios and cameos.[22] Vollenweider further argued that Solon worked for Mark Antony , but this statement is also problematical as will be proven later in this book (cf. chapter 9.3.2.2).[23] Solon was certainly an outstanding engraver, possibly active somewhere within the late second and third quarter of the 1st century BC. It is noteworthy that his *Strozzi Medusa* was excavated in a vineyard at the Caelian Hill in Rome which does not prove but make it possible that he resided in Rome. Whether he worked for Pompey there cannot be said with certainty. Except for Medusa's head none of his other signed works refers to Pompey's personal propaganda, cult or seals.[24]

I should discuss here also an intriguing portrait presenting the bust of a Roman wearing a toga to the front cut upon a carnelian in a private collection (cat. no. 8.12, Figure 177). Vollenweider dated the piece c. 60 BC and identified the person depicted as Pompey the Great. Moreover, she attributed the work to Aspasios who was a Greek gem engraver that possibly transferred his business to Rome after Pompey's victory in the East. The gem is said to have been found in Jerash (ancient Gerasa), near Damascus and would have certified to Pompey's popularity in the East.[25] The identification of the person portrayed on a gem with Pompey seems plausible. One notices similar treatment of hair as in the case of two heads attributed to the Roman statesman preserved in Venice and Paris, although, both sculptures have been preserved only as later (1st century AD) copies.[26] As to Aspasios, his identity and style is very problematic since some scholars claim that there were two artists with the same name or they date his works to the 2nd century AD,[27] but Zwierlein-Diehl convincingly argues that there was just one Aspasios engraver and he worked around 50-30 BC perhaps even a bit earlier. He might have been contemporary with Solon and like him, he is linked with Mark Antony and Juba I (cf. chapters 8.3.1 and 9.3.2.2).[28] The carnelian in question is an extraordinary piece for sure since the size of the gem, view of the portrait and its dressing (tunica and toga) suggest that. The last feature possibly originates from an old Roman tradition extending back to the 2nd century BC frontal portraits of senators presented that way on intaglios (cf. chapter 6.3.2). Moreover, this is a highly individualised work, yet, some Hellenistic features in the style of engraving are observable. Therefore, it is tempting to claim that this gem indeed presents Pompey the Great and was executed for him while he was still in the East. It fits the general pattern of the Romans who commissioned their portraits on gems by Greek engravers as a sort of imitation of Hellenistic royal traditions. For Pompey, who tended to promote himself in the Hellenistic manner, for instance by comparison to Alexander the Great (cf. *imitatio Alexandri* – chapter 8.1.10 below) it would be natural to have his likeness cut upon a private gem. It remains disputable if Aspasios indeed executed the intaglio in question and served Pompey since his style is closer to Augustan classicism. However, the same can be said about Solon because in both cases, their Hellenistic roots may reach back to the late 60s BC when they were developing their own styles and one cannot say that they did not evolve over the next decades down to the 30s BC.

Finally, one should also consider the fact that Agathopus, an engraver traditionally linked with Sextus Pompey, for instance, by Vollenweider and Neverov,[29] in fact possibly started his career in Rome under Pompey the Great.[30] His case is particularly complex since his works, either signed and attributed, in my opinion should be dated c. 60-30 BC on stylistic grounds. Agathopus worked in exceptional and rare materials (aquamarine, emerald) and his portrait selection includes studies of the Romans typical for c. 50 BC, while in 1966 Vollenweider, based on a tomb inscription in the Columbarium of Livia, pointed out that he should be linked with the imperial Julio-Claudian court and died prior to AD 42.[31] She was confused about Agathopus' professional activity since a few years later, she linked him with Sextus Pompey (see discussion below). In fact, there is no definite proof that Agathopus known from the tomb inscription was indeed a gem engraver since the Latin word *aurifex* appearing on it means a 'goldsmith.'[32] Perhaps Agathopus – the gem engraver known from the surviving intaglios - was one artist whereas Agathopus the goldsmith buried in the Columbarium of Livia was another person.

In St. Petersburg there is an amethyst intaglio depicting a portrait of a Roman to the left attributed to Agathopus (cat. no. 8.13, Figure 178). Even though

[21] Vollenweider 1966.
[22] Spier 1991.
[23] Vollenweider 1966: 49-50.
[24] It seems that Solon's career flourished in later days, that is under Octavian/Augustus' patronage, see: Plantzos 1999: 96-97 and chapter 9.3.1.2 below.
[25] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 113-115.
[26] Kopij 2017: 230-231 (with further literature on sculptural portraits of Pompey on pp. 229-237).
[27] For instance: Richter 1971, no. 493; Zazoff 1983: 323.
[28] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986: 99-100.
[29] Neverov 1976, no. 89; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 152-153.
[30] On Agathopus and his career see also: Vollenweider 1966: 77-79.
[31] Vollenweider 1966: 77-79.
[32] For the inscription, see: Gori 1727, no. 116. Naturally, Vollenweider should be credited for noticing the closeness of the *aurifex* term with gem engraving since those two crafts were certainly interconnected in antiquity (on this matter, see: Hansson 2005: 117), but this does not mean that both should be always automatically linked and regarded as one person of two professions.

Vollenweider admitted that the portrait from the gem resembles the one of Pompey the Great on Sextus Pompey's coins, ultimately, she as well as Neverov recognised the head as belonging to Sextus Pompey.[33] However, a closer examination reveals that the facial features, especially the furrowed brow, forehead and nose line, deep mimic wrinkles as well as the arrangement of hair that are barely, but still slightly raised over the forehead resembling *anastole* are more typical for Pompey's portraits. Of particular use is here one of the earliest sculptural portraits of Pompey – the so-called Venetian type – a marble head from the Museo Archeologico in Venice (Figure 179). It has been attributed to Pompey since the late 19th century and even recent, more critical evaluations still hold that identification.[34] If one compares the marble head in the profile with the image from the gem in St. Petersburg, it is quite clear that they refer to the same person and are possibly contemporary. The sculpture is dated c 60-50 BC and I believe the same date applies to the work of Agathopus. His style is exceptional, evidently rooted in the Hellenistic East, yet, the barely visible *anastole* possibly indicates that the gem was cut already in Rome for it would not have given rise to controversies among the local viewers. This feature means a careful supervision of the engraver's work, plausibly by Pompey himself. Therefore, it is possible for Agathopus to have worked directly for Pompey and later he could continue his career in Rome carving gems for other Roman aristocrats or his son Sextus (cf. chapter 8.3.2).

8.1.4. Seals of Pompey

Like Sulla, Pompey did not hesitate to employ his personal seals for propaganda purposes and just as in the case of the dictator, two seals are said to have been used by Pompey during his lifetime. The first one must have been created shortly after 61 BC when Pompey celebrated his third triumph, this time over Mithridates VI Eupator. According to Cassius Dio, Pompey's ring featured three trophies, just as Sulla used in the case of his second signet ring.[35] The same motif was put on coins struck by Faustulus Cornelius Sulla on his denarii in 56 BC and I have already argued that the image could apply to both Sulla and Pompey (cf. chapter 7.1.1, Figure 100).[36] The three trophies stood for victories accomplished on three different continents which was a success unique for Pompey because he was the first Roman to accomplish that after Romulus.[37] It is possible that the gem was cut by one of the engravers that arrived at Rome with Pompey after his eastern campaigns. It is interesting to observe that apart from being a personal political message, the iconography of that ring alluded to Sulla, whom Pompey followed in the early stages of his political career.

As we are told by Plutarch, Pompey used another seal showing a lion holding a sword in his paws.[38] According to the writer, this ring was presented to Julius Caesar alongside the head of Pompey when he came to Egypt, which contrasts with Cassius Dio's record saying that the ring was engraved with three trophies (see above). This is probably due to a mistake of one of the authors, possibly Plutarch, who confused the two seals, as noticed by Vollenweider.[39] Noteworthy is the fact that Caesar kept the seal so that it could not be used anymore, for instance by one of Pompey's sons. There is no information on Pompey's seal being used by Sextus Pompey whatsoever in ancient literary sources or archaeological material (cf. chapter 9.1.1).[40] This shows how important personal seals were and the devices presented on them had always some political message or *auctoritas* to transmit. That was the case with Sulla's seals and Pompey's. The lion with sword is an unusual motif since it does not occur in coinage related to Pompey and scholars tend only to refer to it without any attempt to interpret it.[41] Kopij argued that the motif represented Pompey as the defender of the Republic and the first soldier of Rome.[42] This interpretation, although interesting and referring to Pompey's military prowess, does not fully exploit the seal's potential. Because Pompey was born under Libra, the lion cannot refer to his zodiacal sign. However, Baldus combining literary and numismatic sources was able to reconstruct and broadly comment on the two seals used by Alexander the Great one of which depicted a lion walking with a short sword in one of its forepaws, and a star above in the field.[43] The motif was reproduced on the now lost so-called lion-aureus issued by Mark Antony in 38 BC (Figure 180).[44] According to the evidence presented by Baldus, it should be concluded that the second seal of Pompey exactly reproduced the one once used by his idol – Alexander the Great - which was a part of his *imitatio Alexandri*.[45]

Still, the question when Pompey's seal with a lion and sword was produced cannot be decisively answered. Plantzos claims that this happened by the time of Pompey's death, which sounds logical,[46] however, again, Baldus offers an intriguing solution. He convincingly

[33] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 152.
[34] See a recent discussion on this particular head in: Trunk 2008: 152-153.
[35] Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, 42.18.3.
[36] *RRC*, no. 426/3 (denarius of Faustus Cornelius Sulla, 56 BC).
[37] Kopij 2017: 94-95 and 260; Kraft 1952-1953: 34-35.
[38] Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 80.5.
[39] Vollenweider 1955: 99-100.
[40] Plantzos 1999: 19.
[41] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 304; Lapatin 2015: 113; Plantzos 1999: 85-86; Richter 1971: 4; Toso 2007: 16; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 10.
[42] Kopij 2017: 260.
[43] Baldus 1987.
[44] Baldus 1987: 409-420; Kühnen 2008: 105-109; *RRC*, no. 533/1, see also an incomplete commentary on p. 743.
[45] Baldus 1987: 410-411.
[46] Plantzos 1999: 86.

argues that both seals of Alexander the Great could be used at the same time. According to him, Alexander used one 'European' seal suitable for his Greek citizens and the second 'Asiatic' (lion seal) suitable to be used in the Eastern part of his empire.[47] Pompey could imitate that practice as much as he did regarding his seals' subject-matter.[48] He supposedly used the seal with three trophies in Italy and Rome in particular, while his second seal with the lion and sword was meant for the eastern part of the Roman Empire. Whether he used it just towards the end of his life or earlier is difficult to say. However, it seems that the more intensive the rivalry between him and Caesar, the more intensive was the propaganda he practiced. Perhaps the seal was meant to awake the legend of Pompey *Invictus* next to Alexander the Great who conquered the East when the conflict between him and Caesar intensified in the late 50s BC. The second seal of Pompey had particularly powerful propaganda meaning for it transfers the authority of Alexander on Pompey.[49] It confirms that the Roman statesman used to imitate Alexander the Great (see also chapter 8.1.10 below). The iconography of the seal reappears on the mentioned coin issued by Mark Antony and is otherwise unknown. What is more, the propagandistic messages transmitted on the two seals of Pompey were precisely adjusted to the audience. The seal referring to Alexander could do more harm than good to Pompey in Rome, therefore he employed another seal there, while the Alexander one worked well in the East.

As with Sulla, Pompey also clearly chose devices having political references for his personal seals. Both known examples illustrated Pompey's military accomplishments and perhaps even compared him to Alexander the Great. The focus on military aspects in glyptics is typical for Pompey's propaganda activities reflected elsewhere (coinage or architecture).[50] It is not surprising since his whole political rhetoric was based on his military genius. It is then noteworthy to add that Pompey used his seals not only for securing his documents but also among soldiers in a sort of metaphorical way. Plutarch reports that while stationing on Sicily, Pompey put his seal on the swords of his soldiers to prevent them fighting each other.[51] As one can see, seals were powerful objects not only because they transmitted specially designed messages but because they could also unite followers of the propagandist. This unusual employment of Pompey's seal communicates that the seal represented his authority and power of his orders.

8.1.5. Portraits - personal branding, induction and manifestation of loyalty

Pliny claims that Pompey the Great displaying the *dactyliotheca* of Mithridates' gems and *muhrrine* vessels during his triumph introduced a fashion for these kinds of decorative arts in Rome.[52] For this reason, Vollenweider felt justified in proposing that generally speaking this was the moment when portrait gems started to be produced on a large scale, especially glass gems.[53] She projected herself that Pompey portraits were frequently put on gems for propaganda purposes. In this sub-chapter, I would like to address her hypothesis and re-examine the evidence for such a claim. Because first, one wonders if there is indeed a significant number of Pompey's portrait gems in existence and second, as so rightly observed by Trunk and Kopij, whether all the gems bearing Pompey's likeness should be dated to his lifetime or not.[54] For the evidence is striking that some of the gems presenting Pompey's portrait were produced under his son Sextus Pompey, and they more plausibly testify to the reception of his father's image in glyptics (cf. chapter 9.1.4). Moreover, the chronology of Pompey's portrait gems is problematic which is clear when one compares the studies of Vollenweider and Trunk, both equally incomplete.[55] Fortunately, in the case of Pompey identification of his portraits on gems is less problematical than in the case of earlier prominent Romans because the comparative material (coins and sculpture) is relatively abundant, although usually posthumous. I am going to sort out the material related to the issue and then discuss what kinds of propagandistic actions each class might have referred to.

I have already discussed the unusual portrait gem in a private collection that might present Pompey frontally, and which was most likely cut for him while he was on his eastern campaigns (see above). Vollenweider argued that due to Pompey's great popularity among soldiers, he had every right to appear on gems one way or another as early as the 80s BC and considering his military successes, he was expected to be depicted heroized.[56] Indeed, there is some evidence to claim that Pompey was interested in glyptic art and had his likeness cut upon both intaglios and cameos. Nevertheless, I believe this could not happen as early as she expected. As has been already shown, it was common for the Romans travelling to the East to have their first serious contact with glyptic art there (cf.

[47] Baldus 1987: 395-406.
[48] Baldus 1987: 412-413.
[49] For the detailed meaning of each element of the seal, which appear to present the particularly interesting zodiacal constellation of the Sun in the Leo that indicated the highest ruler, see: Baldus 1987: 413-420.
[50] Kopij 2017: 74-157 and 201-219.
[51] Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 10.14.
[52] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.6-7.
[53] Vollenweider 1955: 110.
[54] Kopij 2017: 257; Trunk 2008: 144.
[55] Trunk 2008: 143-152; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 115-119.
[56] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 106-107.

chapter 6.2.1) and one supposes that this was the case of Pompey too. In 67 BC he departed from Brindisi to fight pirates in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea. In the following year he was given the command of Roman forces engaged in the third war with Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus. Pompey quickly defeated Mithridates and brought much of the East under the control of Rome throughout the years 66-62 BC (Armenia, Syria and Judea among others). It must have been in that period of his military and political career when he became interested in glyptic art for the first time. He took over the *dactyliotheca* and *muhrrine* vessels once belonging to Mithridates VI Eupator that were later exhibited during his triumph in 61 BC. He might also have employed Greek gem engravers to carve intaglios and cameos for him (see above). For apart from the carnelian intaglio already discussed presenting his bust, there are several other objects that one possibly should link to his patronage over glyptics while he was in the East or to the popularity of his image among his followers who wanted to express their affinity to Pompey and his faction.

A small glass cameo was once preserved in the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels and it is believed to feature the head of Pompey in profile to the right (cat. no. 8.14, Figure 181).[57] The identification made by Vollenweider is generally accepted as is her date for the cameo which she links to Pompey's eastern campaigns.[58] She compared the portrait to the bronze coins minted in Soli-Pompeiopolis, however, it has recently been established that dates of this coinage are controversial, and they might have been struck after Pompey's death.[59] Nevertheless, it is clear that the cameo once in Brussels was a Hellenistic product due to the style of engraving, cameo form unusual for Roman glyptics at the time and material used and it is noteworthy that it presents a relatively young Pompey. Another interesting object is a sapphire cameo once in the Ralph Harari collection of engraved gems. It shows the head of a Roman in a three-quarter view, slightly turned to the right. The man's particular features are short curly hair widely arranged on the head and slightly receding at the temples, a square jaw and intense gaze. The nose is straight, the face full, with double chin and the lips are a bit receded (cat. no. 8.15, Figure 182). The exceptionally hard material used combined with a portrait study suggest the portrayed person must have been an important and wealthy individual. The work is Hellenistic in style, the face is a bit idealised, but it belongs to a Roman official whose hairdo is comparable to the one from the cameo once in Brussels. Therefore, it is tempting to suggest that the piece was executed for Pompey the Great, although such an identification is largely speculative.[60] Much less problematic is the identification of Pompey's portrait on a cameo from the Content Family collection where his bust is draped and one easily recognises the *anastole* hairdo above the forehead (cat. no. 8.16, Figure 183). The provenance of the gem is especially interesting since Maurice Nahman (1868-1948) collected ancient art from Egypt, where Pompey spent his last days.[61] But the cameo was probably cut earlier during Pompey's eastern enterprises and could be gifted to and used by a local governor loyal to the Roman statesman. Noteworthy is the fact that although an unquestionably Hellenistic work in terms of style, this piece presents Pompey as a Roman dignitary wearing a toga, not a naked bust, which suggests control over the image created perhaps by Pompey himself. The cameos with Pompey's portraits constitute a precedence in Roman glyptic art since none of the Romans before him promoted his image in this medium. Furthermore, in the haircut of Pompey one spots reflections of Alexander's *anastole* which suggests that Pompey already during his eastern campaigns used to compare or identify himself with Alexander the Great.

Regarding intaglios made of hardstones, a comparable portrait to the one from the Harari collection cameo is a carnelian in the Bollmann cabinet featuring the portrait of a Roman whose face is fleshy with mimic wrinkles clearly marked, slightly receded lips, double chin and thick neck. His forehead is lined with numerous wrinkles and the hair presented as a mass of short curls clearly raised up at the top of the forehead (cat. no. 8.17, Figure 184).[62] Both the face and especially the arrangement of hair with raised forelock (the so-called *anastole* hairdo) suggest identifying the portrayed person as Pompey the Great, perhaps with some signs of his *imitatio Alexandri* employed for propaganda purposes.[63] Vollenweider supposed that Pompey himself might be depicted here, but she hesitated to attribute the intaglio to him.[64] This is fully understandable since there are some details which fit awkwardly for Pompey. The most striking is the nose which is relatively strongly bowed on the intaglio, while it is not that much in the coinage.[65] However, the slight differences may result from the fact that Pompey's image at the time was still poorly known in the East and artists, unless being directly employed by Pompey himself, had little sources of inspiration at hand. There are a few more objects testifying that

[57] Trunk 2008, no. G2 (who states that the cameo is no longer there); Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.1.
[58] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 115.
[59] Trunk thinks the same as Vollenweider (2008: 149-151), but see: Kopij 2017: 148-151, 258 and 330-331.
[60] Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, no. 60.
[61] Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 70.
[62] This is only partially visible due to chipped edge of the upper part of the stone. See: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 54.1-3.
[63] Compare analogies in sculpture: Kopij 2017: 229-237.
[64] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 85-86.
[65] Compare, for instance: *RRC*, nos. 470/1a-d (denarii of M. Minatius Sabinus and Cn. Pompey, 46-45 BC), 477/1a-3b (denarii of Sextus Pompey, 45-44 BC), 483/1-2 (denarii of Q. Nasidius, 44-43 BC) and 511/1-3c (aureii and denarii of Sextus Pompey, 42-40 BC).

Pompey's portrait gems became increasingly popular in the East in the late 60s BC. Two more examples are: a sardonyx intaglio housed now in St. Petersburg (cat. no. 8.18, Figure 185), while the second is preserved in the form of a modern plaster impression made by Tommaso Cades after an original ancient intaglio (cat. no. 8.19, Figure 186). Both heads are very much alike and present Pompey with a typical *anastole* haircut. It is generally suggested that those gems were produced between 70-50 BC,[66] but I think a narrower period of time should be suggested, that is c. 66-61 BC because the portraits exhibit considerable Hellenistic influence in the engraving techniques and it is probable they were cut while Pompey campaigned in the East or slightly later.

One should mention here one particularly interesting sealing originating from the Edfu hoard that was smuggled out of Egypt in the early 20th century and eventually split into two halves, one of which was bought by the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.[67] The sealing in question features the head of Pompey the Great which Vollenweider dated to the 60s BC (cat. no 8.20, Figure 187).[68] I agree with her opinion, though a slightly later date is also possible. In fact, the object delivers immensely important information regarding the usage of portrait gems. It is very likely that this seal was attached to the document issued by a governor of one of the eastern Roman provinces created after Pompey's conquest. He might have been one of Pompey's followers who chose to seal his documents with his likeness on the one hand to manifest his loyalty to the Roman statesman and, on the other hand, to transfer Pompey's authority onto himself. For the seal testified that he acted on the behalf of Pompey which means he is supported by one of the most powerful Roman individuals. For Pompey himself, such a situation was beneficial too since he was assured of being supported in the far lands which he could not access easily when came back to Rome, and his authority was also raised within the local communities in the eastern provinces. He became more recognisable when his supporters used to spread his portrait in such a context as being described here. It seems that gems contributed to Pompey's propaganda the same way as the honorific inscriptions and statues devoted to Pompey did when erected by the representatives of local loyal communities in the eastern cities.[69]

Further examples of portrait gems related to Pompey the Great are clearly Roman products as suggested both by the materials used as well as the style of engraving except for the work attributed to Agathopus (cf. chapter 8.1.3 above). There are two gemstones: one is a red jasper in Berlin featuring Pompey's head and the letter P on both sides of it (cat. no. 8.21, Figure 188),[70] and a banded agate intaglio in Hannover bearing just a head of Pompey cat. no. 8.22, Figure 189).[71] The former has intrigued scholars a great deal because of the inscription. The portrait itself is difficult to date and usually placed between years 70-50 BC. However, the style of engraving is very different from the earlier Hellenistic creations and suggests it is a Roman product. Even though the facial expression and features are still typical for Pompey, the coiffure (still the *anastole* type) has been considerably simplified as the locks of hair are rendered with numerous short strokes in a rather mechanical way. Moreover, the inscription which resembles a double P letter is also more typical for the Roman sphere. For these reasons, it is clear that the intaglio must have been produced in Italy, perhaps in Rome and that must have been after Pompey's arrival and triumph in 61 BC. On the other hand, as Trunk observed, stylistically the intaglio has very little in common with posthumous portraits of Pompey known from both gems and coins.[72] Therefore, I propose a date between 61 and 48 BC. Regarding the inscription, it has been suggested to stand for *pater patriae*, *patronus publicae* or *Pompeius pater*.[73] However, to my mind, the most probable is that the two letters stand for the name of intaglio's owner (*duo nomina*) as it is often the case on various gems produced in the first half of the 1st century BC.[74] Still, the inscription makes the object interesting because it suggests that its owner identified with Pompey and certainly was one of his followers. Perhaps the intaglio was commissioned by him to manifest his allegiance to Pompey and his circle. This on the one hand confirms that Pompey's propaganda was successful in glyptics because people wanted to show their bonds with him. On the other hand, it testifies to the political use of engraved gems and confirms the date of the object specified as between 61-48 BC. This date is the most plausible since it was the period when Pompey's popularity reached its peak in Rome. For an aristocrat it would be suitable and beneficial to proclaim his support for his patron that

[66] Neverov 1983, no. 4 (= Trunk 2008, G1 and G3; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 530 (ca. 61-50 BC); 2007, ill. 488 (ca. 70-50 BC)).

[67] For more detailed information about this hoard, see: Milne 1916; Murray 1907; Plantzos 1999: 27-28. Currently, the Royal Ontario Museum is conducting a scientific project aiming at description and re-publication of all the sealings it possesses, see: https://www.rom.on.ca/en/blog/clay-sealings-from-edfu-egypt-in-the-greek-roman-collection [retrieved on 16 January 2018].

[68] Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 74.1.

[69] On this issue, see: Kopij 2017: 237-238 and 246-250.

[70] *AGDS* II, no. 415; Furtwängler 1896, no. 6536; 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.38, vol. II: 227; Trunk 2008, no. G6; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.5 and 7 (ca. 60-50 BC); Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.5.

[71] *AGDS* IV Hannover, no. 568; Trunk 2008, no. G4; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.2-3; Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.4.

[72] Trunk 2008: 149. But see a contradictory view in: Kopij 2017: 261.

[73] Kopij 2017: 261 (the author wrongly attributed this gem to the posthumous objects created on the commission of Sextus Pompey, though); Vollenweider 1972-1974: 116.

[74] See many examples of portrait gems with heads of Pompeians and inscriptions in chapter 9.1.3. For more information on the inscriptions of this kind on gems, see: Aubry 2009: 13.

way. The second intaglio (Hannover collection) has been engraved upon a banded agate, a typical material for Roman Republican glyptics, in a similar style to the intaglio from Berlin. Therefore, I suggest taking it as a contemporary piece to the red jasper, although other scholars would not be so sure about such a date.[75]

As one can see, there are some reasons to think that indeed Pompey's arrival in Rome with the *dactyliotheca* of Mithridates VI Eupator and his *muhrrine* vessels was an initial spark that set off a considerable production of engraved gems. Pompey's popularity and the new art form combined quickly resulted in a phenomenon when ordinary people sought to have a portrait of their patron cut upon their rings. The demand must have been increasing over the 50s BC so that gem engravers started to produce cheaper glass gems with Pompey's likeness and deliver them to the market or they were told to do so by Pompey himself as a part of his propaganda machinery. I collected four glass gems bearing Pompey's portrait all of which were presumably produced between 61 to 48 BC in Italy, most likely in Rome itself (cat. nos 8.23-26, Figures 190-191) as shown by the provenance of those gems. One is in Venice, one in Munich, but it was once a part of the Paul Arndt collection formed in Rome, the next in Copenhagen (about which little is known) and finally the last travelled as far as to the Rhineland (now preserved in Bonn). All those pieces feature a very similar head of Pompey without any attributes engraved in a manner close to the already mentioned intaglios in Berlin and Hannover. I believe that those gems are contemporary with the gemstone ones and were produced for ordinary people. Moreover, the example from Bonn suggests that some of their recipients were Roman soldiers fighting for Pompey and wishing to manifest their allegiance to him. In other words, they were markers of identification with Pompey.

Speaking of Pompey's portrait gems, Vollenweider noticed one particular glass gem in Geneva. It bears the head of a bearded Roman king, possibly Numa Pompilius in profile to the right (cf. cat. no. 6.133, Figure 42). She compared the device with coins issued by Pompey the Great and Cn. Calpurnius Piso in 49 BC and proposed that the gem owner wanted to manifest his loyalty and faith in Pompey who should be elevated to the royal level and rule the Roman Republic.[76] Such an interpretation is unacceptable. Even though indeed there are considerable similarities between the coins and the gem in question, it has recently been proved that the head of Numa appears on that denarius as a reference to the legendary origins of *gens* Calpurnia.[77] It is possible that the gem itself was used as a private seal of a member of Calpurnia family as was often the case in the 1st century BC and earlier (cf. chapter 6.3.1).

All the intaglios, cameos and sealings presented above confirm that Pompey used engraved gems for his political propaganda already while engaged in a series of military campaigns in the East. Moreover, manifestation of loyalty and support by his followers was clearly practiced with the use of gems featuring his likeness in Rome and the eastern provinces too. Vollenweider's supposition based on Pliny's record about Pompey's role in popularising gem engraving in Rome is confirmed by the growing scale of production of gems bearing the portrait of Pompey. Even though the evidence presented here seems scanty, it is the first time one can say that gems were clearly used for personal branding to a considerable degree and on various levels since Pompey probably encouraged production of pieces bearing his portrait. In the case of Sulla and Marius the evidence for that activity is much more tenuous. It is difficult even to identify their portraits let alone to link them with specific periods of their military and political careers. In the case of Pompey there is enough evidence that he promoted himself first, imitating Hellenistic kings through cameos and intaglios as well as the employment of gem engravers which then continued in Rome, especially after his triumph when his image was disseminated in the form of glass gems.

8.1.6. Promotion of family

Pompey the Great promoted himself through supporting the production of engraved gems bearing his own likeness or his supporters manifested their allegiance to him that way. It can be only speculated whether or not some of the gems with his portrait were used by members of *gens* Pompeia (for instance by his sons Gnaeus and Sextus). It must be said that I do not recognise any other specific motifs as related to the promotion of Pompey's family in glyptics. Perhaps this is due to the limits in decoding propaganda gems' iconography, but in coinage and other channels of propaganda, Pompey barely makes reference to his ancestors either historical or legendary as it was often the case with other families (see chapters 6.3.1 and 8.3.3) and will be in the case of Julius Caesar (cf. chapter 8.2.5). This is probably because *gens* Pompeia did not establish any particularly effective *origo* legend. As Cicero writes regarding Quintus Pompeius, the consul of 141 BC and first distinguished member of the family: '*he was a man of humble and obscure origin*'.[78] Pompey the Great must have invested vast sums of money, time and energy into his propaganda then because he had to start

[75] Compare: Kopij 2017: 262; Trunk 2008: 149; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 115.

[76] Vollenweider 1979, no. 117.

[77] See: *RRC*, no. 446/1 (denarius of Pompey the Great and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, 49 BC) and especially, Kopij 2017: 145-146 (with a thorough discussion of this issue and its iconography).

[78] Cicero, *In Verrem*, 70; *Pro Murena*, 7; *Brutus*, 25.

from a scratch. He concentrated on himself only and this is the reason why there is no family propaganda on gems related to him. The situation changed after death of Pompey in 48 BC once his sons Gnaeus and Sextus started to promote themselves eagerly alluding to their father and his accomplishments (cf. chapter 9.1.4).

8.1.7. Promotion of the faction – Optimates

In the early stage of his career, Pompey, like his father Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo (135-87 BC) supported Sulla, who belonged to the *optimates* – a pro-aristocracy faction. He participated in the final part of the Social War (91-88 BC) and when his father died, he inherited the lands and estates as well as loyalty of his legions. When another civil war between Marius and Sulla broke out in 83 BC, Pompey again supported the latter. He helped him in his march on Rome and later chased survivors of the Marians gaining his *cognomen Magnus* and his first triumph in 80 BC. Later on, Pompey developed his political and military career first in Spain fighting Sertorius and gaining a second triumph in 71 BC, and finally in the East where he put vast territories under Roman control culminating in his third triumph in 61 BC. It was in 60 BC when Pompey entered a coalition with Marcus Licinius Crassus (c. 115-53 BC) and Julius Caesar (100-44 BC). It survived until Crassus' death in 53 BC, but in fact from 60 BC down to his death in 48 BC Pompey was a fierce rival of Caesar's. For all these years, he was the leader of *optimates* party and even though his propaganda actions were mostly focused on him, he must have solicited the support of other prominent Roman politicians, senators and aristocrats. Because engraved gems were strictly private objects, they seem the best to manifest political allegiances as it was the case for instance with philosophical views.[79] In previous chapters I have discussed gems bearing Pompey's portrait excluding the glass ones, which as has been said were most likely intended for Roman soldiers fighting under Pompey. One supposes that other gems could be gifted by Pompey to his friends and supporters as a sort of recognition for their loyalty. They will be further used by their recipients as tokens of membership of his party. Of course, some of those gems could have been commissioned by Pompey's followers too and not only to manifest their loyalty to their patron, but also to show that they belong to his circle and are supported or could even avenged by him. This seems to be the case of governors of eastern provinces as evidenced by a cameo that probably comes from Egypt and sealing found in Edfu featuring Pompey's portrait. There is no other sensible explanation for the existence of so many portrait gems with Pompey's likeness or any other political leader.[80] One wonders if there were any other motifs that could be cut for the same purpose e.g. to integrate Pompey's political faction.

It is believed that since Sulla, the head of Apollo was a symbol commonly recognised as related to the *optimates* faction and thus, it became a sort of a party token.[81] But the evidence is scanty and controversial. It has been argued here that Apollo in the case of Sulla appears in his coinage and contemporary gems due to the politician's special veneration of the god which could be followed by his supporters, especially soldiers (cf. chapter 7.1.5). Nevertheless, there is no definitive proof or trace for that motif working as a symbol of the *optimates* faction. Maaskant-Kleibrink explained the various types of Apollo's head appearing on gems in the late 2nd and 1st century BC and their potential origins. As a result, there is no particular reason to claim that the head of Apollo was cut upon engraved gems in the time of Pompey as a sort of token of *optimates* party.[82] The same applies to another, highly popular motif – the head of Heracles. It is a fact that Pompey identified with the hero, but at the same time, it is unclear if the motif in question became a sort of a universal symbol of allegiance to him and thus, indirectly of the *optimates*. None of the examples I have analysed include a direct reference to Pompey and the subject was highly popular throughout the whole 1st century BC for a number of other reasons (but cf. discussion in chapter 8.1.9).

It seems that there was no specific symbolism or motif that supporters of Pompey could have used to manifest their membership of the political faction he was a leader of except for his portraits. However, it should be highlighted that the practice of having one's own portrait cut upon a gem could have been popularised by Pompey among his contemporaries too. As Vollenweider observed in her study of Roman portrait gems, the *optimates* used to commission gems with their portraits far more frequently than members of the *populares* party.[83] The reason for that could be, of course, financial, but it is tempting to suggest that indeed, those related to Pompey wanted to copy his actions and thus became more Hellenised than others as their leader was. The imitation of someone's lifestyle, customs and traditions is a clear identification with him and thus, should be accounted as propaganda. In other words, even if Pliny criticises Pompey for his

[79] Lang 2012: 105-106; Yarrow 2018: 35-37.
[80] Yarrow 2018: 38.
[81] Barcaro 2008/2009: 16-17.
[82] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1989/1993: 196-200. It is noteworthy that Pompey only occasionally and in very specific circumstances referred to Apollo, for instance, the head of Apollo appears on coins minted under his patronage in 49 BC in Greece when he was recruiting soldiers to his army to fight Caesar, see *RRC*, nos. 444/1-3 (denarii of Q. Sicinius and C. Coponius, 49 BC). This was due to the fact that Apollo was one of the most popular gods in Greece, so his image was used to gain Pompey new recruits (Kopij 2017: 118-119). In terms of glyptics, such actions are untraceable alas and even more direct references of Pompey to Apollo are undiscernable.
[83] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 103-105.

ostentatious exhibition of gems during his triumph and Pompey's portrait in pearls in particular, it does not mean that for other Roman aristocrats this kind of behaviour was unappealing, and they eagerly imitated it. Pompey was a creator of a trend that was continued by his followers which is recognised as a *band-wagon* propaganda technique. Apart from that, perhaps subjects like Mithridates' and Medusa's head were briefly popular around 61 BC during Pompey's triumph and served his veterans as symbols of identification with the victory of their leader (cf. chapter 8.1.3).[84]

8.1.8. Commemoration

Engraved gems were frequently used to commemorate important events like military victories or appointments to important titles and offices. The political and military career of Pompey the Great was abundant in events that should have been immortalised in material objects which would further influence people of Rome as a part of his propaganda campaigns. This is noticeable in sculpture and coins, and consequently, one wonders if engraved gems could have been employed for the same purpose.[85]

I have already discussed Pompey's seals which so obviously, like his coinage, commemorated his victories, especially the conquest of the East and three triumphs for military accomplishments on three continents (Europe, Africa and Asia). Moreover, I have also discussed the popularity of gems presenting the head of Medusa or Mithridates VI Eupator that could have been used by Pompey's followers to advertise their input in the victory over the king of Pontus. They possibly were encouraged to do that by Pompey himself. This is also the case with the commemoration of the triumph in 61 BC and a carnelian in Paris does the same in a more direct way (cf. no. 8.1, Figure 171, chapter 8.1.1). There is little evidence that Pompey's military successes or other events related to him were directly commemorated on gems. Even though Vollenweider linked several gems to Pompey's *census equitum* ceremony, to my mind they are not related to him but to Marcus Licinius Crassus and his son (cf. chapter 8.3.4). Yarrow suggests that head of Africa appearing on glass gems could serve to commemorate Pompey's victory over Africa and the gems with that iconography were used by his soldiers (cat. nos 8.27-28, Figure 192).[86] She bases her reasoning on the fact that one aureus issue minted and signed by Pompey the Great features on the obverse the head of a woman wearing the elephant headdress and she accepts the dating of that issue to 71 BC. Nevertheless, numismatists do not agree the date and meaning of this coin. Recently, Kopij convincingly argues that the aureus of Pompey in question should be linked with his rivalry with Julius Caesar in 49-48 BC and the female head in *exuviae elephantis* identified him with Alexander the Great and his conquest of the East being a suitable reminiscence of his past accomplishments for the Greek and eastern recruits he sought while stationed in Greece.[87] In consequence, the female head wearing elephant's scalp clearly appears for the first time as a personification of Africa in Roman art in 47 or 46 BC on the denarius struck by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio as a reference to his famous ancestor (on which cf. chapter 8.3.3).[88] It should not be recognised as such prior to this coin especially if there are no other symbols linking her to that land. I believe the gems cited by Yarrow should be recognised as Hellenistic creations, especially cat. no. 8.27, Figure 193 which is possibly made after a coin minted by one of the Hellenistic kings. Plantzos proved that such iconography was in use by unidentifiable Hellenistic rulers who tended to identify themselves with Alexander the Great that way.[89] Furthermore, there is a unique group of frontal female busts wearing the elephant scalp that probably depict Hellenistic queens, possibly from the Ptolemaic dynasty, which is suggested by a presence of *cornucopia* on an unusual nicolo in Krakow (cat. nos 8.29-31, Figures 193-194).[90] Yarrow's mistake is probably due to her presumption that glass gems were mostly produced in Rome, but they were abundant in the Hellenistic Greece and beyond too.[91] In any case, the glass and hardstone intaglios presenting the female head with *exuviae elephantis* should not be attributed to Pompey and considered as commemorating his triumph over Africa.

A similar case is a desperate search for any traces of commemoration of the first triumvirate in glyptics. Vollenweider thought that a combination of three animal heads on a glass gem in Geneva stood for the members of the pact: bull – Caesar, ram – Pompey and goat – Crassus (cat. no. 8.32, Figure 195).[92] She believed that such gems were used as cheap amulets that were distributed to the people shortly after establishing the pact. Other scholars followed her, for instance Middleton recognises competing Caesar and Pompey in conjoined protomes of a bull and lion respectively engraved upon a gem found in Epidaurum in Dalmatia (cat. no. 8.33, Figure 196).[93] However, such explanations

[84] Yarrow 2018: 38-39.
[85] Regarding the commemoration of Pompey's successes and accomplishments reflected in coinage, sculpture, architecture and other branches of art and craftsmanship, see: Kopij 2017: 74-157 (coinage), 201-219 (architecture), 229-237 (sculpture) and 245-252 (honorific inscriptions).
[86] Yarrow 2018: 41-43.
[87] See a full discussion including also points of views of other scholars in: Kopij 2017: 126-144. See also a further commentary in: Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 192.
[88] *RRC*, no. 461/1.
[89] See a full discussion on that matter in: Plantzos 1999: 58.
[90] See discussions in: Gołyźniak 2017, nos. 18 and 32.
[91] Plantzos 1999: 38.
[92] Vollenweider 1979, no. 396.
[93] Middleton 1991, no. 252.

are unacceptable. These constellations are often a part of more complex iconography class appearing on the so-called *baskania/grylloi* gems and they occur in various configurations.[94] They symbolise either zodiacal signs (goat – Capricorn, bull – Taurus, ram – Aries, lion – Leo etc.) or specific deities (goat – Ceres, horse – Mars, ram – Mercury and so forth).[95] The most obvious argument contradicting Vollenweider's hypothesis is the fact that configurations of more than three elements exist as for instance on an intaglio contemporary with her Geneva example, once in the Ionides collection presenting the heads of a bull, goat, boar and ram conjoined together.[96] In addition, the bull has an ear of corn in its mouth which does not stand for free grain supply in Rome ensured by the triumvirs but it is a symbol of plenty and abundance instead. In my survey I did not find any intaglios or cameos related to Pompey's propaganda of his titles as well as offices he was appointed to throughout his career. In contrast to Sulla and later propagandists, he did not promote ideas of peace and prosperity (cf. chapters 7.1.6, 8.2.9 and 10.8). As a result, I suggest considering the gems like the ones described in this paragraph as private amulets having no social or political applications.

8.1.9. Divine and mythological references

A successful political and military career of every prominent Roman was impossible without the blessing and support of various deities which in turn resulted in their extensive veneration. There were some commonly distinguished gods and goddesses; for example, the cult of Venus received special treatment from Sulla, who venerated her as *Venus Felix*, Pompey as *Venus Victrix* and Julius Caesar as *Venus Genetrix*. The second had given her title *Victrix* because he dedicated his military accomplishments to her and promoted them as obtained due to her advocacy.[97] Meanwhile, each prominent Roman general had his particular divine patrons. In the case of Pompey, Neptune took such a role shortly after his naval victories in the campaign against the pirates.[98] Pompey's attitude to the gods is particularly interesting because it involves, on the one hand, cherishing well established deities of the Roman pantheon like Venus, Neptune, Heracles or even Diomedes and, on the other hand, the promotion of new ideas that he had adopted while travelling through the East (*imitatio* or *comparatio Alexandri*). In this sub-chapter I am going to analyse if there are any traces in glyptics of Pompey's special bonds with the mentioned deities and heroes because as Henig writes legionary officers and possibly regular soldiers too used gems for their private veneration of various heroic figures.[99] There is no argument to think differently about the political leaders and their veneration could be instructive for their followers helping to integrate them around the patron.

One of the first gods that received special treatment in the propaganda of Pompey was Neptune. After his brilliant campaign against the pirates Pompey started to be compared with the chief marine deity.[100] For this reason some scholars link the increasing popularity of maritime subjects on 1st century BC engraved gems with Pompey's veneration of Neptune.[101] Vollenweider supposed that the head of Pompey accompanied with trident and dolphin appearing on some gems could be related to the general's promotion as under the auspices of Neptune.[102] However, it has recently been established that these gems should be dated to much later period and were related to Sextus Pompey's reception and allusion to his divine father (cf. chapter 9.1.4). Consequently, the maritime subjects, although indeed abundantly carved upon intaglios and cameos in the 1st century BC, ought to be regarded as a sort of new phenomenon and general trend rather than reflecting Pompey's and his successors' naval victories. For the sea was of growing significance to the Romans who appeared to control Mediterranean Sea already in the late 2nd century BC and clear comparisons between Pompey and Neptune do not exist in glyptics.[103] This is consistent with the lack of such references in the coinage issued during Pompey's lifetime. It was only during the period of fierce rivalry between younger generation that explicit references to political developments started to be used (cf. chapters 9.1.7 and 9.3.1.8).[104]

Regarding Venus, as has been said, Pompey venerated her with the title *Victrix* suggesting that his military victories were won under her patronage.[105] The bust of Venus appears three times on Roman Republican denarii related to Pompey: those struck by C. Considius Nonianus in 57 BC and another minted by Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of Sulla dictator in 56 BC most likely due to the special veneration of the goddess by Sulla and Pompey alike.[106] One should expect then some reference to Venus on gems as well, but in fact, all three bust types appearing on coins do not exist in glyptics,

[94] Gołyźniak 2017, nos. 185 (a bird standing on a bucranium), 283 (a combination of a horse's protome and bull's head) and 554 (heads of a horse, boar and goat).
[95] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 554.
[96] Boardman 1968, no. 52.
[97] Kopij 2017: 93.
[98] Barcaro 2008/2009: 212 (with a list of ancient authors comparing Pompey to Neptune).
[99] Henig 1970.
[100] Barcaro 2008/2009: 212.
[101] Guiliano and Micheli 1989: 31-32.
[102] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 116.
[103] The famous Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus constructed in the late 2nd century BC is probably the best early illustration of the general trend, see: Plantzos 1999: 96.
[104] Morawiecki 2014: 59-104; *RRC*: 739.
[105] Kopij 2017: 93-94.
[106] *RRC*, nos. 424/1 and 426/1 and 3 respectively.

at least, in any considerable similarity. Moreover, I do not find any gem presenting Venus with a symbol or engaged in an allegorical scene that could be connected with Pompey in any meaningful way.

Concerning Pompey's relationships with Heracles, these are far more often reflected in ancient literary sources and material culture than his already mentioned connections with deities. Pompey venerated Heracles with the title *Invictus* which was an allusion to his own military prowess. He renovated the Temple of Heracles located near *Circus Maximus* so that the previous title of the hero (*Invictus*) has been replaced with *Pompeianus*.[107] Pompey was frequently compared to the Greek hero, for instance by Pliny, Appian and Plutarch.[108] For these reasons, many scholars claim that Pompey identified with Heracles in his propaganda efforts.[109] The personal bond between Pompey and Heracles is possibly best reflected in coinage. On coins issued by Faustus Cornelius Sulla two types of head of Heracles wearing lionskin appears. These two variants refer primarily to Sulla and Pompey together since the first was the moneyer's father and the second his father-in-law and that has been explicitly marked on the coins' legends.[110] Kopij drew an interesting conclusion that while on the first coin (related to Sulla) Heracles has been presented as older than on the second type (related to Pompey) which could be due to not only the identification of Pompey with the Greek hero, but also a sort of subtle message communicating that he should be regarded as Sulla's successor in terms of politics.[111] Interestingly, Plantzos observes a class of intaglios featuring heads of the youthful Heracles with a lionskin and proposes to link them with propaganda of Pompey and the coins minted by Faustus Cornelius Sulla (cat. nos 8.34-42, Figure 197).[112] Their style is essentially Hellenistic but betrays the first symptoms of the classicising manner dominating in the second half of the 1st century BC. Naturally, it is difficult to judge whether those gems were created precisely around the mid-1st century BC, but according to their provenance, it is clear that they were produced both in Rome and the East at the same time which is an argument in favour of their relationship with Pompey.[113] It cannot be ascertained for sure that the Roman statesman was directly engaged in their production or encouraged it as has been suggested by Plantzos though. There is no precise information as to why the head of youthful Heracles appears on coins of Faustus Cornelius Sulla; it could be the issue of Pompey's succession after Sulla as well as the commemoration of Pompey's merits in terms of renovation of the temples of Venus and Heracles.[114] Perhaps the popularisation of the cult of Heracles by Pompey resulted in a considerable increase in the production of gems with the hero's image in Rome and in the East where Pompey was popular after his campaign in the late 60s BC. This in turn could result in the popularisation of Heracles' cult among Pompey's soldiers who may have even identified their patron with the hero and hence carried gems with Heracles' head to manifest that. This seems to be the only possible explanation which would link Heracles' head in glyptics at the time with Pompey. There are no definite clues or attempts suggesting Pompey himself or someone on his behalf presented for instance his likeness with the attributes of Heracles or Pompey was depicted as the Greek hero on intaglios and cameos. In fact, there could be many other reasons why Heracles' head was so popular on gems in the 1st century BC so that linking the motif with Pompey is not certain (cf. chapter 6.3.1).

If there is any connection between busts of youthful Heracles on intaglios described above and Pompey, it must have been allegorical and perhaps, therefore, it escapes us today or is inadequately appreciated. Maybe one should investigate some allegorical scenes involving Heracles that potentially reflect Pompey's military successes. Toso notices the existence of a large group of intaglios (mainly in glass) presenting the release of Prometheus by Heracles (cat. nos 8.43-49, Figure 198). She acknowledges that Pompey used to be compared to the Greek hero engaged in the release of the Titan by several ancient writers.[115] In the Hellenistic tradition, it was Alexander the Great who rescued the Greeks and successfully protected them against the Persian peril. Similarly, Pompey would release the nations of Asia Minor and beyond from the tyranny of Mithridates VI Eupator. For these reasons, it seems attractive to link the aforementioned gems with Pompey, but they appear for the first time already in the late 2nd century BC, thus, one is not sure if all of them referred to Pompey specifically. Besides, some of the ancient texts do not seem to focus on the comparison between Pompey and Heracles, rather on the sharp contrast between Pompey and his father Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo.[116] Of course, one assumes that the meaning of that particular motif changed over time, and there is indeed a clear increase in the production of gems bearing that scene around the mid-1st century BC, especially where glass gems are concerned. Hence, Toso's hypothesis cannot

[107] Kopij 2017: 98 and especially 206-207; Kühnen 2008: 77-78; Ritter 1995: 64-65; Weinstock 1957: 228-229.
[108] Appian, *BC*, 2.76.319; Appian, *Mithr.* 478; Pliny, *NH*, XXXIV.57; Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 1. See also more references listed in: Barcaro 2008/2009: 99.
[109] Ritter 1995: 64-86.
[110] *RRC*, no. 426/2 (denarius of Faustus Cornelius Sulla, 56 BC) is related to Sulla, while *RRC*, no. 426/4a-b (denarii of Faustus Cornelius Sulla, 56 BC) are related to Pompey.
[111] Kopij 2017: 94.
[112] Plantzos 1999: 85-86. A similar opinion has been expressed by Toso (2007: 190).
[113] Plantzos 1999: 127.
[114] Please, compare: Kopij 2017: 93-94 and 206-207.
[115] Toso 2007: 182-184.
[116] This is the case in particular with Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 1.

be entirely rejected. For propaganda to be successful it must be anchored in the already existing language and mythology (cf. chapter 4.7) and perhaps this is the case here.

Accordingly, one should also link to Pompey's eastern campaign and the propaganda of his subsequent successes over Mithridates mid-1st century gems presenting Heracles killing Amazons or generally those presenting Amazonomachy (cat. nos 8.50-51, Figure 199). According to Plutarch, while Mithridates flew to the kingdom of Bosporus, Pompey advanced towards Armenia but had to turn back to fight the Albanians near the Abas river. He won the battle and his soldiers did discover many women on the battlefield and among the prisoners of war. Their wounds showed that they had fought as vigorously and courageously as the men, hence, the Romans identified them with Amazons.[117] In turn, Appian informs us about Pompey's expedition to Colchis, a kingdom well-known for its gold and visited by the Argonauts, Castor and Pollux as well as Heracles, when he fought with the Amazons in a dense forest.[118] Such descriptions would suggest comparing Pompey's moves with Heracles fighting the Amazons, but the Roman general demonstrated his mercy and sent his prisoners back home.[119] All in all, the subject frequently appearing on gems produced around mid-1st century BC may have been sometimes taken as an allegory of the events reported by ancient authors and again, plausibly Pompey's soldiers would prefer this iconography on their gems as a reference to their patron and commander.

Another mythological figure frequently appearing on engraved gems who is sometimes linked with Pompey the Great is Diomedes. The Greek hero stealing the Palladion of Troy with or without his companion Ulysses was a popular motif on gems engraved in Italy starting from the 5th century BC. Regarding Roman Republican glyptics, his popularity was due to the fact that Diomedes was related to the mythological foundations of Rome.[120] In the 1st century BC Diomedes appears on gems with increasing frequency, hence, some scholars believed that he was a suitable subject for political leaders of Rome to employ for their propaganda.[121] Regarding Pompey, Moret believes that three intaglios, one in Paris and two glass gems in Berlin represent this Roman general as Diomedes stealing the Palladion (cat. nos 8.52-53, Figure 200).[122] According to him, in all three cases the coiffure resembles Pompey's *anastole* and thus, the gems in question should be related to him and dated c. 70 BC. They were produced to illustrate Pompey's *imperium* since the motif indeed stood for Roman power and perfectly incarnated *virtus*.[123] Nevertheless, such an early dating and the attribution of the gems to Pompey is largely inconclusive. I entirely agree with Weiß, who recently re-evaluated the glass gems in Berlin. She convincingly argues that the head of the hero, rather than exhibiting any reference to Pompey and his *anastole* hairdo, fits well a general classicising type employed on gems in the second half of the 1st century BC and that is the time when those two objects were produced.[124] In the case of the gem from Paris, this general type of head is even more evident and classicising. Besides, the overall composition of the scene, the strong highlighting of a perfect body and style of engraving are purely classicising in character and thus I recognise here a work of Augustan times. Under no circumstances, should these gems be linked with Pompey and his propaganda actions, rather with Augustus and his political programme (cf. chapter 10.7).

Finally, I shall remark on the suggestion that Pompey identified himself with Achilles and there are reflections of that in glyptics. Such a view has been proposed by Giuliano, Micheli and Moret regarding an amethyst in Paris presenting Achilles playing a cithara, however, they do not present any solid arguments for such a claim.[125] The gem is indeed exceptionally well carved and signed by the artist Pamphilos (cat. no. 8.54, Figure 201). Vollenweider dated the piece to the times of Pompey the Great but hesitated to identify the hero with that Roman general.[126] There are two intriguing details in the gem's iconography. The shield lying at Achilles' foot is decorated with the Gorgoneion, the symbol of the Pontic dynasty, which might refer here directly to Mithridates (cf. chapter 8.1.3). Moreover, another element of the shield's decoration is a *quadriga* which may symbolise a triumph and in this particular case, the one Pompey was awarded once he came back to Rome in 61 BC. For these reasons, the whole composition would present Pompey as Achilles engaged in tranquil activity reflecting peace after a long period of turbulent wars with Mithridates in the East.[127] At the same time, the gem is a tribute to Pompey's triumph, military prowess and courage compared to those of Achilles and even to Alexander the Great.[128] Such a subject would be suitable for a someone living in the East rather than in Rome, though, unless the gem circulated in the inner circle of Pompey's supporters. This is justified due to the complex political message encoded into this particular work of art which could be appreciated only by well-educated recipients. Moreover, along with the Medusa's head discussed

[117] Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 35.1-4.
[118] Appian, *Mithridatica*, 15.103.
[119] Appian, *Mithridatica,* 17.117.
[120] Moret 1997; Toso 2007: 54-60.
[121] Toso 2007: 61-64.
[122] Moret 1997, nos. 186-188.
[123] Toso 2007: 61.
[124] Weiß 2007, nos. 273-274.
[125] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 32; Moret 1997, no. 122.
[126] Vollenweider 1966: 27.
[127] Toso 2007: 34.
[128] For instance, by Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 29.1-5.

above, this intaglio would be another one testifying to the patronage of Pompey over Pamphilos. It is noteworthy that later Augustus employed Dioscurides as his court gem engraver who also cut a very similar subject on a carnelian now in Naples (cat. no. 9.615, Figure 519) which also encapsulated the same idea of eastern conquest, but this time as a result of the Battle of Actium (cf. chapter 10.6).

Vollenweider stimulated the imagination of many identifying the famous Beverley hyacinth intaglio presenting the mourning Achilles seated on a stool with Pompey the Great (cat. no. 8.55, Figure 202). According to her, the hair on the top of his head resembles the *anastole* coiffure applied by Pompey in order to imitate Alexander the Great. Furthermore, she suggested that the plump body of the figure depicted reflects Pompey's posture. Besides, she remarked that Alexander himself identified with Achilles, so why would Pompey not have done the same, though, in his case, the comparison was meant to imitate Alexander rather than the Greek hero directly?[129] Vollenweider linked the mourning Achilles with Pompey's disappointment resulting from some of his followers abandoning him and going over to the side of Caesar.[130] Her interpretation has been followed by other scholars. For instance, Kopij also recognises here Pompey in the guise of Achilles claiming that the gem could refer to Pompey's appointment to fight the pirates and later Mithridates in the East. He highlights the potential propagandistic value of the piece suggesting that even if Pompey did not commission it directly, the intaglio shows he was highly esteemed so that gem engravers showed him as compared to Achilles.[131] As attractive as it seems, linking the hyacinth intaglio in question with the propaganda of Pompey the Great is unreasonable. Let us carefully examine the stone and what was engraved upon it.

The Beverley gem presents a naked youth seated on a cloak on a four-legged table, resting one hand on a sheathed sword and with the other hand to his head, pensively. It was King who first commented on it and recognised here Achilles seated on his couch within his tent, brooding over his quarrel with Agamemnon,[132] while another time he thought it to present Ajax mediating suicide and even attributed the intaglio to one of the Pichlers.[133] Later, Furtwängler took the figure for angry Achilles and his interpretation is particularly interesting, so we will come back to it later.[134] Knight saw on this gem a Hermaphrodite,[135] while Moret compares gems where the subject suggests an emperor as the hero (see also my comment on his suggestions towards linking some gems presenting Pompey as Diomedes above).[136] Only recently the Beverley collection of intaglios and cameos has been republished and Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman rightly suggest the figure presented on the hyacinth in question here to be perhaps Achilles mourning Patroclus or sulking.[137] The scholars date the piece to the mid-1st century AD which is unacceptable, though. That garnet intaglio is a Hellenistic creation which is suggested by the relatively large dimensions of the stone used, its type (garnet group) and form (convex face and concave back side). Such stones well fit solid gold Hellenistic rings.[138] The style of engraving combining careful examination of the naked body with deep emotions reflected through a nostalgic facial expression and somewhat sad posture could have been so well accomplished only by a Greek artist. Therefore, I propose to date this piece to the second quarter of the 1st century BC.

The subject of Achilles or another Greek hero sitting on a stool mourning or sulking is not particularly common in Greek and Roman glyptics, but there are several gems that bear more or less the same subject as the Beverley masterpiece. The closest analogy appears to be a sardonyx, once in the Philipp von Stosch collection and now in Berlin, presenting Achilles in a similar pose, but leaning his arms on a round shield decorated with a hippocamp, while his helmet and sword hangs on a column beside him (cat. no. 8.56, Figure 203).[139] Other close parallels are: a black jasper intaglio in New York, where Achilles is seated on a stool and leans his left arm on a sheathed sword (cat. no. 8.57), a repetition of this motif on a sard in Munich (cat. no. 8.58) as well as a carnelian from Oxford with a similar subject (cat. no. 8.59). Regarding the specimen in New York, Richter suggested that a similar pose was also employed for boxers and athletes.[140] Less close to the Beverley gem are the following intaglios: a carnelian found in Aquileia presenting a Greek hero seated on his shield next to a column surmounted by a sword, helmet and another, small shield (cat. no. 8.59),[141] a fragment of a blue glass gem in Munich bearing a Greek hero who stands next to a tree and puts his right hand on a rim of a large shield decorated with a Gorgoneion (cat. no. 8.61),[142] and two gems in Copenhagen featuring Ajax about to commit suicide (cat. nos 8.62-63, Figure 204).[143] As one can see from this brief survey, the theme existed first in Hellenistic glyptics among which I count

[129] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 111-113.
[130] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 112.
[131] Kopij 2017: 260.
[132] King 1872: 65, pl. XLIII.3.
[133] King 1885: 236, pl. LXVIII.2.
[134] Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLIII.18, vol. II: 205.
[135] Knight 1921, no. 91.
[136] Moret 1997: 123, note 13.
[137] Scarisbrick, Wagner, and Boardman 2016a, no. 158.
[138] Plantzos 1999: 35-37.
[139] Furtwängler 1896, no. 6882. This gem has been also reproduced in a glass paste, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 366.
[140] Richter 1956, no. 408.
[141] Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 745 (recognised as perhaps Diomedes).
[142] *AGDS* I.3, no. 3259 (with further parallels).
[143] Fossing 1929, nos. 392-393; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXX.65, vol. II: 151.

here the Beverley intaglio as well as the gems in Berlin and New York. In the course of time it was adopted by the Romans who produced their own gems with that subject as suggested by provenance study.[144] They all might have followed a common prototype, or the subject was borrowed by gem engravers from another art form which was often the case in antiquity.

I have mentioned that Furtwängler included the famous Beverley intaglio in his *opus magnum* and identified the subject with the famous painting of Timomachus, an influential Greek painter of the 1st century BC, presenting Ajax about to commit suicide.[145] Pliny informs us that this work of art was purchased by Julius Caesar along with another work of the painter presenting Medea for the considerable sum of 80 talents, Caesar installed them in the front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in his Forum.[146] It is debated if the paintings were acquired shortly after Caesar's victory at Pharsalus.[147] This could be the moment when the subject infiltrated Roman glyptic art and was copied by gem engravers working as far from Rome as Aquileia. The Beverley intaglio plays a significant role here as it testifies to the interest of Greek gem engravers in this kind of imagery too. Most likely it is a free but beautiful copy of Timomachus' painting that could not refer to Pompey in any reasonable way. Whether the engraver was aware that he replaces Achilles with Ajax or we wrongly decode his intentions is another question. As discussed above, the idea of Vollenweider to connect the image with Pompey is weak from the iconological point of view. In addition, I do not recognise the famous *anastole* hairdo since the hair is divided and combed on both sides of the head and the naked body, although sometimes meant for heroization, here has a purely mythological meaning. Kopij's view should be dismissed too. It would not make any sense for Pompey to display his dissatisfaction with the fact that some of his followers desert him. Roman propaganda focused primarily on positive aspects and as has been shown above, the commemoration of Pompey's successes as well as his personal branding occurred in glyptics only in the case of positive events.[148] One would expect identification with a victorious hero showing his physical prowess and other virtues rather than a mourning or sulking one. The Beverley gem is a perfect example of an overinterpretation of gem's potential propagandistic value.

8.1.10. Imitatio Alexandri

The military campaign of Pompey in the East resulted in vast territories being put under Roman control. This accomplishment was the most impressive of all Pompey's successes and it was done while he was very young. For this reason, Pompey was quickly compared to Alexander the Great.[149] It seems that at the very early stage of his career Pompey engaged *imitatio Alexandri* into his propaganda machinery. For a long time, scholars debated on this phenomenon approaching it from different angles (historians, art historians, archaeologists and numismatists).[150] However, relatively little attention has been paid to the role of glyptics in Pompey's *imitatio Alexandri* which was usually brought to the famous and characteristic *anastole* coiffure that one observes on a number of Pompey portrait gems (cf. chapter 8.1.5).[151] Nevertheless, there are some other indications that Pompey used gems to imitate Alexander the Great. For instance, during his triumph in 61 BC Pompey rode a chariot decorated with gemstones like Alexander used to do.[152] Moreover, most likely he used to identify himself with Achilles and Alexander did the same (see discussion on this matter in chapter 8.1.9 above).[153] Pompey's last signet ring is reported to bear the same subject as the seal of Alexander which is another example of his deliberate *imitatio Alexandri* through gems as has been reported in chapter 8.1.4 above.

Regarding Pompey's *imitatio Alexandri* reflected on engraved gems, Vollenweider noticed in a private collection a particularly intriguing sardonyx depicting a naked young man wearing only a mantle tied under his neck and hanging down his back, standing next to his horse. In the left hand he grasps a double-bladed spear while with the right one he holds his horse (cat. no. 8.64, Figure 205). She identified the man with Pompey and linked the intaglio with the events of 82 BC when he forced Sulla to let him celebrate his first triumph for Pompey rode on his horse on the Capitoline Hill and the gem would precisely refer to that event. Moreover, Vollenweider here identified Pompey with one of the Dioscuri (Castor).[154] Indeed, a single male figure standing next to his horse brings about associations with a Dioscurus, but there is no star or any other detail (for instance, a *pileus* cap on the head) suggesting such an identification. On the contrary, the pose of the

[144] Note especially the gem found in Aquileia, the glass gem in Munich, which was once a part of the Paul Arndt collection formed in Rome as well as another glass intaglio in Copenhagen probably also produced in Rome or Italy.
[145] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 343-344. Fossing was of a similar opinion regarding the evoked here gems from Copenhagen, see: 1929, no. 392.
[146] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, VII.39. See also Cicero mentioning the paintings – *In Verrem*, 2.4.135.
[147] Gurd 2007.
[148] For a more detailed study of the propaganda of Pompey and his sons, see: Kopij 2017.
[149] Sallust, Plutarch and many other ancient writers compared Pompey to the Macedonian king, see: Kopij 2017: 138-139; Kühnen 2008: 54-56 and 67-81.
[150] The most recent summary of Pompey's *imitatio Alexandri* has been presented in: Kopij 2017: 137-144 and Kühnen 2008: 54-82.
[151] Kühnen 2008: 57; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 108-109 and 113; Zanker 1988: 10.
[152] Lapatin 2015: 117.
[153] Toso 2007: 31-33.
[154] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 107-108. Such an interpretation was accepted by Kopij too (2017: 260).

figure oriented to the front, but with the body and head slightly twisted to the left grasping a spear resembles rather Hellenistic statues. Besides, as has been shown above, it would be unusual for Pompey to engage glyptics into his propaganda as early as Vollenweider proposed since almost all categories of gems related to his self-advertisement and commemoration of various events date not earlier than to his eastern military campaigns that started in 66 BC. Furthermore, the nakedness meant here as a form of heroization should be accepted, while the coiffure of the male figure with highly raised forelocks is a reminder of Alexander's *anastole*. This combined with the horse, which might be an allusion to the famous Bucephalus, suggests that indeed Pompey the Great is presented on this intaglio but alluding to Alexander the Great. In my opinion, the gem testifies to Pompey's *imitatio Alexandri*. Such an image would be suitable only around 61 BC when the Roman statesman came back to Rome after his eastern campaign whilst he conquered much of the East at a young age just like Alexander did. The intaglio appears Hellenistic in style, which is noticeable in the capture of the figure, elaboration of body elements resembling more one of the Greek heroes rather than a mortal man. Such an interpretation seems more plausible since we know that Pompey became seriously interested in engraved gems while he was in the East and shortly after. The subject was soon copied on glass gems as evidenced from two examples in London and perhaps the gems were connected to Pompey's triumph celebrations e.g. distributed to his followers (cat. nos 8.65-66, Figures 206-207).

8.1.11. Political symbols

In sub-chapter 8.1.8 I have touched on the issue of the large-scale production of intaglios bearing various symbols and their combinations. I have also already remarked that due to a considerable range of types, among which some are more or less similar to those one finds on Roman Republican coinage of the 1st century BC, scholars tend to see in those similarities indications of propaganda messages being transmitted through gems and coins alike with an abundant use of symbolism. In this sub-chapter, I am going to challenge this view and present several case studies that clearly show only superficial analogies between coins and gems regarding political symbolism as well as those where indeed one should read gems and coins as equal channels of Pompey's propaganda.

In sub-chapter 8.1.9 I described potential reflections of Pompey's identification with Heracles. There are many gems presenting Heracles' attributes that should be dated to the first half of the 1st century BC. Because of the fact that Pompey promoted himself as Heracles on coins,[155] some scholars suggest that those configurations of Heracles' attributes and other symbols on intaglios should be related to Pompey the Great.[156] Nevertheless, when one compares a large group of both gem and coin designs, it is obvious that the differences in iconography are considerable. There are no symbolic configurations relating to Heracles on the coinage of Pompey that would be clearly copied in glyptics. Therefore, I would like to present here arguments contradicting the view that one should link gems like those with Pompey's propaganda practices.

Symbols of Heracles exist on the 1st century BC gems in various arrangements, but there are several particularly popular types. For example, Heracles' club and a corn ear or two (cat. nos 8.67-68), Heracles' club flanked by two arrows or a bow and arrow (cat. nos 8.69-72, Figure 208) or even more complex configurations like Heracles' club with a rudder in the bottom, caduceus atop, flanked by poppies (cat. no. 8.73, Figure 209). Such examples most likely make reference to Heracles as a hero, sometimes combined with a deity like Diana represented by arrows or Mercury (*caduceus*) and testify to the special veneration of these figures by the intaglio's owner. This is clearly the case when not only symbols are represented but also full figures. A good example of that is an intaglio in Cambridge presenting a helmeted Fortuna holding the *caduceus* and Heracles' club (cat. no. 8.74, Figure 210).[157] This piece shows that combinations of Heracles' club, Mercury's *caduceus* and Fortuna, elements so popular on symbolic gems, were also presented in the fully figured subjects and thus, used as amulets ensuring blessing and protection of the deities addressed. Sometimes Heracles' club is accompanied by objects and symbols clearly indicating amuletic properties, like a hand holding it together with corn ears, poppies, grass blades and laurel wreath or mouse and lizard (cat. nos 8.75-76, Figure 211). Moreover, there is a good number of objects bearing Heracles' attributes and inscriptions (cat. nos 8.77-81, Figure 212). Some of them are the names of intaglios' owners, but there are some suggesting amuletic properties of these stones as well. To sum up, there is no clear evidence for Pompey or his followers issuing gems with symbolism referring to Heracles or comparing the Roman statesman with the hero. The symbols like Heracles' club and others were chosen as private amulets because of their apotropaic properties averting the Evil Eye and other dangers as well as assuring divine blessing and protection from the gods.

Another popular motif in glyptics that is often interpreted in the light of Pompey's propaganda is a

[155] For instance: *RRC*, nos. 444/1a-c (denarii of Q. Sicinius and C. Coponius, 49 BC) and p. 737.
[156] For instance: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 3; Middleton 1991, no. 27.
[157] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 131.

combination of a dolphin entwined on a rudder (cat. no. 8.82). I have already discussed it in the chapter devoted to Gaius Marius, but some scholars see in it a reference to Pompey's role as the punisher of the pirates.[158] This is a clear overinterpretation since the motif was meant to be amuletic in character (cf. chapter 7.2.5). However, it is noteworthy that a glass gem in Berlin bearing a sceptre upright with a dolphin on the left and eagle on the right mirrors the design of a denarius of Pompey and Varro struck in 49 BC (cat. no. 8.83, Figures 213-214).[159] The design on the coin's reverse on the one hand informs us about Jupiter's and Neptune's favour of Pompey's cause, while on the other hand it is an allusion to Pompey's domination over land and sea.[160] Perhaps Yarrow is right to believe that glass gems featuring the same design as shown in the Berlin example were produced for Pompeian soldiers, maybe even those raised by Varro in Spain. They were used by them as universal symbols of their commander with whom they identified and whom they supported.[161] It might be the case that there were more designs like this one under discussion here used by Pompey's followers. Another glass gem in London features a slightly different variation of the image known from Pompey's and Varro's coin as the eagle and dolphin flank caduceus (cat. no. 8.84, Figure 215). Perhaps the intaglio was carried by a soldier to manifest his support of Pompey with hope for peace to be established in the Roman Republic due to his future victory which is suggested by the presence of the *caduceus*.

Regarding other potentially political combinations of symbols on gems, similarly to Sulla, the motif of a dressed trophy on gems is sometimes associated with Pompey, because one of his seal and coin designs included three as a reference to his military victories (cat. nos 8.85-87, Figure 216). Nevertheless, as in the case of Sulla, those gems that can be dated precisely to the second quarter or c. mid-1st century BC, which precision is often impossible, are sometimes accompanied with inscriptions suggesting that they function as private amulets or relate to the self-presentation of the gem's sitter. Finally, there is a great number of intaglios dating to the first half of the 1st century BC bearing the *cornucopia* and other symbols combined with it (cat. nos 8.88-93). They are often given political significance, sometimes related to Pompey's good government, however, most evidence suggests that these gems were used as amulets and expressed people's desires and hopes for peace and prosperity; in other words, their expectations of the end of the Civil War or desperate search for help during the time of war materialised in their private amulets. This view is supported by the inscriptions appearing on some of them that usually recall the gems owners' names rather than Pompey and his cause (cat. nos 8.88-91). Some indicate amuletic functions directly like a gem from Munich with a letter F engraved alongside the *cornucopia*, that possibly stands for Latin *felix* meaning 'fortunate' (cat. no. 8.91, Figure 217). Furthermore, analysis of provenance suggest that these gems were commonly produced throughout the whole of Italy, including large glyptic centres like Rome and Aquileia.[162] As a result, one supposes that those gems were primarily produced to bring good luck and prosperity to their owners or at most, some of them should be linked with Sulla and the promotion of his political programme (cf. chapter 7.1.6) rather than Pompey's propaganda. As shown above, Pompey's promotion in glyptics solely focused on his own figure and achievements. There was no promotion of a kind of a comprehensive programme like in the case of Sulla, Julius Caesar or Augustus (cf. chapters 7.2.5, 8.2.9 and 10.8). References to his power and leadership over one of the Roman political factions can be only rarely found on symbolic gems.

8.1.12. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda

Pliny reports that it was Pompey who introduced in Rome fashion for engraved gems and *muhrrine* vessels made of precious stones.[163] He did that during his triumph when he exhibited 2,000 bowls and cups of this kind that were taken from Mithridates VI Eupator's treasury.[164] Nevertheless, there is no information whatsoever as to Pompey's involvement in production, collecting or simply using of such extraordinary objects. The same is the case regarding State Cameos as not even one has been preserved to the present times that could be linked with Pompey and his propaganda practices (except for the two portrait cameos discussed above – cf. chapter 8.1.5). All the known examples of State Cameos and vessels decorated with figural scenes are later products, mostly related to Augustus' propaganda and panegyric (cf. chapter 10.9).

8.2. Julius Caesar

When Pompey the Great came back to Rome and received his triumph in 61 BC exhibiting considerable collections of engraved gems and *muhrrine* vessels, he established a sort of precedent eagerly followed by others. The first one to respond to Pompey's

[158] Tomaselli *et al*. 1987, no. G.31.
[159] *RRC*, no. 447/1a.
[160] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 108; *RRC*: 738; Kopij 2017: 146-148.
[161] Yarrow 2018: 43-44.
[162] For Aquileia, see: Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 1420-1456 and for Rome, Weiß 1996, nos. 436-41 – a series of objects purchased in Rome by Friedrich Julius Rudolph Bergau (1836-1905) or*AGDS* I.2, no. 924 (with more parallels) – objects from the Paul Arndt collection.
[163] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.7. For a comprehensive study of vessels made of various types of chalcedony (but mainly sardonyx), see: Bühler 1973.
[164] Lapatin 2015: 122.

propagandistic actions with the use of engraved gems was naturally Julius Caesar. Neither Pliny nor other ancient authors speak about Julius Caesar's use of gems during his quadruple triumph in 46 BC,[165] but the former informs us that the dictator consecrated his six *dactyliothecae* to the Temple of Venus Genetrix in his Forum.[166] This action was surely inspired by the example of Pompey, and Caesar did the same to gain popularity among ordinary people and to present his *pietas erga deos* and *pietas erga patriam* very much like his main opponent did. In the case of Caesar, one wonders whether his use of engraved gems for political and social purposes was greater than Pompey's or not. The next question is whether some actions were induced by Caesar who could have encouraged the production of specific types of objects or were taken as an example. Alternatively, the examples one connects with Caesar's policy may have resulted from his followers' willingness to manifest support and loyalty to him which accounts for bottom-up initiatives and reflects Caesar's propaganda promoted through other channels to be very successful. Finally, it is worth wondering if Caesar's political programme is reflected on gems to a considerable or at least noticeable degree with the tools the current researcher has at his disposal.

8.2.1. Collecting

It has been mentioned above that Julius Caesar possessed a significant, because numbering six cabinets, collection of engraved gems and rings.[167] In the case of Pompey, his set was largely if not entirely the *dactyliotheca* once belonging to Mithridates VI Eupator, thus, technically, Pompey ought not to be considered as a true collector. He definitely made good use of the already existing collection though, and perhaps hired some artists to produce gems for him and his followers (cf. chapters 8.1.2 and 8.1.3). The case of Caesar is slightly different and proves that gem collecting was a competitive sport in ancient Rome. The six *dactyliothecae* belonging to Julius Caesar could be partially formed from the jewels he brought back from Egypt,[168] but interestingly, Suetonius informs us that Caesar 'was always a most enthusiastic collector of gems, carvings, statues, and pictures by early artists.'[169] Regarding paintings, I have already brought to the reader's attention a story of two works by Timomachus that Caesar purchased and installed in his Forum (cf. chapter 8.1.9). According to Suetonius, the collecting of gems must have been a highly popular practice, but masterpieces could only be purchased by a few. It seems that one of the reasons for such large-scale production of glass gems and cameos that were introduced to Rome at the time of Pompey and Caesar, was collecting practiced not only among the top figures but also among ordinary citizens.[170] Certainly, Caesar could afford the best cameos and intaglios and his cabinet was extraordinary if compared to others, including Pompey's. Ultimately though, he deposited his *dactyliothecae* in the Temple of Venus Genetrix on his Forum.[171] Doing this he clearly expressed his *pietas erga deos*, more specifically to Venus herself, his patroness which was a well thought-out, strategic and propagandistic move. The temple was located in the sphere designed to be used by all Romans so by placing his collection there Caesar gained considerable popularity among ordinary people and aristocracy alike. He presented his power to create such a cabinet and generosity by making it a sort of public good showing his *pietas erga patriam*. For these reasons, his passion for collecting turned into effective propaganda since the ultimate goal was to improve his own image and influence public opinion.

8.2.2. Possible gem engravers working for Julius Caesar

In the second quarter of the 1st century BC the number of Greek gem engravers transferring their businesses from the East to Rome was rapidly increasing. Many of them started to sign their works due to increasing competition as well as to boast of the fact that they worked for the most prominent Romans.[172] Many Roman *nobiles* became patrons of glyptic art and Julius Caesar was surely one of them. For a long time it has been argued that the gem engraver Heius worked for Caesar.[173] He is supposed not only to have cut intaglios for the dictator but also to be responsible for his coin dies, for instance, one of his works might be the denarius of L. Hostilius Saserna presenting an archaising image of Diana with a stag to the front on the reverse (Figure 218).[174] Yet, the case of Heius is a rather complicated one. Zwierlein-Diehl discovered that the artist could be a Greek man freed by a member of Roman Heius family, possibly even by C. Heius, a rich man from Messana from whom Verres stole statues and tapestries.[175] Boardman notices that gems by Heius are almost

[165] One of the best accounts of Caesar's triumph is passed down to us thanks to Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 2.101-102.
[166] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.5.
[167] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.5.
[168] Toso 2007: 4; Vollenweider 1966: 18.
[169] Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 47; Lapatin 2015: 118.
[170] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 442; Ritter 1995: 101; Zazoff 1983: 329. I am grateful to Ittai Gradel for showing me his forthcoming article on a very special collection of bronze rings set with glass gems, some of which clearly related to political affairs enabling him to identify their possessor as a legionary supporting Octavian. This particular case alone proves that not only statesmen and aristocracy but even ordinary citizens and legionaries used to participate in the 'gem mania' that took place in the second half of the 1st century BC and secondly, that glass gems were possibly to a considerably degree produced not due to any practical reason, but for collecting and expression of political affinity. On this collection, see: Gradel (forthcoming).
[171] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.5; Wagner 2019: 39.
[172] Zazoff 1983: 328-329; Zwierlein-Diehl 1988: 3647.
[173] Henig 2007: 4; Vollenweider 1970; Zazoff 1983: 328-329.
[174] Vollenweider 1970; *RRC*, no. 448/3 (denarius of L. Hostilius Saserna, 48 BC).
[175] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 110-111.

exclusively based on sculptural prototypes which adds credibility to Zwierlein-Diehl's theory because being employed in C. Heius' house furnished with marble and bronze statues of all kinds, Heius the engraver would have had a plenty of sources to take inspiration from.[176] This makes his potential employment by Julius Caesar less likely, though.

The signature of Heius was often fabricated on post-classical gems,[177] but five of his signed works are taken more or less securely as ancient including an original bust of king Kodros possibly based on an early classical statue by Pheidias, known today only from a glass impression, a pair of Hygeia and Aesculapius carved on a carnelian in Vienna – the subject also deriving from a statuary group and bust of Athena Lemnia on a lost nicolo that copies the work of Pheidias (cat. nos 8.94-96, Figures 219-221).[178] The other two intaglios of that cutter are now in London and present Diomedes and Ulysses standing over the captured Dolon as well as the goddess Diana with a stag (cat. nos 8.97-98, Figures 222-223).[179] Vollenweider connected the latter to the above-mentioned coin of L. Hostilius Saserna. Artemis/Diana appears on that issue because she was the chief goddess of Massalia, a city in southern Gaul conquered by Caesar at the time of the coin's issue.[180] Nevertheless, the subject from Heius' work possibly refers to the old Italic figure of Diana Nemorensis conflated with Hellenistic Artemis for which reason the goddess holds her bow and arrow instead of a typical bowl and twig as already observed by Furtwängler.[181] It is possible that Diana's image on Heius' intaglio derives from a cult statue rather than being connected to the coin minted in 48 BC. Apart from the shared subject-matter, which, as proven is controversial, the coin and Heius' gem differ considerably in compositional and stylistic terms. Therefore, in my opinion, the only work of Heius that could have been suitable for Caesar's propaganda is his intaglio depicting Diomedes and Ulysses standing over the captured Dolon (cat. no. 8.98, Figure 223). It would refer to the legendary history of *gens* Iulia, but it is known from his coinage that he preferred to refer directly to Aeneas rather than Diomedes and used completely different imagery for that purpose (cf. chapter 8.2.8).[182] In conclusion, I believe that there is very little evidence, if any at all, to consider Caesar hiring Heius as his gem engraver. It is far more probable that the artist worked in Sicily for the Heius family around 60-50 BC as suggested by Zwierlein-Diehl and his works have no political message encoded whatsoever.

Even if Caesar did not employ Heius, his patronage over glyptic art could be still considerable. Towards the end of his life his propaganda took momentum, and this is perhaps reflected on gems to the same degree as in his coinage. For example, the gem engraver Rufus cut a cameo presenting Victory with a palm branch soaring aloft in a chariot driven with four horses (cat. no. 8.99, Figure 224).[183] The subject was inspired by a painting by Nicomachus. Noteworthy is the fact that it also appears on denarii struck in 47 BC by L. Plautius Plancus (Figure 225).[184] Perhaps the picture was in the possession of the moneyer at that time whose brother L. Munatius Plancus dedicated in 43 BC on the occasion of his triumph to the Temple of Jupiter on Capitoline Hill.[185] Vollenweider and Crawford argue if the motif could have reflected a desire to be associated with the victory of a great individual, perhaps Julius Caesar.[186] In fact, the subject was from that moment frequently copied on gemstones and especially glass gems (cat. nos 8.100-104) which of course, could be due to the extreme popularity of the painting itself since it was vigorously copied by various artists. Nevertheless, its appearance on the coinage related to Caesar and a cameo signed by one of the leading gem engravers of the epoch allows us to suggest that Caesar's contribution to the popularity of the motif ought not to be discounted.[187] Perhaps as a famous collector he wished to have such a cameo in his cabinet. The propagandistic tone of Rufus' work is problematical, though. Although the connection between the subject-matter and Caesar's military victories is possible here, artistic motivations seem to prevail. Be that as it may, it seems possible that Rufus cut intaglios and cameos for Caesar which testifies to his great esteem and patronage over this branch of art.

Finally, I should discuss here one particular frontal portrait of Julius Caesar that is said to have been engraved by the most famous gem engraver of all time – Dioscurides. It was Furtwängler who first suggested that Dioscurides might have executed a portrait gem for Caesar.[188] Vollenweider argued that the artist possibly first worked for the Ptolemies but after Caesar's stay in Egypt he travelled with him to Rome where he established a workshop together with his three sons later operating for Octavian/Augustus.[189] Zwierlein-Diehl notices that due to the signature of Eutyches, one of Dioscurides' sons, it is known that the

[176] Boardman 1997: 17.
[177] See some examples: Dalton 1914, nos. 786 and 869.
[178] Boardman 1997: 17; Hampe (ed.) 1971: 111-117; Zwierlein-Diehl 1988: 3468; 2007: 111, ills. 429 and 431.
[179] Boardman 1997: 17; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 111, ills. 430 and 432. Zwierlein-Diehl wonders if two more intaglios from Vienna collection should be attributed to Heius on stylistic ground (2007: 111, ills. 433-434).
[180] *RRC*, 448/3 (denarius of L. Hostilius Saserna, 48 BC).
[181] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 231.
[182] *RRC*, no. 458/1 (denarius of Julius Caesar, 47-46 BC).
[183] Vollenweider 1966: 29-30.
[184] *RRC*, nos. 453/1a-e.
[185] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXV.36.
[186] *RRC*: 468; Vollenweider 1966: 29-30.
[187] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 32-33.
[188] Furtwängler 1888-1889: 222.
[189] Vollenweider 1966: 56-64 and 73.

master engraver originated from Cilicia and she makes a suggestion that Dioscurides could have worked for the last Seleucid king Philipp II Philorhomaios, who ruled in Cilicia until Pompey claimed Roman supremacy over it in 63 BC.[190] Zwierlein-Diehl recognises a gem showing a Hellenistic prince as one of his very early signed works. However, the problem is that it is known only from modern copies.[191] This does not discourage her from arguing that Dioscurides established his workshop in Rome already c. mid-1st century BC as she believes that he cut portraits of Julius Caesar and Cicero around this date.[192] But both cases share the same problem as Dioscurides' Hellenistic prince intaglio – they are known only from modern copies which complicates the research (cf. chapter 8.3.2). As for Dioscurides' portrait of Caesar, all the modern copies present him laureate with the augural symbol of the *lituus* and star in the field, clearly following one well-established scheme (cat. nos 8.105-106, Figure 226).[193] For this reason, some scholars are sceptical and indeed, based only on such a documentation, it is difficult to judge whether Dioscurides could have indeed executed an intaglio with the portrait of Caesar or no.[194] If so, this would have been a truly propaganda piece presenting Caesar crowned with a laurel wreath – attribute of his divine patroness Venus - and with the *lituus* commemorating his title of *pontifex maximus* title obtained in 63 BC.[195] The star in the field would have suggested the comet appearing in the sky after Caesar's apotheosis.[196] A laureate head of Caesar accompanied with the *lituus* appears on coins only after his death, for instance on a denarius of Q. Voconius Vitulus struck in 40 BC;[197] hence, maybe Dioscurides did indeed cut the portrait intaglio with the image of the dictator at some point in his career (which is speculative), but he should have done this after Caesar's death, not earlier and perhaps he did so on the commission of Octavian or already Augustus rather than Caesar himself. Therefore, the piece would have been related to Octavian/Augustus' propaganda and testified to his transfer of *auctoritas* and divine status from his predecessor. In my opinion, such a scenario is also more probable due to the extraordinarily long career of Dioscurides spanning more than 40 years of active work if one accepts the views of both Vollenweider and Zwierlein-Diehl.[198] It seems more reasonable that Dioscurides' first Roman commissions were realised under Octavian/Augustus, while his Hellenistic prince, Cicero and possibly even Julius Caesar portrait gems are fabrications of clever modern forgers.

8.2.3. Seal of Julius Caesar

Prominent Romans like Sulla and Pompey the Great deliberately chose subjects referring to their military successes or other themes of political significance (cf. chapters 7.1.1 and 8.1.4) for their private seals. These are perhaps the best examples of propaganda performed in glyptics by political leaders of Rome and Julius Caesar was no exception to that rule. For he chose his divine patroness and ancestor of his family – Venus – highlighting her military aspect (Victrix) that also implied success, for his personal seal.[199] The exact motif is unknown to us since the seal is only vaguely described by Cassius Dio as follows: '*(...) he [Caesar] used also to wear a carved image of her in full armour on his ring (...)*', but it is very likely that it quickly became a sort of universal symbol used in coinage and glyptics alike.[200] An important thing to notice is that Caesar probably chose the image of the half-naked goddess seen from behind which was unusual and even would have been considered inappropriate in coinage those days. Moreover, Zwierlein-Diehl remarks that usually the shield of Venus lying against a column in her Victrix image known from later coins and gems stands for *sidus Iulium* and refers to the divine nature of Caesar himself.[201] Nevertheless, this element was certainly added only after Caesar's death.

Thanks to the case of Caesar's personal seal, one realises that glyptics allowed Roman political leaders to be much bolder with their propaganda messages than with sculpture or coinage because of the highly personal character of intaglios.[202] The choice of such a motif was purely political and highlighted Caesar's bonds and special veneration of Venus. The message sent to the audience was clear, Julius Caesar is patronised by the goddess and because of that he deserves special esteem. Moreover, his military successes were due to his talent and her divine blessing. The impact of such a ring must have been significant. The ring of Caesar could be later used by Octavian and also in a figurative form as an iconographical element in his propaganda, which shall be discussed later (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1).[203] It seems that the image employed by Caesar was very successful but only from the end of the 1st century BC

[190] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 117.
[191] Regarding the copies of Dioscurides' Hellenistic prince intaglio, one is in Leiden (inv. no.: GS-10844) and another in London – both first published by Philipp von Stosch in 1724 (pls. 25-26). Another copy is now in London – Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 117, ill. 429.
[192] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 117.
[193] Cat. no. 8.106 is still on display in the British Museum labelled as a genuine ancient work of Dioscurides. Nevertheless, my autopsy confirms Zwierlein-Diehl's opinion that the object is an early 18th century creation.
[194] For instance, see the opinion of Plantzos on this matter (1999: 97).
[195] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 117.
[196] Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 88.
[197] *RRC*, no. 526/2.
[198] Vollenweider 1966: 56-64; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 117.
[199] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 43.43.3.
[200] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 304-305; Henig 1994: 155; Laubscher 1974: 247; Vollenweider 1966: 19. Regarding coins, see for instance denarii of Augustus minted ca. 32-29 BC – *RIC* I^2 Augustus, nos. 2501-b.
[201] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 11.
[202] Henig 2007: 61.
[203] Gagetti 2001: 139; Instinsky 1962: 22 and 24-25; Zazoff 1983: 315.

which suggests its special status. During his lifetime, nobody dared to take it as their own emblem.[204] The subject clearly became a popular family emblem of *gens* Iulia Caesarea after Caesar's death (cf. chapter 8.3.3). Even as late as the 2nd century AD members of Julian clan tended to choose Venus Victrix for their personal seals (cf. chapter 8.2.5).

8.2.4. Portraits – personal branding, induction and manifestation of loyalty

As shown above, even though Pompey is traditionally credited with the introduction of the fashion for gems in Rome, Julius Caesar also invested much in his propaganda in glyptics. This is confirmed by archaeological material now preserved in various public and private collections. I start my evaluation of Caesar's and his followers' input with portraits of the dictator since they are the most abundant category that could be related to propaganda activities of the Roman statesman. Gems bearing the likeness of Caesar are divided into four main categories: portraits without attributes, laureate portraits, portraits of Caesar as senator or consul and posthumous portraits.[205] The final class shall be discussed in detail in the chapter devoted to Octavian (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1). Because of the fact that the portrait of Caesar appears on coins only in 44 BC and later and the comparative material in the form of sculptural busts is scanty and also usually known from later (mainly Augustan copies),[206] the identification and most importantly the dating of Caesar's portraits on gems is problematic. Yet, glyptics offers a relatively wide range of Caesar's images that should substantially contribute to general studies of his likeness.

The first difference when one compares gems with Caesar's portraits and those featuring the image of Pompey the Great is the material used. In the case of Pompey, the proportions between hardstones and their glass imitations were almost equal (cf. chapter 8.1.5), but in the case of Caesar, there are only a few glass gems bearing his portrait while gemstone intaglios clearly prevail. One of the earliest examples is an amethyst now preserved in Paris (cat. no. 8.107, Figure 227). According to Vollenweider, this is a portrait of a Roman and should be dated to the first third of the 1st century BC.[207] However, one should notice that the head is close to the Chiaramonti-Camposanto type of sculptural heads of Julius Caesar created shortly before or after his death (Figure 228).[208] Although fragmentarily preserved, the gem shows a verist head of a middle-aged man with well-accomplished facial features such as sunken cheek, mimic wrinkles, straight nose and his hair is minutely engraved in numerous individual locks. Typical for this gem is the fact that the hair does not recede at the temples, but they are fully covered with it. The gem could have been executed by a Greek engraver but clearly, one active already in Italy around 50-44 BC.

It seems unlikely that Caesar himself engaged in the production of intaglios and cameos prior to his war campaign against Pompey, but when conflict between the two broke out, either Caesar himself or his followers seem to commission gems with the dictator's portrait. There is a whole series of gems that are close to the Tusculum sculptural type of Caesar's portrait. They exhibit similar features to the Chiaramonti-Camposanto version, but there is little hair above the temples. For example, a carnelian intaglio in Berlin presents such a head, although, the man depicted seems relatively old for Caesar (cat. no. 8.108, Figure 229). The next interesting example, this time clearly meant to be Caesar, is a sapphire intaglio in Baltimore once in the famous Marlborough collection (cat. no. 8.109, Figure 230). In this case, the material used which is unusual and rare in Roman glyptics is noteworthy. It suggests that the commissioner must have been a wealthy aristocrat or Caesar himself and what is more, Caesar is presented wearing a toga as a senator or consul here. Interesting is a group of three almost identical carnelians that are preserved in the following places: St. Petersburg, Bern and Vienna (cat. nos 8.110-112, Figure 231). The only difference is that the example from St. Petersburg has no garment suggested in the bottom part of the bust, but this homogenous group should be dated similarly to the two gems described above, that is, c. 50-44 BC. They present Caesar as a senator or consul and a statesman. In the Martin-von-Wagner-Museum in Würzburg there are two further glass pastes made after ancient carnelians identical to the group previously described (cat. nos 8.113-114, Figure 232). One of them is accompanied with an inscription M•T:C suggesting Marcus Tullius Cicero is the subject, but Zwierlein-Diehl convincingly argues that these letters are an 18th century addition. The portrait itself should be identified as Julius Caesar and was executed already before his death.[209] A slightly different version of Caesar's portrait was cut upon an agate set in a gold ring, now in Geneva (cat. no. 8.115, Figure 233). Although its facial features and the coiffure is close to the Tusculum type, the image presents a slightly older

[204] The image of Venus Victrix was initially reserved for Caesar's seal, therefore, all attempts of numismatists to attribute one of Venus' heads or images appearing on denarii is pointless, see for example a discussion in: *RRC*: 496.

[205] For a thorough study of Julius Caesar's portraits on gems see: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 120-132.

[206] Regarding the first coins featuring the image of Caesar, see: *RRC*, nos. 480/2-21 (denarii of various moneyers bearing head of Caesar, 44 BC). Concerning sculpture, see, for example a thorough study of Johansen 1987.

[207] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 120-122; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 13.

[208] Johansen 1987: 17-24.

[209] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 532, p. 200.

man and thus, perhaps should be dated around 44 BC.[210] In the Louvre Museum in Paris there is an interesting silver ring with a plomb decorated with a portrait of Julius Caesar too (cat. no. 8.116). Finally, in Geneva there is a fragmentarily preserved cameo presenting a frontal head of a Roman whom Vollenweider identified with Julius Caesar (cat. no. 8.117, Figure 234). Indeed, his facial features are typical for Caesar and if so, apart from two cameos presenting Pompey the Great, this one would be another very early Roman cameo. Noteworthy is the fact that all three present portraits of political leaders, which is no coincidence and testify to the use of engraved gems, and cameos in particular, for personal branding and the manifestation of loyalty and support.

All the examples listed above suggest a substantial production of Julius Caesar's portrait gems already during his lifetime. The most interesting is the carnelian series bearing almost identical images that could not be copied from coins, since images of Caesar are consistently absent from these until 44 BC, but could have been copied from sculpture. They were not made by one artist but were possibly carved after a sort of prototype. They were probably made by several gem engravers and delivered to the market or cut on individual commissions of various people (Caesar's followers). Less likely is that they were all made for Julius Caesar who gifted them to his supporters, however, such a hypothesis cannot be entirely rejected. Some objects, like the cameo could have been created for the personal adornment and the use of Caesar himself due to its form, extraordinary for such an object in those days. A similar case could be the sapphire intaglio once a part of the celebrated Marlborough cabinet, since the piece clearly stands out of the group in terms of stone and engraving quality. It is likely that those two objects were cut for Caesar when he campaigned in the East, perhaps during his stay in Alexandria which was the main glyptic centre of the Hellenistic world.

The second class of Julius Caesar portrait gems can be more securely anchored in the chronological framework. It consists of laureate heads and busts of the dictator that were most likely created shortly after his quadruple triumph in 46 BC. The laurel wreath refers to Venus – divine patroness of Caesar – or to the golden wreath (*corona aurea*) Caesar worn at the Lupercalia in 44 BC.[211] Sometimes the images of Caesar are accompanied with the *lituus* or *capis* as on the glass gem from Vienna or a ring in London (cat. nos 8.118-119, Figures 235-236). Although Vollenweider and Zwierlein-Diehl believe the piece to be close to coins minted after Caesar's death, I think this particular example closely copies Caesar's head from the denarius of L. Aemilius Buca issued in 44 BC (Figure 237) and could not have been made after the dictator's death.[212] Furthermore, I suggest such a date because Caesar wears a sort of decorated wreath that has no bands on the back of the head which was a typical feature of *corona aurea* mentioned above.[213] In Syracuse there is a distinctive amethyst engraved with Caesar's portrait and *lituus* in the field (cat. no. 8.120). One notices the same kind of decorative wreath with no ribbons hanging down the neck, so it must be the *corona aurea* awarded to Caesar in 44 BC and additionally, the *lituus* recalls the *pontifex maximus* office which Caesar was appointed to in 63 BC. Highly interesting is the green chalcedony gem in Berlin, once in the Philipp von Stosch collection, featuring a laureate bust of Julius Caesar wearing a military cloak (*paludamentum*) with a palm branch in front of him (cat. no. 8.121). The cloak suggests military prowess and the branch is a symbol of victory. Both attributes combined surely refer to the triumph that Caesar celebrated in 46 BC and this particular object might be even earlier than the two gems discussed above. A further, but less close, parallel is a glass gem in Rome (cat. no. 8.122). It is noteworthy that the provenance of all these examples can be established more or less securely as Italy or Rome which fits a broader image suggesting that gems with Julius Caesar's image were primarily produced in the area under his control, and nowhere else. In addition, the gems discussed here show how close were the products of gem engravers and coin die makers those days. The images appearing in glyptics were most likely copied from coins and delivered to the market either with Caesar's encouragement or independently. The followers of the dictator certainly used his image on gems to manifest their loyalty and support for him and communicated to each other about membership of the same group, although, it must be stressed, none of these examples bears an inscription with the name of the sitter. It is evident that gems with Caesar's image served well as integration propaganda aimed to unite his followers. Therefore, intaglios and cameos were complementary to Caesar's propagandistic actions performed through sculpture and coinage.

Within the group of laureate heads and busts of Julius Caesar there are exceptions and one of them is a chalcedony intaglio housed in Paris presenting a laureate bust of Julius Caesar wearing a decorative flower wreath and chlamys to the right (cat. no. 8.123, Figure 238). This gem was once a part of the Seyrig collection and is said to have been purchased in Cairo. If true, this information makes the piece even more interesting since it would indicate that the intaglio was created for Caesar during his stay in Egypt in 48 and 47 BC. As Vollenweider observed, the gem exhibits

[210] For the Tusculum type of Caesar's portrait, see: Johansen 1987: 27.
[211] *RRC*: 488.
[212] *RRC*, no. 480/6.
[213] See a detailed commentary on this issue also reflected in the coinage: *RRC*: 488.

completely different iconography and style from purely Roman products at that time (which I listed above).[214] Caesar wears not only a laurel wreath, but also a specially designed diadem or crown made of flowers. He does not wear a *cuirass* and *paludamentum* but a chlamys which is typical of the eastern tradition. Moreover, the portrait is clearly idealised and even though individual facial features such as the sunken cheek or mimic wrinkles are indicated, the overall expression is far calmer than on other intaglios presenting the dictator's likeness (compare portraits listed above). It is clear that this gem was cut purely for propaganda purposes in an environment and circumstances that allowed for more than Rome. Caesar could here depict himself without any limits as a true dictator or even a king. The vague diadem form of the crown is combined with a regular Roman laurel wreath which indicates Caesar's ambitions to become a king, but at the same time he does not reject his Roman nature because this would be shocking for his soldiers and Roman companions in Egypt. It is difficult to say if the piece was meant to be used as the personal adornment of Caesar or was gifted to him by one of his followers in Egypt who knew that Caesar is a gem collector and would be happy to receive such a gift. Alternatively, one imagines that the portrait was produced on the commission of Caesar who gave it to one of his influential followers who stayed in Egypt after his departure. Be that as it may, the gem was intended for circulation only within the inner circle of Caesar and his close friends since the image would not have been acceptable for a wider audience. The piece testifies like Caesar's own seal that glyptics allowed more bold ideas to be transmitted and promoted than any other medium at the time (cf. chapter 8.2.3).

Regarding portraits of Julius Caesar, there is one particularly intriguing and problematic class presenting him as a philosopher, thinker or simply a senator or consul. The whole story starts in 1920 when Richter published her first catalogue of the gems housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York. Among them, there is an excellently cut amethyst intaglio presenting a detailed portrait bust of an elderly man to the right that, as Richter proved, might be successfully identified with Julius Caesar (cat. no. 8.124, Figure 239).[215] His hair is formed in the fairly short locks receded above the temple but reaching the nape of his neck. His shadowed eye-brow and the two deep furrows on his forehead are prominent and so is his scraggy neck with its Adam's apple clearly visible. His nose is long and straight, and his face is lean with typically sunken cheek. His mimic wrinkles are clearly marked. The overall impression is that of an ascetic and pensive individual. All those features are typical for Julius Caesar's portraits on gems discussed above as well as his images known from coins and sculpture. Unusual though, is the pose. The man rests his chin on his left hand which is loosely clenched. Moreover, he wears a mantle, so draped, that it leaves his right shoulder bare. The bust is not accompanied by any attributes typical for Caesar such as the *lituus*, *capis*, star/comet and so on. Thus, its identification is based purely on analysis of the portrait itself.[216] The identification of the amethyst intaglio from New York with Caesar was accepted by Vollenweider and she claimed that this portrait bust type of Caesar was widely copied in gemstones and especially in glass gems.[217] She argued that such a type was preferred by Caesar who wished to present himself as a wise and civilised man and because he visited the East and Egypt in 48-47 BC, he took a sort of philosophical ideal image for his own and wished to be depicted that way. Nevertheless, the identification of the portrait intaglio from New York and its potential copies is uncertain since one finds a very similar head on the denarii struck by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus in 50 BC (Figure 240).[218] The coins bear the portrait of Marcus Claudius Marcellus (c. 268-208 BC), the moneyer's ancestor who was appointed consul five times and was one of the Roman generals active during the Second Punic War. In 222 BC he obtained *spolia optima* which was the highest honour in the Roman army.

The great number of ancient gemstones and glass gems bearing the motif of a man supporting his head on his right hand is striking. Vollenweider proposed regarding those gems as products of propaganda that were delivered to Caesar's soldiers and followers.[219] Indeed, similar portraits perhaps intended to be taken for Caesar can be identified in all major collections, for instance in Berlin, Geneva, Nijmegen and beyond (cat. nos 8.125-127, Figures 241-243).[220] However, a fundamental question is why there would have been such a great discrepancy between regular portraits of Julius Caesar and those presenting him as a thinker, senator or consul since the number of the latter is greater than all other portrait gems of Caesar combined. Moreover, one quickly discovers that this particular portrait type is fairly common in Roman Republican glyptics especially in the second and third quarter of the 1st century BC and heterogenous in its character. It cannot be regarded as related exclusively to Caesar (this

[214] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 16.
[215] Richter 1920, no. 217.
[216] This has been already noticed by Zwierlein-Diehl (1973a, no. 350) and regarded as one of the arguments against identification with Caesar.
[217] Vollenweider 1964: 508-517; 1972-1974: 122-132.
[218] *RRC*, no. 439/1.
[219] Vollenweider 1964: 517; 1972-1974: 130-132.
[220] The number of parallels is vast (31 glass gems and 5 intaglios according to Lang, see: 2012: 54, but there are some more), and many have been already presented by Vollenweider in her monumental study on Roman Republican portrait gems, see: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pls. 80-85. Because of the lack of space here, I decided to avoid unnecessary repetition and give just a few examples illustrating the phenomenon.

specific portrait type is even employed for Odysseus)[221] and should be considered in a wider context. There has been much dispute over the numerous examples of similar portrait busts since it is uncertain whether they portray philosophers, historical figures, orators, thinkers or any other specific professionals. Some scholars are of the opinion that the busts like those under discussion should be identified with the Greek philosopher Aristoteles,[222] while others reject such a view,[223] and other identifications such as Ennius or Meander, have also been put forward.[224] Interesting is the idea presented by Zwierlein-Diehl who notices that the men on the gems in question wear an old-fashioned Roman toga which leaves one shoulder bare and because this was ostentatiously worn by Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (95-46 BC), she proposes to identify these portraits with him.[225] Furthermore, the researcher claims that such gems were worn by opponents of Caesar who supported Cato and other members of the Republican party so that they would have been used for integration propaganda.[226] Her views, however attractive, were dismissed by Vollenweider, Maaskant-Kleibrink and Weiß since they observed that the facial features and coiffure of some portraits presented on those gems are strikingly close to Julius Caesar, which is true.[227]

I am of the opinion that one must ask a fundamental question: whether all those portrait bust gems were meant to depict a single individual or is there a common type that was applied to many? My survey suggest the latter option to be true because there is variety and even Vollenweider noticed that several gems should be attributed to Octavian rather than Caesar, which issue I shall comment on in one of the next chapters (9.3.1.1).[228] For Yarrow, this is a sufficient argument to distinguish just two types – older men are associated with Caesar, younger ones with Octavian.[229] However, the overall picture turns out to be more complex because, for instance, in the Beverley collection of engraved gems there is a bearded young man presented in the same manner for whom any reasonable identification cannot be made, but he is certainly not Caesar or Octavian (cat. no. 8.128, Figure 244). There are more examples like this one and all of them bring me to the conclusion that the type must have been employed for various men and thus, another question is raised. Were they were intended to be depicted as philosophers, thinkers, readers, senators, consuls or someone else?[230]

One of the most recent analyses of this problem was presented by Lang, who concluded that those gems do not present Greek philosophers, but rather various individuals who wanted to be portrayed this way on their ringstones.[231] Indeed, the variety of people represented is vast and the type cannot be assigned only to one individual. In the absence of any specific attributes or symbols that would indicate their identification, the toga remains the only one meaningful indicator. It seems reasonable to claim that all those people represented are Roman senators or even consuls wearing the toga as an indication of their profession and status in Roman society. Such a supposition is plausible since it fits all the major figures (Julius Caesar, Cato, Octavian) and possibly others who cannot be identified. The last question is why these people wished to have their portraits cut in such a way. The only explanation is personal branding aimed at popularising the image of a particular politician combined with a transfer of authority by comparison to a prominent ancestor or historical figure. Perhaps the amethyst in New York presents not Caesar but Marcus Claudius Marcellus and was used by one of the members of *gens* Claudia Marcella for family propaganda in the same way as it was used on the mentioned coins, thus, having some impact on their peers. Other prominent Roman politicians (including Caesar) probably followed the trend. In other words, the propagandists wished to be depicted in the same manner as the famous Marcus Claudius Marcellus or Caesar. Doing this, they compared themselves to those figures in the same way as many Roman politicians (for instance Pompey the Great) did towards Alexander the Great (cf. chapter 8.1.10). All in all, it is evident that the reasons were purely propagandistic and thus the gems listed above as presenting Julius Caesar should be counted as his political propaganda. They played a supplementary role to the informal portraits of Caesar. I agree with Vollenweider that such gems could be delivered or commissioned by soldiers and followers of Caesar who used to identify with their patron that way. However, in contrast to her, I think that Caesar's promotion through such objects was limited because only a few objects can be securely attributed to him. This makes more sense because informal portraits of Caesar should prevail, and this is the situation that becomes clear according to the analysis presented here.

8.2.5. Promotion of and within the family

For every propagandist in the Roman Republic the primary source of followers was his family. Gems used

[221] Spier 1992, no. 411.
[222] Kraft 1963: 15-34.
[223] Hölscher 1964.
[224] For Ennius, see: Schefold 1965: 32-33. For Meander, see: Richter 1969: 501-502.
[225] Zwierlein-Diehl 1973a, no. 350, 1973b and 2007: 123-124.
[226] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 124.
[227] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 55; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 122-132; Weiß 2007, no. 384.
[228] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 192-195.
[229] Yarrow 2018: 38.
[230] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 55; Zazoff 1983: 280-281.
[231] Lang 2012: 53-55.

to be employed to manifest allegiance to a specific family (cf. chapters 6.3.1, 7.4.2 and 8.3.3), thus, it is possible that some of the portrait gems of Julius Caesar listed in the previous sub-chapter could have been used by family members of *gens* Iulia Caesarea to whom the dictator belonged. It is easy to project that someone from his family manifested his loyalty and support for him that way. Moreover, some people could do so in order to show that they are protected by this powerful Roman individual in the midst of the Civil War. Those people would have raised their own authority too and thus, perhaps sometimes unintentionally, became engaged in Caesar's propaganda at the same time since they contributed to the dissemination of his image, including a positive reference to a politician from whom one might seek support and protection. This was an important practice contributing to the dictator's popularity since he often presented himself as a defender of the Republic and ordinary people against abuses of the aristocrats.

Similarly to Pompey the Great, in the case of Caesar I do not find any gem testifying to direct promotion of any of his family members. However, this is due to the fact that the dictator had no legal sons except for Caesarion, whose case was problematical and not ideal for promotion in Rome, and Octavian was posthumously adopted which eliminates his promotion during Caesar's lifetime. One also wonders if family members tended to manifest their membership of the same *gens* as Caesar in other ways than by using the portrait of the dictator. For this could be due to Caesar's promotional practices and testify to the effectiveness of his propaganda. He was the creator of family legendary origins involving the goddess Venus since he employed Venus Victrix probably half-naked and seen from behind for his personal emblem (cf. chapter 8.2.3). It is noteworthy that one observes a great outburst of Venus Victrix and motifs related to her and the Caesar family legend on gems but only in the second half of the 1st century BC and more precisely after Caesar's death. People used to employ either the full version of the Venus Victrix motif as on the intaglio from Copenhagen (cat. no. 8.129, Figure 245) as well as the shortened one presenting her bust or head as on another intaglio from the same collection (cat. no. 8.130, Figure 246). Some of those gems are inscribed with names of their owners who belonged to Julian family. For instance, in Vienna there is a carnelian intaglio presenting Venus Victrix inscribed with the name of Gaius Iulius Cresecentis (C• IVLI CRESCENTIS) dated to the 2nd century AD (cat. no. 8.131, Figure 247). There is a significant number of intaglios depicting the Venus Victrix motif produced after Caesar's death down to the 3rd century AD mostly because his successor Octavian also engaged in promotion of the goddess' cult (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8). The subject of Venus Victrix clearly became a popular family emblem of *gens* Iulia which will be discussed in detail later (cf. chapter 8.3.3), but its absence during Caesar's lifetime suggests that it experienced extraordinary status as the dictator's private seal so that nobody dared to take it as his own emblem. What is more, it seems likely that because of that special status, Venus Victrix never appeared on coins minted by or for Caesar.[232]

8.2.6. Promotion of the faction – Populares

In 60 BC, Julius Caesar, Marcus Licinius Crassus and Pompey the Great formed a political alliance that dominated Roman politics for several years. Although Caesar was born into a patrician family, he engaged himself in this pact on the side of the *populares* faction favouring the cause of the plebeians, particularly the urban poor. He supported laws regarding the provision of a grain dole for the poor by the state at a subsidised price as well as reforms which helped the poor, in particular those focusing on redistribution of land to the poor for farming and debt relief. His activities towards reaching those goals may have caused a situation where his portraits on gems discussed above were used for identification not only with him but also with his political party in general. Caesar quickly became a leader of the *populares*; thus, gems with his portraits may have been the sort of tokens people used to manifest their political preferences. If that was the case, it could explain why there are some informal portraits of Caesar as well as those presenting him as a senator or consul made mostly on glass gems. The latter objects must have been popular among poorer people (middle class), however, as I have already remarked, they do not outnumber gems with portraits of Pompey, so it is difficult to say if such observations can lead to any reliable conclusions.

I have already discussed in this study whether popular motifs in 1st century BC Roman Republican glyptics such as the head/bust of Apollo or Heracles could be regarded as symbols of *optimates* or *populares,* but no such conclusion can be made based on the preserved material and information extracted from literary sources (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 8.1.11).[233] Recently, Yarrow has argued that some images of Gauls are strikingly close to their heads appearing on Caesar's coinage (cat. nos 8.132-134, Figures 248-249).[234] She thinks that such images were put on glass gems to manifest affiliation to Caesar's political party, especially by soldiers and veterans, through

[232] As already stated, the image of Venus Victrix was initially reserved for Caesar's seal only, therefore, all attempts of numismatists to attribute one of Venus' heads or images appearing on denarii as Victrix is pointless, see for example a discussion in: *RRC*: 496.

[233] However, some scholars are of a different opinion, see, for example: Barcaro 2008/2009: 18-19. See also a discussion of this issue but in terms of coinage in: *RRC*: 731-732.

[234] Yarrow 2018: 40-41. Regarding coins, see for example, *RRC* nos. 448/2a-3 (denarii of L. Hostilius Saserna, 48 BC).

identification with his major military success – the conquest of Gaul. This is possible because that subject was much promoted in glyptics in figural forms (cf. chapter 8.2.7 below) as well as on coins or in literature (for example, Caesar's treatise entitled *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*). Furthermore, she notices that images on glass gems were improved and altered by their makers in comparison to those known from coins, for instance in terms of the coiffure. The goal would have been to add them status similar to the Hellenistic kings. This intentional intervention would have added value to the images of defeated Gauls and hence, enhance the authority of Caesar who defeated them.[235] This would be proof of deliberate actions of a propagandist (in this case Caesar himself) who controlled the production of glass gems so that it met his requirements. However attractive the view is, Yarrow probably misses the fact that many gem engravers working at the time in Rome were immigrant artists of Greek origin who travelled there from the Hellenistic East. It seems to me more reasonable to link the Hellenistic-like coiffure features with their own eastern tradition which they could not shake off at once rather than adding those according to a carefully designed plan. Still, copies of the images of Gauls on glass gems from the mentioned coins are definitely proofs of Caesar's propaganda employed and those gems testify that it was successful since his followers used to refer to him that way but proving his direct engagement in the process is problematical.

Finally, a noteworthy fact is that portraits of *populares* on gemstones and glass gems are considerably less frequent than in the case of the *optimates* (cf. chapter 8.1.7).[236] Such a situation may be due to the smaller financial capacities of the *populares*. They could not afford to commission expensive artists to cut their own likenesses on intaglios and perhaps also they were generally less interested in art forms such as glyptics.

8.2.7. Commemoration

Engraved gems were frequently employed to commemorate important events such as military victories or appointment to titles and offices as well as the creation of political pacts. The career of Julius Caesar was full of tremendous victories and his campaign in Gaul was widely promoted by the general himself in his own writings and many other ways. It seems that glyptics was particularly productive in these terms too. For example, Sagiv observes that the motif of a horse rider attacking a Gallic or Celtic footman is fairly popular and ancient in glyptic art. Its origins may lie in the defeat of the Gauls at Pergamum in the second half of the 2nd century BC. It is probable that people wore such gems as a reminder of the iconic defeat of the northern barbarians by the Attalids.[237] In a Roman context, the function of pieces representing fights with Gallic or Celtic warriors could be the same and I have already suggested and commented on the potential commemoration of Roman wars with Gallic tribes on gems produced in the 3rd and 2nd century BC (cf. chapters 6.3.3 and 6.3.4). A new boost of production of such gems is evidenced in the mid-1st century BC. There is a good number of intaglios presenting fights between Romans and barbaric Celts which could have been stimulated only by Julius Caesar's campaigns in Gaul in the 50s BC. The variety of illustrations of those fights is vast, from multifigured compositions such as on a large glass gems preserved in Hannover and London (cat. nos 8.135-136, Figure 250) down to combats of individual warriors and single figures, for example on glass gems in Perugia, Boston and Geneva (cat. nos 8.137-138, Figure 251). A good number of gems with such subjects is made of glass which indeed suggests they were mass-produced, certainly for Roman soldiers taking part in Caesar's campaigns. It was surely considered a great honour to be a veteran and one of the conquerors of a new Roman province. This pride could be immortalised and illustrated by such gems set in rings. Moreover, these objects could not only commemorate important military victories, but also manifest support and loyalty to Julius Caesar in the same way as the heads of Gauls on glass gems imitated images known from the dictator's coins discussed above.

There are several gems of exceptional quality and iconography relating to this theme and scholars have speculated if they present Julius Caesar himself engaged in conflict with barbarians. One of them is a sard intaglio presenting a Roman general whose rank is suggested by a *cuirass* and *paludamentum*, riding a horse attacking a Gallic footman with a large shield and sword dropped on the ground (cat. no. 8.139, Figure 252). This monumental and dynamic composition stands out from the bulk of other intaglios presenting similar scenes. Zwierlein-Diehl suggests that due to exceptional military attributes (*cuirass* and *paludamentum*) the engraver might have meant to depict Julius Caesar.[238] In Boston, there is a glass gem presenting another Roman general wearing a *cuirass* on a horse engaged in a combat with a Gallic footman (cat. no. 8.140, Figure 253). Again, the distinctive military dress and armour suggest a high-ranking officer or general, maybe Julius Caesar himself and according to Sena Chiesa and Facchini the person presented in a similar scene on an impression in Verona should be identified with Caesar too (cat. no. 8.141).[239] Of particular interest are two glass gems housed in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome. They were made from the same matrix and present a naked heroized male figure

[235] Yarrow 2018: 41.
[236] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 132-135.
[237] Sagiv 2016: 40-41.
[238] Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1092.
[239] Facchini 2012, no. 67; Sena Chiesa 2010: 242.

on the right with his mantle wrapped around his left arm and holding a spear in his right. He stands next to a trophy erected from armour, helmet, swords and Gallic shields, while next to it kneels a bearded man with long hair whose physical appearance suggests a Celt (cat. nos 8.142-143, Figure 254). Vollenweider suggested these gems depict Julius Caesar and Vercingetorix, the famous leader of Gallic tribes whom Caesar defeated and displayed during his triumph.[240] The interpretation is a bit problematic due to the fact that one does not recognise any other gem or coin presenting a heroized figure of Caesar e.g. naked and with a spear and cloak, but depictions of Roman imperators in this kind of scheme are known (cf. chapter 6.3.3) plus glyptics was by definition intended to promote bolder propaganda messages. Another plausible identification would be the god Mars who used to be depicted with a spear, but he wears no helmet here, which would be unusual, and the kneeling barbarian indeed might be a Gallic war-chief. The composition resembles to some degree a coin of Julius Caesar struck in 48-47 BC, but a sole, defeated Celt kneeling or seated on the ground exists already in the Hellenistic glyptics.[241] All in all, it may be only surmised that the two intaglios in question here and other similar compositions could have been executed on the occasion of Caesar's triumph when Vercingetorix was presented in the precession.

Regarding kneeling barbarians and trophies, they exist on intaglios produced in the times of Caesar also in compositions involving more than just one figure, but not all of them should be automatically linked to the wars in Gaul, but also to those in Spain and Germania (cat. nos 8.143-145, Figures 255-256). This is clear when one compares these gems to the motifs known from coins commemorating such events like the denarius of Julius Caesar minted in 46-45 BC (Figure 257).[242] The case of the gem now in Bonn but found in Xanten (cat. no. 8.144, Figure 255) is interesting due to the findspot suggesting that the piece was used by a soldier, perhaps a descendant of one of Caesar's veterans. Less obvious subjects can make reference to Caesar's military victories as well and a good example of that are a carnelian intaglio found in Lebrija in Spain and chrom-chalcedony in London presenting a volute crater flanked by two palm trees (cat. nos 8.146-147, Figure 258). Finally, regarding military victories, the goddess Victory is sometimes employed on gems to indicate an important success of a propagandist. This is the case of a sard intaglio in Vienna where she stands to the right holding a palm branch and a laurel wreath, a globe is at her foot, sceptre and a writing tablet in front of her, and a rudder (?) behind (cat. no. 8.148, Figure 259). Zwierlein-Diehl remarks that the globe and sceptre stand for rule over land and sea which is a combination of total power, that Caesar obtained once he defeated the Pompeians in the battle of Thapsus in 46 BC.[243] On the tablet in front of the goddess, the name of the victorious general was meant to be inscribed. Because a similar configuration of symbols appears on the denarius of T. Carisius minted in 46 BC for Caesar, it is indeed tempting to suggest that Caesar's victory at Thapsus was intended to be commemorated on this intaglio (Figure 260).[244]

Apart from military victories, engraved gems were used to commemorate other important political events. For example, Zwierlein-Diehl suggests that a glass gem bearing the *sella curulis* with a roll of parchment (?) and a laurel wreath in Vienna might refer to Julius Caesar (cat. no. 8.149, Figure 261). According to Cassius Dio, after his victory at Thapsus Caesar was privileged to sit in the Senate on a curule chair between consuls and early in 44 BC the Senate's decree granted him the curule seat everywhere except in the theatre, where his gilded chair and jewelled crown were carried in, putting him on a par with the gods.[245] Moreover, according to Zwierlein-Diehl, a similar motif appears on denarii struck by C. Considius Paetus in 46 BC and (Lollius) Palicanus in 45 BC (figs 262-263 respectively). Both moneyers were related to Julius Caesar and most likely the choice of the curule chair was meant to commemorate the privileges mentioned above.[246] The similarity between the gem from Vienna and the coins is, however, not extremely striking. Furthermore, one must keep in mind that the motif of the *sella curulis* in glyptics and coinage alike was fairly popular much earlier too. On coins the *sella curulis* appears for the first time in 84 BC perhaps in the context of the curule aedileship of the moneyer.[247] Perhaps then, the iconography involving the *sella curulis* on gems meant a title or office rather than referred to a specific situation or event related to Caesar. It seems to be a similar case to the gems bearing augural symbols discussed above (cf. chapter 6.1). Because the very precise dating of gems bearing that motif is impossible to be established, one cannot dismiss Zwierlein-Diehl's view entirely. Perhaps some gems were produced once Caesar obtained his privileges to commemorate that, but at the same time, one should be aware that some of those engraved with the *sella curulis* were possibly tokens or seals used by curule aediles and maybe consuls as a part of their official equipment.

[240] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 127.
[241] Compare the barbarian kneeling or seated under a trophy from Julius Caesar's denarii minted in 48-47 BC: *RRC*, nos. 452/4-5. Regarding the Hellenistic type, see for instance: Richter 1956, no. 235 and an unpublished glass gem from the British Museum: inv. no.: 1814,0704.1989.
[242] *RRC*, no. 468/2.
[243] Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1074; 2007: 137.
[244] *RRC*, nos. 464/3a-c.
[245] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 43.14.5.
[246] *RRC*, nos. 465/1a-2b and 473/1a-d respectively.
[247] *RRC*, nos. 356/1a-d (denarii of P. Furius Crassipes, 84 BC).

Regarding the commemoration of other political events related to Julius Caesar, the first triumvirate pact comes to mind and it has been suggested that it was reflected on gems presenting the so-called scene of the 'dream of Sulla'. However, as I have discussed above, this motif has nothing to do with politics and the same conclusion was drawn by Toso.[248] Another class of objects that is supposed to commemorate the first triumvirate established in 60 BC by Pompey, Crassus and Caesar are the gems bearing the *dextrarum iunctio* motif sometimes combined with other symbols. Vollenweider argued that the motif of two clasped hands – symbol of Concordia – could have had a political meaning and was primarily referring to the triumvirate (either the first or the second) since it was a pact of consensus between political leaders who had been previously fighting each other. It is true that the first gems involving this particular subject appeared in the first half of the 1st century BC; however, the coinage to which she referred does not support the view that some gems bearing that motif could have been produced under Pompey in order to commemorate his pact with Crassus and Caesar because all the coin types featuring *dextrarum iunctio* are related to Caesar.[249] Besides, the combinations of *dextrarum iunctio* and other symbols on coins differ from those known from gems. Therefore, I believe that many intaglios were produced on the commissions of ordinary people or by gem engravers who distributed them as amulets because there was a constant need for peace and prosperity and hope for the end of the Civil War.

Unrest must have been considerable at the time of the rivalry between Pompey and Caesar and the symbolic gems involving the *dextrarum iunctio* motif were produced to express and address these feelings and hopes among common people and soldiers. For instance, in Krakow there is an amethyst bearing two clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) holding the *caduceus* and palm branch and an ear of corn (cat. no. 8.150, Figure 264). These symbols should be explained as follows: the clasped hands and the *caduceus* as a wish for peace, a palm branch as a symbol of victory, while the ear of corn stands for a wish for prosperity and abundance of food that was scarce during the Civil War. People who carried such gems in their rings wished for better times to come. It is true that in the coinage this symbolism as well as other emblems like *cornucopia*, sceptre and globe – all often appear on aurei and denarii minted under Caesar and it seems that he was the one who answered the needs of people sending out coins and perhaps stimulating the fashion for symbolic gems referring to the same subjects. Caesar must have been aware of people's feelings, thus, he preferred subjects on his coins related to the promotion of peace, prosperity and *ordo rerum* that could be guaranteed only by him.[250] It is difficult to say if the dictator directly encouraged the production of gems related to these matters too as suggested by Vollenweider and Sena Chiesa,[251] but his political programme was influential and possibly had an impact on the current gem production in Rome and Italy in a broader sense. In other words, his political programme encouraged his followers to carry such gems in order to manifest their affinity with him.

Naturally, there is a good number of reason other than political why such symbolism was popular on gems, especially in the 1st century BC context and later. For instance, a popular subject on symbolic gems is an eagle standing on an altar between two legionary standards and two clasped hands are located below which surely was meant to express a soldier's fidelity to his legion (cat. no. 8.151, Figure 265).[252] Gems with the *dextrarum iunctio* motif were surely used as betrothal gifts and amulets which is suggested by additional elements accompanying them such as lizards, corn ears, poppies, eagles, ram's heads and so on (cat. nos 8.152-158, Figure 266).[253] Some scholars rightly suggest a funerary function for gems bearing this iconography too.[254] Sometimes, the amuletic function is confirmed by an inscription accompanying the motif. For instance, on a sardonyx intaglio in Berlin two clasped hands co-exists with PAVLINVS FELIX inscription – clearly suggesting the gem to be an amulet intended to ensure good luck, fortune and happiness to the owner who might have been a just married man (cat. no. 8.159, Figure 267). Another similar example is a burnt carnelian that might have been put on a funeral pyre and buried with the deceased as suggested by the discolouration of the stone as well as the inscription (ΥΓΙΑ – meant for 'salute' or Hygeia?) (cat. no. 8.160). For establishing the function of gems with *dextrarum iunctio*, it is crucial to analyse their provenance and the potential location of workshops where they were made. The results of my investigations indicate that those gems were widely produced not only in Rome but also in Aquileia and beyond Italy, in fact on the whole territory controlled by the Roman Republic and later also Roman Empire. Some of those gems were used for sealing purposes which is attested by sealings found, for instance in Cyrene (cat. no. 8.161). Finally, one should keep in mind that this particular category of gems was not an

[248] Toso 2007: 217-219.

[249] The earliest examples of putting the *dextrarum iunctio* motif on coins are the following denarii, none related to Pompey the Great but to his opponent Julius Caesar, see: *RRC*, nos. 450/2 (denarius of D. Iunius Brutus, 48 BC), 451/1 (denarius of C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus and D. Iunius Brutus, 48 BC) and 480/6 (denarius of L. Aemilius Buca, 44 BC).

[250] *RRC*: 735-737.

[251] Sena Chiesa 2012: 257; Vollenweider 1955: 100-101.

[252] Hamat 2014.

[253] Such a view has been expressed by the following: Gallottini 2012, no. 284; Giner 1996, no. 22; Hamburger 1968, no. 128; Weiβ 1996, no. 453.

[254] For instance: Guiraud 2008, no. 1405.

ephemeral production of a period related to Caesar or slightly later, but gems of this kind were produced far into the Roman Imperial period.[255]

For all these reasons, it seems to me incorrect to consider the whole production of symbolic gems including the *dextrarum iunctio* element as products of Julius Caesar's deliberate propaganda.[256] If somehow a portion of that production was related to politics, I believe this was due to the Caesar's general political programme answering the needs, desires and wishes of ordinary people that were addressed in other media such as coinage too. I do not find any example of a clear connection between Caesar and an attempt to fulfil those social desires as well as the promotion of peace and prosperity in glyptics, but among his followers, there was no need for such a direct reference. The set of symbols spoke for itself and Caesar's aspirations and plans must have been widely known so that they were instantly identified with those ideas. In other words, perhaps some of the gems under discussion were used to identify with Caesar's political programme and the objects served as integration propaganda very well. In any case, the idea of linking symbolic gems bearing combinations including the *dextrarum iunctio* with a commemoration of the first triumvirate should be dismissed.

8.2.8. Divine and mythological references

The political rivalry between Julius Caesar and Pompey the Great resulted in a sort of race involving the veneration of specific deities who were supposed to act in favour of their worshipers. In the case of Pompey, the chief deity venerated was Neptune, while Caesar focused on Venus. Caesar in his political and religious propaganda went even further than Pompey as he combined the veneration of Venus with the mythological beginnings of his kin. For *gens* Iulia Caesarea started to allude to Aeneas already in 103 BC but this identification was later significantly exploited by Caesar extending to Venus who was Aeneas' mother.[257] The clearest act of special veneration of Venus by Caesar, which ought to be regarded as his *pietas erga deos*, was of course his dedication of a temple to her in his Forum.[258] Special bonds between the dictator and Venus were also reflected on coins minted by or in the name of Caesar.[259] Even the laurel wreath worn by Caesar during his triumph was supposed to link him with his personal divine patroness.[260] Glyptics was also employed to highlight the intimate relationship between Julius Caesar and Venus. I have already discussed the dictator's personal seal that bore a representation of Venus Victrix (cf. chapter 8.2.3). This was probably the most powerful propagandistic act that Caesar made since the seal testified to the very personal character of his bonds with Venus. It helped him to establish the view of the goddess as the divine ancestor of his family and as such, it helped him to transfer some of her authority onto him. It was not an imitation or comparison to the deity but subtle yet powerful propaganda.[261] Such acts were made well before Caesar and his activities may be compared, for example, to those of Alexander the Great.[262]

Caesar's propaganda related to Venus involving his personal seal was successful which is proved by the fact that the Venus Victrix motif became immensely popular in glyptics from the second half of the 1st century BC onwards (cf. chapters 8.2.5 and 8.3.3). The popularisation of the cult of Venus as the mother of Julian family continued in the times of Augustus as well (cf. chapter 10.10).[263] The history of the Venus Victrix theme in glyptics is the best example to illustrate that this kind of art became increasingly involved in politics and propaganda in the Late Roman Republic and later.[264] The resonance of Caesar's seal was so powerful that after his death many bottom-up initiatives of private people, who wished to demonstrate their allegiance to him and his party, now controlled by Octavian, is noticeable.

Only recently Henig and Molesworth brought to light an unparalleled cameo testifying to glyptics' substantial role in the promotion of Caesar's bond with Venus. The piece belongs to the Content Family collection and presents a jugate portrait bust of Julius Caesar and most likely Venus in profile to the left (cat. no. 8.162, Figure 268). The portrait type follows its Hellenistic precedents but stylistically it is a mixture of Republican realism and a slowly emerging classicising trend, therefore, it cannot be precisely determined if the cameo was engraved during Caesar's lifetime or under Augustus. Nevertheless, it is intriguing that it is said to have been found in Tarraco in Spain. Tarragona was elevated by Caesar to the rank of Roman colony in 45 BC, hence, it is possible that it was gifted to one of its governors or a member of the local elite probably in the hope of gaining their loyalty. This object is a perfect example of glyptics employed for propaganda since it not only emits a powerful message about Caesar's divine origin, but if the information on the findspot is true, it communicates who was addressed

[255] For instance: Henig and Whiting 1987, nos. 314-317; Spier 1992, no. 327.
[256] See also similar opinion in: Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 125 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 463.
[257] Barcaro 2008/2009: 67; Evans 1992: 39-41.
[258] Barcaro 2008/2009: 69-70; Evans 1992: 39-41.
[259] For instance: *RRC*, nos. 463/1a-b (denarii of Mn. Cordius Rufus, 46 BC). See also a good discussion on this issue in *RRC*: 735-737.
[260] *RRC*: 480.
[261] Gagetti 2001: 139; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 447.
[262] Kühnen 2008: 92-93.
[263] Sena Chiesa 1966: 158-162; 2002: 404-405.
[264] Vollenweider 1955: 108-109.

with such messages and in what form they were conveyed. There is one more mythological figure worth mentioning while discussing Venus' role in Caesar's propaganda reflected in glyptics - Medea. A painting by Timomachus depicting her was installed on Caesar's order in the Temple of Venus Genetrix and since that moment Medea appears in Roman glyptics (cat. no. 8.163, Figure 269). Perhaps it was due to the painting itself which became a sort of source of inspiration for the gem engravers, but on the other hand, the moment and the place where it was displayed to the Romans made it special. The propagandistic value was not high, but maybe the subject was associated with Caesar since he introduced the painting to Rome in his sacral complex.[265]

Another mythological figure related to Julius Caesar's propaganda and divine connotations is Cassandra. She was connected to Aeneas, to whom she prophesied the escape from Troy with the Palladion and the founding of a new nation in Rome. Because of that Cassandra was an attractive subject for Caesar's propaganda in glyptics (cat. nos 8.164-168, Figure 270).[266] In his times the Cassandra theme could be popular also due to the fact that the dictator followed the Sibylline oracle and Cassandra, who was a priestess of Apollo, was portrayed as a female variant of the god that also played an important role in Caesar's propaganda (see below) Besides, Cassandra was regarded as a seer propelling people towards a golden future that could be ensured by Caesar.[267]

As to other divine patrons and deities or mythological figures that received special attention from Julius Caesar, the foremost figure was Apollo. Caesar's veneration of the god is attested for instance by his organisation of the *ludi Apollinares* in 45 BC.[268] I have already discussed the phenomenon of the extraordinary popularity of heads and busts of Apollo in 1st century BC glyptics in Rome (cf. chapter 7.1.5). In the times of Caesar this trend continued, but there is no peak of production of this kinds of gems during his domination that would have suggested the dictator's input into a special promotion of the god in glyptics. The same applies to Jupiter. Caesar founded him a temple in 46 BC,[269] but no clear reference to Caesar's relationship with the god is manifested in glyptic art. Similarly, no direct reference exists regarding Heracles. A slightly different situation pertains with Aeneas and Romulus. The former was popular on gems throughout the second half of the 1st century BC and maybe one of the reasons for that was Julius Caesar's efforts to promote the idea that the Julii Caesares were descended from Aeneas (cat. no. 8.169, Figure 271).[270] He used coins for that purpose and perhaps thanks to this, the subject was popular on gems as well.[271] Romulus appears much less frequently on gems, even though his role in Julius Caesar's propaganda was considerable (cat. no. 8.170, Figure 272).[272] Assessing the contribution of glyptics proves problematic in assessment of its contribution to Julius Caesar's promotion of these divine patrons because the intaglios presenting them cannot be securely dated. The lack of any specific references on them that one can link with Caesar or Augustus allows one to make more or less educated guesses based on general observations of the peaks in popularity of specific themes in the chronological framework of the Late Roman Republic and early Principate. It is difficult to come to any reasonable conclusions as subjects such as those listed above could be also popular due to a particular fashion at that time or a personal reference on the part of the owners to these mythological figures. Equally problematical proving that glyptics was employed in Caesar's *imitatio Alexandri* in any meaningful way but this is also the case with other archaeological materials and ancient texts.[273]

8.2.9. Political symbols

In the time of Julius Caesar, symbolic gems continued to be produced on a large scale. The dictator is attested to have used various configurations of elements standing for *ordo rerum*, abundance and prosperity in his coinage. For instance, the denarii of T. Carisius minted for Caesar in 46 BC bear on the reverses combinations consisting of a globe, *cornucopia*, sceptre and rudder and they are believed to portray the feeling after Caesar's victory at Thapsus which culminated in his triumph in 45 BC (Figure 260).[274] Zwierlein-Diehl convincingly argues that there were gems combining figural motifs with rich symbolism representing the same idea (cf. chapter 8.2.7) and I have also discussed the role of intaglios bearing complex symbolic compositions including the *dextrarum iunctio* element that served as both private amulets and maybe also to mark political identification with Caesar's programme of the restoration of the Roman Republic (cf. chapter 8.2.7). One can point to more examples that follow iconography known from coins minted at the time of Caesar and addressing his political programme. For instance, in Leiden, there is a banded agate featuring a *cornucopia* terminating in the head of a goat with a ribbon tied round it, palm branch and globe (cat. no. 8.171, Figure 273). There is a considerable production of similar intaglios around

[265] Toso 2007: 159-161.
[266] Toso 2007: 154-155.
[267] Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017: 46.
[268] Barcaro 2008/2009: 18-19.
[269] Kühnen 2008: 94.
[270] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 134-135.
[271] Vollenweider 1966: 16. Regarding coins, see: *RRC*, no. 458/1 (denarius of Julius Caesar, 47-46 BC).
[272] Evans 1992: 91-92.
[273] For the best analysis of potential *imitatio Alexandri* practiced by Caesar or rather its lack, see: Kühnen 2008: 83-100.
[274] *RRC*, nos. 464/3a-c.

the mid-1st century BC and this is the reason why some scholars claim that those objects were related to Caesar or even produced under his encouragement, perhaps on the occasion of his triumph, but I think if they are something more than simply amulets (which is highly hypothetical), they just simply grasped the general sense of his political programme that was widely promoted through his coins or architecture. Caesar's idea of a new world order and his guarantee of peace and prosperity for the Romans after many years of civil war must have been attractive for his followers who tended to portray it on their personal objects like gems.[275] Indeed, the overall climate in Rome was highly political and most of the people were engaged in politics one way or another. For this reason, every occasion to make a reference to politics was good advertising for a propagandist. Caesar and his moneyers put subjects reflecting his military victories and accomplishments on their coins because through money they delivered propagandistic messages in a fast and relatively cheap way to large numbers of people. It was easy to send political messages as coinage was a universal and controlled branch of craftsmanship. A propagandist could decide what should be sent to his audience directly by himself or through the influence of only a few people. In the case of engraved gems, the situation was different because their production was dispersed, and it was difficult to control it to a considerable degree. Caesar could hire several artists cutting intaglios and cameos for him, but he could not control the whole market. There is no evidence to claim that he controlled the production of glass gems which could deliver vast numbers of cheap gems that may have been a particularly efficient means of propaganda. Still, the evidence presented above and in previous sub-chapters proves that Caesar's general aim and political programme was somehow reflected on intaglios and cameos. This might be due to the fact that his propaganda operated in other media (coins, sculpture, architecture) and was largely successful. Gems are good indicators of that because they show that people identified with Caesar's ideas making deliberate choices for their private finger rings.

If one applies such a methodology, it quickly becomes clear that, of course, the majority of symbolic gems were personal amulets and talismans ensuring values and things (abundance, prosperity and peace) that people generally wished for and hoped to get in the hard times of civil war. However, at the same time they portray social moods, needs and desires and many of them bear symbolism referring to deities whose protection was sought also by Caesar himself. Unlike Pompey, in the times of Caesar's domination configurations of symbols on gems and coins are not exactly the same but still exhibit considerable similarities. This is probably due to the difference in propagandistic value of these two categories of artefacts and the fact that the former were created for personal use, while the latter for the public. Taking the afore-mentioned coins of T. Carisius and an amethyst from Udine presenting a *cornucopia* and globe for an example (cat. no. 8.172, Figures 260 and 274), Tomaselli, relying on iconographical similarities, claims that the gem refers to Julius Caesar, his total power and domination on both land and sea represented by the globe, and prophecy of abundance and prosperity arriving with him in Rome encapsulated in the symbol of *cornucopia*.[276] The comparison between the coin and this intaglio seems useless since the iconography of the latter does not include elements represented on the former. Nevertheless, the lack of single elements on the gem would not change its general meaning and the message created by the propagandist could be still the same – the promotion of peace and prosperity that was probably easily associated with Caesar by the users of such gems. It is noteworthy that the intaglio worked well as a personal amulet and talisman at the same time. The owner wished for abundance and prosperity in the difficult times he lived in and he sought protection and blessing from Jupiter represented on the gem by the globe.[277] Caesar notoriously projected himself as a connector between the gods and people of Rome and addressed his propaganda to many deities so that common people would associate divine favour with him.

Explanations such as the one described above can be applied to a surprising number of other gems produced at the time of Caesar's domination in Rome and most likely they are indirectly related to a politician's political programme. For example, in Geneva there is a glass gem presenting a *caduceus* with a bee in the middle flanked by two *cornucopiae*, a rudder is in the centre and a globe below (cat. no. 8.173, Figure 275). Vollenweider suggested the gem expresses the new world order introduced by Caesar.[278] The *caduceus* with a bee is particularly intriguing and Vollenweider thought it represents the monarchy of Caesar and his role as a guarantor of peace. The interpretation proposed by her was generally accepted since gems of this type were common in the 1st century BC and many were made of glass (cat. no. 8.174, Figure 276).[279] It is noteworthy that similar symbolism occurs on the coinage from c. 76 BC,[280] and it was surely used for private amulets ensuring good fortune (the rudder stands for Fortuna who was a personification of luck), abundance (*cornucopiae*), peace

[275] Sena Chiesa 2002: 400-401 and 410-411; 2013: 68; Vollenweider 1955: 100-101; 1970.

[276] Tomaselli 1993, no. 330.

[277] For more information on Jupiter represented on gems by a globe, see: Forbes 1981: 129; Fossing 1929, no. 1612; Weiβ 1996, nos. 417-418.

[278] Vollenweider 1979, no. 424.

[279] Weiβ 2007, no. 594.

[280] *RRC*, nos. 393/1a-b (denarii of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, 76-75 BC).

(*caduceus*) and Jupiter's blessing and protection (globe). The bee seems the key to understanding the whole composition, as it was admired by the Romans for its industry and ability to organise its community. It exists on gems alone or with a *caduceus* and may have chthonic or mystic significance as well as expressing the gem's owner's positive values (good organisational skills or persistence).[281] In the times of Caesar, common sense and unity were particularly important elements of his political programme which was addressed to masses of people rather than a group of elites. For this reason, it seems likely that gems like the ones mentioned above apart from being personal amulets could reflect current political attitudes and identification with Caesar's ideas. What is more, as with coinage, glyptics proves that Caesar's propaganda messages were anchored in an already existing language which had the effect of increasing the effectiveness of his propaganda.

Sometimes the references to Caesar's victories that were supposed to guarantee political stability in Rome are more explicit on symbolic gems. An agate gem in Bari presents a *cornucopia*, globe and a palm branch (cat. no. 8.175, Figure 277) and Tamma explains this iconography as relating to propaganda of Julius Caesar's good government.[282] It is, however, probably more correct to explain the symbolism of this piece in a more personal way: the *cornucopia* stands for a wish of abundance, the globe for Jupiter's blessing and protection and the palm branch was an attribute of Victory; thus here, it may stand for the goddess and personal victory either obtained or wished for. On the other hand, the intaglio possibly referred to Caesar's victory (at Thapsus?) so that a private object became engaged in propaganda and could be used to advertise the personal contribution to that victory of one of the dictator's veterans who identified with Caesar (if the object was indeed used by someone of this sort). In Bari one finds another highly interesting piece, a banded agate engraved with a hand holding a *cornucopia* and an ear of corn (cat. no. 8.176, Figure 278). Tamma proposes to decipher this kind of iconography as a reflection of Caesar's *clementia* towards people after the battle of Pharsalus.[283] Such an interpretation is attractive, although an amuletic function for this gem is more plausible. The motif of a clenched hand holding various objects is common on 1st century BC Roman Republican intaglios and later. It was popular not only in the times of Caesar. It is thought to represent values such as wealth and glory which the owner of the gem may have wished for himself too.[284]

An argument in favour of regarding gems with symbolic combinations as personal amulets are inscriptions sometimes accompanying the images. In Perugia a sard gem bears a hand holding a palm branch and inscription LVCRIO which is the *cognomen* of the gem's owner (cat. no. 8.177, Figure 279). It probably shows that a wish for a personal victory was the subject of this ringstone, however, on the other hand, it may be an even more explicit manifestation of support for Caesar and his politics in general. A popular motif in glyptics of the 1st century BC is the so-called altar of Venus shown for instance on a glass gem in Geneva, an agate in Perugia and another glass gem in Berlin (cat. nos 8.178-180, Figure 280). Vollenweider associated the motif with the inauguration of the Temple of Venus Genetrix by Julius Caesar based on a comparison with denarii minted by C. Antius Restio in 47 BC (Figure 281).[285] Some scholars followed her,[286] but to my mind, this is problematical. The presence of inscriptions on the examples from Perugia and Berlin may testify to private amulets; however, a notable fact is that the Berlin gem is a copy of the one in Perugia but in glass as their inscriptions are identical. They stand for *duo nomina*, perhaps of the owner of Perugia intaglio which was later copied by one of his peers, while both supported Caesar and his politics? The dates of such gems cannot be restricted to the times of Julius Caesar's domination because similar products were cut from the early 1st century BC as so rightly observed by Weiß.[287]

To sum up, the potential for the use of symbolic gems for the political propaganda of Julius Caesar definitely seems greater than in the case of his main opponent Pompey the Great. Perhaps one of the reasons for a substantial production of symbolic gems around the mid-1st century BC was the identification of some individuals (Caesar's followers?) with his politics. This is suggested from the symbolism employed in the coinage related to the dictator as well as his general promotion of a political programme aimed at establishing peace and a new world order (*ordo rerum*). Nevertheless, it is far more probable that symbolic gems had a personal meaning related to the general *koinè* deriving from the language of symbols widespread in private art and were simply used as amulets. There is no direct evidence to claim that Caesar had any significant impact on their production and design, but symbolic gems may sometimes prove that there was a significant reception of Caesar's ideology which suggests his propaganda campaign was largely successful.

[281] For more detailed discussion, see: Middleton 1991, no. 258.
[282] Tamma 1991, no. 23.
[283] Tamma 1991, no. 25. She follows in this Vollenweider, 1979, no. 426.
[284] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 221.
[285] Vollenweider 1979, no. 453. For coins, see: *RRC*, no. 455/4.
[286] Vitellozzi 2010, no. 195.
[287] Weiβ 2007, no. 586.

8.2.10. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.)

Even though Julius Caesar is said to have been a prolific collector of engraved gems, there is little evidence testifying to his involvement in producing or collecting such extraordinary items as State Cameos or carved vessels (but see his jugate bust with probably Venus discussed in chapter 8.2.8 above). One unique glyptic object that might refer to the dictator and his political activities is an outstanding cameo, once in the celebrated Marlborough and Ionides cabinets, that presents an elephant trampling a crocodile (cat. no. 8.181, Figure 282). It was Boardman who extensively wrote on that cameo admitting that the unusual iconography suggests various explanations from symbolic to realistic, but indeed, given the extraordinary form – cameo – he concludes that the piece refers to victory over evil and Julius Caesar.[288] To be more precise, he bases his reasoning on the observation that the image is comparable to denarii of Julius Caesar struck in 49 or 48 BC featuring an elephant trampling on a war-trumpet with serpent head (*carnyx*) or a dragon (Figure 283).[289] Because it is one of the first issues of Caesar, it is possible that the coins were minted to commemorate his victories in Gaul portraying quite literally a massive predominance of the Romans over the conquered subject, but a clear meaning has not been established yet.[290] However, as Boardman himself points out, the water animal under the elephant's legs resembles a crocodile rather than a dragon, but he hesitates to take it for one and ultimately sees here a fish. By doing this he rejects the idea of connecting the cameo with the Egyptian episode of Caesar's career.[291] In my opinion, this is a mistake since a crocodile is clearly intended on the gem in question. Indeed, a Roman artist would not have presented it in such a form, which probably means the cameo was created in the East, possibly in Alexandria. Perhaps this outstanding gem was commissioned to commemorate Caesar's supremacy over Egypt. It is worth mentioning a group of intaglios presenting busts of Augustus and Livia over a crocodile symbolising taking control over Egypt which was also promoted on coins (cf. chapter 10.10). The animal is strikingly close to the one appearing on the cameo under discussion here and this makes me think that it should be recognised as a subtle form of propaganda on the part of Caesar.

[288] Boardman 1968: 37-38; *RRC*: 735.
[289] *RRC*, no. 443/1.
[290] Crawford analyses various options for explaining this obscure iconography, including the idea that the elephant represents Caesar himself because one of several explanations of his family name linked it with the Punic word for elephant, but none seems to be utterly convincing, see: *RRC*: 735. See also a recent discussion in: Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 194-196.
[291] Boardman 1968: 38.

8.3. Less significant politicians and women from the times of the Civil War

The difficult times of the Civil War seem to have been a perfect occasion for many to develop their own propaganda practices or to follow others, especially as so many people were engaged in conflict and politics in mid-1st century BC Rome. Definitely, two of the most successful politicians – Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar – sent out propaganda messages using glyptic art in a number of ways. Moreover, their followers and supporters clearly manifested allegiance and membership to their parties using intaglios. Nevertheless, there were many other influential people who maybe did not create their own well-organised factions but were quite influential and sought to raise their power and status during the war. In this sub-chapter I am going to focus on those people and inquire whether they employed glyptic art for self-presentation and propaganda with the intention of influencing others or propagate particular accomplishments or not.

8.3.1. Collecting engraved gems and hiring engravers

As shown above, engraved gems constituted a part of the art collecting phenomenon in antiquity. Some scholars suppose that collectors of intaglios and cameos were active in Rome already in the 2nd century BC,[292] but as discussed here, the most prominent Romans used to collect engraved gems in considerable quantity only in the 1st century BC. The first one was said to have been Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, praetor in 56 BC and Sulla's stepson.[293] He was a proquestor in Syria between 65 and 61 BC where he might have accessed a number of Hellenistic gems.[294]

When touching on the issue of gem collecting in ancient times, Pliny the Elder and other ancient writers usually write a few words about the most prominent statesmen and rulers. Therefore, little is known about other people who collected those artworks. However, there is some evidence that wealthy people not only in Rome, but also outside of it not only created their own cabinets of intaglios and cameos, but also hired gem engravers in order to have their portraits and other subjects cut upon gemstones. An extraordinary example is the Heius family and C. Heius, a rich man from Messana from whom Verres stole statues and tapestries, probably employed a Greek gem engraver who once freed signed his gems with the name of Heius. C. Heius' patronage of the artist was exceptional and possibly testifies that some artists worked exclusively for their patrons perhaps to enrich their collections of art (cf. chapter 8.2.2). Such situations may have first

[292] Tees 1993: 29.
[293] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.5.
[294] Lapatin 2015: 117-118; Zwierlein-Diehl 1988: 3467; 2007: 108-109.

appeared already in the 2nd century BC, because we know of some signed portrait gems of the Romans, however, the evidence is insufficient to suggest those pieces entered any collection at the time.

Another good example of a 1st century BC figure interested in glyptics and perhaps engaged in collecting is Juba II, king of Numidia (c. 52/40 BC-AD 23). Pliny the Elder observes that the ruler was a keen connoisseur and enthusiast of engraved gems and that he even wrote a treatise about gemstones which was one of the sources Pliny used to produce his work.[295] Juba II surely promoted glyptic art at his court and possibly commissioned works from the best artists available. One of them could have been Gnaeus who is known from a total number of seven works signed by him and several others can be more or less securely attributed to him or his workshop as well.[296] Among these there is a particularly interesting beryl intaglio in London showing the head of a young Heracles shouldering his club (cat. no. 8.182, Figure 284). Vollenweider and Sena Chiesa think this might be Juba II identified with the hero since similar depictions occur on his coins (Figure 285).[297] Although indeed, this is a top-quality work cut in extraordinary material, as Zwierlein-Diehl observes the signature has been recut or corrected which raises some questions as to its authenticity.[298] Identification of Juba with Heracles is possible, but highly problematic. In the Beverley collection at Alnwick Castle there is a sard engraved with a very similar image and signed by Aulos (cat. no. 8.183, Figure 286). For Vollenweider this gem was another proof that Juba II identified himself with the hero,[299] although other scholars are less optimistic.[300] Aulos could be then another gem engraver employed at the Numidian court. Interestingly enough, the case of Gnaeus seems similar to that of Heius, namely, his name suggests that he was another Greek artist freed by a Roman family, this time *gens* Gneia or his name is the Latin praenomen? If the first was the case, he must have initially work for a prominent member of that family but later maybe he entered the court of Juba II where he could cut the above-mentioned masterpiece.

Regarding the Numidian court, Zwierlein-Diehl suggests another gem engraver – Dalion – to have worked there based on the carnelian in Florence presenting a laureate bust of a young man whom she identifies with Juba II (cat. no. 8.184, Figure 287).[301] Although attractive, this theory is rather far-fetched as other works by this artist do not correspond with political themes and the bust in question is strikingly close to some representations of Apollo from Augustan times, thus, its identification with Juba II is unconvincing and I think he was more close to the circle of gem engravers working for Augustus (cf. chapter 10.2).[302] Nevertheless, hiring gem engravers and promoting glyptic art at the royal court of Juba II seems rather well attested.[303] In fact, it could have been a more ancient tradition as his father Juba I might have employed Aspasios to cut a red jasper portrait gem for him (cat. no. 8.185, Figure 288).[304] One finds several examples of intaglios possibly bearing a portrait of Juba I which supports this view (cat. nos 8.186-188, Figure 289).

The case of the Numidian court and its potential engagement in glyptic art as well as the cases of Heius and Gnaeus are of key importance for understanding why this sort of activity could be very appealing from a propagandistic point of view. The Kingdom of Numidia was essentially Hellenistic, but strongly influenced by Roman culture, especially under the reign of Augustus. It clearly shows that employment of the best lapidaries was usually in the good interest of the rulers and wealthiest figures because such a practice raised one's authority and social status by definition. This probably gained special importance in the second half of the 1st century BC after Pompey and Caesar's considerable engagement in gem collecting and thus popularisation of the craft. Moreover, one observes the mechanism of personal branding (portraits of Juba I and Juba II in glyptics) exploited in the very same way as in Rome. At the same time, the cases of Heius and Gnaeus show that employment of gem engravers in the Roman world was not limited to the rulers and political leaders. Possibly wealthy Roman collectors and admirers of art employed gem cutters also to raise their social status. Furthermore, Gradel's recent research on an exceptional small collection of bronze rings inlaid with glass gems belonging to a legionary supporting Octavian is the best evidence for ordinary people participating in gem 'mania'.[305] With more direct evidence here, I shall suggest that Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar as well as their prominent peers and successors wanted to show off their affinity for luxury arts and advertising through more sophisticated methods than coin minting. Whereas coins and sculptures were meant to influence many, some particular gems were meant to impress the most educated and thus exacting followers. On the other hand, the example of the Numidian court as well as C. Heius and Gnaeus clearly shows that employment of famous gem engravers was limited to the few,

[295] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.24; Boardman 1968: 23 and 27; Plantzos 1999: 10; Thoresen 2017: 163.
[296] See a list of them and an extensive commentary in: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 144.
[297] Sena Chiesa 1989: 275-276; Vollenweider 1966: 45. For the coin, see: denarius of Juba II, 25 BC-AD 23, ANS 1944.100.81078.
[298] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 148.
[299] Vollenweider 1966: 43.
[300] Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 90.
[301] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 121.
[302] See, for instance: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 193.
[303] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 34-35; Plantzos 1999: 59.
[304] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 26-27; Vollenweider 1966: 30; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 111-112.
[305] Gradel (forthcoming).

usually very wealthy people. The propagandistic value of such activities may seem limited or even relatively poor, but one must reckon with the fact that powerful and influential people, to whom glyptic products were usually addressed in the form of gifts, were not as easy to impress as ordinary people who felt grateful if provided with free grain supplies, games and a handful of coins. Still, as far as collecting of intaglios and cameos is concerned it is evident that glass gems enabled even legionaries to copy the behaviour of their patrons in their very own modest way.

8.3.2. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty

Personal branding and self-promotion through portrait gems are the most popular and powerful propaganda activities I have discussed so far in Roman Republican glyptics. There is quite enough evidence to claim that portraits of Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar were engraved upon intaglios and cameos either under their encouragement of because of their followers who carried them in their rings in order to manifest loyalty and support. What about other prominent Roman politicians and statesmen contemporary to those two? I am going to address this question starting with Cato the Younger (95-46 BC) who was one of the leading opponents to Caesar after Pompey. I have already remarked that there is a heated debate over the issue of portraits presenting male portrait busts wearing a toga but with a bare shoulder that are often recognised as Julius Caesar (cf. chapter 8.2.4). Zwierlein-Diehl identifies them with Cato Uticensis and relates them to his propaganda as those gems could be worn by followers of Cato to manifest their loyalty to him and opposition to the tyrant Caesar.[306] As has been stated above, this particular portrait type did not serve one person only, but it was widely used by senators, consuls and other prominent Roman politicians, including Caesar and Cato (for Cato, see: cat. no. 8.189, Figure 290). There are no other gems presenting Cato's likeness but not in the type already discussed. There is virtually no gem that could be securely identified as presenting Cato Uticensis whatsoever. The explanation for this could be that his portraits were only cut as a middle-aged man wearing his toga in the old-fashioned way as Zwierlein-Diehl proposed. However, having virtually no images of him on coins and sculpture (except for later copies), within the bulk of portrait gems one is unable to attribute some of them to Cato and thus, his propaganda potential in glyptics cannot be measured in any reasonable way and is possibly underestimated.

The next influential person on the Late Roman Republican political scene whose portrait appears on engraved gems is Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC). Furtwängler already noticed that Solon possibly cut a portrait of Cicero. His view is based only on Renaissance and later copies as the original is lost.[307] If that is true, Cicero would be another prominent Roman figure to have had his portrait engraved upon his ringstone. This particular gem could have been influential and copied already in ancient times, although artists could have taken inspiration from other sources like sculpture as well. For instance, in Aquileia a carnelian portrait gem with the image of Cicero has been found (cat. no. 8.190) and this might have been not a propaganda effect, but a reception of a portrait of this Roman politician who was appreciated for his merits as a speaker and writer during his lifetime.[308] There are several intaglios bearing a likeness of Cicero which were, however, executed during his lifetime. Such a gem is, for instance, a sardonyx intaglio in Berlin (cat. no. 8.191), carnelian in Boston (cat. no. 8.192, Figure 291), probably sard in London (cat. no. 8.193), unspecified stone in Leiden (cat. no. 8.194) and some more, today lost but known from their impressions (cat. no. 8.195).[309] Cicero tended to mediate between quarrelling political parties and some could share his views. These people could use gems with a portrait of Cicero to manifest their sympathy for him and his views alike. Some surely wanted to imitate Cicero, and this could be another reason for carrying a ring with his portrait as an example or hero to follow. There is no evidence for Cicero being engaged in the production of gems with his portraits, so these must have been bottom-up initiatives. They did not serve as propaganda tools but testified to a political sympathy for and the considerable authority of Cicero. Cicero's fame made him a popular subject also on Roman Imperial gems which accounts for the reception of his portrait on the terms indicated above (cat. no. 8.196-199, Figure 292).

Regarding portraits of other contemporaries to Pompey and Caesar, they are quite abundant and have been collected and studied by Vollenweider.[310] She thought most of them depict *optimates* and this may be right since gems were luxury objects that not everyone could afford. Nevertheless, it seems that *optimates* did not manifest allegiance to their political class through specific gems, but generally speaking wearing gems by them was a sort of social distinction and informed their peers about their membership of the party. By

[306] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 123-124.

[307] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 351-352. See also this issue addressed by Vollenweider (1966: 56 and 1972-1974: 98-99). For an extensive discussion on the possible creation of Solon and its later copies and replicas in modern times, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2615; 2007: 114-115.

[308] On the reception of Cicero's portraits in the Augustan era, see: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 99 and Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 19.

[309] Vollenweider listed more examples (1972-1974: 94-98), however, not all of them depict Cicero, see some criticism for instance in: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1152 and Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 534.

[310] Vollenweider 1955: 96-101; 1972-1974: 102-105.

comparisons with coins, some people contemporary to Pompey and Caesar can be identified with historical figures such as Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cat. no. 8.200, Figures 293-294)[311] or A. Postumius Albinus (cat. no. 8.201, Figures 295-296).[312] Apart from these, there are many other portrait gems which have no additional symbolism suggesting a specific function or position in the Roman society so that they remain unidentified (cat. nos 8.202-222, Figures 297-301). Some of them are clearly works of distinguished engravers, like Agathopus who apart from being employed by Pompey the Great, seemingly cut gems for other aristocrats of Rome (cat. nos 8.202-205, Figures 297-299). The quality of Agathopus' works is of the highest level, and the three objects (one signed and two attributed to him) listed here prove that the man depicted on his intaglios was an important personage since he had his portrait signed by the artist, copied in exceptional material (aquamarine and emerald) as well as in glass. Even though one fails in identifying Agathopus' commissioner, it is clear that the orders were not placed by an ordinary man. In conclusion, all these gems surely had some propaganda meaning since it was a common practice for significant politicians to carry a ring with their own portraits or distribute them to their followers. These were self-advertising techniques, quite popular among the Romans and deeply-rooted. It is difficult to judge their propagandistic value; it was not huge like the statue usually placed in a place visited by many or coin minted in thousands of thousands of objects. They were rather a sophisticated means of propaganda aiming at making an impression on a few important people, most likely representatives of the aristocracy. In about the second and third quarters of the 1st century BC female portrait gems appear in greater quantities than before, mostly for decorative purposes and it is difficult to give them any political significance (cat. nos 8.223-227, Figure 302).[313]

8.3.3. Family symbols and references to familial stories on gems

It is reasonable to think that in the second and third quarters of the 1st century BC engraved gems, like coins, continued to be used for family and self-promotion by issuing objects featuring family symbols or scenes referring to familial stories and legends. A good example of that process is triskeles, a not particularly popular motif appearing on Roman Republican gems at the time (cat. nos 8.228-236, Figure 303). It has been regarded as an emblem of the Marcelli and Lentuli families and thus, gems bearing it are supposed to be family seals or at least tokens used by their owners to manifest their allegiance to those famous *gentes*.[314] This view is based on the fact that an identical triskeles appears on denarii of P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, son of M. Claudius Marcellus struck in 100 BC and especially those issued by C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus in 49 BC (Figure 304).[315] Another coin issue struck by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus in 50 BC bears a triskeles as a symbol recalling the achievements of the moneyer's celebrated ancestor M. Claudius Marcellus, consul of 208 BC, who captured Syracuse and conquered Sicily in 212-210 BC the spoils from which he rescued Rome from imminent bankruptcy (Figure 305).[316] While that coin clearly presents a context for the triskeles in the form of the figure of M. Claudius Marcellus carrying a trophy into a temple on the reverse side, it is intriguing to see that just one year later, C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus minted a coin the main political message of which is to present Jupiter's support for Pompey the Great, but still, the sign of the triskeles appears on the obverse side as a reference to private/family propaganda of the moneyers. In this case, just one symbol served as a clear reference to the family's celebrated history, therefore, it seems justified to think that the same sole symbol carried by a member of Marcelli or Lentuli families upon a ring made an identical reference to that on the coins. Naturally, other explanations for the triskeles' appearance on gems are possible. It was regarded as a symbol of the sun and Sicily. Moreover, there are at least two intaglios featuring the triskeles motif and inscriptions referring to the gem owners' names but none of these cases can be securely linked to a member of the Marcelli or Lentuli families (cat. nos 8.228 and 234). Finally, thanks to Cicero it is known that P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura used a ring with the likeness of his grandfather P. Cornelius Lentulus (the moneyer of the coin struck in 100 BC?) as his personal seal.[317] As one can see, even though a specific symbol appears suitable for a family seal, it could be replaced with other subjects, but still, the number of intaglios bearing the triskeles is limited, which suggests their use by a narrow group of people for a specific reason, in this case perhaps family propaganda, rather than for broader purpose. The triskeles case makes us aware how limited are our modern-day cognitive abilities. Unless there is some kind of context, it is difficult if not impossible to prove that a sole symbol served for family propaganda on gems.

Shortly after Pompey's death, his followers gathered in northern Africa. The coinage related to this group of people is extremely diversified. Yarrow speculates

[311] *RRC*, no. 519/2 (denarius of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, 41 BC).
[312] *RRC*, no. 450/3a (denarius of Decimus Iunius Brutus, 48 BC).
[313] But see another view of Vollenweider (1972-1974: 224-225).
[314] Boardman 1968: 31-32; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 224.
[315] *RRC*, nos. 329/2 and 445/1a-b respectively. See also discussion on those issues in: *RRC*: 737-738.
[316] *RRC*, no. 439/1 (denarius of P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, 50 BC).
[317] Cicero, *Catiline*, 3.10.

that some types of denarii minted about 47-46 BC were given images which were statements of political allegiance to Pompey. As an example, she gives the coin of Q. Metellus Scipio struck in Africa in 47-46 BC (Figure 306) and she notices that the image of Africa from the obverse is repeated on a series of glass gems, which possibly were used to manifest membership to the faction of Pompeians.[318] Although the gems she refers to are problematic as they do not repeat the image known from coins (see my discussion on those in chapter 8.1.8), still, her view might be close to the truth but in a slightly different sense. Crawford rightly pointed out that the coinage of Q. Metellus Scipio apart from being evidently post-Pompeian, displays some familial advertisement too and while indeed, the head of Africa combined with Heracles' image on the reverse of the mentioned coin indicates hope for victory in the war with Caesar, it cannot be entirely excluded that Africa refers to Scipio Africanus, the famous ancestor of the moneyer, who would have transferred his authority onto himself by recalling his legend on his coins and gems.[319] It is noteworthy that on his other issues, Q. Metellus Scipio also advertised his family legends. Regarding engraved gems, there was once a carnelian intaglio in the Duke of Gordon's collection that mirrors a head of Africa with an ear of corn and plough from a Q. Metellus Scipio denarius struck in 47 or 46 BC (cat. no. 8.237, Figure 307). Therefore, we are justified in thinking that coins and gems are suitable for expressing allegiance to the Pompeian faction and served as private propaganda for the moneyer at the same time, given the very limited number of the latter.

The next famous Roman family that used a specific emblem as a sort of family symbol enabling to promote its members were Julii Caesares. The moneyers from that *gens* used to put representations of Venus driving a *biga* in order to highlight the divine origins of the family already in the late 2nd century BC.[320] But it was Julius Caesar (100-44 BC) who made Venus a true patroness and divine protectress of the Julii Caesares. He promoted her cult in every possible way building her a temple in the centre of his Forum and praised his own descent from her on every occasion, even during his funeral oration for his aunt Julia.[321] Caesar was successful in establishing Venus as a sort of a canonical emblem as the divine ancestress of the Julian family by putting her image on his coins.[322] However, the most significant was the image of Venus seen from behind as an armed goddess standing next to a column with a himation covering her legs, holding a spear in one hand and a helmet on the other, outstretched. The goddess presented in this manner was called Victrix and Caesar used that motif as his personal seal which later was passed on to the young Octavian (cf. chapters 8.2.3, 8.2.8 and 9.3.1.1).[323] At this point, I want to observe that there is in fact some direct evidence for claiming that the emblem established by Caesar worked well for the members of Julii Caesares in the late 1st century BC and later as a family emblem (cat. nos 8.238-243, Figures 308-309). Perhaps during the lifetime of Caesar, the image was reserved for him only and thus nobody else dared to use it as their personal seal. After Caesar's assassination, the use of Venus Victrix for propaganda on gems as a reference to the dictator and possibly a demonstration of support for the young Octavian by his family becomes more open. The issue gets even more complicated when one analyses two interesting intaglios housed in Perugia. The first is a carnelian showing a standardised type of Italic/Roman young warrior but depicted so as to resemble Venus Victrix and he is surrounded by inscription: C•IVLIVS GEMINUS (Gaius Iulius Geminus) (cat. no. 8.242, Figure 308). The second gem is a sard presenting the head of Athena/Minerva or Venus to the left with inscription Q IVL (Quintus Iulius) (cat. no. 8.243, Figure 309).[324] According to the inscriptions, both examples can be securely linked with *gens* Julia Caesarea who in addition used motifs that must have been recognised as relating to the dictator and perhaps family ancestry.

Another motif that might have served as a family emblem around the mid-1st century BC were representations of Salus/Valetudo/Hygieia and Aesculapius, mostly in bust form. Salus appears on denarii of Mn. Acilius Glabrio struck in 49 BC,[325] and seems to be a family symbol of the *gens* Acilia whose representatives were the first physicians in Rome (Figure 310).[326] Engraved gems presenting Aesculapius and Hygieia are often regarded as tokens of the physicians' profession, therefore, it would make sense to regard at least some of them as belonging to the members of Acilia family (cat. nos 8.244-247, Figure 311).[327] Nevertheless, I was unable to find any gem with this kind of iconography and inscription related to the *gens* Acilia or directly copying the image known from the coins.[328]

8.3.4. Commemoration

Among the bulk of Roman Republican gems produced around the mid-1st century BC, some stand out for

[318] Yarrow 2018: 42-43. Regarding the coin itself, see: *RRC* no. 461/1.
[319] *RRC*: 738.
[320] See for instance: *RRC*, nos. 258/1 (denarius of Sex. Julius Caesar minted in 129 BC) and 320/1 (denarius of L. Julius Caesar struck in 103 BC).
[321] Evans 1992: 39-40, Smith 2006: 37; Wiesman 1974: 153.
[322] Evans 1992: 40.
[323] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 43.43.3; *RRC*, nos. 480/3-5 and 8-18 (denarii of Julius Caesar, 44 BC); Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 11.
[324] Vitellozzi 2010, no. 68 (although the head is interpreted as Athena/Minerva).
[325] *RRC*, no. 442/1a.
[326] Weiβ 2007, no. 200.
[327] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 375.
[328] But see other possibilities: Berry 1968, no. 132; Weiß 1996, no. 203.

their iconography which can sometimes be related to the commemoration of particular events. For example, in London there is a carnelian intaglio presenting a puzzling composition of a seated man, draped round the legs, and adding a shield and sword to a trophy (cat. no. 8.248). The inscription accompanying the image makes it a personal object probably suggesting a commemoration of a military victory by a Roman who might have philosophical aspirations at the same time because the seated figure motif is typical for depictions of ancient thinkers.[329] The intaglio would then not only immortalise his success, but also inform about his highly esteemed education, a perfect constellation for self-presentation.

In Berlin, there is a brown glass gem presenting a Roman general wearing a *cuirass* with *pteryges* and mantle (*paludamentum*) to the front holding his horse with the right hand, while the left is put on a rim of a large shield decorated with a bundle of thunderbolts; at his left stands a young male figure dressed in a cloak and holding a spear (cat. no. 8.249). The original gem is fragmentarily preserved, but it was reproduced in the early 19th century by the Italian gem engraver and impression maker Tommaso Cades (1772 or 1775-1850) while it was intact (cat. no. 8.250, Figure 312). This intaglio is exceptional for the very rare scene it depicts. It was already Furtwängler who ascertained that the gem presents an unusual subject related to one of Rome's political leaders, but he hesitated to make any meaningful identification of the figures presented and dated the piece to the 3rd or 2nd century BC. Instead, Vollenweider recognised here Pompey the Great conducting the *census equitum* ceremony.[330] She based her identification on the coiffure of the man in the centre which according to her resembles the *anastole* and thus indicates Pompey. However, Vollenweider was wrong to claim that glass gem in Berlin and Cades' impression are two different objects. If one carefully compares the two it is clear that Cades made his impression from the Berlin intaglio. Consequently, Vollenweider made another mistake since indeed on Cades' impression the hair seems raised upward, but this is due to the cast's imperfection. On the gem housed in Berlin it is clear that figure's hair is not raised but smooth and regularly combed. There is no sign of *anastole* at all. Another argument contradicting the identification as Pompey is that the figure (or figures) uses a shield decorated with a bundle of thunderbolts being a symbol of Jupiter with whom Pompey had little in common. He did not venerate the god in any particular way in contrast to Heracles, Neptune or Venus.[331] Finally, there is another glass gem in Munich presenting the same scene. There is a similar configuration of figures and attributes and even though the state of preservation is poor one notices a cuirassed general and his younger companion on the side again with a large round shield decorated with a bundle of thunderbolts (cat. no. 8.251, Figure 313). On this intaglio the figures are presented as more equal which rather excludes Pompey and his assistant during the *census equites* ceremony. The description of that event suggests that Pompey walked alone without anyone else to carry his weaponry.[332] Besides, on both gems in Berlin and Munich the figures seems equally important and related to each other. Therefore, the question arises whether one is able to identify the figures depicted with someone other than Pompey or not at all?

Coinage is particularly helpful in solving the problem of the identification of the figures. As Kopij states, to some degree a similar scene is presented on the reverse side of a denarius struck by P. Licinius Crassus (86 or 82?-53 BC) in 55 BC where a cuirassed figure stands next to a horse holding him with its right hand and grasping a spear in the left. At its foot there is a shield and perhaps another object (Figure 314).[333] The iconography of this coin proved to be particularly puzzling since scholars do not agree whether the figure depicted is a male or female one.[334] In 55 BC Marcus Licinius Crassus, father of the moneyer, was appointed consul alongside Pompey the Great, while Publius Licinius Crassus was nominated a *censor*. The iconography of his coin could be then a combination referring to the moneyer's family history because his grandfather was appointed *censor* and attended the *census equitum* ceremony in 89 BC and so did his father Marcus in 65 BC. Now, another member of the family became *censor* and will be attending the same ceremony so that the reverse motif could refer to that specific event or, what is more likely, it was a part of family propaganda practiced by Publius Licinius Crassus.[335] Be that as it may, returning to the two glass gems, in the light of the evidence, Vollenweider's interpretation should be rejected and instead I propose to link the two objects with Marcus Licinius Crassus and his son.

Perhaps, the gems show those two exceptional Romans just before their departure for the war with the Parthians since clearly an experienced Roman general with his younger companion are presented on those gems. The shield with a blazon of Jupiter may symbolise the future *spolia* that were supposed to be delivered to Rome after a victorious campaign, or they could stand

[329] Lang 2012: 80-90.
[330] Compare opinions of the two: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1137 and Vollenweider 1969 and 1972-1974: 108-111.
[331] Vollenweider's view that symbols of Jupiter should be connected with Zeus-Ammon and further with Alexander the Great and Pompey himself is a bit far-fetched (1969: 658).
[332] Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 22.4-6.
[333] *RRC*, no. 430/1.
[334] A full range of various hypotheses has recently been presented by Kopij (2017: 104-105).
[335] Babelon 1885/6: 133-134; Kopij 2017: 104.

for Jupiter's blessing and patronage.[336] Alternatively, it could advertise father and son both being appointed the same office (*censor*) and thus, the gems count as family propaganda combined with the transfer of authority from the older to the younger generation. The material used for the two preserved gems suggest they could be distributed to Crassus' followers in order to gain him and his son popularity, splendour and appreciation of their future plans. The style of these objects is purely Roman, with a considerable use of pelleting technique accentuated, for instance, on the small anatomical details and hair of the younger person which excludes the very early dates for the object proposed by Furtwängler. The fact that the gem in Berlin has been reproduced by Cades in Rome and that the example in Munich was once a part of the Paul Arndt collection formed in Rome suggest that they were used or maybe even produced in that city or its neighbourhood. Finally, it is noteworthy that Marcus Licinius Crassus was the first Roman who wore two rings with gems on his fingers at the same time which was considered as an extravagance, but it could be intended to attract the attention of his peers and thus should be regarded as self-promotion.[337] For this reason, it is fairly possible that he and his son engaged in propaganda with the use of engraved gems and the above-described pieces present evidence for that.

8.3.5. Divine and mythological references

In her study of Roman Republican portrait gems, Vollenweider argued that some female busts and heads of various deities, but especially of Victory may in fact represent Roman matrons identifying with those goddesses.[338] According to her, this phenomenon occurred quite early, already in the 2nd century BC which is unacceptable. Although in glyptics women identifying with various deities occurred even in the 3rd century BC, this was a common practice in the Hellenistic world, not the Roman one.[339] In Roman culture this would be an unacceptable manifestation of lack of piety towards the gods (*pietas erga deos*). The situation has changed once Octavian defeated Mark Antony at Actium in 31 BC and when his wife Livia Drusilla started to be promoted as the mother of the Julio-Claudian clan with attributes or within a context identifying her with Venus Genetrix (cf. chapter 10.10). I do not find any reasonably secure evidence for Romans other than Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar promoting their special connections with deities and mythological figures on engraved gems. The evidence for these two political leaders is often vague. This is due to the fact that far more bold connections and even identifications with specific deities was fully developed by the next generation of Roman politicians.

[336] Regarding the described coin, Harlan wondered if it was supposed to symbolise future spolia of a Parthian war (1995: 121-122).
[337] Zwierlein-Diehl 1988: 3467.
[338] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 224-225.
[339] Although, this issue is controversial even there, see: Plantzos 1999: 69-70.

9. Post-Caesarian and Liberators' Civil Wars (from death of Caesar to Octavian's sole rule: 44-27 BC)

9.1. The Pompeians

When Julius Caesar crossed the Rubicon river in 49 BC, thus starting a civil war, Pompey the Great escaped to the East, as did most of the conservative senators. He was followed by his two sons Gnaeus (c. 75-45 BC) and Sextus (67-35 BC). Pompey's army lost the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC, and Pompey himself had to run for his life, only to be murdered in Egypt the same year, while Gnaeus and his brother Sextus united with the resistance against Caesar in Africa. There, they joined forces with Metellus Scipio, Cato the Younger and other senators but all of them were defeated by Caesar at the Battle of Thapsus in 46 BC, yet, the sons of Pompey managed to escape to Spain where they raised another army. Caesar soon followed them and defeated them at the Battle of Munda in 45 BC. A few weeks later, Gnaeus Pompey was killed by Lucius Caesennius Lento, while Sextus Pompey survived for another decade opposing Caesar and his successors until 35 BC. During these years they must have struggled to maintain the number of soldiers and other followers of their father and to recruit new ones. Such a situation required considerable propaganda efforts. Glyptics yields a surprisingly high number of portraits that on the physical and stylistic grounds can be identified with the sons of Pompey the Great. Moreover, there is some evidence that the legend of their great father was exploited through engraved gems by both Gnaeus and Sextus to a considerable degree and that they promoted their own accomplishments too.[1] This, however, is consistent with a general trend - after the death of Caesar all Roman politicians invested much more energy and money in propaganda including many messages transmitted through gems (cf. chapters 9.2, 9.3 and 9.4 below).[2] This obviously provoked a reaction among their followers who tended to carry rings with gems bearing their portraits as well as other subjects relating to the leaders. In this chapter I am going to present the areas and degree of use of glyptics in propaganda actions of the Pompeian faction especially in terms of personal branding, self-promotion and use of family heritage.

9.1.1. Seals of Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey

According to Plutarch, Pompey the Great's signet ring, whatever device it featured, was presented to Julius Caesar alongside to his head when he came to Egypt.[3] Caesar burst into tears when he saw it, but it is a noteworthy fact that he kept the seal so that it could not be used anymore, for instance by one of Pompey's sons. This indeed could have happened since there is no record of Pompey's seal having been used by Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey whatsoever in ancient literary sources or archaeological material.[4] This shows how important personal seals were and the devices presented on them had always some political message or *auctoritas* to transmit by themselves. Caesar certainly was aware of this and he did not wish to support the offspring of his opponent. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the sons of Pompey did not used their own seals. There is no information about Gnaeus' private seal either in ancient literary sources or in archaeological material, but Florus writes the following passage when speaking about Sextus Pompey and his surviving companions escaping at final part of the Battle at Naulochus: '*There had been no such pitiable flight since that of Xerxes; for he who had been but lately lord of three hundred and fifty ships fled with six or seven and with the lights extinguished on his flagship, after throwing his rings into the sea, casting anxious looks behind him, though his only fear was lest he should fail to meet with death.*'[5] The context of the information about the rings is obscure for author could have made a reference to the fetters worn by the rowers, which were removed so that they might make no noise since the description clearly shows the fugitives tried to hide desperately rowing in the darkness. However, Zwierlein-Diehl takes it for granted that the rings or apparently just one ring thrown into the sea was meant to be the signet ring used by Sextus Pompey as his personal seal.[6] Indeed, it appears that Sextus threw his ring away so that he might not be recognized by his pursuers if they captured him. Moreover, a passage from the writing of Saint Ambrose about the punishment of death for the supporters of Brutus and Cassius, who were recognised due to their rings bearing portraits of the leaders of the Republicans, makes one wonder if Sextus's soldiers wore similar rings and threw them away once defeated by Octavian to avoid death (cf. chapter 9.2.2). If the second interpretation is true, like Sulla, Pompey and Caesar before him, the

[1] See, a brief summary of the use of gems for propaganda purposes by the *gens* Pompeia Magna in: Kopij 2017: 261-264, which, however, does not cover all the aspects.
[2] Kopij 2017: 261; Sena Chiesa 2002: 398; Vollenweider 1955: 98 and 109; 1966: 18; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 17.
[3] Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 80.5.
[4] Plantzos 1999: 19.
[5] Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, II.18.
[6] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 14.

son of Pompey would be another prominent Roman politician known to have used a personal seal. There is no information what was engraved upon it but owing to the fact that other such seals always communicated specific propaganda messages and Sextus is attested as encouraging the cutting of portrait gems with his likeness, and maybe even organised a workshop for that purpose (cf. chapters 9.1.2 and 9.1.3), it is fairly likely that his personal seal also featured an image important for him not only from a personal, but also a political point of view.

9.1.2. Possible gem engravers working for the Pompeians

The evidence for Pompey the Great's use of gem engravers' services either while campaigning in the East or in Rome was discussed in sub-chapter 8.1.3 above. It seems that this tradition was continued by his sons, at least by Sextus. In contrast to their father though, there is no direct or indirect proof for Gnaeus or Sextus collecting engraved gems or using them in public events, therefore, there are no separate sub-chapters here devoted to these issues. Ancient literary sources also remain silent about Gnaeus and Sextus commissioning engraved gems, yet the archaeological material preserved up to this day, mostly in public and private collections, suggests that this happened. One of the most famous signed gems from the period of the Post-Caesarian and Liberators' Civil Wars is the carnelian housed now in Berlin presenting the head of a youth with curly hair spreading from one point on the top of the head in a rather untidy manner and a short beard to the right and signed by a Greek artist Agathangelos (cat. no. 9.1, Figure 315). The stone is said to have been found near the tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Road and the portrait it bears is generally recognised as belonging to Sextus Pompey since 1736, mainly due to comparisons with coins (Figure 316).[7] The identification indeed seems correct also if one compares the portrait with the bronze bust preserved in St. Petersburg (Figure 317).[8] All three media seem to present the same head. This image was copied by other artists not only on gemstones, but also in glass which will be discussed below, but the foremost conclusion is that if indeed it depicts Sextus Pompey, it was cut on his own commission and hence, shows that the politician used the services of lapidaries for self-promotion and to raise his social status. Perhaps he aspired to equal his father in patronage of glyptic art.

Going further, Giuliano and Micheli proposed that gems related to the Pompeian faction were produced in the area of Naples but this is unacceptable.[9] The intaglio by Agathangelos is an utterly individual work that cannot be attributed to any specific workshop or region judging by the style only. All one can say about it is that it was executed by a very skilful Greek artist as the portrait exhibits clear bonds with Hellenistic glyptics. The coiffure is wildly organised, even a bit untidy and the physiognomy of the face is approached with individualism. The hairdo is the biggest difference between this image and the one known from the coins mentioned above, however, this probably results from the very private character of the intaglio, while coins required a more official image. It is difficult to say if the gem was cut during Sextus' travels with his father to the East, in Africa, Spain or Sicily. Nevertheless, the last location seems the most plausible giving the fact that the gem is similar to the aureus minted between 42-40 BC when Sextus already resided on the island and this would have been a location convenient for a Greek artist to work. Finally, it was the time when Sextus established more or less stable control over some territory and intensified his propaganda actions. The propagandistic value of Agathangelos' work was considerable. First of all, the portrait is of exceptional quality and cut by a skilful and, most likely, a famous artist. This made a huge impact on Sextus' public image and gained him much splendour as he surrounded himself with the best artists available and probably presented himself as a continuer of his father's traditions. Furthermore, the portrait is bearded which implies another propagandistic action, namely a display of Sextus' *pietas erga patrem* which was clearly a political action. It is believed that the beard was carried by young Romans those days only if it was intended to be a sign of mourning and if he wanted to express the wish to avenge his dead ancestor, in this case Pompey the Great.[10] However, another plausible explanation for this is that the beard was a sign of adolescence and sympathy towards older aristocrats.[11] This was a quite popular practice among young political leaders engaged in the conflict after Caesar's death (cf. chapters 9.2.2, 9.3.1.1, 9.3.1.4 and 9.3.2.3).[12] In any case, the ultimate effect aimed at by Sextus was to stir the emotions of his followers and remind them that he is the sole leader of Pompey's avengers and the task they have towards their previous commander has not been fulfilled yet. Doing that he also indirectly transferred the authority of his father onto himself which was important considering his youth.

As to the continuation of Pompey the Great's legacy, it is argued that the amethyst in St. Petersburg attributed

[7] Furtwängler 1896, no. 6984; 1900, vol. III: 351; Plantzos 1999: 94; Richter 1971, no. 634; Vollenweider 1966: 39; 1972-1974: 154-158; Zazoff 1983: 281-284. However, not all scholars accept this identification, see: *AGDS* II, no. 418; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 123. For coins, see: *RRC*, no. 511/1 (aureus of Sextus Pompey, 42-40 BC).

[8] Kopij 2017: 238; Trunk 2008: 139.

[9] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 33.

[10] Evans 1987: 105-106; Kopij 2017: 238.

[11] For a detailed study of this phenomenon, see: Biedermann 2013; Piegdoń 2012.

[12] See also commentaries of Vollenweider (1972-1974: 147-151 and 169-179).

to the engraver Agathopus depicts Sextus Pompey, not his father.[13] I have already presented arguments contradicting that view and explaining that it seems more likely for Agathopus to be employed by Pompey the Great (cf. chapter 8.1.3). However, one wonders if the gem cutter worked for Sextus Pompey at the later stage of his career. There is a group of gems presenting posthumous images of Pompey which I believe are products of the workshop created and operated by supporters of Sextus Pompey, possibly while he was stationed in Sicily (cf. chapter 9.1.4). Some of those gems are cut in exceptional materials like aquamarine and it is known that Agathopus preferred to use such hard stones for his works. Yet, their attribution to the engraver is speculative from the stylistic point of view and the fact that most of those gems are known only from glass, wax or plaster impressions not original stones.

Regarding other gem engravers potentially working for Sextus Pompey, Zazoff suggested that Aulos cut many gems with maritime subjects, especially those detailing Poseidon/Neptune and because they might be allusions to Pompey the Great's identification with the god, Aulos might have worked for Sextus Pompey as well.[14] This is, however, a very controversial view that will be challenged in the next sub-chapters (cf. especially chapter 9.1.7 below). All in all, Agathangelos remains, so far, the only one good candidate for an artist working under the patronage of Sextus Pompey. The number of ancient copies of his work is striking and suggests that it must have been accessible to many (cf. chapter 9.1.3 below). It is difficult to imagine how other lapidaries could see a small intaglio and copied it so faithfully. The only reasonable explanation is that they were somehow presented with it while working in Agathangelos' workshop. Perhaps also Sextus ostentatiously paraded with Agathangelos' intaglio set in a ring whenever he appeared in a public place like Marius did with a gold ring during his triumph (cf. chapter 7.2.1). The gem by Agathangelos could be then noticed and copied, but it seems more likely that Sextus engaged gem engravers to cut similar portraits and issued them to his loyal followers or to the market himself. So apparently, the preserved copies may bear witness that Sextus organised a sort of 'workshop' carving gems for himself, perhaps while settled down in Sicily. This would not be surprising considering the fact that other contemporary politicians seem to hire gem engravers too (cf. chapters 8.3.1 – Juba I and Juba II, 9.3.1.2 – Octavian and 9.3.2.2 - Mark Antony).

9.1.3. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty

There is a quite large number of portrait gems mainly cut in gemstones but also a few made of glass that can be attributed to Gnaeus Pompey or his brother Sextus. This number is significant especially in comparison to portraits of Sulla, Pompey the Great or Julius Caesar discussed in previous chapters (cf. 7.1.3, 8.1.5 and 8.2.4). It is clear that the use of glyptics for self-presentation, personal branding and manifestation of loyalty, all practices which should be counted as propaganda, intensified very much after Caesar's death. I should stress that often distinguishing between the sons of Pompey is impossible due to a lack of comparative material. However, the evidence is in favour of claiming that most of the portraits listed below present Sextus Pompey rather than his brother as his political career was much shorter and the only moment when he or his supporters could issue gems with his likeness was when in Spain.[15] There are only two portrait gems that might relate to brother's presence in that location, and about a few more one can only speculate (see below). Noteworthy is the fact that in contrast to the previous periods, here, one deals with a considerable variety of portrait types, not only in iconographical, but also typological terms. There are gems presenting solely heads and busts of the Pompeians, but some of them are clearly shown wearing the *paludamentum* suggesting a military context and to others inscriptions were added. Perhaps the most important issue is that there are some gems clearly copying the intaglio cut by Agathangelos. They might testify to the existence of a well-organised workshop producing gems on the order of Sextus Pompey. I shall present and comment on all the evidence below.

Vollenweider argued that there are a few intaglios bearing the image of Gnaeus Pompey and they were possibly executed during the lifetime of his father or shortly after his death (cat. nos 9.2-5, Figures 318).[16] The identification of these portraits is based merely on the head appearing on the reverse of aureus minted by Sextus Pompey in 42-40 BC (Figure 319).[17] The far-reaching similarities between coins and gems raise the question of whether the gems are contemporary to the coins or were executed earlier. In his propaganda, Sextus tended to evoke his father as both a subject of his vengeance and source of inspiration and *auctoritas*.[18] Placing the portrait of his brother together with his father on the mentioned aureus was reasonable if

[13] Neverov 1976, no. 89; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 152-153.
[14] Zazoff 1983: 285-287.
[15] On the problems with the identification of Pompeians' portraits, see: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 152-174. Kopij entirely ignores portrait gems presenting Gnaeus and describes only those few he relates to Sextus (2017: 261-262).
[16] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 160-163.
[17] *RRC*, no. 511/1.
[18] Kopij 2017: 158-172, 288-297, 309-310 and 316.

the issue of vengeance was meant to be addressed. However, putting portraits of his brother alone on gems while he must have intended to promote himself makes little sense. Therefore, one must trust that the portrait of Gnaeus from the aureus is a reliable source and indeed should be used for identification of Gnaeus' portraits on intaglios. It seems reasonable to think that these were cut a bit earlier than the aureus and most plausibly during Gnaeus' and possibly even Pompey's lifetime. Perhaps he was encouraged to promote himself that way by his father while he was still alive since the gem from Berlin collection (cat. no. 9.2, Figure 318) is said to have been found in Rome. It seems possible that the piece was executed for one of the followers of the Pompeian faction. Naturally, a gem like this one could have been used purely for to promote Gnaeus and was surely related to his personal branding. It could have been gifted to someone on the account of Pompey the Great's wishing to make Gnaeus more recognisable as his heir. The other three gems bearing a similar portrait of Gnaeus should be ascribed to the same period as the Berlin gem, but one cannot exclude that all four were issued after Pompey's death in order to strengthen the position of Gnaeus and gather followers of the Pompeian faction around him as well. This might be suggested by the presence of a beard that is traditionally interpreted as a form of elegy and was worn by young Romans in order to express not only sorrow but first and foremost the intention to avenge their dead father or other ancestors.[19] Nevertheless, recently other explanations have been proposed and one of them is to regard this kind of short beard as a sign of adolescence and full potential to undertake military and political missions.[20] Thus, I propose to date the objects in question to c. 50-45 BC because if the first is the case, these gems could have been carved only after 48 BC, but if the latter, the gems could have been cut already within the final years of Pompey the Great's life. All in all, one should regard them as evidence for Gnaeus' (or his father's) integration propaganda practices.

There seems to be some evidence that Gnaeus was promoted or he promoted himself through gems, but what about his brother Sextus? Glyptic material yields some portraits that are first, difficult to distinguish clearly between Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey and second, to date precisely, but most likely they are contemporary with the previously discussed ones. I have collected four portrait busts of the bearded Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey and their common feature is drapery indicated on the shoulders that may be the military cloak – *paludamentum* (cat. nos 9.6-10, Figures 320-321). In this case, the brothers are represented as commanders of the army and this suggests the period when they took control of the Pompeian faction and its loyal legions after the death of their father or that Pompey the Great promoted them as able to command the army together with him because they all travelled together to the East or when still in Rome. The latter option is suggested by the provenance of some gems. One intaglio preserved in Berlin comes from the Heinrich Dressel (1845-1920) collection that was formed from material acquired in Rome. There is also a series of three black glass gems (two now in Berlin and one in Geneva) made from the same matrix presenting the very same motif. These glass gems were also most likely produced in Rome, as they originate from the Philipp von Stosch and Walther Fol cabinets. All of them then were supposedly a part of promotional practices, perhaps even induced or just supported by Pompey the Great in the last years of his life.

The situation changed considerably after death of Pompey the Great in 48 BC when his sons struggled with Caesar and ultimately in 46 BC landed in Spain. There, they must have invested much energy in propaganda to keep their soldiers with them, for instance issuing specific coinage.[21] It seems that similar practices are reflected in glyptics. There are two immensely interesting intaglios, one in Lebrija, the second in Madrid presenting heads of Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey that were recovered from the territory of Spain once controlled by the brothers (cat. nos 9.11-12, Figures 322). One imagines that they could have been issued by Pompey's sons according to their personal branding practices or testify to the manifestation of loyalty and support by their soldiers and supporters. These gems should be quite securely dated to the years 46-45 BC or shortly after, as after the Battle of Munda, Gnaeus was killed by Lucius Caesennius Lento and Sextus managed to keep going for some time in the northern Spain, but ultimately transferred himself and the remains of his army to Sicily.

Turning now to Sextus Pompey alone, I have already discussed the intaglio presenting a portrait probably of him cut by Agathangelos and its propagandistic value above, but it is of crucial importance to mention it here once again due to its considerable impact on other gems showing Sextus' image. Agathangelos' work was most likely executed when Sextus established himself in Sicily and it was a powerful propaganda transmitter. Because it exhibits reliable similarities to the aureus minted in 42-40 BC, the identification is plausible and a date for the gem can be proposed to the same years as to the coin, or it might have been cut slightly earlier. Noteworthy is Vollenweider's observation that there are some gems clearly copying the famous work of Agathangelos.[22] This phenomenon reached a significant scale and I was able to collect 10 intaglios in various

[19] Kopij 2017: 238.
[20] Biedermann 2013; Piegdoń 2012.
[21] Kopij 2017: 170-172 (for Gnaeus) and 198-200 (for Sextus).
[22] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 154-160.

gemstones, one gold ring and one cameo that are direct and quite evident copies of Agathangelos' work or at least have been inspired by it to a considerable degree (cat. nos 9.13-22, Figures 323-327). This fact has several important implications. First of all, it supports the argument for identifying Agathangelos' portrait with Sextus Pompey. On stylistic and iconographic grounds, there is no better candidate and such a considerable number of copies would have been executed only if the original work presented a prominent statesman. Secondly, these copies probably suggest that Sextus established a well organised workshop of gem engravers who produced gems with his likeness in order to raise his popularity and make him more recognisable. Even if one imagines that less close copies of Agathangelos' work were produced on the private commissions of Sextus' followers and supporters, perhaps mostly his soldiers, who manifested their allegiance to his party and loyalty as well as support directly to him, there is still a fairly big group of faithful copies that would not have been created if the source of inspiration had been close enough. If that is the case, their prototype must have been exposed in public so that gem engravers knew their source well. Either way, a considerable propaganda effort must have been undertaken by Sextus Pompey for the creation of so many homogenous gems related to him. Noteworthy is the fact that all the examples listed above are made of gemstones. There is a great variety of gems used so one cannot point to one specific workshop producing all of them as the styles and techniques vary as well. This situation has two further implications. First, there were several engravers of gems producing intaglios based on Agathangelos' work active in Sicily and fulfilling private commissions or working more or less closely with Sextus himself. Secondly, the lack of mass production of glass gems may point to Sicily as the place where those gems were manufactured since this type of glyptic object was not particularly popular on the island which was still under substantial Hellenistic influence in those days. As I have been suggesting throughout this work, in the course of the 1st century BC glass gems were produced mainly in Italy and it is very probable that Rome was the biggest centre of production, which was beyond Sextus' control at the time. This view is also confirmed by series of earlier glass gems presenting portraits of Gnaeus or Sextus that were most likely produced in Rome. Subsequently, a Sicilian origins for the gems in question is also suggested by the presence of one gold ring and one cameo (cat. nos 9.21-22, Figures 326-327). The former was a typical product for south Italian and especially Sicilian territories.[23] It is a controversial piece though because the man's beard reaches further down his neck than in Agathangelos' work, which some scholars think casts doubt on its authenticity.[24] However, this oddity may be due to the personalisation of Sextus' portrait by one of his followers. Perhaps soldiers fighting on the Pompeian side took the image of their leader as an example and based their own portraits on it? This might help us understand why there are so many portraits close to each other from this period which cannot be associated with Gnaeus or Sextus with certainty, but they are similar to each other and less problematic in terms of their genuineness (cat. nos 9.35-58, Figures 333-339). One could say it was because of the current fashion, but the trends were usually created by the leaders or by artists inspired by them. Considering the cameo, this form of object is almost utterly alien to Roman Republican glyptics until Octavian.[25] It was a purely Hellenistic creation and it seems that the one cameo with Sextus' portrait from Copenhagen could have been created only by a Greek artist who migrated to Sicily and worked there when Sextus also resided on the island.[26] Finally, other gem cutters like Heius are attested as working in Sicily and as far as may be judged from Cicero's orations made during the corruption and extortion trial of Gaius Verres, the island was something of a centre for luxury crafts which definitely included engraving of gemstones. Therefore, it is probable that copies of Agathangelos' work were produced in Sicily.

Regarding other portrait gems presenting Sextus Pompey, the carnelian intaglio from New York is highly interesting. It is, again, very similar to Agathangelos' masterpiece, especially as far as the shape of the head, facial expression and nose are concerned, but the hair is arranged on the head in a less wild manner (cat. no. 9.23, Figure 328). Another interesting piece is a chrome-chalcedony now in Rome that exhibits particular similarity to Sextus' image known from his aureus dated to 42-40 BC (cat. no. 9.24, Figure 329).[27] Similar to these two is a sardonyx in London (cat. no. 9.25). Considering the above-mentioned similarities to the work of Agathangelos and coins, I feel confident in dating that group of gems to the years around 42-40 BC and relating them to the circle of Sextus or his supporters. They could have been issued to disseminate the image of the statesman and make him more recognisable or used to manifest loyalty to him.

Objects certainly produced for loyal supporters of Sextus Pompey who wished to manifest their affiliation to his Pompeian party are several gems bearing his portrait accompanied with inscriptions (cat. nos

[23] On the origins, tradition and production of engraved gold rings in this area, see: Boardman 2001; Hansson 2005: 53-54, 63, 71-73 and 100.

[24] Ittai Gradel suspects it might be not ancient (personal communication).

[25] However, see some cameos that possibly depict Pompey the Great and Mark Antony in chapters 8.1.5 and 9.3.1.7 and 9.3.1.10 respectively. Nevertheless, in both cases, they were created only for people visiting or permanently residing in the East and thus, having contact with Hellenistic glyptics.

[26] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 157.

[27] *RRC*, no. 511/1.

9.26-34, Figures 330-332). Most of these are names or abbreviations of their names (both *duo* and *tria nomina*) so that it was clear that they indicated who sympathises with Sextus. Today, they remain anonymous as one may only make more or less educated guesses for which names they stood for. However, one stone bears a particularly intriguing inscription: ΔOMINΩN which probably stands for Latin genitive plural of *dominus* and thus illustrates not allegiance but even the subordination of the gem's sitter to Pompeians faction's leaders (cat. no. 9.30, Figure 331). A counterargument to my hypothesis would be that all these gems are private portraits inscribed with the names of their sitters but let us compare cat. no. 9.26 and cat no. 9.27 – both present exactly the same person, who in all likelihood is Sextus Pompey. Furthermore, a similar phenomenon to the one described here occurs in the case of gems presenting the head of Octavian (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4). Noteworthy is the fact that amongst these gems there is not a single glass one. This supports my presupposition that the majority of gems with portraits of Sextus Pompey were produced while he controlled Sicily, perhaps even in one workshop, even though two of them are now preserved in Rome.[28] It is impossible to discern whether Sextus was directly involved in this process, although some evidence points to that, or that this phenomenon was entirely a bottom-up initiative of his supporters and soldiers. It is also worth mentioning that in all three groups discussed above all the portraits are bearded and this is consistent with representations of Sextus known from coins. It seems that also in glyptics one of the key rules for Sextus' portraits was now definitely to highlight his mourning for his murdered father and brother and his wish to avenge both of them which basically comes down to an expression of his *pietas* towards his family members. Judging by the portraits themselves, it is difficult to propose specific dates for all the intaglios amassed in this group. Most likely they are contemporary with the previously described gems (c. 45-40 BC) although, some might be of later date and the *terminus ante quem* for them is the death of Sextus in 35 BC.

Studying portrait gems is very problematic due to limited comparative material in media other than glyptics. Therefore, the reader should take identifications and dates proposed for the groups of gems discussed above as suggestions not definite identifications. Nevertheless, all those objects appear more or less homogenous because of their individual features (inscriptions, iconographic detail or portrait type and style) rather than the overall appearance of the portrait itself. For these reasons I believe they could be related to Sextus Pompey and his propaganda activities. But there are many more problematic specimens (cat. nos 9.35-47, Figures 333-335). It is clear that all of them are cut in the same tradition as the previously described intaglios and bear the same type of portrait of a young and bearded man. However, their links with coins of Sextus Pompey are considerably weaker and they do not copy Agathangelos' masterpiece. Thus, it is difficult to say if they depict Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey and some might not be related to them at all.[29] Very little can be said about the provenance of these intaglios, but a striking fact is that except for one piece (cat. no. 9.41), they are all made of hardstones. Perhaps one should consider here a new phenomenon that is the imitation of a famous politician's image by his followers. For instance, the fact that Sextus Pompey wore a beard in order to manifest his plans to avenge his father and brother could be influential and members of the Pompeian party started to do the same. Moreover, they could commission private gems to be cut in a similar way to those presenting their patron and idol alike. This practice should be counted as propaganda and as evidence for successful actions taken by Sextus Pompey himself. The considerable production and distribution of gems with his portraits proved to have a significant impact on others. If some of Sextus' followers were gifted or commissioned gems with his image and used them as tokens of their sympathy to the commander, other people may have wished to do the same. As a result, Sextus' image quickly became widespread making him more recognisable and the integration of the group of his peers intensified. Perhaps sometimes the original depiction of Sextus distorted considerably as there were not many sources (in sculpture and coinage) for artists to draw their inspiration. Accordingly, some gems could be made by poorly skilled engravers unable to execute better art or to copy the image more faithfully. Consequently, today one cannot tell if some gems featuring portraits similar to those of Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey do indeed depict them or not, but it does not mean the object circulated in antiquity in a completely different environment to the one we imagine today. It was probably much easier to decipher it and make a specific and certain association. These might be plausible explanations for the existence of so many portrait gems close to those which undoubtedly bear Gnaeus' or Sextus' images. As to the dates of the gems under discussion, one can only propose a relatively wide chronological framework spanning from 45 to 35 BC. Even though there is some reference material in terms of coinage of Sextus from the period of 40-35 BC, it is not very helpful as the similarities between glyptics and coins are not as striking as before.[30] Perhaps one

[28] Cat. nos. 9.26 and 9.27. Having no knowledge as to the provenance of these two gems, whether they were discovered in Rome or just included in the museums located there we cannot decide if they were produced outside Sicily. Besides, those gems could have travelled to Rome in later periods too since intaglios tended to be used for a considerable amount of time.

[29] See a fruitful discussion on this problem in: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 163-168.

[30] Kopij 2017: 263.

should follow Vollenweider and also propose to extend dates for the copies of Agathangelos' work to the early 30s BC?[31] It would have been strange if Sextus or his supporters stopped issuing gems with his portraits just after 40 BC, however, because Sextus' resources on Sicily gradually dwindled, which is observable for instance in the quality of the coins he produced, the same could be the case for intaglios and cameos. As luxury art, they were produced when Sextus' resources were abundant, but when they were limited, he must have restrained or even ceased entirely from using this art form for his propaganda.

Finally, it is noteworthy to stress that some portraits which at first glance show resemblances to those of Gneus and especially Sextus Pompey listed above certainly present people contemporary with the leaders of the Pompeian faction, though some scholars suggest otherwise (cat. nos 9.48-58, Figures 336-339).[32] A very good example of that is a nicolo gemstone carved with a portrait of a young, bearded man with a prow in front of him (cat. no. 9.54, Figure 338). He was first recognised as Sextus Pompey and this identification was strengthened by the prow alluding to his successes in naval battles.[33] However, Weiß has recently convincingly argued that this image belonged to a private person who might have been an admiral in the Roman navy.[34] The same applies to another young fleet admiral presented on a carnelian intaglio now in London (cat. no. 9.55, Figure 339). It is perhaps due to the strong resonance of portrait gems with other propaganda (coins, sculpture) which considerably popularised Sextus' image, especially among soldiers. They could follow their leader, for instance, when also wearing the mourning beard as this would be the sort of phenomenon through which they expressed the same feelings towards Pompey the Great's death or imitated Sextus' coiffure. The more ambitious and wealthy (admirals or high-rank officers) could also follow the new leader (Sextus) in having had their own portraits cut upon gemstones. Both activities strengthened the bonds between Sextus' followers, so that glyptics proves particularly important in the integration propaganda of the Pompeian faction.

9.1.4. Use of heritage

While discussing portraits of Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey appearing on intaglios and cameos, coins proved to be exceptionally useful for both identifying and dating their portraits. They are equally useful for identifying, dating and even interpreting a few more gems related, I believe, to Sextus Pompey and his next propaganda activity. After the Battle of Munda, Sextus managed to escape Caesar and his supporters to northern Spain and he reached Massalia in southern Gaul. There, in 44 BC, the news of the death of Caesar reached him. Initially, he negotiated with the Senate to come to Rome, but the Caesarian faction was quicker and captured the city. Sextus therefore decided to transfer himself with the rest of his army to Sicily. Already while in Massalia or shortly after his landing in Sicily (44-43 BC), a small, but immensely interesting series of denarii was minted by Sextus Pompey and Q. Nasidius that on the obverse side present the head of Pompey the Great surrounded by symbols of Neptune – trident and dolphin. It was struck in two variants with different images on the reverse sides (Figure 340).[35] Surprisingly, one finds very similar compositions on two intaglios that must have been inspired by these coins. The first one is in Chatsworth and is cut upon a beautiful and rare aquamarine, a stone type very suitable for a marine subject due to its colour and name. It presents exactly the same head of Pompey the Great with *anastole* coiffure and a dolphin beneath,[36] while the second is in Bern and depicts more schematically carved, but still the very same head of Pompey the Great with a dolphin beneath and a star with a trident in the field (cat. nos 9.59-60, Figures 341-342).

Vollenweider did not decide whether these two intaglios should be linked with the propaganda practices of Pompey the Great and promotion of his bonds with Neptune, even identification with the god or whether they should be considered as posthumous portraits related to the coins of Sextus.[37] I believe the gems in question were a part of Sextus' not Pompey's propaganda and coins indeed are particularly helpful for proving that. But first of all, I should remark that according to my research, there is virtually no evidence for Pompey using gems to reflect his alluding to or identification with Neptune. Secondly, it is known that the coins of Sextus Pompey and Q. Nissidius were minted

[31] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 156-160.

[32] Vollenweider attributed many more portrait gems to Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey than I do but I believe that some of them depict other people, compare, for instance: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pls. 74.2-4, 7-10 and 12; 117.1-2; 118.6; 119.2; 120. 1 and 6; 122.2-4 and 6-7; 124.1 and 5; 125.1 and 4-7; 126.1-3. This does not mean that she ignored the problem of identification, on contrary, she took it into account too, see: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 169-173. Nevertheless, the identification of portrait gems with historical figures is always problematical and can be distorted by personal experience and judgments. Therefore, it is inevitable to make mistakes. I am fully aware that many of my identifications might seem controversial to others, even though I tried to base them on arguments not related only to the portraits themselves but also to other factors (e.g. provenance, type of material used, potential political significance etc. see above).

[33] Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.39; Lippold 1922, pl. LXXI.11; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 113.9.

[34] Weiß 2009, no. 3.

[35] *RRC*, nos. 483/1-2: the first bears two pairs of ships on the reverse, while the second, a crewed single ship with a star in the field.

[36] Noteworthy is also a modern copy of this gem, also in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire in Chatsworth, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 928. Sometimes it is erroneously considered as a copy of another, lost aquamarine gem, see: Kopij 2017: 262; Trunk 2008, no. G.9a.

[37] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 116.

on a very specific occasion. There is a heated debate on the possible dates and meaning of the iconography the coins bear,[38] but ultimately, it seems that one creates the best explanation by combining the views of Crawford, Morawiecki, Trunk and Kopij. The coins were issued in a relatively small series due to particular circumstances (Sextus' limited sources of silver while in Massalia) and the iconography perfectly corresponds with the needs of both moneyers. Q. Nissidius highlighted his connection with Neptune as his father had been the commander of the Pompeians' fleet serving Pompey the Great and the moneyer could do the same for Sextus. On the other hand, Sextus by placing the head of his father surrounded with symbols of Neptune on the coin was replying to Octavian's propaganda since his opponent had started to promote himself as the son of divine Julius Caesar.[39] This is one of the most explicit examples of counterpropaganda practices in the history of Roman propaganda. Following this logic, it is clear that the two above-mentioned intaglios were produced for the same reason. Although, they do not exactly copy the images from coins, the differences are insignificant and can be ignored. The message encoded is the same: Sextus issues gems of this kind to show his connections with his deified father through his identification with Neptune just as Octavian had with deified Julius Caesar. The gems in question in fact fit a more general trend of Sextus' counterpropaganda to Octavian's moves as will be shown later. It is noteworthy that those intaglios are evidence for the reception of Pompey the Great's portrait and propaganda too and when one turns to Octavian, one observes exactly the same practices applied by him as well (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1).

It remains disputable when and where exactly the two intaglios in question were produced, but I presume that the most plausible moment was 43 BC when Sextus was already in Sicily. He was appointed *praefectus classis et orae maritimae* by the Senate that year, thus, it seems reasonable for him to highlight his connection with Neptune, but not directly, as it might have been a counterproductive move. Rather, he used his father as an intermediary, which was a more secure option and still a response to the propaganda practices of other Roman political leaders struggling for power.[40] Gems of this kind might have been gifted to loyal servants of Sextus Pompey and their small number suggest that they were given only to a selected group which only strengthens their propagandistic value. Perhaps the recipients were the veterans who had served his father and their fidelity was appreciated by the young commander that way. At the same time coins, so similar to these gems, were distributed to finance ordinary soldiers who fought on Sextus Pompey's side.[41] One imagines that in doing this Sextus showed that loyalty will be rewarded in the future too, which motivated his followers and integrated his party and army, as well as promoting himself as the son of deified Pompey. Such communications surely strengthened the morale of his supporters. The gems described here were powerful propaganda tools which exhibit the application of several sophisticated propaganda techniques such as comparison with a divine patron or even identification with him and especially the transfer of *auctoritas* from father to son.

Finally, the gems in question constitute further evidence for my claim that Sextus employed gem engravers to cut propaganda gems for him. They could have travelled with him from Spain, where I referred to the two portrait gems with the image of his brother or himself (cf. chapter 9.1.3 above), through Massalia to Sicily, where they finally could work in better conditions producing larger quantities of portrait and propaganda gems. Judging by some differences in composition, iconography and especially the styles of the gems from Chatsworth and Bern, it is clear they were cut by two different artists. This supports my view that Agathangelos worked for Sextus when he arrived in Sicily and other gem engravers could have done so in a well-organised workshop already in the 40s BC. Perhaps the workshop was still active in the early 40s BC. This would explain why there are so many copies of Agathangelos' work.

Another object clearly related to the reception of Pompey the Great's image, both in the visual and propaganda sense, by his son Sextus is a lost gem known only from its impression executed by Tommaso Cades in the first half of the 19th century (cat. no. 9.61, Figure 343). It presents the head of Pompey to the right flanked by *lituus* and *capis*. The gem faithfully copies the obverse of one of the coins issued by Sextus just after his arrival to Sicily (Figure 344).[42] As far as one can judge from the preserved impression, the stone appears genuine.[43] Much more problematic is another impression from Verona. In this case one cannot decide if the gem was ancient or not as it literally mirrors the above-mentioned coin of Sextus in a very shallow engraving (cat. no. 9.62, Figure 345).[44] Here again Sextus

[38] See: Kopij 2017: 182-186.

[39] Kopij 2017: 182-186; Morawiecki 1989: 90-96; *RRC*, nos. 483/1-2; Trunk 2008: 128-131.

[40] However, see some other possibilities: Trunk 2008: 148; Kopij 2017: 262.

[41] Kopij 2017: 185-186.

[42] *RRC*, no. 511/3 (denarius of Sextus Pompey, 42 BC). See also a detailed discussion of this issue in: Kopij 2017: 186-190.

[43] Some scholars doubt that, see: Trunk 2008: 148; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 116. However, compare this gem with earlier examples of Pompey's portraits (cat. nos. 8.17-26, figs. 184-189) and it is clear that it is an ancient piece.

[44] The distinction between ancient and not ancient intaglios and cameos is sometimes problematic. Regarding Sextus Pompey's potential exploitation of his father's legend in glyptics, one should mention a plaster impression made by Tommaso Cades after an unknown gem featuring head of Pompey the Great with triskeles and inscription SEX•POM•. This one is clearly a post-classical creation and

is transferring the *auctoritas* of his father to himself the high level of which has been highlighted here through accompanying symbols of the augurate. It remains a mystery whether Sextus is referring to his father as an augur or to his own augurate, but most likely he is referring to both; he could demonstrate that like his father he was also appointed to this special and highly esteemed office. It seems reasonable to date the object (or objects) to the same year or slightly later than the coins (c. 42 BC). This is another intaglio (or intaglios) that was most likely produced in the workshop organised by Sextus in Sicily and another one that drew inspiration from contemporary coinage. The fact that so many motifs and portraits exhibit considerable similarities to coins of Sextus only strengthens the hypothesis that he could control or at least substantially influence and encourage production of propaganda gems exploiting themes focused on his father, his brother and himself.

Apart from the beard carried by Sextus Pompey, his *pietas* towards his father and later also his brother was cherished and demonstrated in his use of coins when he put their images on them. It is now clear that the gems discussed in this sub-chapter were produced for the same purpose. Like the coins, their propagandistic value must have been considerable. It was perhaps regarded a great honour to receive such a gem from Sextus or use it on one's own initiative but with his approval. Either way, Sextus Pompey was a conscious user of glyptic art for propaganda purposes to the highest degree among all Roman statesmen discussed so far.

9.1.5. Promotion of the faction

In the two previous sub-chapters I have discussed portraits of Sextus Pompey as well as those of his brother and father that he most likely promoted on gems. There could be various motivations for such a considerable production of those gems like personal branding, transfer of *auctoritas*, comparison to a prominent ancestor and so on and all are propagandistic in character. As consistently proposed in this book, many portrait gems bearing images of famous politicians like Julius Caesar, Pompey the Great and his sons etc. could be commissioned by their supporters, including soldiers, to manifest their loyalty to them. Even if they did not wish to show their direct link with a political leader, it is also quite probable that those gems were produced to mark one's allegiance to a specific faction. Furthermore, gems were possibly used to mark one's identity as a member of the Pompeian faction and thus to promote it. Such a view has already been proposed by Vollenweider and I believe she is right.[45] It is especially applicable to the period after the death of Julius Caesar. As one sees here, there is a considerable production of portrait gems of Sextus Pompey and his brother Gnaeus. Many of them are difficult to attribute to a specific person and date with precision, but it is clear that one reason for this is that official portraits were copied by less skilful artists on private commissions. These artists distorted the original image during the production process. Coins, sculpture and gems alike were presumably their sources of inspiration. It is clear from other periods of Roman glyptics that gems were used to mark one's allegiance to a specific community and carrying a ring with the image of a specific politician could be a part of this process. It is known from literary sources that gems with portraits of philosophers were used to manifest one's views or membership of a specific philosophical school. In the 2nd century AD Clement of Alexandria suggests which motifs are suitable for Christian to have on their rings so that they could manifest their religion.[46] Because there are so many Pompeians' portrait gems it is likely that they were produced for a similar purpose. This is a part of integration propaganda intendedto create bonds between a propagandist (in this case Sextus Pompey) and his followers as well as between the followers too. I do not find any other subjects on gems that could be used for a similar purpose except for some variants of symbolic constellations which will be discussed later (cf. chapter 9.1.8).

9.1.6. Commemoration

In his study of propaganda practices of the members of *gens Pompeia Magna*, Kopij remarked that Sextus Pompey used to issue gems commemorating his military and other successes.[47] It is a well-established view that some maritime subjects, especially Scylla killing one of Odysseus' companions, may represent or allude to the naval victories of Sextus Pompey in his clashes with Octavian's fleet, for instance the one at Messina in 38 BC or another at Naulochus in 36 BC.[48] In this sub-chapter, I would like to challenge this view and suggest other, perhaps more plausible explanations for this kind of iconography and consequently re-evaluate Sextus' propaganda emitted on gems.

The first thing to notice is that the subject of Scylla indeed appears on the coinage of Sextus Pompey where the creature wields a rudder with both hands.[49] This iconography is used for the denarii dated by Crawford to 42-40 BC who claims that they commemorated the fact that in 43 BC the Senate granted Sextus the office of *praefectus classis et orae maritimae* and also his naval victory over Q. Salvidienus Rufus in 42 BC after which

it copies the coin of Sextus minted ca. 38-37 BC (Trunk 2008, no. G11).

[45] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 155.

[46] For a more detailed discussion of these issues, see: Lang 2012: 105-106; Spier 2007: 15; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 16-17.

[47] Kopij 2017: 263-264.

[48] See, for instance: Vollenweider 1966: 20-21.

[49] *RRC*, nos. 511/4a-d (denarii of Sextus Pompey, 42-40 BC).

Sextus was acclaimed *imperator* for the second time (Figures 346-347).[50] According to Crawford, this was propaganda coinage aiming to show his takeover of Sicily, identification with Neptune and continuation of a programme maybe already established while Sextus was in Messalia issuing coins (and gems) with his father surrounded with Neptune symbols on the obverse and a ships with some symbolism like a star on the reverse (cf. chapter 9.1.5 above).[51] However, it has been recently established that these coins should be dated a bit later to c. 38 BC and related to the second battle at Scylleum and the times when Sextus was already well settled in Sicily since on the reverse side of those denarii is the Pharos of Messana – the main base of Sextus' fleet.[52] The propagandistic message encoded on those coins would be the presentation of Sextus' considerable naval power under the auspices of Neptune[53] or the general protection of Neptune over Sextus and his naval victories illustrated here by Scylla demolishing the ships of his enemies. Moreover, Kopij also rightly observes some shift in Sextus' propaganda claiming that these coins represent subjects relating specifically to Sextus, not to his father as before.[54]

Whatever the exact date and reason for minting those coins, it is striking to observe that Scylla appears in glyptics on a number of intaglios traditionally linked with the above-mentioned coinage.[55] However, there are a good number of reasons to think about it another way. The key to solving the problem is a deep analysis of all known gems representing this particular motif. I should start by asking why only the second type known from coins exists on gems, whereas the first one is absent. Furthermore, the fundamental difference between the image applied on coins and that on gems is that on coins Scylla is presented alone, while on gems it is always shown as just about to kill one or sometimes even two of Odysseus' companions whom she holds in her tentacle-like legs (cat. nos 9.63-80, Figures 348-352). Another important observation is that these gems differ in quality, styles and techniques. Vollenweider was able to attribute the intaglio in Venice to Hyllos, son of the famous gem engraver Dioscurides and dated his work to 30s BC (cat. no. 9.63, Figure 348),[56] and another carnelian gem in Geneva is cut in a perfect style, quite close to Hyllos' work too (cat. no. 9.64, Figure 349). Noteworthy is the fact that there are only three more gemstone intaglios showing the subject: one housed in Verona (cat. no. 9.65), the second in Paris (cat. no. 9.66) and the third was found by Sir Arthur Evans in Zadar, Dalmatia (cat. no. 9.67). All the other examples (13 in total, cat. nos 9.68-80, Figures 349-352) that I was able to collect are made of glass of various types. Noteworthy is that one of them was found in Aquileia (cat. no. 9.68), while another come from collections that were most likely created in Rome (cat. nos 9.69-79, Figures 350-351). A notable exception is a glass gem now in Malibu that is said to have come from Syria (cat. no. 9.80, Figure 352). Since I have already established that Sextus Pompey issued gems with his image almost only on gemstones, it is puzzling that so many gems presenting Scylla are made of glass and most likely originate from Italy, maybe Rome and Aquileia specifically – in any case, territories out of Sextus' control. Furthermore, as pointed out above, the gems form a heterogenous group in terms of their stylistic features. It is evident that they were created over decades and some might be securely dated to the times of Augustus. This would obviously preclude them from forming part of a specific, short and intensive propaganda action performed by Sextus Pompey in Sicily. Moreover, while discussing Sextus' portrait gems and those of the Pompeians I showed that they probably ceased to be produced shortly after 40 BC. It seems that due to limited financial resources, Sextus stopped investing in propaganda through gems and focused on his coinage only (cf. chapter 9.1.3).

Actually, a good explanation for the popularity of Scylla on gems dated broadly to the second half of the 1st century as well as in other forms of art was proposed by Sena Chiesa and Spier. They believe that the dynamic composition based on diagonal axes points to a Hellenistic prototype in sculpture, most likely created in Pergamon.[57] It is possible that gems specifically were inspired by the sculptural group showing Scylla assaulting Odysseus' ship found in the Sperlonga grotto.[58] Alternatively, the subject may derive from the painting by Nicomachus that was transferred to Rome as Pliny informs us.[59] Either way, it seems that gem engravers created all the intaglios listed above on their own initiative in various workshops spread across Italy and beyond, but there is no evidence suggesting that some of them were produced in Sicily on Sextus Pompey's command. The example found in Aquileia best testifies that gems with this subject were crafted in large production centres unconnected to any specific political figure. Besides, the popularity of Scylla on gems was due to the fact that maritime subjects were widely popular in glyptics in those days (Hyllos preferred them). This was a general trend and gem engravers often took their inspiration from sculpture or paintings.[60] It is fairly possible then, that Scylla as

[50] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 48.19.1; *RRC*: 521. The coinage in question exists in two types both employing Scylla on the reverse: *RRC*, nos. 511/2a-c and 511/4a-d (denarii of Sextus Pompey, ca. 38 BC).
[51] *RRC*: 739.
[52] For an extensive discussion of this issue, see: Kopij 2017: 196-198; Morawiecki 2014: 93.
[53] Morawiecki 1989: 97-98.
[54] Kopij 1989: 197-198.
[55] See, the most recent study of this phenomenon in Massaro 2009.
[56] Vollenweider 1966: 70-71.
[57] Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 749; Spier 1992, no. 422 (with further literature on the Pergamene sculpture).
[58] Sena Ciesa, Magni and Tassinari 2009, no. 535.
[59] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXV.109; Toso 2007: 213.
[60] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 330-333 and 342-345; Plantzos 1999: 96.

shown on the second type of Sextus Pompey's coinage and on the gems are connected due to the common source of inspiration – a sculptural group - while they do not share the same propagandistic value. What is more, due to the fact that Octavian is undoubtedly presented in glyptics as Neptune, one may think that the glass gems possibly originating from Rome may have been created for him rather than for Sextus and would have been counterpropaganda to Sextus' actions undertaken through coins. This issue will be further developed later (cf. chapters 9.3.1.7 and 9.3.1.8). To conclude, although coins are often indicative for propaganda messages on gems at this time, in this case they just seem to share a source of inspiration, rather than the precise meaning.

Concerning commemoration of important events on gems, Vollenweider proposed that intaglios and cameos were often cut to immortalize marriages, especially those presenting busts or heads of a man and woman confronted.[61] This is certainly true, and she interpreted one red jasper gem in a private collection as showing Gnaeus Pompey and his wife Claudia Pulchra (cat. no. 9.81, Figure 353). However, according to the stone type, style of engraving and especially woman's coiffure, this piece should be dated to the 2nd century AD thus, under no circumstances it should be linked with the Pompeian faction or Gnaeus Pompey specifically. I do not find any other examples of portraits of this kind on gems from the second half of the 1st century, which allows me to doubt Vollenweider's theory even more.

9.1.7. Divine and mythological references

Even though some ancient writers often presented Sextus Pompey as the commander of pirates and outlaws, who had nothing of the *auctoritas* of his father, a favourite of Neptune,[62] it is an undeniably fact that at some point in his political career, Sextus proclaimed himself as *Neptuni filius* and compared himself to the sea god.[63] This was a deliberate propaganda action aimed at raising his authority and popularity among the people who had followed his father.[64] As Morawiecki observed, the identification of Sextus with Neptune widely circulated in literature and coinage,[65] and consequently, some scholars wonder if the same could have happened in glyptics.[66] One of the strongest voice in the discussion was Vollenweider who claimed that some gems presenting maritime subjects such as Neptune riding a *biga* of hippocamps (cat. nos 9.82-85, Figures 354-357) or representations of tritons (cat. nos 9.86-89, Figure 358), should be associated with Sextus Pompey and his propaganda. They would account to the technique aimed at raising his authority and confirming that he is under the protection and enjoys the support of the god very much like his father.[67] Some scholars followed this view,[68] while others proposed to link these subjects to Octavian and, especially, the celebrations of his great victory at Actium.[69] I believe the latter hypothesis to be much closer to the truth since there is some direct evidence in glyptics that Octavian identified with Neptune and the unusually large format, exceptional style and complex iconography of the gems listed above are much closer to Augustan classicism. Still, the most convincing explanation for me is that those gems were produced because of a general trend in Roman art that had started by the late 2nd century BC and was related to the growing importance of the sea alongside Roman expansion in the Mediterranean basin (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8 and 10.7).[70] The maritime subjects involving Neptune, Tritons, Nereids etc. were extremely popular as testified not only by the existence of the aforementioned large intaglios, either in gemstones and glass, but also of insignificant small stones that were used by ordinary people.[71] The fact that many of them were found in Aquileia – a huge glyptic centre producing gems on a massive scale but uncontrolled and not influenced by any of the key politicians at the time – only supports the view that if any of the gems with maritime subjects encoded some political messages, these could be only those related to Octavian, not Sextus Pompey.[72] I do not find even the slightest evidence for Sextus Pompey promoting himself as Neptune through engraved gems. It seems that he mainly used coins for his propaganda activities in this respect which is consistent with my theory that because of limited financial sources, shortly after 40 BC he directed his propaganda efforts primarily to coinage rather than other art forms. It is more likely that Octavian responded to Sextus' propaganda in coinage with his own counterpropaganda, which was organised on a much bigger scale due to his considerable financial means so that it included glyptic art as well (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7).

9.1.8. Political symbols

In the sub-chapter on political symbols related to Pompey the Great I argued that similarities between

[61] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 208-211.
[62] Berdowski 2015: 27-75; Morawiecki 2014: 61-62.
[63] Barcaro 2008/2009: 211 and 217.
[64] Morawiecki 2014: 86-99. For a very detailed study of this problem, see: Berdowski 2015. See also Kopij 2017, passim.
[65] Morawiecki 2014: 86-99; Zanker 1988: 39-40 and 44.
[66] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 31-32; Zazoff 1983: 285 and 293.
[67] Vollenweider 1966: 20-21.
[68] For example: Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 31-32; Kagan and Neverov 2000, no. 29/10; Kopij 2017: 263-264 (however, he stresses that because similar symbolism was used by Octavian and Mark Antony in their propaganda practices, it is difficult to tell if the discussed gems should be linked to Sextus Pompey) Zazoff 1983: 285 and 293.
[69] Toso 2007: 209-210; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 121.
[70] On this particular matter, see: Gołyźniak 2019.
[71] See some examples: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos. 399-400 and 1167 (Nereid on hippocamp, signed by Dalion); Richter 1971, nos. 226-230; Tomaselli 1993, nos. 69-70; Tomaselli *et al.* 1987, no. G.22; Walters 1926, nos. 1297-1299, 2725 and 2738; Weiβ 1996, no. 111; 2007, nos. 214-216; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1077; 1986, nos. 346-350.
[72] For gems found in Aquileia, see: Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 515-522.

gems and coins are sometimes only superficial and in fact, symbolic gems were not exploited for propaganda purposes by Pompey and his contemporaries as extensively as it would at first seem. In the case of Sextus Pompey one is probably not in a much better position to claim that symbolic gems were significantly involved in his propaganda.

Sextus identified himself with Neptune and reflections of that phenomenon are clearly visible in his coinage. The issues minted directly by him or on his behalf often involve maritime subjects. One of them is a ship or groups of ships that appear on some coins related to his fleet (Figure 359).[73] This motif also gained great popularity on gems in the 1st century BC. Sena Chiesa proposes that this as well as some other naval themes should be linked with the propaganda of the main political figures (Sextus Pompey, Octavian, Mark Antony, Marcus Iunius Brutus and so on) active after Julius Caesar's death.[74] Perhaps indeed some of those gems could be related to the propaganda of Sextus and his soldiers could have used them as tokens manifesting their allegiance to his faction (cat. no. 9.90, Figure 360), but I do not find any object that would bear any specific emblem or symbol indicating a connection with him. It must be stressed that gems with such iconography could also illustrate someone's profession or affiliation to a naval military unit that did not necessarily serve Sextus and many are inscribed with the names of their sitters (cat. no. 9.91, Figure 361). In those circumstances, it is highly speculative to claim that specific gems were related to Sextus. However, sometimes the inscription and iconography combined may point to the allegiance of the gem's sitter to the Pompeian faction as in the case of a chalcedony intaglio bearing a set of symbols consisting of a dolphin, rudder, cornucopia and globe and inscription: AGAPOM in which case POM may stand for Pompey (*Pompeius*) (cat. no. 9.92, Figure 362).[75]

Another interesting subject is the Pharos of Messana motif appearing on another coin issued by Sextus Pompey as it was the main port where his fleet was stationed (Figure 363).[76] There is a series of glass gems presenting a similar motif that could have been issued by Sextus Pompey after his victory over Octavian's fleet near Messana in 38 BC (cat. nos 9.93-94, Figure 364). However, as Weiß rightly points out, although such an explanation is not impossible, gems with the lighthouse motif could be used as personal amulets bringing good luck and help in safe navigation to port.[77] The latter option is perhaps more plausible since none of the gems bear exactly the same image as the coins and more importantly, Sextus does not seem to have had access to workshops producing glass gems while in Sicily. Furthermore, in contrast to Sulla, Julius Caesar or Augustus, Sextus did not promote any specific programme of restoration of the Roman Republic that would concentrate on some collective goals so that its reflections would be visible in art. The two examples discussed here illustrate how hard it is to identify propaganda subjects on gems due to the multiple explanations of their iconography. The political explanation is usually not the most plausible.

9.1.9. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda

There is no proof whatsoever that the members of the Pompeian faction and its leaders produced or commissioned State Cameos or carved vessels. Similarly, there is no record in literary sources testifying that Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey were engaged in religious propaganda. It seems that they did not follow their father who had offered collections of gems to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. This is most likely because during their political careers they were constantly on the move and even when Sextus settled in Sicily, he does not seem to have had sufficient financial means to start collecting gems or commissioning luxurious products. In fact, in his case such activities would have been counterproductive since his soldiers would have been disgusted by any ostentatious manifestation of wealth given the conditions they were themselves facing under Sextus' command.

9.2. The Republicans

After the Ides of March 44 BC, the uproar among the population against the assassins of Julius Caesar caused Marcus Iunius Brutus (85-42 BC) and the conspirators to leave Rome. Brutus settled in Crete from 44 to 42 BC, while Quintus Cassius Longinus (85-42 BC) established his governance over the eastern provinces. These two became key figures of the Republican party that continued its politics against the successors of Caesar. When the news from the Senate that neither Octavian nor Mark Antony had an army large enough to defend Rome reached Brutus in 42 BC, he called his fellow assassin and they soon landed in Italy to march on Rome starting the Liberator's Civil War. They clashed with the Caesarians twice in the engagement known as the Battle of Philippi. In the first fight, although Brutus managed to overcome Octavian, Cassius was defeated by Mark Antony's forces and consequently committed suicide. The second fight was a disaster for Brutus who managed to flee from the battlefield alive but committed suicide shortly after.

[73] *RRC*, nos. 483/1-2 (denarii of Sextus Pompey and Q. Nisidius, 44-43 BC).
[74] Sena Chiesa 2012: 260-261.
[75] See also commentary to this issue in: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 226.
[76] *RRC*, nos. 511/4a-d (denarii of Sextus Pompey, 42-40 BC).
[77] Weiß 2007, no. 637.

In the very short period of time between 44 and 42 BC there seems not to have been enough time and financial means for a considerable production of propaganda gems on the Republicans' side. We have no information about the personal seal of Brutus, Cassius or any other member of the Republicans. On the one hand, this may be totally accidental as a considerable amount of ancient literature simply did not survive, but on the other hand, it may suggest that these politicians did not treat glyptics as a valuable medium for the transmission of their propaganda messages. In the case of other statesmen like Sulla, Pompey, Caesar or Octavian/Augustus there are several ancient writers describing or at least mentioning their seals and, in their cases, the archaeological material in the form of gems transmitting propaganda supports that information. Coinage seems the medium on which the Republicans concentrated the most as it was probably the easiest way to reach the masses, especially soldiers.[78] Nevertheless, the fact that within a short period of time so many gems with portraits of Brutus and Cassius were manufactured suggests that their followers used to commission or buy them at the market in order to demonstrate their affinity with the Republican party. In the early stages of his political career, Brutus wisely used to evoke his legendary ancestors - Lucius Iunius Brutus (first consul of Rome) and Servilius Ahala, and referred to Libertas in his coinage.[79] It is often the case that propaganda reflected in coinage also, at least partially, appears in glyptics, but I do not observe the above-mentioned figures appearing in large quantities (if at all) in glyptics.[80] Shortly after the assassination of Caesar, Brutus, when already in Greece, issued another series of coins alluding to his famous ancestors, but this time he paired Lucius Iunius Brutus with himself, while other representatives of the Republican faction had Libertas, Apollo and Victory on their coinage.[81] Among these themes, only the portraits of a party's leaders are produced in greater quantities on intaglios which might have had some propagandistic value. In this chapter, I am going to examine all possible traces of the Republicans' propaganda activities reflected on intaglios and cameos. This will include a re-evaluation of previous scholarship that often overuses the term 'propaganda'.

9.2.1. Possible gem engravers working for the Republicans

Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey probably used the services of gem engravers in order to produce propaganda gems, mostly those bearing their own images. What is more, it is likely that when Sextus settled in Sicily, he organised a gem workshop operating at least for several years after his arrival (cf. chapter 9.1.2). Because Roman statesmen like Brutus and Cassius were very mobile during the conflict following the assassination of Caesar, two scenarios are possible as to their employment of gem engravers. They may have occasionally used services of such artists when visiting major cities either in Greece and Asia Minor, or like Sextus, they may have organised a sort of mobile workshop travelling with them. In the case of the Pompeians the existence of such a mobile workshop is suggested by two portrait gems found in Spain, but in the case of the Republicans, the evidence is even weaker. Vollenweider proposed linking the engraver Philon with Brutus on the basis of one silver ring presenting a portrait of a man with a cloak around his arms signed by the artist which she identified with Brutus (cat. no. 9.95, Figure 365).[82] She linked this ring with Brutus' attendance of philosophical lectures in Athens, while briefly in Greece. Her opinion was accepted by some scholars,[83] while others hesitated to identify the portrait with a specific historical figure.[84] It is difficult to decide, but the head is indeed similar to Brutus' portraits known from coins minted in 43-42 BC (Figure 366) thus, the proposal of Vollenweider cannot be rejected out of hand.[85] Nevertheless, this is all the evidence one can find. There are no more signed gems featuring portraits of either Brutus or Cassius even though the latter may have had more occasions to employ gem engravers for his propaganda since he resided in Asia Minor. All in all, it appears that neither of the two leaders of the Republicans created the same sort of permanent workshop as Sextus might have done, but they used the services of gem engravers only occasionally while travelling to the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

9.2.2. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty

If there is any category of glyptic material testifying to the employment of engraved gems for propaganda and other social and political purposes by Brutus or Cassius, or within the Republicans, these are certainly portrait gems. No other category transmitted so many powerful messages either as acts of personal branding or manifestations of loyalty. In the case of the Pompeians, portrait gems show that while Gnaeus was promoted on them only for a short period of time, Sextus enjoyed much longer activity in this field. As for portrait gems presenting the Republicans, the first observation is that among the bulk of gems, those depicting Marcus

[78] Evans 1992: 145-148.
[79] *RRC*, nos. 433/1-2 (denarii of Marcus Iunius Brutus, 54 BC).
[80] An exception might be a portrait gem that Henig identifies with the so-called 'Brutus', see: Henig and MacGregor 2004: 62.
[81] *RRC*: 741.
[82] Vollenweider 1966: 39.
[83] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 34.
[84] For instance: Boardman 2001: 361, no. 1006; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXIII.13, vol. II: 162; Gerring 2000, no. Vr/29.
[85] For the coin, see: *RRC*, no. 506/1 (aureus of Marcus Iunius Brutus and (Pedanius) Costa, 43-42 BC). See a full discussion in: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 142-143 and a recent commentary in: Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 251.

Iunius Brutus prevail.[86] This is hardly surprising since he was the first to stab Julius Caesar and thus became the symbol of the Republic or rather its last defender. While portraits of Cato the Younger on gems are quite problematic (cf. chapters 8.2.4 and 8.3.2), it seems that only Quintus Cassius Longinus enjoyed some promotion through gems alongside Brutus which is a bit surprising giving the fact that he controlled eastern provinces where glyptic art was firmly established for centuries and there were workshops producing various types of gems there. The only reasonable explanations for this are the following: Cassius was uninterested in glyptic art and limited its use only for his personal needs; Cassius had no financial means to spend on the most luxurious arts available; Cassius was much less popular than Brutus and only a few people (if any) manifested their allegiance to him using intaglios featuring his likeness. In any case, glyptic art delivers interesting evidence for the Republicans promoting themselves through these channels and most likely for their relatively high reputation within society, especially as far as Brutus is concerned. Most of the material amassed here was likely produced when they arrived back in Italy and conducted the civil war with the Caesarians. An extremely interesting remark was made by Saint Ambrose who recalled having read that certain persons who wore rings with portraits of Cassius and Brutus had been condemned to capital punishment when the triumvirs defeated Cassius and Brutus.[87] This would mean that wearing gems with portraits of political leaders could have tragic consequences and was severely punished when one turned out to support the defeated side. Still, the most important thing is that Saint Ambrose indirectly informs us how important were intaglios of this type and how useful and popular they were in the political life of the Late Roman Republic. Furthermore, the situation described by the bishop of Milan suggests that Sextus Pompey indeed threw away his own ring and what is more his companions who used rings with his portrait engraved upon gems could have done the same to avoid death once recognised as his supporters by the enemy (cf. chapter 9.1.1).

In her monumental study Vollenweider broadly discussed portraits of Cato, Brutus, Cassius and their contemporaries.[88] She identified their portraits mostly through comparisons with coins. Today, it is known that some of the gems researched by her are not ancient and there are also serious doubts about the attribution of a series of numerous glass gems to Brutus. The issue of the attribution of portraits is, of course, important, but I am going to focus on the propagandistic value, provenance and production aspects of the gems presenting the Republicans too.

Regarding portrait gems depicting Marcus Iunius Brutus, they are very problematic, and, in my opinion, many can be attributed to him purely hypothetically. I shall start with a group of 12 gems scattered among various collections across Europe and the USA (cat. nos 9.96-108, Figures 367-370). They are made of various gemstones and five of them are glass gems. They present portraits of a young clean-shaven man with a distinctive physiognomy and coiffure. Because of the nose-line, massive jaw and prominent cheek-bones the overall similarity to portraits of Brutus known from some of his first coins can be suggested (Figures 371).[89] A glass gem in Geneva and a carnelian intaglio in New York present this man with a dagger in the field which suggests him to be Brutus, the assassin of Julius Caesar (cat. nos 9.99 and 9.105, Figures 367). The fact that Brutus carries no beard in the case of these portrait gems might seem problematic. However, even though from the very beginning, Brutus was presented on his coins with a slight or even full beard symbolising his mourning because of the fall of the Roman Republic or his adolescence,[90] this feature is often barely noticeable on those coins. Therefore, a reasonable explanation of the beardless portrait gems of Brutus is that they were commissioned on private initiatives by Brutus' followers. Because he was virtually a symbol of the opposition to Caesar's tyranny, his image would have been suitable for members of the Republican party to carry.[91] Apart from the mentioned coins, it is difficult to point to a source for the representations on the gems in question. Perhaps some of them were free creations, therefore; even though they multiply the same head type, they differ much in details and styles. Some might have been cut after sculptural prototypes and if some of them were cut in Greece or Asia Minor, the engravers, unaware of the beard's symbolism in Roman culture, could have omitted it. Very little can be said about the provenance of the intaglios in question, but one gem was found in Athens (cat. no. 9.96), which would correspond with the ring engraved by Philon (cf. chapter 9.2.1 above), while the glass gems may have been produced in Italy.[92]

Much less problematic are the next seven gems among which two are made of glass (cat. nos 9.109-115, Figures 372a-b-373a-b). The identification with Brutus is almost certain given the very close similarities to coin images: shape of the head, coiffure, facial features and delicately

[86] Yarrow also comes to the same conclusion, but she seems to uncritically follow Vollenweider, which, as shall be shown below, does not guarantee results free of errors (2018: 39).
[87] Lapatin 2015: 114.
[88] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 136-151.
[89] Compare for instance: *RRC*, nos. 507/1a-b (aureus of Marcus Iunius Brutus and P. Servilius Casca Longus, 43-42 BC) and 508/3 (aurei and denarii of Marcus Iunius Brutus and L. Plaetorius Cestianus, 43-42 BC).
[90] Biedermann 2013; Piegdoń 2012.
[91] Yarrow 2018: 39.
[92] Cat. nos. 9.97 and 9.99 belonged to the collections once formed in Rome which suggests their provenance to be Italy.

suggested beard (Figures 359 and 366).[93] I believe that those intaglios are contemporary to coins minted by Brutus while still on Crete in 43 BC or already in Italy in 42 BC. The reason for issuing those coins was mainly economical, that is to cover war expenses e.g. soldiers' payments.[94] It is clear that the figure of Brutus unified the Republicans and probably this is the reason why his head appeared on denarii and aurei. It was not only a part of his own propaganda, but rather its integrational form. The gems discussed in this paragraph most likely served exactly the same purpose. If issued by Brutus and gifted to his followers, they strengthened the bonds between him and them. However, many could have been made on private initiative. This is probably suggested by the fact that cat. nos 9.108 and 9.110 were found in Rome or their provenance points to Italy as their place of production.[95] One imagines that once the Republicans landed in Italy, many supporters rose up and joined them. Some of them perhaps wished to manifest their allegiance by putting a portrait of the party leader – Brutus – upon their rings.

The phenomenon suggested above finds more evidence in a few gems bearing a portrait of Brutus accompanied with brief inscriptions (cat. nos 9.116-119, Figures 374-377). In all four examples, the letters engraved compose shortcuts from the *tria nomina* of the gems' sitters. These inscriptions were probably intended to make an even clearer statement of someone's political views. Here, the gem owners were associated with Brutus or wished to be regarded as such. In the case of the carnelian from Oxford one notices that it clearly copies the image of Brutus known from his coins, and in three other cases similarities are considerable too. The gem from the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (cat. no. 9.119, Figure 374), is said to have come from Asia Minor which information, if true, confirms my supposition that gems of this kind were created as a bottom-up initiative rather than a direct propagandistic action designed by Brutus himself. In the collected material one finds more evidence for Brutus' and other Republicans' propaganda activities in media other than gems. Naturally, it cannot be entirely excluded that some gems were issued by Brutus and his close friends, and then gifted to their followers, but this seems to be a very limited action.

There is a substantial group of gems presenting portraits whose identification is problematic, but they are often referred to as presenting Brutus mostly due to the suggestion put forward by Vollenweider (cat. nos 9.120-131, Figures 378-381).[96] She observed some similarities in the physiognomy of the man depicted and indeed, he has, like Brutus, a strong jaw, prominent cheek-bones and a slightly curved nose line,[97] however, he seems older than casual portraits of Brutus known from coins and gems (see above). Another argument for the identification of this man with Brutus is the dagger represented on one example (cat. no. 9.131, Figure 381) which was taken as a symbol of Julius Caesar's assassination.[98] Finally, Vollenweider noticed that these portraits are made mainly in glass (which is correct, 10 out of 12 are glass gems) and this suggests their use in propaganda actions of Brutus – his personal branding.[99] However, in my opinion, the resemblance to Brutus may be entirely accidental. The man depicted on the gems in question is much older than the political leader of the Republicans and his face is fuller, more crude and beardless. All these features complicate identification but the mystery may be solved if one compares these heads with the so-called Corbulo portraits in sculpture.[100] Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo (c. AD 7-67) was a Roman general, brother-in-law of the emperor Caligula and father-in-law of the emperor Domitian. He was quite popular due to his military merits, but the emperor Nero became suspicious of Corbulo and his support among the Roman masses and made Corbulo commit suicide. It was Furtwängler who proposed to identify the portrait gems of the discussed type with Corbulo.[101] One cannot be entirely sure if the gems present him so do the marble heads, but they seem to be related to Corbulo to a much greater degree than to Brutus. The dagger appearing on one of the examples may refer to Corbulo's suicide. In any case, the gems with the so-called Corbulo head probably present an individual other than Brutus. This is also suggested by the provenance of the gems. It seems that 10 glass objects were produced in Rome or Italy which is not impossible for Brutus, but rather unusual given the fact that only two glass gems present his more casual head-type clearly referring to his coins (compare above).

Finally, in the Beverley collection there is an exceptional cameo bearing the head of Brutus in profile to the right (cat. no. 9.132, Figure 382). It is a glyptic masterpiece and one of the earliest Roman portrait cameos of all, though certainly cut by a Greek engraver, probably while Brutus was stationed in the East. The cameo is small and suitable to be mounted in a ring, therefore, it is likely that it played not only a decorative, but also a political role and was used by one of the followers of the

[93] Compare: *RRC*, nos. 506/1 (aureus of Marcus Iunius Brutus and (Pedanius) Costa, 43-42 BC), 507/1a-b (aurei of Marcus Iunius Brutus and P. Servilius Casca Longus, 43-42 BC) and 508/3 (denarius of Marcus Iunius Brutus and L. Plaetorius Cestianus, 43-42 BC).

[94] *RRC*: 741.

[95] Cat. no. 9.110 is said to have been found in Lebanon but this provenance is hardly convincing, and the identification of the portrait is purely speculative, thus, I do not treat this gem as a sort of indicator for origins of the type in general.

[96] In fact, Vollenweider draws her hypothesis on a suggestion of Paulsen, see: Vollenweider 1972-1974: 139-141.

[97] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 140.

[98] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 537.

[99] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 139-141.

[100] Megow 2005: 131, pl. 70a-d.

[101] Furtwängler 1896, nos. 5068-5071.

Republicans as a manifestation of loyalty. Alternatively, the piece was made for Brutus himself to raise his social status.

Concerning Quintus Cassius Longinus portrait gems, these are not as abundant as the Brutus ones. In fact, there is only one intaglio that might be linked to him with a reasonable degree of certainty (cat. no. 9.133, Figure 383), while another intaglio and one cameo possibly bear his likeness (cat. nos 9.134-135, Figures 384-385).[102] The best example is a carnelian preserved in Munich which shows the head of a young man with relatively short curled hair surrounded with the following items: a ballot urn, caduceus, six-rayed star and bundle of thunderbolts. Even though Cassius' portraits do not exist on coins, the ballot urn alone suggests identifying his image on the intaglio because this was the family symbol employed on his coins as well as those minted by his predecessors (Figure 386).[103] The gem combines several propagandistic aspects. First of all, it is of exceptional quality and the portrait it bears must have been influential when shown to someone else. Moreover, the caduceus surely stands here for the wish for peace and indicates that only Cassius and his followers can guarantee it. Furthermore, the bundle of thunderbolts is a reference to Jupiter – chief god of the Roman pantheon, of capital importance to Roman legionaries whose support Cassius sought to. Finally, as probably rightly suggested by Vollenweider, the star stood for the Dioscuri since Brutus and Cassius identified with them.[104] She suggested that the gem could have been produced during Cassius' visit to Sardes in 43 BC. This is probable as the city was a known centre for gem carving.[105] The gem was surely a powerful propaganda tool with a lot of contents to be transmitted. Nevertheless, there was no significant production of gems with images of Cassius as was the case with Sextus Pompey and Brutus. Most likely, he was not that interested in investing in this sort of propaganda as Sextus possibly did and he was not so recognisable as to have his likeness copied by his followers as Brutus had. The fact that he did not issue coins with his own image surely contributed to the latter.

The case of Cassius is interesting since it shows that sometimes one's propaganda was largely limited where glyptics is concerned. Among other members of the Republican faction I do not find anyone who would promote himself to a larger degree and thus stand out from the others. On the contrary, having his own image cut upon a gemstone set in a ring was almost a habit for those who could afford such a luxury (cat. nos 9.136-146, Figures 387-389a-b).[106] While such attempts certainly afforded social distinction to the people using them, there is no serial production of either expensive gemstones or cheap glass gems that would inform us about their more complex propaganda use.

9.2.3. Use of heritage

One of the basic techniques of propaganda used in ancient Rome was the transfer of authority, usually from an illustrious ancestor or predecessor who was frequently the father of the propagandist. For the first time this was clearly the case with Sextus Pompey who used to put a portrait of his father on his coins and gems even adding a divine context to it (cf. chapter 9.1.4). Octavian also used to refer in his propaganda to his divine father Julius Caesar (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1). Brutus did the same regarding his legendary ancestor Lucius Iunius Brutus – first consul of Rome.[107] This was a clever move indeed since in the difficult times of the fall of the Roman Republic bringing back its founder on the coins was a powerful propaganda message. In Paris there is an agate intaglio presenting Lucius Iunius Brutus with lictors in a procession marching to the right (cat. no. 9.147, Figure 390). Richter recognised here Marcus Iunius Brutus himself and proposed that the gem was issued to commemorate his consulship.[108] In fact, the intaglio copies quite faithfully the reverse of a denarius minted by Brutus in 54 BC with a strong, propaganda message of opposition to Pompey's real or supposed intentions of achieving sole rule in Rome (Figure 391).[109] Bringing this subject to glyptics only enhanced its impact. It is not known if Brutus was responsible for the creation of the piece in question, but it seems an exceptional and unparalleled object. Nevertheless, still, Brutus' involvement in glyptics as a medium to transfer the authority of his great ancestor seems very limited. Henig remarks that in Oxford there is a gem portraying the so-called 'Brutus' which would be another example of the transfer of authority through an ancestor and another one related to his coinage.[110] However, I believe that this intaglio depicts Brutus himself, not his ancestor and the inscription indicates the gem's owner who belonged to the Republican party and wished to manifest his allegiance to it through the image of its leader (cf. chapter 9.2.2 above). I do not find any other gem with a portrait close to that of Lucius Iunius Brutus known from Brutus' coins. It seems that glyptics was not used for this propaganda activity at that time. Moreover, this observation allows us to think that in

[102] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 145-147 (who claimed that all three might present Cassius).
[103] *RRC*, nos. 428/1-3 (denarii of Q. Cassius Longinus, 55 BC), see also commentary on p. 452; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 145.
[104] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 145.
[105] Tassinari 2008: 283.
[106] See: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pls. 102-110.
[107] *RRC*, nos. 433/1-2 (denarii of Marcus Iunius Brutus, 54 BC) and 506/1 (aureus of Marcus Iunius Brutus and (Pedanius) Costa, 43-42 BC).
[108] Richter 1971, no. 471.
[109] *RRC*, no. 433/1 and commentary on pp. 455-456.
[110] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 66.

contrast to Sextus Pompey and Octavian for example, Brutus did not practise his propaganda through gems at all or only to a very limited extent. The fact that he was a kind of a symbol of the Republicans and opposition to Caesar, most likely drove the whole production of gems with his portraits by his followers. In other words, he did very little to promote himself through gems, but his supporters used to manifest their loyalty to him using glyptic art.

9.2.4. Promotion of the faction

In the fierce rivalry between various political factions after the death of Julius Caesar, each party used their own repertoire of symbols and values that were promoted so that each member could identify with them. This is the best observed in coinage and Crawford briefly summarised the basic motifs that were promoted in the circle of the Republicans. The most significant one was *Libertas* – the personification of freedom chosen because it was a natural antithesis to Caesar's tyranny. Apollo and items related to him like the Delphic tripod all also conveyed an allusion to *libertas*. Victory was another symbol unifying the faction of the Republicans as it symbolised the wish for good luck. Among other symbols there is a crab holding an *aplustre* commemorating Cassius' victory in the Battle of Myndus.[111] All these motifs were promoted on coins however, I do not find them in glyptics, at least not in the same configurations as in the coinage (see also chapter 9.2.7 below). There is only one exception – the head of Brutus that was put on coins clearly as a symbol of the party's leader. The analysis of Brutus portraits in glyptics proves that they circulated among the Republicans and contributed to integration of the party's members.

9.2.5. Commemoration

Commemoration of important events such as military victories and individual achievements, promotions to the offices etc. was a vital part of every propaganda campaign and is often reflected in the glyptic art of the epoch discussed in this study. In the previous chapters one observed that indeed gems were employed to commemorate particular events, mostly military victories, but still, this is often a much more problematical issue than first appears. Regarding important events related to the Republicans, one of the most obvious subjects that instantly comes to mind is Caesar's assassination. It has been immortalised on the denarius emitted by Marcus Iunius Brutus and L. Plaetorius Cestianus in 43-42 BC in the form of *pileus* between two daggers on the reverse side (Figure 392).[112] Similar symbolism has been applied to an engraved ring now preserved in Paris extensively commented on by Vollenweider (cat. no. 9.148, Figure 393).[113] Its purpose was to commemorate the assassination of Julius Caesar (dagger) which was the only way to preserve the liberty of the people of Rome (*pileus*) and that act resulted in safety and salvation represented by the serpent that stands for *salus publica.* The head of Brutus appears of course due to his direct commitment to the assassination and because now Brutus leads the Republicans towards a victory over the Caesarians. As one observes, this ring had a powerful propaganda message encoded. Nothing is known about the provenance of the piece, so one can make only more or less educated guesses regarding its origin and owner. It could have belonged or been gifted to a high-ranking officer in Brutus' army which is suggested by the fact that although the bezel is made of silver, the hoop is bronze, so it was not worn by an aristocrat or an *eques* who preferred gold rings. There are at least four more gems engraved with a similar design but much closer to the mentioned coins. One of them is a red jasper intaglio in the Alnwick Castle collection that presents a bust of Brutus flanked by two daggers and *pileus* below (cat. no. 9.149, Figure 394). The subject itself was surely inspired by Brutus' coin. The history of Brutus was quite influential in modern times too. It has been observed that the motif was regarded by Republicans such as Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), as 'a sacred effigy, heroic virtue itself'. Another stone with the same motif is in Tours (cat. no. 9.150) and one more was once in the famous Marlborough cabinet (cat. no. 9.151). Lippold published the intaglio by Antonio Pichler (1697-1779) depicting that motif accompanied with inscription: EID • MAR referring to the *Ides of March* (cat. no. 9.152). It belonged to the famous Prince Stanislas Poniatowski collection.[114] All four are 18th century creations as suggested by the style, shape of the bust, drapery and especially the types of daggers incised and there were many more such gems cut in the 18th century the impressions of which are to be found in Tassie's dactyliotheca.[115]

9.2.6. Divine and mythological references

While discussing the magnificent portrait of Gaius Cassius Longinus, I remarked that there were some references to deities, namely to the Dioscuri due to the star appearing behind the head and to Mercury, possibly represented by caduceus. The caduceus itself was an ancient symbol of peace and when another symbol related to Mercury appears together with it, it cannot be understood otherwise than as a reference to the god. This is the case of a nicolo intaglio in New York, once a part of the famous Marlborough collection (cat.

[111] For a full commentary, see: *RRC*: 741.
[112] *RRC*, no. 508/3 and p. 741.
[113] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 27.
[114] http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/484D5751-9BC1-451D-8E79-3A7C1ACC2618 [retrieved on 17 March 2019].
[115] See: Raspe and Tassie 1791, nos. 10665-10669 and 10679 bearing just a cap and daggers.

no. 9.153). It presents a beardless head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the left and there is a caduceus and tortoise behind it. This intaglio testifies to a popular practice of divine reference widely practiced by the rivals of the Republicans.[116] It seems that Cassius and Brutus adopted Mercury as their divine protector and helper. Moreover, the gem also conveys a message of Brutus as a bringer and guarantor of peace that should come with his victory over the Caesarians. Another piece, now lost, presented the head of Brutus accompanied with caduceus and star, the very same combination one finds on the carnelian with Cassius' portrait (cat. no. 9.154, Figure 395). As Vollenweider observed, this was due to the fact that the two identified themselves with Castor and Pollux – the Dioscuri - which is consistent with Republican values. The reference to Mercury might seem unusual, but it was a common practice in the Hellenistic world to identify with the god, especially among the Ptolemies and Seleucids.[117] Giving the fact that both statesmen controlled eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, it is most plausible to think that the two gems under discussion were created while they still were in the East. They are rare examples of the Republicans' propaganda, although, one cannot state whether they were created on the command of leaders of the party or by its members who believed in the success of Brutus and Cassius so much that they illustrated this hope upon their rings.

The faith in victory was addressed by all the fighting factions at the time and expressed in coinage of all types. Engraved gems were a part of this phenomenon too, but it is difficult to associate a specific object with one political opinion. In Krakow, there is an agate intaglio engraved with Victory with a *pileus* cap on the head walking to the left, shouldering a palm branch and holding a shield (cat. no. 9.155, Figure 396). The goddess has unusual attributes. The first brings about associations of the *pileus* – the cap of freedom, the symbol used by Caesar's assassins and opponents of Octavian, led by Marcus Brutus and Cassius Longinus. The shield may indicate the defence of the Republic. Alternatively, this image may be related to Augustus who in 27 BC was awarded the *clipeus virtutis* from the Senate to honour his civil virtues. That shield was later displayed in the Curia Iulia where a statue of Victory was located as well (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7). The *pileus* may represent Augustus's intention to restore the Republic, which he highlighted so ably.[118]

9.2.7. Political symbols

Some commentary on political symbols used by the Republican party's members on their coinage has been already given here. It is noteworthy that some of these symbols appear on the gems presenting portraits of Brutus and Cassius (cf. chapter 9.2.2 above). However, speaking about political symbols on gems one usually means their combinations as the sole subject-matter. According to my survey, there is not even one specific motif or object that would clearly indicate a close connection with the policy of the Republicans. In contrast to Sextus Pompey or earlier propagandists, Brutus, Cassius and their followers did not seem to use symbolic gems for propaganda purposes e.g. for the promotion of their ideas and values whereas their followers manifested their political views only by the use of portrait gems (mainly of Brutus). This is probably due to little interest in glyptics by the leaders of the Republicans themselves because they did have a well-organised political programme focusing on the restoration of the Roman Republic. However, in contrast to Sulla, Julius Caesar or Octavian/Augustus its resonance was not so powerful as to infiltrate private objects such as gems (cf. chapters 7.1.6, 8.2.9, 9.3.1.9 and 10.8).

9.2.8. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda

Even though Brutus and Cassius resided in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, there is virtually no proof that they used State Cameos and carved vessels in their propaganda practices or that such objects reflect their political ambitions. There is only one cameo that might present a portrait of Cassius, but one object alone is not enough to claim that it played a significant role in his personal branding, especially if one compares it to the numerous portrait cameos issued by Octavian/Augustus. Furthermore, gems were not engaged in the Republicans' religious propaganda since no information is recorded in the literary sources about them offering gems in sanctuaries or temples. Both situations result from the fact that the Republicans had limited financial means and they cultivated an old-fashioned, Roman modest way of life, which the issuing of expensive cameos would have contrasted with.

9.3. The Caesarians

The death of Julius Caesar did not bring the restoration of a Senate-dominated Republic as hoped by the assassins. On the contrary, Rome plunged into a new civil war. At that time the relatively unknown youth Gaius Octavianus (63 BC-AD 14) emerged as the adopted son of Caesar. He swiftly took control of Caesar's veterans and defeated another figure closely related to the dead dictator – Mark Antony (83-30 BC) – at Mutina in spring of 43 BC. Shortly after this, Caesar Octavian, the name Gaius adopted, marched on Rome and was recognised by the Senate as Caesar's legitimate son and heir. He came to terms with Antony and with Marcus Lepidus

[116] Morawiecki 2014.
[117] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 143 and 145.
[118] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 236.

in 43 BC when the three formed an alliance known as the Second Triumvirate. It was aimed to avenge Julius Caesar's death and to establish a new division of power. Their party was commonly recognised as the Caesarians. In 42 BC they defeated the Republicans at the Battle of Philippi and their main opponents were either killed due to proscriptions (like Cicero in 43 BC) or committed suicide like Brutus and Cassius after the battle in 42 BC. The Caesarians had to fight with the Pompeians, but this problem was ultimately solved in 36 BC at the Battle of Naulochus. After this, the alliance definitely broke up, although the first symptoms of this appeared much earlier. The fierce rivalry between Octavian and Mark Antony ended in the naval Battle of Actium in 31 BC shortly after which Antony committed suicide with Cleopatra in 30 BC and Octavian could come back to Rome in the full glory of his triumph in 29 BC. In 27 BC he became Augustus, the first emperor of Rome which is usually taken as the start of a new era in the history of Rome.

The relatively short period of only 17 years between 43 and 27 BC is particularly rich in terms of propaganda practices of all the three major parties: the Pompeians, the Republicans and the Caesarians (of course along with many second-class individuals). The later fierce rivalry and clash between Octavian and Mark Antony resulted in a mass of propaganda on all fronts which is well reflected in all kinds of arts including engraved gems. In this sub-chapter, I am going to focus primarily on those two prominent figures adding some reference to the actions of Marcus Lepidus, who, nevertheless, was much less powerful. The evidence for propaganda actions of Mark Antony taking place in glyptics is less evident than that of Octavian. This seems obvious but the impression may be distorted due to the state of research. Generally speaking, studies of glyptic material from Italy and the western part of the Roman Empire are more advanced, especially where the local and regional production of gems is concerned, than eastern gem production in the second half of the 1st century BC. Overall, being in Rome and having access to, organising or influencing the workshops operating in Italy in the case of Octavian seem to have resulted in a relatively large production of propaganda gems even though their quality is often low (cheap and mass-produced glass gems). Another possibility is that Octavian's followers were more motivated to show their affinity with him which also suggests that the major production centres of 'propaganda gems' were located in Italy. On the other hand, Antony certainly had access to the well-established workshops, located, for instance in Alexandria,[119] and his luxurious and lavish lifestyle encouraged gem production. Nevertheless, the number of gems one can connect with his propaganda is much inferior to the one of Octavian in terms of quantity, but not that much where quality is concerned. The short sub-chapter on Marcus Lepidus and several other figures should be treated here as an appendix since there is very little evidence for their engagement in the propaganda at this level that would be reflected in glyptics.

[119] Tassinari 2008: 263-266.

9.3.1. Octavian

On 15 March 44 BC Julius Caesar was assassinated and young Octavian (63 BC-AD 14) was named in his will as his adopted son and sole heir. Octavian swiftly proved to be extremely talented and efficient in every step he took. Along with Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus he formed the Second Triumvirate in 43 BC to avenge assassins of Caesar. Those were defeated at the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC and even though Octavian fought against the heir of Pompey the Great – Sextus – he also struggled with Mark Antony over supremacy in the Roman Empire. This fierce rivalry ended up in 31 BC at the ultimate clash at Actium but alongside political rivalry, Octavian attempted to build a new political system – the Principate, which would allow him to rule solely and establish a sort of dynasty so that his achievements were long lasting. In 27 BC he was given the titles *Augustus* and *Princeps* by the Senate. This event illustrates not only the success of Octavian's policy but also marks a considerable shift in his propaganda activities. For this reason, I decided to split Octavian/Augustus' use of engraved gems for propaganda purposes into two periods. The first one covers the years 44-27 BC and is presented alongside the efforts of his political rivals: the Pompeians the Republicans and most importantly Mark Antony. The second period relates to Augustus' reign (27 BC-AD 14). All the gems discussed in this sub-chapter prove the particular and unparalleled effectiveness of Octavian's propaganda activities. There is no other Roman politician who exploited glyptic art for his promotional purposes as well as he did and moreover, intaglios and cameos testify that his propaganda was very successful since the number of gems that were produced probably on the commissions of his loyal followers is by far the largest among the ones featured in this study. What is more, in the case of Octavian, a full range of propaganda messages is encoded in the glyptic objects. There are the strongest proofs for his employment of gem engravers to cut intaglios and cameos for him, including highly personal and meaningful private seals. Due to his *pietas* and modesty he did not use the gems in his triumph like Pompey did, but he donated some to the temples himself or indirectly through his wife Livia and potential heir Marcellus. The scale of his portrait gem production was enormous, he promoted his family from the very beginning and his political faction was also clearly advertised in glyptics in order to consolidate the group of people with various backgrounds. Furthermore, his greatest

accomplishments are commemorated on intaglios and cameos and they prove Octavian's divine protection from the gods and even his identification with them. Comparisons to great figures like Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great are also noticeable. Finally, it seems that all the ideas promoted by Octavian such as peace, prosperity and abundance guaranteed to the people of Rome by him after his victory are reflected in glyptics as well and there is a very subtle use of luxury objects for family and personal propaganda. To sum up, among so many others, only Octavian and later Augustus fully exploited the propaganda potential of engraved gems and made glyptic art, which functioned on a highly personal level, a subject or rather one should say a means of his propaganda very much like he did with the coinage, architecture, sculpture, pottery etc.[120]

9.3.1.1. Heir of Julius Caesar

Upon his adoption in 44 BC, Octavian took on his great-uncle's name Gaius Julius Caesar. He also started to promote himself as the heir of the dictator because of rumours suggesting Caesar's testament had been falsified. He needed to confirm his bond with his uncle (now father), who had been promoted as *Divus Iulius* and Octavian himself accordingly as *Divi filius*.[121] This peculiar propagandistic action was taken upon in various media, for instance, in architecture, as in 42 BC Octavian begun to build the Temple of Caesar at Forum Romanum just after the Senate deified Julius Caesar posthumously.[122] In coinage, Octavian's references to his deified father appear first in 43 BC and from time to time also later including examples where the unfinished Temple of Caesar is illustrated.[123] Those references continue even when Octavian became Augustus, as it is featured on coins minted in 19 and 17 BC.[124] Glyptics was much involved in this process too and it is observed that a number of gemstone intaglios and glass gems feature portraits of Octavian accompanied with various symbols making allusions to Julius Caesar.[125] Sena Chiesa rightly assumes that one of the reasons why Octavian issued so many gems with such an iconography is that he needed to strengthen his position among soldiers and veterans. Most likely, many of these gems were created on his command and distributed among his soldiers and other followers for he was little known at the time so that one could not expect private individuals automatically issue gems of this kind upon his political proclamation.[126] Apart from these, there are other classes of intaglios that make allusions to Octavian as the heir of Caesar and they also deserve attention.

One of those classes are posthumous portraits of deified Julius Caesar appearing on some intaglios (cat. nos 9.156-162, Figures 397-401). They usually present a unified image of a laurate head of Caesar oriented to the left or right accompanied with *lituus* and star in the field. The *lituus* is a symbol of the office of augur and of the power he held as *pontifex maximus*. The star is the so-called *Caesaris astrum/sidus Iulium* and it stands for the comet that appeared in the sky for one week after dictator's death as described by Suetonius.[127] Additionally, in some cases Caesar wears a *cuirass* or *paludamentum* highlighting his military prowess and power (cat nos. 9.158-159, Figures 399-400). Perhaps the famous lost work by Dioscurides, which is known only from modern copies, should be considered as belonging to this class too, though if ancient, it could have been cut once Octavian became Augustus (cf. discussion in chapter 8.2.2).

It seems reasonable to date the gems listed here just after Caesar's death and relate them to Octavian's illustration of his special bonds with his divine father, although, it cannot be excluded that some of them were cut in the 30s BC. The portraits of Caesar from gems faithfully copy the one employed in the dictator's late coinage which is clear not only from the comparable stylistic features but also the *corona aurea* type and *lituus* location (Figure 402).[128] The only addition is the star which in fact appears in Caesar's coinage in 44 BC shortly prior to his death, as Crawford states, as a symbol of belief in the imminence of a new age (Figure 403).[129] Therefore, it is clear that Octavian's promotion of Caesar's legend and political programme through the mentioned intaglios refers to his predecessor's coinage and was possibly meant to distribute it widely which would have made it easier to present Octavian as the continuer of Caesar's politics. Such an action probably

[120] For a summary yet rich description of Octavian/Augustus' propaganda reflected in the mentioned spheres, see, especially: Heilmeyer, La Rocca and Martin (eds) 1988 and Zanker 1988, both with abundant selections of further literature on the topic.

[121] For a more detailed analysis of this matter, see, for instance: Hekster 2015: 161-173; Pollini 2012: 133-162; Zanker 1988: 33-37.

[122] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, II.93-94.

[123] There are several issues illustrating this, see: *RRC*, nos. 490/2 and 490/4 (aureus and denarius of Octavian, 43 BC reseptively), 526/2 and 526/4 (denarii of Q. Voconius Vitulus, 40 BC), 535/1-2 (bronze coins of Octavian, 38 BC) and 540/1-2 (aureus and denarius of Octavian, 36 BC). It is noteworthy that at the same time Caesar's head appears on coins of Mark Antony, however, without a deified context but with an emphasis on the *pontifex maximus* office they both were appointed to, see: *RRC*, nos. 488/1-2 (denarii of Mark Antony, 43 BC). For a general discussion, see: *RRC*: 739.

[124] *RIC* I^2 Augustus, nos. no. 300 (denarius of P. Petronius Turpilianus for Augustus, ca. 19 BC). See also *RIC* I^2 Augustus, nos. 338 (denarius of Augustus, 17 BC, on reverse side – Julius Caesar with a six-rayed comet above his head) and nos. 339–340 (aureus and denarius of Augustus, 17 BC, on reverse side – Julius Caesar with a six-rayed comet above his head).

[125] Gagetti 2001; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 445 and 451-453; Sena Chiesa 2009b: 90; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 192-199 and 203-205; Zazoff 1983: 281.

[126] Sena Chiesa 2012: 258.

[127] Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 88.

[128] *RRC*, no. 480/2a (denarius of M. Mettius, 44 BC).

[129] *RRC*, no. 480/5a (denarius of P. Sepullius Macer, 44 BC) and p. 494 for a discussion.

responds or is at least based on the same reasoning as the issuing of portrait gems of Pompey the Great by his son Sextus (cf. chapter 9.1.4). Sextus also promoted his father in divine guise as Neptune. Here, Octavian puts emphasis on the divine nature of *Divus Iulius* whom he depicts with the star – a symbol of his deification and the dawn of a new era. The goal for Octavian was then not only to show his legitimacy as heir to Caesar but also to claiming that he was his sacred, divine successor. This sophisticated propaganda technique allowed Octavian to transfer the authority of Caesar onto himself just as Sextus did in the case of Pompey the Great. The provenance and history of the objects listed above as well as their material structure indicate that most of them were cut in Rome or more broadly in Italy which corresponds well with Octavian's propaganda actions that concentrated on these territories during those days.

The *Caesaris astrum/sidus Iulium* symbol was a powerful reference to the divine nature of Julius Caesar and the new era for Rome the advent of which was now connected to Octavian. It was not only applied to Caesar's portraits on intaglios. There are some gems presenting a portrait of Octavian accompanied with a star (cat. nos 9.163-165, Figures 404-405). The nicolo intaglio from Krakow is the most interesting example among them (cat. no. 9.163, Figure 404). It presents a portrait of young Octavian to the right as *Divi filius* identified through the star behind his head. In this case, the symbol not only testifies to his bond with Caesar (literary the adoption), but also highlights his divine origin. The portrait itself is comparable to the heads of Octavian from the early aurei issued by Mark Antony and Octavian in 43-42 BC (Figures 406-407) and the stylistic features of the intaglio in question allow us to date it to the same years or even just after death of Caesar.[130] Interestingly, the image is accompanied with an inscription L•V•N, which is an abbreviation of the name of the ring's owner. Most likely, he was one of Caesar's followers who after his death decided to support Octavian. One may only make guesses about his personality (the three separated letters would suggest the *tria nomina* of a freeman), but three possibilities are worth mentioning. The first one is L(ucius) V(orenus) [homo] N(ovus)? – a centurion of the 11th Legion (Legio XI Claudia) mentioned in the personal writings of Julius Caesar.[131] The second is L(ucius) V(inicius) [homo] N(ovus)? – a Roman senator who was appointed suffect consul in 33 BC and was a supporter of Caesar and later also Octavian.[132] The third is L(ucius) V(inicius) [homo] N(ovus)? – a Roman senator and a suffect consul in 5 BC (son of Lucius Vinicius, suffect consul 33 BC).[133] This piece proves that gems with Octavian's likeness were used by his followers and the transfer of Caesar's authority to Octavian is reflected in glyptics at the very early stage of his career suggesting that his propaganda was successful.

Interestingly, a carnelian intaglio with similar iconography was found in Aquileia. It features the head of Octavian flanked by cornucopiae upon a finger ring inside which there is a star flanked by comedy masks (cat. no. 9.164). Most likely in this case not only the portrait and the star but also the ring itself suggest Octavian's bond with Caesar as the latter is the adoption ring (see below). Moreover, the idea of prosperity illustrated by two cornucopiae transfers from Julius Caesar to Octavian now because he is promoted here as the only person who can continue Caesar's politics and guarantee peace and welfare for the people of Rome. Finally, I should briefly comment on an example where a star appears together with other symbols that might be interpreted as related to Octavian and Julius Caesar, but other explanations are possible as well. This is the case of an intaglio in Padua depicting a finger ring with mask of Silenus atop, inside which is a star and below a cicada standing on a corn ear (cat. no. 9.164, Figure 405). The idea that the gem features Octavian and Caesar's relationship due to the star standing for *sidus Iulium* and the ring for the adoption ring of Caesar as well as the cicada, which was a symbol of immortality, is attractive but not wholly justified. As it is explained below, only a fraction of similar compositions can be positively linked with Octavian while many of them were private amulets ensuring wealth, good luck and prosperity for their owners or were used for betrothal rings (cf. chapters 9.3.1.4 and 9.3.1.9).[134] Having no direct reference to Octavian, e.g. his portrait like in the case of the carnelian from Aquileia discussed above, one cannot classify the object as transmitting an equally political message.

One of the most powerful symbols testifying to the connection between Octavian and Julius Caesar was the so-called adoption ring. It appears on a number of gems and because many of these also bear head of a young man identified with Octavian, Vollenweider believed that they were produced for propaganda purposes on the commission of Octavian c. 44-40 BC.[135] She noticed that the symbolism which accompanied those two elements is often similar to that employed for Octavian's coins.[136] However, the ring as a symbol itself is absent from the coinage which some scholars attribute to the private character of glyptic art that allowed for a more open and direct propaganda than that occurring on

[130] *RRC*, nos. 492/1 (aureus of Mark Antony, 43 BC) and 497/1 (aureus of Octavian, 42 BC). See also: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 253.
[131] Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, 5.44.
[132] Broughton and Robert 1952: 241.
[133] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 64; Syme 1989: 87.
[134] On the complexity and role of symbolic gems, see: Weiß 2017.
[135] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 195-197. However, some scholars propose a more expanded chronological framework, see: Platz-Horster 2018, no. 8.
[136] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 197.

coins.[137] Moreover, it is emphasised that the tradition of the family ring transfer was already present in the Hellenistic period as only the male successor could have received this honour. Passing on a family ring was a powerful propaganda action since the whole authority of the predecessor and preceding generations was transferred onto the new owner.[138] Could then the ring presented on gems and traditionally linked with Octavian be the seal of Julius Caesar that passed down to him after the dictator's death? Cassius Dio reports some vague evidence for the use of Caesar's seal by Octavian before the Battle of Philippi as the ring once belonging to the dictator was supposed to be a good omen for the new Caesar - Octavian.[139] Moreover, it is intriguing that the real popularity of Venus Victrix motif in glyptics starts at the point of Caesar's death which could have been an effect of Octavian's conscious promotion. Venus certainly was a connector between Julius Caesar and him, therefore, it seems logical for Octavian to take over the seal of Caesar and transfer Venus to his side and show continuity. Perhaps the fact that there are so many gems featuring a combination of Octavian's head and a ring dated c. 44-27 BC is another proof that makes one believe the information recorded by Cassius Dio.

A thorough study of the ring of adoption motif on engraved gems was performed by Gagetti. She argues that the gems bearing this peculiar motif should be connected with Octavian and she relate them to his propaganda.[140] She also notices that although these gems remain in use until c. AD 25, they were generally produced around 44 BC and some of them were employed as seals.[141] Gagetti's research is the starting-point for my own investigations of this phenomenon which applies a slightly different methodology based on the iconology and image studies principles. It should be remarked that first one must separate the gems bearing portraits accompanied with the rings and other symbols from those intaglios that do not bear portraits but just the rings and other symbols. Application of such criteria leads to interesting observations, namely, that within the first group, there are only three gemstone intaglios bearing the head or bust of a young male figure combined with the ring of adoption and other symbols (cat. nos 9.166-168, Figures 408) and 25 glass gems with this sort of iconography (cat. nos 9.169-193, Figures 409-411). With gems showing a ring and similar sets of symbols but without the head, the proportions of the materials used are reversed: there are far more gemstone intaglios (cat. nos 9.194-220, Figures 412-418) than glass (cat. nos 9.221-237). An explanation may be that while gems with portraits were almost certainly produced for Octavian's propaganda purposes and are therefore evidence for mass-production of glass gems, many of those without the portrait were private amulets and gems possibly set in betrothal rings.

Concerning the gems featuring Octavian's head and the ring, the accompanying symbols often refer to issues like peace, prosperity, abundance and joy that will be guaranteed by the new, young leader of the Caesarians (cat. nos 9.169-170, 171-179, 184-185, 188-189 and 192, Figures 409-410). This group also includes examples where *dextrarum iunctio* appears which may signify peace, but also marriage or commemoration of the second triumvirate. Military symbols occur as well suggesting that those kinds of gems were suitable for legionaries, perhaps even produced to distribute them among Caesar's veterans and soldiers (cat. nos 9.180-181). In this case, such gems would have played a significant role in Octavian's integration propaganda. Furthermore, some examples bear marine symbols like a dolphin which makes a reference to the hope for Octavian's success in naval battles, presumably the ones fought with Sextus Pompey, but Actium cannot be excluded too (cat. nos 9.169, 172, 182-183, 186-187, 190-191 and 193). Symbols related to the hope for a victory in general also appears in such combinations (cat. no. 9.189, Figure 411). In conclusion, gems of this type were produced between 44 and 27 BC and on stylistic grounds, they cannot be precisely dated. Octavian's portrait is incised too schematically to create a reasonable sequence that would follow the development of his portraiture in coinage. Furthermore, one is unsure if all the gems bearing portraits of the young male figures should be identified with Octavian since one specimen from London shows a portrait that does not resemble Octavian and it is accompanied with an inscription (Latin FELICI – being in this case an exclamation 'be happy/successful!') suggesting a private individual (cat. no. 9.242). Be that as it may, the collected material clearly shows that gems presenting Octavian's head and the ring of adoption were issued in vast quantities, mostly in glass so that one believes they were a part of Caesar's heir's propaganda machinery.

Regarding the gems showing finger rings and other symbolism but lacking Octavian's head, they are more likely to be private amulets presumably used on the occasion of marriage or adoption rather than to be a part of Octavian's propaganda. This is suggested by the iconography often involving symbols of concord, abundance, prosperity and good luck – the same issues that are later promoted on similar *grylloi/baskania* gems.[142] Moreover, the iconography of these gems often includes a rabbit, which was especially used in the

[137] Sena Chiesa 2012: 263.
[138] Sena Chiesa 2012: 264.
[139] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 47.41.2.
[140] Gagetti 2001: 129-150.
[141] Gagetti 2001: 139-141.
[142] On the significance of a ring as a symbol on gems, see: Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 352. On *grylloi/baskania* gems, see especially: Lapatin 2011; Weiß 2017.

Roman times for the decoration of nuptial rings related to marriage and wedding (cat. nos 9.199, 204, 218-219, 222-226, 229 and 235, Figure 414), astrological symbols like Capricorn, crescent and star (cat. nos 9.196, 202 and 236, Figures 412 and 415) or apotropaic symbols like Medusa (cat. no. 9.197, Figure 413).[143] Certainly, not all those gems were produced in a short period of 44-40 BC or even 44-27 BC, but they were still manufactured in the 1st century AD when they were gradually replaced by the *grylloi/baskania* gems. What is more, their private character and use as amulets is suggested by the inscriptions appearing on several examples (cat. nos 9.238-244, Figures 419-420) that indicate the names of the gems' owners or wishes.

The proposed solution is supported by the results of the study of provenance and history of the pieces selected for my database. It is clear that while the first group (with portraits) consists of the gems originating in most cases from Rome, the second one includes some examples found outside Rome, including the Aquileia glyptic centre. This supports the view that not all the gems including an 'adoption ring' should be regarded as Octavian's propaganda gems. On the other hand, due to the fact that some of the symbolic gems lacking Octavian's portrait include military references in the form of legionary standards or military equipment, presumably some of those gems were used by legionaries, most likely Octavian's supporters (cat. nos 9.206, 209 and 227, Figures 416-417). Furthermore, some pieces include elements that can be explained only as a reference to Octavian, for instance a sphinx (cat. nos 9.203 and 213, Figure 418). Consequently, one should conclude that Octavian cleverly added his portrait to the already existing phenomenon, combined it with the symbol of a ring which became the adoption ring and finally, he altered its remaining symbolism so that it would be more suitable for him. In other words, he added a reference to himself to a popular class of gems so that his propaganda was easily recognised and understood as it was anchored in the already existing language. By doing this he increased the effectiveness of his propaganda, especially among common people and soldiers, who would not decode sophisticated rhetorical and panegyric messages often used by him as regards other propaganda gems types.

Finally, it should be noted that sometimes the head of Octavian is replaced by one belonging to the god Mercury (cat. no. 9.245, Figure 421). Such cases are often overinterpreted as Octavian in the guise of Mercury, but in fact, the symbolic repertoire accompanying the head of the god is very much consistent with his figure, thus, it is not Octavian depicted. Besides, it would be too early for Octavian to make a clear identification with Mercury at about 44-40 BC unless one accepts later dates. In conclusion, only those gems which present the motif of the adoption ring combined with the head of Octavian can be more or less securely recognised as the effects of his propaganda, while the rest were possibly gems crafted for the personal use of many individuals and some were even used for sealing (cat. no. 9.246).[144] Regarding the recipients of the propaganda gems, they were soldiers and veterans as well as ordinary followers of Octavian for whom the relationship between the young successor of Caesar and their previous commander was important.[145]

In her study of Octavian's portrait gems Vollenweider ascertained that there are several more compositions that illustrate Octavian's bond with Caesar. In the case of Octavian, the symbols like *sella curulis* or *modius*/*aerarium* symbolised either the same titles and offices as Caesar's as well as the execution of his will.[146] This view has been followed by other scholars.[147] They certainly were important aspects of Octavian's propaganda, but I will try to prove that they were primarily used for commemoration of his own accomplishments, while the allusion to Caesar was secondary (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7).

Another matter that should be discussed in reference to the highlight of Octavian and Caesar's relationship in glyptics are their portraits presenting them probably as senators or consuls. This matter was already discussed in the chapter devoted to Caesar (cf. chapter 8.2.4) and indeed, Vollenweider is probably right that some gems of this type present Julius Caesar and Octavian since there are many gems testifying to that (cat. nos 9.247-253, Figures 422-423).[148] Octavian depicted himself on gems in the same way as Caesar did because he wanted to be connected with him therefore, he presented himself in his guise.[149] The provenance and history of the objects listed here as well as the material structure (only glass gems) indicate that most of them were manufactured in Rome or more broadly in Italy which corresponds well with Octavian's propaganda actions that concentrated on these territories.

The issue of comparison to Caesar is sometimes taken up by scholars too directly without reflection on the historical events. A good example of that are several gems presenting, supposedly, the head of Octavian accompanied with various objects including the *lituus* (cat. nos 9.254-258, Figure 424a-b). The idea that the augural staff represents a connection to Julius Caesar is perhaps true since Octavian used this symbolism on his

[143] Fossing 1929, no. 1636.

[144] Gagetti 2001: 139.

[145] Sena Chiesa 2012: 258 and 264.

[146] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 199 and 203-205.

[147] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 451-453; Sena Chiesa 1989: 271-272.

[148] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 192-195. See also a valuable commentary in: Lang 2012: 53-55.

[149] Gagetti 2001: 136-138.

coins related to the celebrations of the victory at Actium (Figure 425) and as evidenced above, he used to promote the deified Julius Caesar with this symbolism too.[150] Although Octavian was appointed *pontifex maximus* only in 12 BC, when he was emperor, the symbolism of the *lituus* appears earlier as a subtle reference to his predecessor or to his divine connections either with the divine father or gods and it was combined with celebrations of Octavian's own achievements in various media of propaganda, including glyptics.[151]

It has been rightly pointed out by Sena Chiesa that all the early portrait gems of Octavian present him as a youthful man and thus a subject of Caesar's heirdom.[152] Octavian's portrait gems will be discussed later since they are related to his personal branding and the manifestation of loyalty among his followers and supporters, which is a separate propaganda activity. But there is a peculiar class of Octavian's bearded portraits cut upon a surprisingly large number of intaglios and cameos that were clearly intended to show the relationship between him and Caesar (cat. nos 9.259-274, Figures 426-430). On the basis of comparisons with coins issued throughout the years 43-36 BC, Vollenweider convincingly identified those portraits with Octavian.[153] The analysis of the coinage demonstrates that Octavian not only mourned Caesar just after his death, but used to do this also later at some important points of his political career, for instance in 38 BC when he became *Imperator Caesar Divi Filius* (Figure 431).[154] Therefore, the dates for the gems in question should not be limited to the years following shortly Caesar's death, but some may have been executed much later too as for instance the remarkable cameo in Vienna which is dated c. 30 BC due to its classicising style and clear similarity to Octavian's Actium type portrait (cat. no. 9.274, Figure 430).[155] The beard is here the sign of mourning following the assassination of Caesar. It illustrates Octavian's *pietas erga patrem* in the same way as the bearded portrait of Sextus Pompey did upon the work of Agathangelos (cf. chapters 9.1.1 and 9.1.2).[156] An interesting point of view has been presented on those gems by Biedermann. He claims that portraits like these were not primarily created to show mourning or *pietas erga patrem* but at the same time, they testify to Octavian's capacity to take the position of the political leader of the Caesarians. In other words, the young politician tried to make himself looking more adult and thus to sympathise with older aristocrats as well as raising his own authority.[157] While issuing such portraits on gems, coins and in other media, Octavian first showed his *pietas* towards his father Julius Caesar clearly advertising his bond with him and thus transferring his *auctoritas* onto himself, and secondly he proved his adolescence and raised his own authority. Both were clearly propagandistic and added some value to the political image of the young leader.

Vollenweider suggested that Agathangelos could have created some of the gems in question,[158] but this seems unlikely since he cut gems for Sextus Pompey at the time and probably could be free of the commissions only after Sextus' final defeat in 36 BC which is too late.[159] In my opinion, some of the carnelian intaglios are stylistically close to the works of Solon, who is attested to have been working for Octavian/ Augustus (cf. chapters 9.3.1.2 and 10.2). Indeed, these portraits deserve much attention not only because of their iconography, but also because of the forms and materials they are made of. Regarding the latter, it is interesting to notice that with one exception all intaglios are cut in carnelian and their sizes differ a little. Only one intaglio is engraved in hyacinth, but it stands out also because Octavian is presented here wearing a *cuirass* and *paludamentum*. This military creation may point to another important aspect, his prowess in the army matters which was important if those gems were distributed among soldiers and officers. Regarding the forms, interestingly there are two cameos bearing Octavian's bearded portrait which testify to the very early establishment of a regular gem workshop operating for him. It is very likely that the cameos were cut by the leader who possibly was a Greek immigrant cutter, whereas the mentioned carnelians cannot be attributed to one hand since there are some stylistic differences, but still, they are all close in terms of the quality of engraving. It seems likely they were all produced in one workshop by several assistants who helped to deliver the commissions on time.

Unfortunately, the workshop's location cannot be established since only some vague information suggests that one intaglio was found in Naples or its surroundings and another perhaps in Palermo or Sicily (cat. nos 9.259-260, Figure 426). It is plausible that Octavian's encouragement of the production of such gems was in fact counterpropaganda to Sextus' activities in Sicily. Perhaps like the son of Pompey, he created a sort of a workshop at his side that produced gems that were granted to his loyal servants ensuring their loyalty and integrating his party. At this point one should point out several portrait gems that also show young, bearded, male figures, however, they

[150] *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 275a (denarius of Octavian, 28 BC).
[151] Vollenweider 1979, no. 192.
[152] Sena Chiesa 2012: 261-262.
[153] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 218-222.
[154] *RRC*, nos. 535/1-2 (bronze coins of Octavian, 38 BC).
[155] Megow 1987, no. A4.
[156] Barcaro 2008/2009: 76-77; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 124.
[157] Biedermann 2013: 36-37.
[158] Vollenweider 1966: 39.
[159] See also a valuable commentary on this matter by Zwierlein-Diehl (1986, nos. 553-555).

cannot be identified with the same group but probably depict Octavian (cat. nos 9.275-277). Interestingly, most of them are inscribed with the abbreviations of gem owners' names who possibly are the people who supported the young leader of the Caesarian faction. It is difficult to date these specimens precisely, but it is possible that they are contemporary with the group discussed above. The small differences result from private commissions of people who wanted to show their loyalty to Octavian and the makers of those gems did not belong to the workshop organised by Octavian.

Finally, regarding more allegorical attempts of showing the connection between Octavian and Julius Caesar, Vollenweider drew attention to a peculiar carnelian intaglio in a private collection presenting two naked heroes: one sitting on a rock and putting his hands on a sword in a sheath, while the second stands in front of him with legs crossed, leaning on his spear (cat. no. 9.278, Figure 432). She attributed this work to the gem engraver Solon and she suggested the figures should be identified with Caesar (the sitting older hero) and Octavian (the standing, younger one).[160] The gem was first published by Furtwängler and then by Lippold but neither of them attempted to identify the heroes with specific mythological figures, let alone historical ones.[161] Recently the intaglio was republished as it once belonged to the celebrated Marlborough cabinet, with a commentary that the heroes might be Pylades and Orestes or Patroclus and Achilles or other similar groups in the act of mourning.[162] The mourning act itself represented on the gem could point to the news of Caesar's death, but then, it is unreasonable to identify one of the figures as Caesar himself. The intaglio lacks any direct clue or suggestion for the identification proposed by Vollenweider which seems based on a pure speculation, unless one recognises the standing figure as Theseus and the sitting one as his father with his sword that later helped the young hero to prove the legitimacy of his claim for the Athenian throne. It is noteworthy that Aegeus sits on a rock under which he later buried his sandals and sword. There is some evidence for Octavian being depicted on gems in the guise of Theseus (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8) and the gem discussed here is cut very much in the manner of Solon who is attested as one of Octavian's gem engravers. If that is the case, the intaglio would be a subtle allegory illustrating the connection between Octavian and Julius Caesar and transfer of power from the latter to his heir. The intaglio would be certainly executed for the private use of Octavian or for someone from the inner circle of his followers. The sophisticated language of the propaganda message encoded in this specimen was not intended for an ordinary Roman citizen and shows that gems played a significant role in propaganda among the wealthy and influential people whom Octavian sought to get on his side.

9.3.1.2. Possible gem engravers working for Octavian

While remarking on a series of carnelians featuring a bearded portrait of the young politician and another one perhaps making allegorical allusion to his relationship with Julius Caesar, one observes considerable stylistic similarities between these two. The conclusion is that they might have been executed in the same workshop. It seems justified to ask whether Octavian like probably Sextus Pompey organised a workshop cutting gems for his propaganda purposes. Some evidence suggesting that has already been presented above and the plausible artist responsible for presiding over the workshop could have been the Greek engraver Solon.[163]

Solon was definitely one of the leading gem cutters of the second half of the 1st century BC but his intaglio of the head of Medusa suggests that he was active already c. late 60s-50 BC.[164] Vollenweider proposed that Solon first worked for Mithridates VI Eupator at the Pontic court, then for Mark Antony and finally he transferred his business to Rome after the latter's downfall.[165] However, as Plantzos rightly points out, such a sequence, although attractive, is rather far-fetched since Solon's other works exhibit much of the Augustan classicism's spirit.[166] Besides, if the artist had worked for Mithridates, he would probably have migrated to Rome with Pompey the Great (cf. chapter 8.1.3). Solon is not reported by Pliny the Elder or any other ancient writer, so he cannot be connected with a certain point of time or unambiguously linked to a specific historical figure like Dioscurides. The only reference could be a portrait of Cicero reported to have been engraved by the artist, however, this work is known only from post-classical copies, so it is uncertain if he really cut that portrait and the whole thing is presumably a fabricated modern story (cf. chapter 8.3.2). Therefore, all one can tell about his potential employment for Octavian comes from his works. One of the first observations regarding Solon is an evolution in his style and capacities over time since *Medusa Strozzi* presents a largely Hellenistic manner of engraving and composition, while later intaglios by Solon are essentially classicising. They put emphasis on harmonious, 'Pheidian' profiles, fine and delicate detailing and overall decorative character. The robes of his figures are usually richly textured and

[160] Vollenweider 1966: 52.
[161] Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. LXV.38, vol. II: 301; Lippold 1922, pl. LIII.10.
[162] Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 176.
[163] Regarding Solon and his workshop, see: Plantzos 1999: 96-97; Vollenweider 1966: 47-56; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, nos. 153-154; 2007: 114-115.
[164] Vollenweider 1966: 48-49; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 153.
[165] Vollenweider 1966: 49-50.
[166] Plantzos 1999: 89.

the bodies perfectly proportioned.[167] Moreover, in his repertoire, there is an observable preference for exotic subjects as well as those suitable for Octavian and his propaganda, especially the busts of deities that possibly camouflage portraits of Octavian and Octavia (cat. nos 9.279-283, Figures 478-480). The only explanation for that is the employment of Solon by Octavian and the influence coming from the new patron regarding these two matters.[168]

The top-quality style and characteristic manner of Solon is to be found on a surprisingly high number of gems. Some of them are signed by him providing a basis for the identification of unsigned gems.[169] It has been suggested that Solon was involved in, if not responsible for, the creation of a class of large intaglios today mostly known from their ancient glass copies.[170] Among these, there is a particularly accomplished study of a bust of a Maenad signed by Solon and now kept in Berlin (cat. no. 9.279).[171] This work is very close to two large agate plaques preserved now in the British Museum in London featuring Octavian as Mercury and Octavia as Diana (cf. cat. nos 9.280-281, Figures 433-434). Vollenweider and other scholars noticed these incredible similarities and concluded that all three gems must have been cut by Solon or at least should be attributed to his workshop.[172] If that is the case, his employment for Octavian is almost certain and taking into consideration outstanding pieces he cut, he must have been the main gem engraver working for Octavian during the period of c. 44-early 20s BC. The propagandistic value of the two agate plaques is high since on the one hand, they testify to Octavian's promotion of family that later created the foundations for the dynastic reign of the Julio-Claudian clan and even more importantly, he and Octavia are presented in the guise of deities. Similarly, it should be argued if an amethyst masterpiece intaglio in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, depicting the bust of Apollo in a typical classicising manner with a square, idealised face, wavy hair cascading over a headband does not evoke Octavian and his relationship with that patron deity (cat. no. 9.282, Figure 435). These matters will be appropriately commented on in the sub-chapters devoted to the family promotion and mythological and divine references (cf. chapters 9.3.1.5 and 9.3.1.8), but it should be noted that they help to understand the logic for the creation of the next intaglios that do present Octavian in divine guises.

One of them is the famous bleached carnelian intaglio presenting Octavian as Neptune stepping into a chariot drawn by four sea-horses through a turbulent sea. He holds a trident in his right hand while his left one grasps the reins. The dolphin (a symbol referring to Venus and Neptune at the same time) acts as his companion, while under the hooves of the sea-horses there is a male figure (cf. cat. no. 9.283, Figure 436). This extraordinary piece has been widely discussed and is traditionally referred to as an intaglio commemorating Octavian's success in the Battle of Actium and consequently dated c. 31-27 BC.[173] This date is often based on the fact that in the coinage of Octavian minted 31-27 BC there are numerous naval emblems celebrating the Actium victory.[174] However, in my opinion it is crucial to analyse the propagandistic message and potential of the gem first. The figure of the defeated enemy that appears under the sea-horses' hooves cannot be identified from the depiction itself. Therefore, the most important is Octavian's identification with Neptune which started even before his victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus in 36 BC and is documented in his coinage as well as ancient literary sources.[175] At that time Octavian practiced the old-fashioned Roman tradition of the *evocatio* to the deity that he wanted to support his case. Even though indeed Neptune was engaged in the triumphal procession after the Actium victory, it seems more reasonable to link the Boston intaglio with the Naulochus Battle.[176] It should be noted that the style of the gem is not fully classicising but has some Hellenistic character. The symbolism employed here is indirect and subtle. The victorious Octavian is presented in the way typical of a Hellenistic king rather than a Roman general.[177] Conceptually, the intaglio stays in sharp contrast for example to the famous Actium cameo in Vienna where Octavian is presented not as the god, but a Roman triumphator (cf. cat. no. 10.92, Figure 812).[178] This may be only due to the fact that the engraver employed for cutting this piece did not completely understand Roman concepts and created the image according to his own, Greek-Hellenistic rules which are so typical for Solon. The gem is inscribed in Greek 'ΠΟΠΙΛ ΑΛΒΑΝ' (Popilius Albanus), which is likely the name of the owner of the gem, but this issue will be discussed later (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7). All this evidence suggests Solon to have been working for Octavian in

[167] Spier 1991: 94-95.
[168] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 114-115.
[169] Vollenweider 1966: 48-52; For a list of Solon's signed gems, see: Plantzos 1999: 96-97, note 239.
[170] Plantzos 1999: 97.
[171] Vollenweider 1966, pl. 51.2.
[172] Vollenweider 1966: 52-56; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 114-115. However, see some little differences observed by Boardman *et al.* that suggest the busts of Octavian as Mercury and Octavia as Diana to have been cut by two different artists, which still does not exclude the same workshop (2009, nos. 158 and 745).
[173] Galinsky 1998: 22; Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 36; Guiraud 1996: 126; Lapatin 2015: 248; Laubscher 1974: 249; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 454; Morawiecki 2014: 205; Plantzos 1999: 96; Toso 2007: 209; Vollenweider 1966: 51; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 128.
[174] Lapatin 2015: 248.
[175] Barcaro 2008/2009: 225-236; Morawiecki 2014: 101-103; Trunk 2008: 163.
[176] Morawiecki 2014: 103.
[177] Plantzos 1999: 96.
[178] Zanker 1988: 97-98.

the 30s BC and possibly also in the early 20s BC, but his position was probably later taken over (maybe after his death) by Dioscurides.

Many of Solon's other works present subjects suitable for Octavian/Augustan propaganda like the nicolo intaglio featuring Theseus signed by him (cat. no. 9.844, Figure 610, see discussion in chapter 9.3.1.8) or a gem signed by him and depicting Diomedes with Palladion (cat. no. 9.553, Figure 498, see discussion in chapter 9.3.1.8).[179] Having stated that Solon most likely worked under the patronage of Octavian I shall consider if his workshop was responsible for the series of Octavian's bearded portraits described above (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1). Almost all of them are cut in carnelian and they usually present the same, high-quality style differing in some minor details. They were not all cut by the same hand since a few are clearly cut in a more schematic manner, perhaps by the assistants of the master, but it seems reasonable to consider them as originating from the same workshop whose leader might have been Solon himself. The same workshop could have manufactured the above-described intaglio presenting Octavian and Caesar as Theseus and Aegeus (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1) as well as several other intaglios with images of Apollo and Cassandra which are the next suitable subjects for Octavian/Augustan propaganda (cf. cat. nos 9.797-812, Figures 592-598, chapter 9.3.1.8 and 10.323-343, Figures 897-900, chapter 10.5 respectively).[180] It seems that the workshop organised by Solon survived down to the Augustan era, but it played a leading role in the 30s BC.

Regarding other gem engravers working for Octavian, Zwierlein-Diehl suggests Thamyras to be the author of the intaglio from Boston discussed above.[181] Nevertheless, in the light of the evidence presented above, it seems more likely that the piece was executed by Solon or in his workshop. Besides, Thamyras in his repertoire has some gems with Egyptian subjects which are unsuitable for Octavian propaganda and thus, it is problematic to see him as employed by the young politician.[182] Octavian's victory at the Battle of Actium surely resulted in the influx of Greek gem engravers to Rome and many of them were employed to work for Augustus at the imperial court.[183] This issue will be fully commented on in chapter 10.2.

9.3.1.3. Seals of Octavian

In previous chapters one observed that seals were unique to their owners and all prominent Roman politicians and statesmen used to put extremely meaningful images upon their private seals. All the examples of famous seals noted in this book so far had a massive political significance and transmitted powerful propaganda messages. Octavian was no different. During his life he employed several seals some of which became official symbols of his dominance and reign. Having some credible information on them thanks to ancient literary sources it is possible to establish precisely the kinds of devices he used and the sequence of his private seals. We shall begin with the family traditions that were so important within Roman society at that time and beyond as in the Hellenistic world family rings also had considerable meaning.[184] It is speculated that just after the assassination of Julius Caesar Octavian took over his seal with Venus Victrix and used it as his own (cat. no. 8.129, Figure 245). Cassius Dio reports some vague evidence for the use of that seal by Octavian before the Battle of Philippi as a thing once belonging to the dictator was supposed to be a good omen for the new Caesar Octavian.[185] It is a fact that the ring of adoption became one of the most significant symbols in Octavian's early propaganda performed in glyptics, since there are many gems engraved with a combination of his portrait and the ring accompanied with other positive elements (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1),[186] thus, one supposes that Cassius Dio's words hold some truth about the earliest seal used by Octavian.[187] Moreover, other archaeological material confirms that too because prior to the death of Julius Caesar, probably no ordinary citizen dared to use Venus Victrix for his private seals perhaps because it was considered as reserved only to Caesar himself. The subject became vastly popular in the second half of the 1st century BC and later which was possibly due to Octavian's promotion. Octavian taking the seal of Caesar as his own was a logical and purely propagandistic step since this act confirmed his claim to be the heir of Caesar. It was a powerful sign for the followers of the dictator that they should support him. Moreover, the act of heritage itself was a powerful propaganda mechanism since Octavian could be (and maybe wanted to be) compared to Alexander the Great, who also received a signet ring from his father and gave his own to his successor Perdikkas.[188] It is noteworthy that while seriously ill, Augustus also gave Agrippa his ring appointing him his successor in a way which should also be recognised as a propaganda act of transfer of power.[189]

Concerning the next seals employed by Octavian, these are even better documented in the literary sources and glyptic material. Several authors attested that the

[179] Vollenweider 1966: 50-52; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 154.
[180] Vollenweider 1966: 55-56.
[181] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 121.
[182] Vollenweider 1966: 37-38; Zwierlein-Diehl 1989; 2007: 121.
[183] Mobius 1964; Vollenweider 1966.
[184] Sena Chiesa 2012: 264.
[185] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 47.41.2.
[186] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 195-197.
[187] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 11-12.
[188] Aemilius Probus, *In Eumenen*, 2.1; Diodorus Siculus, 17.117; Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 9.1; Porphyry, *Chronica*, 3.1; Q. Curtius Rufus, 10.512.
[189] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 53.30.

sphinx was an official seal of Octavian in the early stages of his political career.[190] According to Pliny, Octavian used two identical seals with the sphinx device that he found among the jewels of his mother Atia.[191] One believes that this was no coincidence because the sphinx on his seal was a symbol of hope for *regnum Apollinis* prophesied by the sybil the embodiment of which was supposed to be Octavian himself.[192] It is clear that the choice of the device and the circumstances described by Pliny were deliberate propaganda action. The fact that Octavian found these seals among his mother jewels, who was miraculously inseminated by Apollo while dreaming in his temple, was supposed to testify to his connection with the god in the same way as the device itself did. It is not known when exactly Octavian started to seal his documents with sphinx device,[193] but already in the 30s BC there is a sharp increase in the production of gemstone and glass gems featuring this motif in glyptics in general (cf. chapter 9.3.1.9) and Morawiecki observed that Octavian intensified referencing Apollo well before the Battle of Actium so the seals were probably already in use before 31 BC.[194] These facts combined with another testimony from Pliny, that Octavian allowed his lieutenants (Agrippa and Maecenas) to open his correspondence and issue new letters on his behalf with the use of one of his seals suggests that the motif became a sort of state seal and probably was popularised to such a degree among his soldiers and followers that it was worn as a symbol of loyalty and allegiance to his political party (cf. chapter 9.3.1.9).[195] Furthermore, it is believed that the same motif appears on some of Augustus' cistophori minted c. 27-26 BC in Pergamum allowing us to see what two of Octavian's private seals actually looked like and probably indicating the terminal date of their usage (Figure 437).[196] Instinsky reasonably argued that Octavian must have given Agrippa and Maecenas one of his sphinx seals while departed to the East to the war with Mark Antony and Cleopatra and Maecenas was left in Rome to take care of his business there or maybe even already while Octavian was engaged in the conflict over Sicily with Sextus Pompey.[197]

It is disputable how long Octavian used his sphinx seals. Pliny states that when gibes about the inscrutability of sphinx became too much, as the creature always brought its enigmas with it, Octavian adopted the image of Alexander the Great as his next official seal.[198] It is not known whether this was a bust of Alexander as Heracles, or the casual type known from the coins of Lysimachus or maybe the classical type with the horn of Ammon as the original gem has not survived.[199] Henig believes that Dioscurides' signed intaglio presenting Alexander the Great as Achilles may recall that seal used by Augustus.[200] Nevertheless, given the fact that there is a considerable production of Alexander the Great's portraits copied on gems in the age of Octavian/Augustus it seems more likely that the seal presented Alexander's portrait rather than a figural motif which indeed may testify to his *imitatio Alexandri* (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8). Perhaps, the fragment of amethyst intaglio signed by Dioscurides and showing Heracles from the Beverley collection in fact could have been meant to depict Alexander in the guise of the Greek hero and was the seal of Augustus (cat. no. 9.284, Figure 438). Whatever the subject, it was surely adopted just after the victory at Actium in 31 BC and was a powerful propagandistic message comparing Octavian's success to the conquest of the East by Alexander at the peak of his 'Diadoch Style'.[201] In other words, this is one of the clearest testimonies for Octavian's *imitatio Alexandri.*[202] This is also the next time when Octavian's propaganda in glyptics addresses his *comparatio* to sort of a divine figure. With the first seal presenting Venus Victrix he referred to the goddess herself and most importantly *Divus Iulius*. In the case of the sphinxes, he alluded to Apollo as his divine protector and even father. Now, turning to Alexander the Great, he confirmed that his actions resemble those of the next deified figure whose *auctoritas* was transferred onto him. For Alexander was a point of reference to all prominent Romans seeking success in the East as in the case of Pompey the Great and Mark Antony, both also expressing their *comparatio* or *imitatio* to Alexander through their seals (cf. chapters 8.1.4 and 9.3.2.7 respectively). Besides, by comparing himself to Alexander, Octavian created an image of himself as the ruler dominating the whole world and introducing order and peace into the Roman Empire.[203] Finally, the image of Alexander could serve Octavian on a more personal level since it is known that the Macedonian king suited him as an exemplar which Octavian many times highlighted himself.[204] Due to the fact that the sphinx appears on Octavian/Augustus'

[190] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 51.3.6; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 50.
[191] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4.
[192] Barcarro 2008/2009: 37; Instinsky 1962: 28-29; Vollenweider 1966: 18; Zanker 1988: 49 and 270-271.
[193] See a discussion of this matter in: Instinsky 1962: 23-27 and Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 12 - who claims that these rings were used by him at the culminating point of the rivalry with Mark Antony, that is in the years 31-30 BC.
[194] Morawiecki 2014: 99-101.
[195] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4; Instinsky 1962: 23-25; Lapatin 2015: 113; Plantzos 1999: 21-22.
[196] The sphinx appears on Octavian/Augustus' cistophori probably minted in Pergamum ca. 27-26 BC (*RIC* I^2 Augustus, no. 492; RPC I, no. 2210) and also later on his aurei from 19-18 BC (*RIC* I^2 Augustus, no. 511). See also, Sutherland 1970, pp. 90–99, pls. XVII-XIX.
[197] Instinsky 1962: 25-26.
[198] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4.
[199] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XI; Instinsky 1962: 33-34; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 12.
[200] Henig 1994: 153.
[201] Zanker 1988: 79.
[202] Instinsky 1962: 31-33; Kühnen 2008: 26-27 and 131-134.
[203] Instinsky 1962: 34-35.
[204] Henig 2007: 3.

cistophori minted between 27-26 BC, it is fairly possible that the sphinx seals and the one with the image of Alexander the Great were in use at the same time. They were replaced in around 27 BC when Octavian became Augustus and had his portrait engraved as a new seal by the famous Dioscurides. That final seal will be fully discussed in the chapter 10.3.

9.3.1.4. Portraits – personal branding, induction and manifestation of loyalty

Octavian for sure employed a workshop of gem engravers to cut very special portrait and other gems for him and the leading role in it was probably taken by Solon. There is much evidence for the politician encouraging a considerable production of less ambitious portrait gems either presenting only his likeness or in combination with an assortment of symbols in various contexts. The great number of glass gems bearing those motifs is interpreted by scholars as a serial production on a massive scale, which can be explained as an effect of Octavian's propaganda.[205] It is believed that those gems were part of his personal branding as he wanted to make himself more recognisable among the followers of Caesar. For this reason, many portrait gems present his image accentuating his role as the heir of Caesar which has already been discussed above (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1).[206] It is important to notice that in the case of the bulk of Octavian's portrait gems every detail matters even the type of his image because the gems are likely not only to testify to his own role in their production, but also to the reception of his image among his followers. Octavian is usually presented with a compact hairstyle and incisive profile according to the realistic style of the Late Roman Republic.[207] The very same portraits appear in his early coinage produced just after Caesar's death with references to his role as the heir and it is assumed that gems and coins could be produced by the same artists (Figures 402-403).[208]

It is generally believed that the gems shown in this sub-chapter were manufactured for Octavian's clients and followers perhaps on the commission of Octavian himself or at least under his encouragement.[209] This is certainly true, since the symbolism accompanying some of the portraits clearly suggests their production for specific social groups, for instance, soldiers of the Roman army. One should also consider a potential production induced by the followers and supporters of Octavian. They surely wanted to manifest their loyalty and allegiance to the Caesarian party, therefore, they put the image of their leader upon their finger rings. If that is the case, it means that gems, like any other branch of Roman art, prove that Octavian's propaganda was largely successful. This is especially evident if one compares the number of portrait gems presenting him with those of Sextus Pompey, Brutus and Cassius from the Republican party and especially his main opponent in the 30s BC – Mark Antony (cf. chapters 9.1.3, 9.2.2 and 9.3.2.3). The number of gems bearing the portrait of Octavian is unprecedented but even more astonishing is the variety of the types involving innumerable kinds of symbols all which can be explained as related to his specific political actions.[210] It is clear that the gems already discussed presenting Octavian as the heir of Caesar combined with various symbols aimed to bring associations with peace, wealth, abundance and prosperity constitute the beginning of a much larger phenomenon. It should be remembered that some of the gems amassed for this sub-chapter are problematic and can be overinterpreted e.g. they depict private individuals rather than Octavian himself. Try as one might, one cannot always make an unambiguous identification, but even those cases do not significantly distort the image of a wide phenomenon. By contrast, it is fairly possible that they inform about the reception of Octavian's portrait which became a model which also helps us to estimate the role of glyptics in his propaganda.

The first group to be analysed are those gems which present only the heads of youths without any additional symbolism that in all likelihood should be identified with Octavian (cat. nos 9.285-393). They are abundant and executed in both gemstones (cat. nos 9.285-309, Figures 439-441a-b) and glass (cat. nos 9.310-392, Figures 442-447), however, the latter clearly prevail and there is even a little evidence for full-metal rings being engraved with Octavian's image (cat. no. 9.393). The fact that together with two more triumvirs Octavian quickly took control over Rome and resided in the city for most of the time probably explains why there is such a big production of glass gems bearing his portraits. At the same time Sextus Pompey was based in Sicily and even though there is some evidence for him organising a workshop producing gems for his propaganda purposes, among these products there are almost no glass gems (cf. chapter 9.2.2). This observation suggests that the major glass gem workshops operated in Italy and most

[205] Guiraud 1996: 128-129.

[206] Sena Chiesa 2012: 261-262.

[207] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 199-203. As Vollenweider stated, this kind of portrait is also based on the early 1st century prototype that gained popularity over time and many young Romans presented themselves with a similar hairdo and facial features which sometimes makes identification of the portrait with Octavian problematic. In Vollenweider's study there are some portraits that could be argued are indeed presenting Octavian and the same situation occurs in my database because portrait identification in glyptic art is always to some degree a matter of personal taste.

[208] Sena Chiesa 2012: 261-262; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 199-203. Regarding the coins, see: *RRC*, nos. 490/1-4 (denarii and aurei of Octavian, 43 BC), 492/1 (aureus of Mark Antony, 43 BC), 493/1a-c (aurei of Octavian, 43 BC).

[209] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 36-37; Guiraud 1996: 129; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 445.

[210] Guiraud 1996: 128-129; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 451-453; Sena Chiesa 1989: 271-272; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 198-199, 203-222.

likely in Rome itself and its surroundings. Moreover, analysis of the provenance and history of the gems attributed to Octavian confirms that too since many of them belonged to the collections formed in Rome and a portion of the material is positively recognised as having been recovered within the city. Yet, it is noteworthy that other locations like Aquileia also yield those kinds of gems, but these are insignificant in number. Having access to those workshops, Octavian could produce a substantial number of glass intaglios at low cost which made his propaganda particularly effective.[211] In contrast to another group of Octavian portrait gems (see below), the ones depicting solely his head or bust cannot be said to have been distributed to a specific group of people. The general idea of using those objects by his followers must be accepted. Furthermore, one should note that some of them were found outside Italy – in France, Rheinland or Austria in military areas, e.g. in the legionary camps such as Xanten and Carnuntum and their surroundings (cat. nos 9.285-287, 314 and 362-363). This implies that portrait gems of Octavian were surely distributed or simply popular among his soldiers and travelled with them to those parts of the Roman Empire. Beyond the shadow of a doubt those specimens also show that Octavian gained considerable popularity among the troops previously loyal to Julius Caesar and this could be one of the reasons for the employment of glyptic art in his propaganda. Interestingly, these gems were used for a long period of time. Even though produced between 44 and 27 BC, they are sometimes found in early 1st century AD contexts (cat. nos 9.314, 350, 362-363 and 380).

As Vollenweider discussed in her monumental study, it is difficult or even pointless to propose precise dates for those portrait gems of the young Octavian since his image does not change considerably over the years, however, it follows the coinage rather closely and thus, we can be confident that their dates span from 44 to c. 27 BC.[212] It should be observed that compositional and even stylistic proximity to the early 1st century youthful Roman portraits makes one wonder if some of the gems taken for Octavian, should be dated to this earlier phase of glyptic art (cat. nos 9.292-293, 298 and 365) and the other way around; sometimes Octavian's portrait gems are misunderstood and taken for the private ones and dated to the early 1st century BC (cat. no. 9. 377, Figure 447). This is just to point out the problem of the portraits' identification, which however, does not distort the overall image of the large production of the gems with his portrait.

Vollenweider noticed that portraits of Octavian often appear on engraved gems with various configurations of symbols. She distinguished several groups of such representations which according to her relate to specific moments in Octavian's career or were manufactured to promote him as the heir of Caesar, the Saviour of the world order, victor of the Actium Battle or even *kosmokrator*.[213] Her grouping has been generally accepted and followed by many other scholars.[214] In the following paragraphs I am going to present a critical examination of Vollenweider's grouping. The basis she created and some of her interpretations can be confirmed, however, new, sometimes more critical insights into the issues communicated through the gems in question is also presented. The propagandistic character of the gems under investigation in the following groups cannot be denied and that is the first, overall, conclusion. There is much truth in Vollenweider's idea that gems of these kinds were manufactured to be distributed among soldiers, but certainly not all types were addressed to this group only. It must be highlighted that gems were markers of identity that was at the time closely related to the political leader or party one identified with. Naturally Octavian may have directed the production of such gems, but it is equally possible that some of them were cut on the commissions of ordinary citizens who wished to manifest their political views and loyalty to the faction's leader.[215] Furthermore, analysis of the provenance and history of the gems in question suggests that like Octavian's sole portrait gems, these were also produced in the workshops active in Rome and more broadly Italy, rather than somewhere else. Finally, these propaganda gems were usually well set in the already existing symbolic language exploiting it in its own way. In the beginning of this book I stated that one of the conditions for propaganda to be successful is the ability of the propagandist to use and even exploit the symbolic language already circulating within the society (cf. chapter 4.7). From the gems presented below it is evident that Octavian masterfully set his propaganda messages in the language used in the Late Roman Republican period.

One of the first groups I would like to examine, are the gems presenting the head of Octavian combined with the *modius* and other symbols like corn ears, poppies and very occasionally the balance. I have collected three gemstone intaglios (cat. nos 9.394-396, Figures 448-449) and four glass gems bearing this motif (cat. nos 9.397-400, Figure 450). Vollenweider claimed that the Octavian portrait placed on those gems over the *aerarium* and together with the balance is a symbol of Juno Moneta in whose Temple there was a state treasury. According

[211] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 451.
[212] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 199-203.
[213] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 192-199 and 203-222.
[214] Gagetti 2001; Guiraud 1996: 128-129; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 451-453; Sena Chiesa 1989: 271-272.
[215] This is confirmed, for instance, by the small collection of bronze rings set with glass gems among which some bear a portrait of Octavian recently studied by Gradel. It is evident that they were collected by one of the legionaries serving in Octavian's army, see: Gradel (forthcoming).

to her, this series of gems refers to Octavian's promise that he will fulfil Caesar's will and distribute money and land among the veterans and soldiers loyal to him. The *aerarium* would have also symbolised that he wishes to ensure his soldiers payment for their service in the future, which possibly refers to the battle at Philippi.[216] For these reasons, Vollenweider dated the gems in question very precisely to 43 BC. If that interpretation was correct, the motif would be another one in Octavian's propaganda repertoire including an allusion to Julius Caesar and testifying to his connection with him. However, Zwierlein-Diehl convincingly points out that the object interpreted by Vollenweider as the *aerarium* is in fact the *modius* - an ancient Roman unit for dry measures e.g. grain.[217] It usually exists on gems in combination with a balance, corn ears and poppies, rather than a portrait head and was a popular subject not only in the 1st century BC, but also in the 1st century AD and later (see below). On a private seal, it would benefit the gem's owner with abundance and prosperity, but on a political one, like those under discussion, it may stand for those values and even more importantly, the public or world order (*ordo rerum*). It is noteworthy that on a denarius struck in 42 BC by L. Livineius Regulus, the *modius* flanked by corn ears is represented with the head of L. Regulus (praetor) as a reference to the aedilitian activities (Figure 451).[218] One of the key-powers of the aedile office in ancient Rome was to enforce public order. That order may be symbolised not only by the *modius* itself but also by the balance. It seems that on the gems with portraits of Octavian and the *modius* this is the correct political message transmitted. Octavian is here presented as a guarantor of peace and prosperity and the only politician who may introduce public and even world order. Furthermore, after the establishment of the Second Triumvirate, Octavian was responsible for the grain supply in Rome, which the *modius* may illustrate as well and this also strengthens the propaganda message encoded. Taking all this into account, the gems in question should be more widely dated as after 43 BC, as suggested by Weiß and their political significance is different from that originally thought by Vollenweider.[219] The number of surviving intaglios suggests that their production was not extraordinarily large like in the case of Octavian portrait gems, but probably still considerable since there are quite a few glass objects with this subject. It seems likely that they were products of Octavian's propaganda rather than gems cut on private commissions of his followers given the complex message encoded.

Promotion or rather the guarantee of abundance and prosperity by Octavian to his followers was in fact very intensive in glyptics. There is a vast number of gems, especially moulded in glass, which address this issue combining it with his personal branding e.g. portrait (cat. nos 9.401-433, Figures 452-457). This class is distinguished on the basis of the propagandistic message transmitted and the symbolism that the gems share. Vollenweider commented on them very briefly stating that they might refer to the victory at Actium since the globe is sometimes involved.[220] I believe that the globe, symbol of the domination on *terra marique*, represents the balance of power, thus peace, in the hand of Octavian who can guarantee that to the people of Rome. Apart from the globe, usually, the compositions in this class of gems involve the following elements: cornucopiae, corn ears, poppies, clenched fist, ants and globe (Figures 452-457). Other symbols appear very occasionally like a head of a goat (cat. no. 9.401), grasshopper and cicada (cat. no. 9.405, Figure 452). All of them relate to the issue of abundance and prosperity guaranteed by Octavian to his supporters and they illustrate the faith put in him by the owners of those gems. One wonders if sometimes divine references are made since for instance, the cornucopia was a symbol of Fortuna, corn ears and poppies as well as ants may stand for Ceres, the globe was a popular symbol of Jupiter and the dolphin possibly stands for Venus the patroness of the Julian family or Neptune with whom Octavian identified in his counterpropaganda to Sextus Pompey's moves.[221] This symbolism was adopted by Octavian from the symbolic gems that co-existed with the ones related to him in the second half of the 1st century BC (see below) which made his propaganda more successful. Noteworthy is a very low ratio of gemstone intaglios (only five, cat. nos 9.401-405, Figure 452) to glass gems bearing these subjects (28 objects, cat. nos 9.406-433, Figures 453-457). Regarding the portraits, these are relevant to the early and later coinage of Octavian which suggests dating the gems of this class quite broadly to the years 44-27 BC.[222] Concerning provenance and history of the gems forming this group, like in other cases, these suggest that they were manufactured in Rome or more broadly in Italy and interestingly Aquileia yields two specimens (cat. nos cat. nos 9.401-402). Perhaps a plausible explanation is that local gem engravers realized that this is a highly popular theme and decided to apply it into their own production not meaning their products to convey Octavian propaganda e.g. they were not encouraged to do that. If that had been the case, Octavian's propaganda gems would have proven

[216] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 203-205.
[217] Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1957.
[218] *RRC*, no. 494/29 (denarius of L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC) and commentaries on pp. 511 and 729.
[219] Weiß 2007, no. 385.
[220] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 200.
[221] The dolphin, as a maritime subject, is also often associated with Octavian's victory at Actium in 31 BC, see: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 29; Platz-Horster 2018, no. 9.
[222] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 28.

very successful and been retransmitted without much investment needed from Octavian himself.

Another group of gems probably addressing the same issue of abundance, prosperity and balance of power guaranteed by Octavian can be distinguished based on the head of the politician combined with the balance as the most important element and supplemented by the same symbolism as discussed above (cat. nos 9.434-447, Figures 458-459). It has been suggested that this configuration stands for *aequitas* or Aequitas – the Roman personification of equality and fairness. Because of a pair of dolphins often accompanying it, those gems are usually interpreted as commemorating the Battle of Actium,[223] however, dolphins may stand for Venus who was a patroness of the Julian family. Interestingly all the gems with this iconography known to me are made of glass and it is clear that many of them were made from the same matrix. They are likely to be a part of Octavian's organised production that presumably took place in Rome or its surroundings, and what is more, their finds in France, Dalmatia and Nijmegen suggest that they were distributed or popular among soldiers (cat. nos 9.435-436 and 446-447).

Regarding the promotion of Octavian's image within the context of guaranteed peace, abundance and prosperity, there is a small series of glass gems presenting his portrait over a crab accompanied with symbols like corn ears or stars (cat. nos 9.448-451, Figures 460-462). A similar crab appears on the coins minted for Augustus c. 19-4 BC by M. Durmius and the animal is presented on the reverse holding a butterfly in its claws (Figure 463).[224] This peculiar aureus has been puzzling scholars for ages since they have seen in it a reference to Augustus' favourite motto *festina lente*, but in the early 1950s Deonna proposed to regard this symbolism as a representation of Cancer, the sign of the Zodiac and as an allusion to the concepts of happiness, prosperity and worldly conquest as well as brevity of life (the butterfly).[225] It seems reasonable to propose a similar explanation for the symbolism appearing on the gems in question and as noticed by Trillmich, in the case of coins' representations, the crab might be a reference to *libertas*.[226] The astrological significance of the crab is attested on one intaglio by the stars (cat. no. 9.448, Figure 460) and it is likely that this specific piece could have belonged to a follower of Octavian whose zodiacal sign was Cancer. In other cases, the reference to abundance and prosperity connected with Octavian is made clear by the corn ears accompanying the crab and the head.

The next group of propaganda gems with the head or bust of Octavian involves symbolism of a clearly bucolic character. It should be said that this is more typical for Augustus, especially after 27 BC, but it seems that positive ideas of wealth, prosperity, abundance and peace previously existed on gems on a small scale. The specimens belonging to this group are interesting not only due to their iconography, but also because there are just two gemstone intaglios and one glass gem (cat. nos 9.452-453, Figure 464 and 9.454, Figure 465 respectively). Besides, one observes that again, the provenance and history of those objects suggest their creation in the Italian workshops, but at the same time, one object was found in Xanten, which suggests their distribution among soldiers. The bucolic character is highlighted by such elements like a goat, *aedicula* on a rock or comedy mask. Cat. no. 9.454 is particularly intriguing since the bust of Octavian appears on it to the front over a globe located inside a sanctuary or a temple with laurel bushes on both sides of the building. Vollenweider suggested that the gem refers to the Domus Augustana on the Palatine Hill.[227] However, it clearly depicts a shrine or a temple, not a secular building, therefore, it might be the Temple of Apollo Palatinus erected after the victory at Actium but vowed by Octavian already in 36 BC on his return after the victory over Sextus Pompey at the Battle of Naulochus so that the intaglios from this group should be dated c. between 44-27 BC.

It has already been noted in several places that the provenance of some of the gems bearing the portrait of Octavian combined with various symbols suggests their distribution or simply popularity among soldiers. Now, I am going to comment on another class where military and legionary references are clearly suggested in the iconography. These objects are either gemstones or glass gems, but the latter are more numerous in the proportion five to seven (cat. nos 9.455-459, Figure 466 and 9.460-466, Figures 467-468). Vollenweider suggested that gems of this type were produced during the conflict between Octavian and Sextus Pompey,[228] however, one should not attribute them to one event only since their iconography includes elements suggestive of Octavian's other military accomplishments, especially the Battle of Actium. For this reason, here, I am focusing on those objects that do not commemorate the Actium victory, but they broadly refer to the issue of Octavian as the military commander and leader guaranteeing victory in the conflict with the Pompeians and the Republicans and later also Mark Antony. The objects related to Actium will be discussed in the sub-chapter dealing with the issue of commemoration (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7). On the thirteenth gems under discussion here, the head or bust of Octavian generally appears in a

[223] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 29.
[224] *RIC* I[2] Augustus, no. 316.
[225] Deonna 1954.
[226] Trillmich 1988: 487. The exact image known from a M. Durmius coin minted for Augustus is repeated on a carnelian intaglio in a private collection, see: Bagot 2012, no. 329.
[227] Vollenweider 1979, no. 177.
[228] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 205-207.

military context which is highlighted, for instance, by the *paludamentum* or symbols clearly signifying his military prowess like the legionary standards or legionary eagle. These elements make it clear that gems with this kind of iconography were manufactured for soldiers and perhaps were given to the veterans and legionaries loyally serving first Julius Caesar and then Octavian. They played an important role in integration propaganda. Sometimes, the symbolism employed involves the *modius* and balance as the signs of abundance, prosperity and public order that should be achieved thanks to victory in the civil war (cat. no. 9.455). Sometimes, the bucolic character of several specimens is suggested by masks accompanying other symbols and they were purposed to bring about associations with tranquillity that should come after Octavian's victories (cat. nos 9.456 and 461, Figures 466-467). One example includes a peculiar element which is a stork that symbolises the *pietas* of Octavian towards Julius Caesar (cat. no. 9.456, Figure 466).[229] Trophies and other visualisations of the future military victories are also suggested on a few objects (cat. no. 9.465 Figure 468).

Another quite numerous group of gems does not make direct reference to the Roman army and legions, but still, these objects were intended to show Octavian's military prowess and ability to command the troops he inherited from Caesar. In these instances, Octavian is shown with a variety of symbols like a shield and spear (cat. nos 9.467-489, Figures 469-470), shield and a rudder (cat. nos 9.490-491, Figure 471) which may allude to his naval prowess and perhaps the victory at Naulochus or Actium, two spears protruding behind his head (cat. nos 9. 492-506, Figures 472-473) and a trophy which probably alludes to one of his victorious battles or a wish for such a victory (cat. nos 9.507-508, Figure 474a-b). Sometimes references to peace in the form of two clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) may also stand for the Second Triumvirate (cat. no. 9.467) and symbols of abundance and prosperity like the cornucopia rarely accompany the images too (cat. nos 9.474) and so does the *sidus Iulium* as a shield decoration (cat. no. 9.508, Figure 474a-b) as well as Capricorn – Octavian's zodiacal sign (cat. no. 9.502). Like in other categories, in this one glass gems clearly outnumber the gemstone intaglios (8 to 33) and the analysis of their provenance and history suggests that they were produced in Italy, maybe more specifically in Rome. Some of them were found outside of Italy (cat. nos 9.467, 473-474 and 494) which informs us about their popularity among soldiers or even direct distribution, and they dispersed them throughout the empire. Analysis of the portrait types does not allow us to establish a precise chronological framework since many of the portraits are schematic or executed too carelessly (especially those in glass) so that one assumes their production took place c. 44-27 BC but only few of them were produced after the Battle of Actium.

Octavian was extremely resourceful regarding his personal branding and he used to set his own portrait together with various symbols bringing positive associations to mind. Concerning his exploitation of glyptic art, he was successful in using the traditional methods of self-promotion and one of its elements was setting his image with his zodiacal sign which was Capricorn. It is more typical for him to refer to Capricorn on later intaglios and cameos when he ruled as Augustus, but prior to 27 BC he used to promote himself with this sign too. This was consistent with a general trend of setting a portrait with one's horoscope on a gem. Intaglios showing the head of Octavian with Capricorn are quite numerous (cat. nos 9.509-519, Figures 475-479) and that symbolism became very popular especially after the Battle of Actium as the addition of military equipment and dolphin as supplementing iconographical elements demonstrates (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7). Nevertheless, one should be wary that among the gems listed here perhaps some are private amulets rather than Octavian's promotional intaglios because the astrological constellations are sometimes more elaborate than just Capricorn or Libra. These two elements are related to the politician, but the signs of Ares, Cancer, Leo, Pisces and Scorpion as well as the star and crescent cannot be linked with him and indicate private horoscopes (cat. nos 9.511, 514-516, Figures 475-477). Alternatively, one imagines that Octavian's followers used to combine their own horoscope with the image and horoscope of their leader on those gems which they used to express their loyalty and allegiance to him. Such an explanation allows them to stay in the political sphere and informs us about Octavian's propaganda effectiveness.

In her study of Roman Republican portrait gems, Vollenweider made an interesting commentary on a group of gems presenting diademed, young, male portraits and busts sometimes holding a spear or sceptre in front of them and a Gallic shield (in a few cases) on the arm and she identified them with Octavian (c. nos. 9.519-526, Figures 480-483).[230] She concluded that after the victory at Actium, he issued this series of gems presenting himself in a Greek manner as *kosmokrator* – ruler of the whole world. This hypothesis, although attractive since it would confirm that glyptics allowed bolder propaganda messages to be transmitted, cannot be accepted due to the considerable differences in physiognomies and coiffures of the portrayed persons. It is clear that the group includes representations of various people. Recently Plantzos re-examined those

[229] See a broader commentary to this issue in: Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 256.

[230] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 211-214.

portraits and he convincingly argues that many of them belong to Late Hellenistic rulers (most likely Seleucids).[231] He observes that some indeed exhibit traits of Augustan classicism, so one wonders if these are client kings to Rome depicted on some of those gems, but they should by no means be identified with Octavian. The classicising influence suggests that those rulers could have taken Octavian/Augustus as a model, especially after his victory at Actium, which testifies to the effectiveness of his propaganda but is not one of its form unless the image clearly involves a laurel or oak wreath like in the case of the intaglio in Krakow (cat. no. 9.522, Figure 481a-b). This gem presumably shows the portrait of young Octavian. The few little oblique grooves on the band indicate a very schematically cut laurel or oak wreath. The profile of the face is similar to the previously described portraits of Octavian. The oak wreath (*corona civica*) suggests the victory at Actium in 31 BC and the award for saving the lives of citizens by ending the Civil War received in 27 BC.[232]

One of the biggest challenge of portrait gems is their identification. If the portrait appears with additional symbolism it is the latter that allows us to make a more or less secure identification of the historical person depicted but sometimes iconography is vague creating even more of a puzzle. Things are even more complicated where gems presenting a sole portrait are concerned. Moreover, the schematic carving and low quality of some gems, especially the glass ones, is often a major obstacle. Comparisons with coins are helpful but only to some degree and cannot solve all the problems. In the mass of portrait gems gathered here there are controversial examples, but this issue is the most complex in the case of gems featuring what a researcher might accept as portraits of Octavian accompanied with inscriptions. However, some might be private portraits of young individuals which exhibit the same traits as Octavian's and they originate from the same early 1st century Italic tradition.[233]

Portrait gems accompanied with inscriptions illustrate how complex is the issue of identification. I found several intriguing gems that, in my opinion, bear the head of Octavian with various symbols and inscriptions, both confirming that identification. These include a carnelian in Berlin where Octavian is presented as Mercury with a lotus-petal diadem on the head (cat. no. 9.528, Figure 484) and the inscription probably suggesting the gem owner's name.[234] Another example is a carnelian in Copenhagen where Octavian's head is to the right upon a round altar with a festoon and between two palm branches (cat. no. 9.529, Figure 485). This set clearly indicates a triumph after a military victory or another important accomplishment. The inscription is in Greek and consists of two letters: N and Λ. They might stand for Naulochus indicating the subject to be Octavian celebrating his triumph after his defeat of Sextus Pompey in 36 BC. Alternatively, the inscription is an abbreviation of the name of the gem's sitter who appears to be a supporter of Octavian. The second interpretation seems more likely as a similar situation appears on a glass gem from Perugia presenting the head of Octavian flanked by two cornucopiae and there is inscription AL (cat. no. 9.530, Figure 486). On this specimen, Octavian is presented a guarantor of abundance and prosperity, very much like on a group of similar gems described above. The inscription is certainly the abbreviation of the gem's possessor who must have been Octavian's supporter. All these examples prove that Octavian's portrait gems accompanied with symbolism were distributed among his followers or they commissioned them to manifest their loyalty to him and allegiance to the Caesarian party. To make this clear, they tend to put their signature on the stones so that once the gem was used as a seal or simply carried as mounted on a ring, there were no doubts to whom it belongs and so that the owner is a supporter of Octavian.

Sole heads taken for Octavian accompanied with the abbreviations of Latin *tria nomina* or more elaborated inscriptions also exist. I do not find examples of ancient gems presenting Octavian's portraits with inscriptions directly suggesting his identification. The only exception could be a stone in the Chatsworth collection bearing portrait of Octavian and inscription: CAES AVG, but I think this inscription to be a later (modern) addition (cat. no. 9.531, Figure 487). There are many gems bearing portraits similar to Octavian and while some can be linked with him (cat. nos 9.532-537, Figures 488-489), the others are possibly just private seals (cat. nos 9.538-541, Figures 490-491). It was perhaps due to a strong resonance of Octavian's portrait gems and other means of his propaganda (coins, sculpture) which considerably popularised his image, especially among soldiers. They could follow their leader and, for instance, ask the engravers to cut their private seal taking Octavian as a model. By doing this, they expressed their allegiance to him and the party of the Caesarians. Such activities strengthened the bonds between them and Octavian and were logical since people sought protection in the midst of the civil war.

In this context, it is noteworthy to mention that while searching for evidence of the private use of gems with Octavian's portraits by individuals and possibly his supporters, one encounters his portrait either alone or with some symbols on a few sealings found in various

[231] Plantzos 1999: 58.
[232] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 256.
[233] Sena Chiesa 2012: 261-262.
[234] See a discussion in Weiß 2007, no. 389.

parts of the Roman Empire. In the hoard discovered in Artashat in Armenia, Neverov identified one sealing with the portrait of Octavian (cat. no. 9.541), while in Cyrene a sealing presents Octavian's head with a prow and dolphin (cat. no. 9.543, Figure 492). Two more examples have been found in Zeugma; one of them is even inscribed with the gem owner's name in abbreviation, while the second presents a laureate head of Octavian and probably dates after the Actium victory (cat. nos 9.544-545, Figure 493). These four sealings testify that gems of the types discussed above were indeed used by supporters of Octavian throughout the whole empire. It is likely that they were used not only for utilitarian purposes but for self-propaganda of their sitters since far from Rome, they made it clear that they are supported by a prominent Roman politician, so it was a mutually beneficial deal.

Finally, it should be noted that during Octavian's activities between the years 43-27 BC several cameos were created for him or the people from his faction (cat. nos 9.546-552, Figures 494-497). Just as the series of his bearded portraits in intaglios and cameos (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1), they are important testimonies of a gem workshop active at the court of Octavian at that time. These cameos could be either gifted to Octavian or distributed by him to his followers. They belong to the early phase of the production of the so-called State Cameos which will be more extensively discussed later (cf. chapter 10.9). Some of them were moulded in glass and in some cases (cat. no. 9.550, Figure 496) the level of workmanship is low which suggests that the originals were copied or equivalents were manufactured to supply the need of the market for such precious works of art among Octavian's followers. After the victory at Actium many gem cutters transferred their businesses to Rome which is reflected in the provenance and history of the objects in question. Moreover, some glass cameos were found in Rome and several come from the collections formed in this city which supports the view that the production of gems relating to Octavian primarily took place in that area.

9.3.1.5. Promotion of family

Promotion of family members and the family as a future dynasty was a very important issue for Octavian from the very beginning of his political career. One of his aims was to show his connection with Julius Caesar on engraved gems (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1), but as mentioned while writing about Solon's commitment for the potential workshop cutting gems for Octavian, another was to promote his sister in glyptics. The most astonishing example is the agate plaque depicting her as the goddess Diana paired with Octavian presented as Mercury (cat. nos 9.280, Figure 433 and 281, Figure 434 respectively). This was a very subtle presentation but with a powerful political message heralding Octavian's desire to establish a dynasty in Rome. It appeared in glyptics because of the highly private character of this art form which allowed it to make more direct references to deities than coinage and the subtle and ambiguous language of propaganda could be used in it to express such ideas without fearing a backlashfrom public opinion.

In the case of family promotion, Octavian's propaganda took various forms. For instance, in coinage, the motif of Aeneas carrying Anchises out of Troy on his shoulders served as a reference to Julius Caesar, who first put this motif on one of his coins in 47/46 BC, and generally to the Julian family and its legendary history.[235] The subject was suitable for Octavian's and later Augustus' propaganda because it illustrated the bond with his predecessor and his *pietas erga patrem*.[236] Moreover, it may have worked as counterpropaganda to Sextus Pompey's activities, who used to promote his own family by the image of the Catanean Brothers, and also later to Mark Antony's promotion as *Neos Dionysus*.[237] In glyptics the motif of Aeneas carrying Anchises out of Troy and Diomedes rescuing the Palladion, which was another suitable motif for the propaganda of the Julii, experienced a considerable burst of popularity during the second half of the 1st century BC. It seems likely that this popularity was connected to the political and propaganda activities of Caesar and Octavian/Augustus e.g. promotion of the family issue (cf. chapters 8.2.8, 9.3.1.8 and especially 10.7).[238] These subjects existed well before that and are present on 3rd and 2nd century BC intaglios first due to the fact that Diomedes was regarded a founder of 18 Italian cities and secondly because he played an important role during the Second Punic War.[239] However, Octavian/Augustus presented himself as Diomedes, that is, a protector of the Palladion against Mark Antony, which not only helped to create a powerful position of the Julian family, but also compared him to the mythological figure of the hero which raised his authority.[240] Moreover, Diomedes represented *imperium* – the total power so much sought by Octavian. The same applies to his identification with Aeneas.[241] It is noteworthy that Solon presented the subject of Diomedes stealing the Palladion upon one of his signed gems (cat. no. 9.553, Figure 498). Was it intended to glorify Octavian and propagate the Julian

[235] Regarding the coin of Caesar, see: *RRC*, no. 458/1 (denarius of Julius Caesar, 47/46 BC). Concerning the coinage of Octavian, see: Hekster 2004: 171; Ritter 1995: 74-75; *RRC*, nos. 494/3a-b (aurei of L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC).
[236] Evans 1992: 41-42.
[237] Barcarro 2008/2009: 67-99.
[238] Vollenweider 1955: 103-104.
[239] Moret 1997: 281-290. On the history of this motif in glyptics and its significance as a part of the Trojan cycle, see also: Toso 2007: 54-64. See also a useful commentary and some criticism to Moret, in: Weiß 2007, no. 273.
[240] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 114-115.
[241] Toso 2007: 71-73.

clan as he probably worked for the politician?[242] The work of Solon sparked a series of gems cut by the best gem engravers of the last third of the 1st century BC and there were more reasons for Octavian promoting himself in the guise of Aeneas and Diomedes alike later, when he became Augustus. This issue will be fully discussed in chapter 10.7.

The goddess Venus played a particular role, first in Julius Caesar's and later in Octavian's propaganda. Caesar made her the mother of the Julian family (Venus Genetrix) and the strong promotion of her cult by him resulted after his death in the great popularity of another form of Venus – Victrix, the one bringing success - in glyptics. The protection of Venus over the Julian clan was much exploited by Octavian too who also referred to her. This was appropriate considering the fact that she was regarded as the mother of the descendants of Aeneas among whom Octavian promoted himself.[243] Therefore, Venus Victrix appears on gems during the first decades of his political activity as the symbol of Caesar and the Julian family in general as well as an expression of allegiance to the Caesarian party (cat. no. 9.554).[244] Venus was perceived by the Romans as a progenitor of the nation, thus, she was taken as a sign of the divine privilege of the Romans to govern the world. She became a source of power and *imperium* for Caesar and in the same role she was adopted by Octavian to assert his power.[245] It is noteworthy that she appears in this incarnation on some intaglios in the 30s or early 20s BC holding the sword of Mars – another key figure in Octavian's propaganda of his legitimacy to rule the Roman empire (cat. no. 9.555, Figure 499).

Concerning Venus and family promotion, a series of intaglios cut in a strong Hellenistic spirit is notable. These clearly indicate execution in a workshop lead by a Greek presenting, as it is supposed, Octavian and Livia standing together and looking to the right. Livia holds a cloak over her head like the goddess Aphrodite/Venus which was most likely an intentional reference (cat. nos 9.556-558, Figures 500-501). The unusual size of these gems suggests a production for extraordinary purposes and the subtle connection between Octavian's new wife whom he married in 38 BC and Venus would have been appreciated by people from his inner circle who could understand and acknowledge the comparison. Vollenweider preferred to see in this pair Octavian and Octavia, which is also possible, but in my opinion less likely.[246] The comparison and even identification of Livia with Venus is well-attested in later, Augustan, glyptics and the intaglios under discussion seem to constitute the very beginning of that process (cf. chapter 10.10), while Octavia lacks divine comparisons except for the one with Diana. Moreover, another exceptional piece now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu most likely presents Octavian's and Livia's identities hidden in an unparalleled gem depicting a woman, mostly nude, with her hair bound in a sakkos, seated on a rock, who gestures to a nude youth standing before her. The man has a drapery over one shoulder and carries a *pedum* visible near his shoulder (cat. no. 9.559, Figure 502). The identity of the pair has been the subject of scrutiny since the gem's first publication in the 18th century, but they are likely the goddess Venus and her lover, the Trojan Anchises.[247] The offspring of their union was Aeneas, the father of the Roman people with whom Octavian identified. The intaglio was cut in the 30s or early 20s BC and was clearly intended for the promotion of Octavian and his new wife as embodiments of the divine and legendary ancestors of Julian family and founders of Rome. The intimate character of the scene precludes a pair of Octavian and his sister as believed by Vollenweider. Furthermore, she argued that the piece was cut by Aulos, however, Solon seems a more probable attribution on stylistic and compositional grounds. He is attested as cutting exceptional intaglios for Octavian's propaganda and this piece seems to be the next work he created for such a purpose. A plausible occasion would have been Octavian's wedding with Livia in 38 BC which would have required incomparable celebrations and extraordinary ways of commemoration, e.g. intaglios like the ones discussed here.

The promotion of his family by Octavian in glyptics worked on two levels, through mythological references and by using images of members of the clan, sometimes in the guise of deities. Regarding the second, one should mention a good number of intaglios that possibly present Octavian with his sister Octavia as confronted portraits (*capita opposita*) which was a popular subject on gems according to Vollenweider (cat. nos 9.560-561, Figure 503).[248] Nevertheless, one must be very careful before drawing any conclusions since many of those gems may actually show private, double portraits. The schematic engraving and similarities in female coiffures in the second half of the 1st century BC, which were copied by ordinary citizens from prominent Roman matrons often do not allow us to assess accurately whether these gems had considerable political and propagandistic value.[249] On a personal level, gems like these could have been executed on the occasion of marriage and functioned as gifts of love, but some are securely identified with Octavian and Octavia testifying to important role of glyptics in building a powerful and solid image of the Julian dynasty.

[242] Vollenweider 1966: 49-50.
[243] Sena Chiesa 2002: 403-404; Zanker 1988: 53-54.
[244] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 447.
[245] Guiraud 1985; Laubscher 1974: 246-247; Vollenweider 1955: 108-109.
[246] Vollenweider 1966: 41-42.
[247] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1166; Vollenweider 1966: 42.
[248] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 208-211.
[249] Weiß 1996, no. 265; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 789.

9.3.1.6. Promotion of the faction

The Caesarian faction was quite large and the followers of Julius Caesar were split between Octavian and Mark Antony. At least in the beginning, that is, after death of Caesar, both leaders tried to attract his veterans and all the new followers through various propaganda channels. For instance, they issued coins presenting harmony and peace between them contributing to the collective image of Caesar's avengers.[250] Their supporters identified with those ideas and could consider themselves as avengers of Caesar too. However, from c. 38 BC there is a clear separation between Octavian and Mark Antony as their propaganda focuses on their own accomplishments rather than joint faction.[251] A similar approach is observable in glyptics. Most of the kinds of portrait gems presenting heads of Octavian accompanied with various symbols could serve to manifest loyalty to him, but they certainly played an important role in the construction of the bond between the politician (propagandist) and his audience, in other words, they were essential in integration propaganda. Those gems also attracted new followers and brought them to the side of Octavian.[252]

It is noteworthy that the Octavian portrait gems discussed above are very different to the portrait gems of Mark Antony. The clear discrepancy in their number is one thing, but it is important to notice that Octavian's objects transmit a message of a common goal which is peace and prosperity to the people of Rome, while such an issue is not addressed on the gems related to his opponent. Octavian's gems reflect a well-thought through programme responding to the needs of common people which was much more efficient than Antony's self-focus. Moreover, in the propagandistic activities of Octavian reflected in glyptics a new trend is to be observed: he is the first who employed various kinds of gems: gemstone intaglios, glass gems, cameos - all probably designed to reach a different type of audience. One imagines that cheap and mass- produced glass gems were manufactured and distributed to the soldiers and middle class. Hardstone intaglios were probably created for more influential and wealthy people, while cameos were cut only for members of Octavian's inner circle.[253] I will come back to this issue in the conclusions of the book (cf. chapter 13).

Venus Victrix cut upon a gem may have served to promote the Julian family but it could have been recognised as a symbol of the Caesarians as well.[254] Similarly, it is supposed that the head of Apollo could have played the same role, first as a symbol of the *populares* and later the Caesarians since the cult of the god was much promoted by Octavian, but there are many other, more private reasons for his popularity in glyptics (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 8.2.6) thus, linking him with a specific politician or a faction is largely problematic.[255] Finally, Sena Chiesa supposes that the gems engraved with combinations of symbols generally reflect the programme of Caesar and thus, they were used to recognised those who supported it also in the times of Octavian.[256] This issue is close to my conclusions about Octavian portrait gems and accompanying symbolism, but, as far as the constellations of symbols alone are concerned, the matter becomes complex and not so easy to explain always with some reference to politics. Therefore, it will be discussed in detail in two other chapters as more suitable places (cf. chapters 9.3.2.8 and 10.8).

9.3.1.7. Commemoration

During the 30s BC the focus of Octavian's propaganda had changed considerably. In the early stage, he put much emphasis on his connection with Julius Caesar, but from c. 36 BC, his propaganda focused on his own figure and accomplishments. The reason for this was probably the intensification of his rivalry with Mark Antony which one observes, for instance in coinage from c. 38 BC.[257] New themes became popular on engraved gems and issues like the commemoration of important military victories or showing divine references gained considerable popularity. The peak was reached just after the Battle of Actium which was widely celebrated within the whole empire in all media possible, including glyptics.[258] At the same time, Octavian's political programme firmly based on promotion of peace and prosperity to everyone under his command was promoted and his military victories made people believe that he was going to realise his promises with the support of the gods. In this chapter I am going to focus on commemoration of events related to Octavian and his faction. First, various important political occurrences immortalised on gems will be outlined. Next, the military victories celebrated on cameos and intaglios will be discussed. Further, the objects illustrating Octavian's appointments to important offices as well as titles and awards he was given shall be presented. Finally, the commemoration of marriages will be in the focus of the last section of this sub-chapter.

It must be noted that in the case of engraved gems and their propagandistic value it is often difficult to say whether an object, like a gem bearing a portrait

[250] *RRC*: 743.
[251] *RRC*: 744.
[252] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 445.
[253] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 451.
[254] Ritter 1995: 86.
[255] See the commentary on this issue given below and Gołyźniak 2017, no. 72.
[256] Sena Chiesa 2002: 398-399, 402-403 and 405-406.
[257] *RRC*: 743-744.
[258] Zanker 1988: 82-85.

of Octavian set together with bucolic symbolism was designed just to spread the image of Octavian as a guarantor of peace and prosperity (suggesting to classify it as personal branding) or this iconography was related to celebrations of some important political events and consequently commemoration of military victories and festivals organised after triumphs as Vollenweider suggested.[259] Both options are equally possible, thus, one should keep in mind that peculiar categories of Octavian's portrait gems could be classified as belonging to the chapter dealing with personal branding. Yet, the distinctive symbolism allowing us to connect some of them with specific historical events inclines us to allocate them here as this is more beneficial for establishing a chronological framework for all those pieces. Similarly, some of the gems listed below may not only commemorate important political and military events, but also emphasise divine references of Octavian with Neptune, Mercury and so on and the other way around, some of the specimens assigned to the category of gems exhibiting divine and mythological references could be placed here. This is due to the complex and multifunctional character of propaganda messages which often were designed to cover not only one issue but as many as possible to make their impact on the audience in the most successful way. The wide spectrum of issues encapsulated in intaglios and cameos produced for Octavian's propaganda results in an excessive complexity in the eyes of a modern researcher, but they did not result in anxiety among their ancient recipients. On the contrary, it helped to acknowledge Octavian's domination and certainly made an impression on the viewers because all the elements were connected to each other and the language used to transmit them was relatively easy to understand.

Regarding political events promoted on engraved gems by Octavian, the most important was of course the establishment of the Second Triumvirate in 43 BC. The event was widely advertised not only in glyptics, but also in coinage. Although some issues referring to all three triumvirs had been struck in 43 BC,[260] it is evident that Octavian and Mark Antony promoted themselves more efficiently and eagerly than Lepidus.[261] In glyptics, this disproportion is even more evident and favourable to Octavian since there are no gems whatsoever that would depict Mark Antony commemorating the Second Triumvirate or at least one cannot identify such pieces (see below). In contrast, Octavian used to refer to the event on his gems, but it seems that the promotion of the consensus was not his main goal; he preferred to show himself as a guarantor of the peace and the only person due to whom the pact was established for the common good of people of Rome. This is evident from gemstones and glass gems alike the main elements of which are Octavian's portrait combined with two clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) standing for *concordia* and indirectly referring to the Second Triumvirate as well as some other positive symbolism (cat. nos 9.562-572, Figures 504-505).[262] This motif stands in analogy for the series of aurei minted for all the three triumvirs by C. Vibius Varus in 42 BC (Figure 506).[263]

Sena Chiesa points out that Octavian often used to combine his multiple activities in one piece since the corn ears, the most common element appearing on the gems commemorating the Second Triumvirate, suggest Octavian's responsibility for grain supply (*frumentationes*) to the people of Rome.[264] I generally agree with this idea, but one should be aware that the gems bearing Octavian's portrait combined with corn ears, poppies etc. but lacking the motif of two clasped hands (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4) should also be counted with this issue too since Octavian's responsibility for grain supply had already begun in summer 44 BC.[265] Besides, the elements like corn ears, poppies and cornucopiae were universal symbols of abundance and prosperity that should be guaranteed by Octavian.[266] As in the case of portrait gems discussed above, one observes a typical disproportion in hardstone and glass gems for Octavian's glyptic production – the latter clearly dominate. What is more, just as with the already discussed portrait gems of Octavian, some of the ones listed here were found far from Italy in lands controlled by Octavian and the findspots include military areas (cat. nos 9.562-564 and 566). This fact probably points to distribution of those gems among Roman soldiers with whom they travelled these far distances. The provenance and history of those gems suggest their production to be located in Rome or Italy in a broader sense. The series of gems commemorating the Second Triumvirate with emphasis put on the role of Octavian should be dated c. 43-42 BC mostly by analogy to coins and historical circumstances. Apart from the gems discussed here, there is a large group of gems showing constellations of various symbols for which the central element is *dextrarum iunctio* and which are often interpreted as objects commemorating the Second Triumvirate.[267] However, in my opinion, it is not so obvious to consider them as such and more plausible explanations for their iconography can be offered. These will be presented and commented on in the chapter devoted to political symbols (cf. chapter 9.3.1.9).

[259] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 214-222.
[260] *RRC*, nos. 492/1-2 (aurei of Mark Antony, 43 BC).
[261] *RRC*, nos. 492/1-2 (aurei of Mark Antony, 43 BC) and 493/1a-c (aurei of Octavian, 43 BC) and commentary on p. 740.
[262] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 445; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 205-206.
[263] *RRC*, nos. 494/10-12.
[264] Sena Chiesa 2012: 262-263.
[265] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1980, no. 1.
[266] Berges 2002, no. 336; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 254.
[267] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 205-206.

After the Battle of Philippi, the relationship between Octavian and Mark Antony became much colder. In 41 BC a conflict between the two emerged due to Antony's current wife Fulvia. Ultimately, peace was restored a year after in Brundisium as Fulvia died and Antony married Octavian's sister Octavia in order to guarantee the new pact. There is an interesting class of gems, mainly made of glass, that most likely were issued to commemorate this event but at the same time, they could promote the idea of unity achieved for the good of the people of Rome. They present heads of Octavian (top) and Mark Antony in the *capita iugata* pose as Vollenweider noticed in the entirely Italic manner (cat. nos 9.573-584, Figures 507-508).[268] Particularly interesting and unusual is a glass gem housed in Geneva because it presents one of the heads diademed (cat. no. 9.584, Figure 508). Could this be Mark Antony presented in the Eastern-Hellenistic manner stylised on a diadochy king? If so, this would probably testify to Octavian's black propaganda aimed at presenting his opponent in an unacceptable attire for the Romans indicating his autocratic ambitions. Nevertheless, a more plausible explanation is that the piece presents an unidentified pair of Hellenistic rulers or even athletes since the portraits differ from the casual ones identified with Octavian and Antony within the group. Analysis of the provenance and history of these gems makes it clear that all of them were found or purchased in Rome which probably points to their place of production as Rome (see especially cat. no. 9.583 originating from a cache of propaganda glass gems found in Rome) or more broadly Italy and consequently allows us to connect them with Octavian rather than Mark Antony. This is also suggested by the fact that Octavian's head is on the top, while Antony's in the background. The fact that the vast majority of them are cheap glass gems suggest their distribution or popularity among soldiers and common people so they must have served for propaganda purposes.[269] In contrast to other portrait gems, these had unquestionably political significance and judging by the style and material, some of them were produced from the same matrix (cat. nos 9.577 and 579) which testifies to their serial production on a massive scale. The goal was not only to commemorate an important political event which was possibly the Brundisium Treaty, but also to propagate the peace established by two direct followers of Caesar and thus, the continuation of his policy of pacification and order within the Roman Empire. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was already practically excluded from such a promotion in 42 BC as the coinage proves, therefore, it is very likely that the gems in question here should be connected with the Brundisium Treaty and I propose to date them around 40 BC.[270]

In the 30s BC Octavian's propaganda changed its focus from the promotion of the connection with Caesar to Octavian's sole accomplishments. Therefore, some of the most important events to advertise were victorious battles, especially the defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus and Mark Antony at Actium. Regarding earlier victories like the Battle of Philippi, one identifies virtually no gems commemorating this accomplishment. In contrast, the time around 30 BC and the victory at Actium triggered a considerable production of propaganda intaglios and cameos made for or with the encouragement of Octavian and the propaganda techniques used were very diversified.

A carnelian intaglio in Hannover presenting Octavian as Neptune driving a *biga* with hippocamps and the *sidus Iulium* in the field probably commemorates his victory at Naulochus (cat. no. 9.585, Figure 509). It is a transitional piece because of the presence of a comet symbolising here avenging of Julius Caesar and at the same time Octavian is presented as Neptune. His identification or comparison to the god started already before the Battle of Naulochus as the coinage and literary sources suggest.[271] At that time Octavian practiced the old-fashioned Roman tradition of *evocatio* to the deity that he wanted to support his case and the intaglio in question shows that he succeeded in that.[272] The propagandistic message is clear: Octavian not only managed to defeat one of his enemies and avenge Caesar, but he also won Neptune over to his cause. The second issue is even more exploited on another carnelian intaglio housed in Boston which I already discussed extensively above and attributed to Solon, who might have cut gems for Octavian (cat. no. 9.281, Figure 434, cf. chapter 9.3.1.2). The identification of the figure depicted with Octavian was probably best described by Beazley who stated: 'The short hair and beardless face of the driver, perhaps also his youthful body, show that he is not Poseidon. The features are portrait-like and therefore mortal. At the period to which the gem belongs, no one but Augustus could have been figured as Poseidon: and the features, in fact, bear an unmistakeable resemblance to those of Augustus.'[273] One thing requires clarification here, namely, the inscription indicating gem's owner named Popillius Albanus. Nothing certain is known about him, but the

[268] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 178-179.
[269] Gagetti 2001: 137; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 453; Zazoff 1983: 324-325.
[270] Regarding coinage, already since 42 BC *triumviri* and *quattuorviri monetales* focused in their promotion on the figures of Antony and Octavian, while Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was somehow excluded. See more on this issue in: Morawiecki 2014: 107. It was too late to add one more gem bearing such an iconography to the book's catalogue, but it exists in the small collection of bronze rings set with glass gems recently studied by Gradel (forthcoming). It is of particular interest because its owner, most likely a legionary in the service of Octavian, tried to erase Antony's head scratching it out from the gem, most likely after 33 BC when the triumvirate pact terminated or shortly after the Battle of Actium when Antony was ultimately defeated.
[271] Barcaro 2008/2009: 225-232; Morawiecki 2014: 101-103 and 205; Zanker 1988: 39-40.
[272] Zazoff 1983: 293.
[273] Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 105.

Popillii were an important family during the Republic, which members held consulships and achieved other honours in the 2nd and early 1st century BC.[274] It is possible that Popillius Albanus was a supporter of Octavian who might have received this gem from his patron and put his name on it to mark his ownership very much like Lorenzo di Medici did for many gems entering his collection. Finally, regarding the *evocatio* of Neptune by Octavian, as has been discussed earlier, the group of gems presenting Scylla, if related to politics at all, is more likely to be an example of Octavian's counterpropaganda to Sextus' promotional practices reflected in his coinage rather than to be a part of Sextus' propaganda (cf. chapter 9.1.6).

As to other gems commemorating the Battle of Naulochus, Vollenweider tried to justify including some symbolic gems by their relationship to this success of Octavian, like those featuring combinations of Heracles' club with arrows, bow, rudder and a palm branch (cat. no. 9.586, Figure 510), but I believe these to be far-fetched theories which will be commented on more extensively later (cf. chapter 9.3.1.9). However, one should keep in mind that Neptune was not the only deity supporting Octavian during his rivalry with Sextus Pompey. Diana Siciliensis was another figure acting in favour of Octavian. Her bust appears on a special aureus minted by the politician between 29-27 BC commemorating and recalling the Battle of Naulochus (Figure 511).[275] On a carnelian intaglio in Geneva the same bust is engraved together with a legionary standard and Capricorn (cat. no. 9.587, Figure 512). This combination of elements and proximity to the mentioned coins suggest the object to have some propagandistic value as to the promotion of Octavian's military victories. The presence of a legionary standard indicates the gem to be given to or attractive for one of Octavian's soldiers.

Octavian's major success took place in 31 BC when he defeated Mark Antony and Cleopatra in the Battle of Actium and there are many intaglios and cameos that commemorate this event. However, before I start to present those, I am going to focus on a peculiar group of portrait gems with naval symbolism which is ambiguous and difficult to assign between the Naulochus and Actium battles. These gems usually depict the head of a youth identified with Octavian and naval/marine elements like a prow, trident, dolphin or a war-ship added to it (cat. nos 9.588-612, Figures 513-516). The head appearing on those intaglios parallels the Octavian portraits known from other contemporary gems discussed above (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4). The identification with him is supported by the fact that on several specimens appears Capricorn – his zodiacal sign (cat. nos 9.592-593, Figure 514). Moreover, in several instances, there are also military objects and symbols (eagle, spears, legionary standards) exactly as on the portrait gems discussed above (cat. nos 9.590, 594, 600-602, Figures 513 and 515). Symbolism referring to the issues of abundance and prosperity are present as well (cat. nos 9.589, 598, 604, 606-607 and 612, Figure 516). For all these reasons, it should be concluded that the gems in question indeed present Octavian and were manufactured after one of his naval victories most likely in Rome and Italy in a broader sense which is suggested by the provenance and history of the specimens. As in other classes of similar portrait gems, glass gems outnumber gemstone ones (10 to 15) and it may be concluded that they were distributed or popular among Roman soldiers which is suggested by the military elements in their iconography as well as some findspots (cat. nos 9.590 and 598, Figures 513). The only problematic thing is their chronology. Vollenweider took them as presenting Octavian after the victory at Naulochus.[276] Some scholars follow her view,[277] while others suggest them to illustrate the success at Actium.[278] I believe that the gems in question appeared for the first time after the Battle of Naulochus when Octavian wanted to mark his supremacy on the sea after defeating Sextus Pompey and their production continued down to c. 27 BC including a peak just after the Battle of Actium when this domination was confirmed. There is no single element suggesting linking those gems with one specific historical event, they illustrate a general propagandistic action instead, therefore, they cannot be dated very precisely.

The Battle of Actium was the main subject of Octavian's political propaganda for the years 31-27 BC. This ultimate victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra was given a special status as a victory at several levels: Rome over the East, civilisation over barbarians, Apollo-Sol over Dionysus etc. No other event was so much promoted in various media and glyptics played a vital part in these advertisements since due to its private character, Octavian could fully present his idea of a divine sole ruler almost without limits on some very special cameos and intaglios, but the more universal propagandistic messages were also promoted through a mass of intaglios, especially the cheap glass ones.

To show that Actium's victory took Octavian's propaganda to a higher level, first I present several exceptionally cut intaglios. In Naples, there is a large carnelian depicting Octavian as Apollo-Sol with a veil flowing behind him, holding a torch and driving a *quadriga*, under which there is a personification of

[274] Lapatin 2015: 248.
[275] *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 273; Zanker 1988: 50.
[276] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 205-207.
[277] Weiß 2007, no. 388; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 36.
[278] Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 805.

Nilus – standing for defeated Egypt or Mark Antony (cat. no. 9.613, Figure 517). This piece has been much discussed by scholars, but it is generally accepted as a tremendously rich propaganda piece communicating the victory of Octavian identified with Apollo-Sol over the barbarian East personalised as Mark Antony.[279] The divine reference is openly presented on this intaglio. Octavian is compared or even identified with Apollo-Sol who was considered as his divine father according to the legend passed to us by Suetonius, who stated that Atia, Octavian's mother, was inseminated by the god in the guise of a serpent at his temple.[280] The propagandistic value is hence considerable since the object does not only commemorate an important historical event but it highlights the key role of Octavian in the victory supported by the gods. To realise that one is now dealing with a new level of propaganda one must pay attention to detail. For instance, Mark Antony is depicted on the intaglio also in a divine/personified level so that the Battle of Actium could be promoted as the clash between two equal figures out of which Octavian proved to be the greater. Yet, Antony is compared to the personification of Nilus which is a somehow humiliating for him as he is not presented as *Neos Dionysus*. This act is black propaganda and could have been done purposefully and consciously. One sees how sophisticated was the language that Octavian's propaganda used. But what is even more important in this extraordinary intaglio is that Octavian is presented as an introducer of a new Golden Age – *aurea aetas*, very much according to one of the Sybille oracles that prophesied the establishment of a new era of Rome's prosperity under a new king.[281] This idea is perfectly encapsulated here and it is very Hellenistic in character. The concept of sole rule was unacceptable in Rome for the whole period of the Roman Republic, however, now, Octavian starts to lay foundations for his future sole reign and the establishment of the Julio-Claudian dynasty at the head of the Roman Empire. His inspiration was the Hellenistic East with its kings. To see how important was issuing of pieces like the one described here, one must realise that they strongly affected the private sphere as is evident from another intaglio cut in nicolo housed in Krakow which basically encapsulates the same propaganda message, but in a more traditional way. The composition is based on a well-known head of Octavian in the centre surrounded with military equipment, but important elements are also the Apollo-Sol rays above the head and flower decorations signifying triumph (cat. no. 9.614, Figure 518a-b).[282] This gem surely addresses Octavian's identification with Apollo and success in the Battle at Actium which was largely accomplished due to the direct intervene of Apollo.[283] Mythological symbols and scenes often offered Romans a chance to express their affinity with one political side and a part of this was imitation of lifestyle. This is observable in visual arts and glyptics under Octavian/Augustus became a vital part of this phenomenon. In fact, it worked very much like decorations of the houses, sophisticated tableware, silverware and many other objects and spheres offering space for expression oneself.[284] In the next paragraphs we will see even more examples of private objects imitating and following the mainstream shaped by Octavian/Augustus.

Regarding mythological and divine comparisons and identifications, another carnelian intaglio from Naples, the so-called Seal of Nero, offers a subject which might illustrate Octavian's victory at Actium. This gem depicts Apollo punishing Marsyas while a young Olympos is kneeling begging Apollo to cease from the punishment (cat. no. 9.615, Figure 519). As Lapatin states, this deeply carved stone presenting a complex composition and its subtle modelling was possibly cut by Dioscurides, a gem engraver who worked for Octavian/Augustus at his court, possibly after Solon's death or alongside to him in the late phase of his professional activity. This is deduced from the gem's style and quality that is comparable to other signed works of Dioscurides.[285] As it will be explained later (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8), Octavian tended to identify himself with Apollo and if one believes the gem to be engraved by one of the artists employed in his court, it makes sense to regard the piece as propagandistic. It would exemplify the god-like Octavian triumphing over a satyr, a follower of Dionysus, which is possibly a reference to the victory at Actium.[286] Again, Octavian's propaganda shows Antony as a barbarian Easterner who was defeated and punished by a true Roman for his plans of bestowing the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire on his children. As Toso observes, the motif itself was more ancient and Sulla already used that allegorical myth to illustrate his victories in the East. It seems likely that Octavian followed Sulla's example as both politicians cherished the cult of Apollo to a considerable degree.[287]

The comparison of the victory of Actium to the victory of the Roman cause over the barbarian one and the establishment of Roman supremacy over the world by Octavian is illustrated by the next two intriguing intaglios. The first is an exceptionally large green chalcedony gem cut with a bust of Roma wearing a helmet and a robe while in front of her there is a column with Victory holding a palm branch and laurel

[279] See Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 126-127 and 420 for discussion in earlier literature.
[280] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 94.
[281] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 127.
[282] See a more detailed discussion on this peculiar piece in: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 257.
[283] Zanker 1988: 50.
[284] Zanker 1988: 62.
[285] Lapatin 2015: 247.
[286] Rambach 2011a: 133.
[287] Toso 2007: 222-223.

wreath atop (cat. no. 9.616, Figure 520). The image of Victory is based on the statue of the goddess installed by Octavian in 29 BC in the Curia Iulia,[288] which seems to have become a sort of source of inspiration for gem engravers (cf. below and chapter 9.3.1.8).[289] It has been suggested that the gem in question was made by Kleon,[290] who in turn possibly belonged to the workshop of Solon,[291] therefore, the connection of the piece with Octavian seems even more justified. The propagandistic message encoded in this piece is clear, it was cut to commemorate the victory at Actium and to thank Octavian for winning the cause of the Roman state, but this is presented in a delicate and uncontroversial way since the piece expresses his *pietas erga patriam*.[292] One finds an even more direct reference to the victory at Actium in another intaglio carved in carnelian and presenting Roma seated on a throne, holding Victory, who stands on a globe, in her outstretched hand, while beneath her there is a prow (cat. no. 9.617, Figure 521). This is another case where Octavian's *pietas erga patriam* is successfully illustrated. The prow beneath the throne suggests naval victory and most likely it is that at Actium. The idea is supported by the Victory figure which is an exact copy of the statue from Curia Iulia (see below). There are many more gems addressing the subject of Roma dated to the last third of the 1st century BC and early 1st century AD. Her role in Octavian's propaganda was of key importance not only around 30 BC but also later when he ruled as Augustus as shall be commented on later (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8).

Victory/Nike, the goddess of victory, was another key figure in the promotion of Octavian's military success at Actium.[293] Her statue was installed by Octavian in 29 BC in Curia Iulia,[294] and it became a sort of source of inspiration for gem engravers (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8).[295] This image was promoted by Octavian in his coinage just after the Battle of Actium (Figure 522).[296] The popularity of the goddess standing on a globe or flying through the air with a laurel wreath and palm branch in glyptics considerably increased from c. 30 BC which can be explained only by the use of that image in the political propaganda of Octavian.[297] Some gems offer exceptional designs and others more standardised ones. Sometimes it is difficult to tell if the object refers to the Battle of Actium or later accomplishments, such as the reclaiming of legionary standards from the Parthians in 20 BC, but generally, most of the gems are iconographically close to the statue from the Curia Iulia and are thus automatically regarded as related to Actium (cat. nos 9.618-625, Figures 523-528 and 530).[298] Some are given specific features making the reference to Actium very clear. For instance, in Munich, there is a glass gem presenting Octavian holding Victoriola in his right hand, while a spear and a cloak is in his left one (cat. nos 9.618, Figure 523). Before him there is a prow which indicates the naval victory at Actium. Octavian is depicted here as a victorious commander of the Roman army without divine references, but on another gem, this time kept in Berlin, he is depicted as a young hero riding a *biga* with Victory which not only highlights his military prowess, but also testifies to another deity supporting his cause (cat. no. 9.619, Figure 524). Another interesting example is a chrome chalcedony intaglio from Berlin featuring Victory standing on an altar (decorated with garlands) to the right, holding a laurel wreath and a palm branch and beneath this there are serpents (cat. no. 9.620, Figure 525). For an individual, Victory was a symbol of good luck and here, it might also illustrate victory over evil, a sort of a charm.[299] However, remembering that Octavian's mother Atia was inseminated by the god Apollo in the guise of a serpent in his temple while sleeping, one wonders if that depiction refers to this legendary story promoting Octavian's relationship with his divine father.[300] There are many gems repeatedly depicting military accomplishment like another glass gem from Munich where Victory dresses a trophy under which there are two captives (cat. no. 9.621, Figure 526). On another one, she stands on a globe (very much in the type of the Curia Iulia statue) to the front flanked by two warriors (cat. no. 9.622, Figure 527). In Copenhagen, there are two glass gems presenting the same type of Victory shown in profile, but she stands on a prow which makes a clear reference to the Actium victory (cat. nos 9.623-624, Figure 528). Moreover, the same subject appears on Octavian's denarii minted c. 29-27 BC celebrating his victory at Actium (Figure 529).[301] It is noteworthy that from c. 30 BC not only intaglios, but also cameos were often employed for propaganda purposes. The Curia Iulia type of Victory is presented on some glass cameos which is a clear sign of mass production and wide distribution of these kinds of gems to the people of Rome (cat. no. 9.625, Figure 530). It is disputable if all the examples evoked above date to c. 30 BC or were manufactured slightly later or even many years after the victory at Actium. Surely, the peak of production of such objects took place just after Actium when their impact was at its height. In every case, their propagandistic value was considerable, and the variety of motifs employed amazes today. The gems described

[288] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 51.22.
[289] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 234.
[290] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 116-117.
[291] Vollenweider 1966: 55-56.
[292] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 117.
[293] Hölscher 1967.
[294] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 51.22.
[295] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 234.
[296] *RRC*, nos. 546/4-7 (denarii of Octavian and L. Pinarius Scarpus, 31 BC).
[297] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 447; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 129.
[298] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 456-457.
[299] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 234.
[300] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 51.22.
[301] *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 264.

above illustrate the great significance of glyptic art in the promotional and commemorative activities of Octavian.

While discussing the gems presumably commemorating Octavian's victory in the Battle of Naulochus, I have pointed out Octavian's particular relationship with Neptune that he established around 36 BC or even earlier (see above). The connection between Octavian and Neptune was an important one also with reference to his success in the Battle of Actium. The god of the sea played a significant role in Octavian's counterpropaganda to Mark Antony's identification with *Neos Dionysus* alongside Apollo, and it was generally more convenient to refer to Neptune in naval subjects in contrast to Apollo.[302] Regarding glyptics, there is one peculiar motif presenting a figure of a youth shown as Neptune holding the *aplustre* or a dolphin and with a cloak around his arm with his left foot resting on a prow. The subject became widely popular on engraved gems in the 30s BC and slightly later. Because Sextus Pompey put a similar depiction of Neptune on his coins, some scholars associate the gems in question with him.[303] Nevertheless, as Maderna-Lauter and I argue, some details and variations of the general type undoubtedly suggest that those gems should be linked with Octavian's propaganda and it is generally believed that they commemorated the Battle of Actium, however, in my opinion, this is a matter of some controversy and some of these gems could commemorate the Battle of Naulochus too and testify to Octavian's counterpropaganda to Sextus promotion as Neptune's son on coins.[304] The motif co-existed with casual gems presenting a bearded Neptune in the same pose and with the same attributes.[305] The subject itself derives from sculpture, the so-called Lateran type of Poseidon/Neptune's statue.[306] According to Furtwängler, the earliest examples of gems bearing this subject-matter appeared in the 3rd century BC but they were never exceedingly popular until Octavian's political activities.[307]

The reverse of a denarius minted in Sicily by A. Aienus for Julius Caesar is of key importance for understanding the phenomenon of the gems in question. The coin was the first one to represent the bust of Venus promoted as a mother of the Julian family on the obverse whereas the reverse shows Trinacrus, a son of Neptune, whose name probably derives from an alternate name of Sicily (Trinacria – 'three cornered land') (Figure 531).[308] The young sea god appears on the coin to signify Sicilian origin of the series,[309] but for Octavian he was a perfect figure on whom to base his counterpropaganda to Sextus Pompey's promotion as the son of Neptune. Trinacrus, as a son of Neptune incarnated the same relationship that Octavian had with Julius Caesar – the son and the father. In other words, making a reference to the young god from the coin struck for Julius Caesar, Octavian not only claimed to be a favourite of Neptune's but he also recalled his relationship with Caesar as his sole heir. Going further, one wonders if that reference was established immediately Octavian defeated Sextus and took control of Sicily. He would recall the avenging of Caesar and highlight his personal victory over Sextus. For this reason, it seems probable that the series of gems I am going to comment on here might commemorate not only the victory at Actium, but also at Naulochus. There are numerous gems presenting this subject without any specific references to the Battle of Actium except for a head of Octavian that is identified as a part of the figure of the sea god and these objects equally plausibly commemorated either the battles of Naulochus or Actium (cat. nos 9.626-644, Figures 532-533). However, a deeper analysis reveals some interesting variations so one concludes that their dates probably span from c. 36 BC onwards, though the peak of their production was certainly around 31-27 BC as suggested by additional symbolism making this explicit. Moreover, the design of the above-mentioned coin of Caesar is ultimately repeated by Octavian, who adjusted it to depict himself on his denarius minted between 32-29 BC (Figure 534).[310] This fact suggests that generally the type was meant to commemorate the Battle of Actium. Whatever Octavian's intention in referring to the coin of Caesar from 47 BC, he is almost certainly depicted on the gems in question as Neptune not Trinacrus, though, which illustrates the development of his propaganda.

Concerning specific variations, they add much information about the character of the whole phenomenon. For instance, I have collected several gems presenting Octavian in the guise of Neptune placing his foot on a prow but with additional military symbols like the *vexillum*, spear, *parazonium* or sceptre and eagle held by the figure or appearing in the field

[302] Zanker 1988: 53; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 129.
[303] *RRC*, 511/3a-c (denarii of Sextus Pompey 42-40 BC); Fossing 1929, no. 348; Vitellozzi 2010, no. 105.
[304] Barcaro 2008/2009: 232; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 454-455; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 129.
[305] For some contemporary gems, see:*AGDS* I.2, nos. 1039-1043 and 1045-1049;*AGDS* II, no. 361;*AGDS* III Göttingen, no. 232; Fossing 1929, nos. 340-343; Gallottini 2012, no. 170; Guiraud 1988-2008, no. 1086; Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 22; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 46; Walters 1926, nos. 1290-1291; Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 68.
[306] Weiß 2007, no. 158 with an informative discussion on the identification of various types of that motif and their identifications with Poseidon, Neptune and Octavian-Neptunus.
[307] Furtwängler 1896, nos. 468 and 526, although the figure rests his foot on a dolphin instead of a prow and probably holds the Palladion, thus it might be Diomedes? No. 1439 is another very early example in the Berlin collection with an interesting inscription: L ANTON SALVIVS – L(ucius) Anton(ius) salvivus – long life to Lucius Antonius?
[308] *RRC*, no. 457/1 (denarius of A. Allienus, 47 BC).
[309] *RRC*: 735-736.
[310] *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 256.

(cat. nos 9.645-651, Figures 535-536). These symbols either make a clear reference to a military victory e.g. the Battle of Naulochus or Actium or testify that gems of this kind were distributed or popular among soldiers supporting Octavian as in the case of portrait and other propaganda gems (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4 and 9.3.1.7 above).[311] An even clearer confirmation of that is a carnelian intaglio, said to have come from Rome but now in Berlin, bearing the Octavian-Neptune motif with the *vexillum* and inscription: T•IVL•FIR = T(iti) Iul(ii) Fir(---) (cat. no. 9.652, Figure 537). It is a shortcut of the intaglio's owner name who belonged to the Julian family and surely served in Octavian's army. Apart from these, several examples bear the common motif with the additional sign of Capricorn in the field or held by the figure (cat. no. 9.653-656, Figure 538). Furthermore, on a glass gem in Oxford, the figure of Octavian-Neptune probably holds a globe in his hand which symbolises his rule over the land and sea – *terra marique*, the power obtained thanks to the victory at Actium (cat. no. 9.657, Figure 539). On an onyx intaglio in Munich and a glass gem in Copenhagen, the figure of Octavian-Neptune holds Victoriola on his outstretched hand, which is in the type of the Curia Iulia, clearly alluding to the Battle of Actium (cat. nos 9.658-659, Figure 540). Finally, in Vienna, there is a carnelian intaglio presenting the same type of Octavian-Neptune also holding Victoriola and in addition, the figure places his foot on a head of Africa symbolising defeated Egypt (cat. no. 9.660, Figure 541). All these examples show that the motif of a youth identified with Neptune should be understood as commemorating Octavian's naval victories, especially the one at Actium.[312]

We should here mention several other gems based on the same Octavian-Neptune motif, but presenting Octavian with reference to his other divine patrons. In Vienna, there is a gem presenting Octavian as Mars standing on a prow and leaning on a spear, a subject which also relates to the Battle of Actium (cat. no 9.661, Figure 542). In Berlin, a very similar depiction occurs on one intaglio, but in addition, the figure of Octavian-Mars is located inside a temple (cat. no. 9.662, Figure 543), which alludes not only to the Battle of Actium in 31 BC but also to the earlier Battle of Philippi in 42 BC when Octavian defeated the assassins of Caesar. The object's propagandistic message would then be not only commemoration, but also information about the avenging of Julius Caesar. The temple depicted on the gem may be the Temple of Mars Ultor that was under construction at that time. Finally, In Munich there is an intriguing jasper intaglio presenting Octavian as Mars wearing a cuirass and *paludamentum* standing with his left foot on a prow, holding a bearded and helmeted head of Mars in his left hand and leaning on a spear with his right with a man at his feet (cat. no. 9.663, Figure 544). The man on the ground is Mark Antony defeated by the god-like Octavian or the personification of Nilus (like on the carnelian intaglio from Naples discussed above) symbolising conquered Egypt - an extremely powerful propaganda message.

Apart from Mars, Octavian tended to identify with Mercury and this is illustrated on several gems in the context of the victory at the Battle of Actium (cat. nos 9.664-665, Figure 545). In one case, Octavian-Mercury places his foot on a globe instead of a prow, but the propagandistic message is still related to Actium and it express the fact that this victory established his rule over the land and sea – *terra marique* (cat. no. 9.666, Figure 546). All these types suggest that Octavian used well-known and deeply anchored symbolism for his propaganda that had been used for centuries. He adapted the motif of a Neptune standing with one foot on a prow to illustrate his naval victories at Naulochus and especially Actium and even tried to create new versions celebrating them and at the same time making an explicit reference to Julius Caesar and highlighting help received from various deities. The production of these gems was most likely concentrated in Rome and surroundings as shown by the provenance and history of the objects analysed and the ratio of gemstone intaglios to glass gems is clearly in favour of the latter (12 to 21).

The same process might have been in use for many other popular motifs on the gems dated to the second half of the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD. Vollenweider suggested that pictorial language of Octavian's propaganda was sometimes quite sophisticated and thus, one finds many mythological motifs that at first glance do not appear to have anything in common with propaganda are in fact propagandistic as they are playful allegories. This is the case with a gigantomachy subject which became extremely popular during Octavian/Augustus' political activity and according to her was employed to commemorate the victory at Actium.[313] The motif of gigantomachy was indeed highly popular in those days and several interpretations exist. The most common is a depiction of Mars combating a giant whom he is piercing with a spear (cat. nos 9.667-680, Figures 547-550). The motif is more popular on glass gems than gemstone intaglios (3 to 11), and it is disputable if the figure of Mars can be associated with Octavian, but on an important piece in Hannover, the head of a man fighting with the creature looks like Octavian (cat. no. 9.678, Figure 549). Furthermore, a carnelian in Leiden presents another unusual version where a Roman

[311] It is noteworthy that cat. no. 9.645 was found in a military area (Xanten) which also suggests the significance of these gems among soldiers.

[312] Morawiecki 2014: 206.

[313] Vollenweider 1966: 21.

horse-rider fights a giant (cat. no. 9.680, Figure 550). Therefore, the view of Vollenweider has been generally accepted without much criticism.[314] Perhaps indeed, the propagandistic character of at least some portion of those gems is possible as suggested by the analysis of literary sources which offer evidence for Octavian's relationship with Mars.[315] The propagandistic message would be the defeat of Chaos and establishment of new world order. But it is necessary to discuss other possible explanations for the popularity of the motif on gems in the period and to make wider observations. The subject of gigantomachy is not only limited to Mars but it involves other deities who are not closely related to Octavian like Athena/Minerva (cat. nos 9.681-690, Figures 551-552). She is nearly as often represented spearing a giant as Mars and the proportions between gemstone intaglios and glass gems are also similar (10 glass gems). If indeed related to Octavian, the propagandistic message here would be precisely the same as in the case of Mars, but Athena/Minerva was not much promoted by him. Besides, so far, all the categories of gems were engraved with a meaningful motif or at least a classical one but given new meaning due to the symbolism referring to the battle of Actium or Octavian added. Here, one lacks such an element and the popularity of either Mars or Athena/Minerva fighting giants might be due to the archaising trend in art typical for the second half of the 1st century BC since figures of giants on their own also appear on gems in those days (cat. no. 9.691, Figure 553) and Heracles is also, admittedly rarely, presented performing similar acts as Mars and Athena/Minerva (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8). Besides, the subject of gigantomachy was already popular in glyptics in the Hellenistic period and Roman gem engravers possibly borrowed the classical types from their Greek counterparts.[316]

There are many more themes in glyptics that might indirectly refer to the Battle of Actium and the military success of Octavian in general. For instance, a glass gem in Vienna with Mars lying in a papyrus boat holding on his outstretched hand Victory with a trophy in the background is possibly an allusion to the Battle of Actium (cat. no. 9.692, Figure 554). Also, a portrait gem bearing a youth with a band on his head and prow below in Munich maybe refers to Octavian's propaganda after Actium, but it would be unusual for Octavian to be presented in Hellenistic attire e.g. with diadem – attribute of kingship, as discussed above - so it might be a tributary king depicted here (cat. no. 9.693, Figure 555)? On one of the glass gems in Geneva, Vollenweider saw the Actium Arch (cat. no. 9.694, Figure 556). In the Paris collection there is an unusual amethyst presenting Octavian as Triptolemus which refers to his role as the restorer of peace and guarantor of abundance and prosperity (cat. no. 9.695, Figure 557). Finally, a sard from the Beverley collection depicting a naked, bearded man (possibly Neptune) standing next to a column, on top of which is a rudder, and holding Victory on his left hand, while a shield and cuirass lies on the ground is possibly an allusion to the victory at Actium (cat. no. 9.696, Figure 558). All these and many more subjects, especially the mythological ones, could refer to Octavian and his propaganda after the Actium victory.[317]

Apart from figural scenes often involving mythological and divine figures connected to the celebrations of Octavian's victory at Actium (or the earlier victory at Naulochus), there are many variants of gems presenting symbolic combinations that might refer to this theme.[318] For instance, on a carnelian intaglio found in Xanten, an eagle is engraved as standing on an altar with a *lituus* in its left talon flanked by two dolphins, tridents and Capricorns (cat. no. 9.697, Figure 559). The combination of legionary eagle with naval symbols and the zodiacal sign of Octavian/Augustus makes a clear reference to a naval battle and Octavian's success. Moreover, the intaglio was found in the military context outside Italy which suggests that such gems were popular among Roman legionaries or even distributed among them.[319] Their production started from c. 30 BC (or maybe even earlier if some of them refer to the Naulochus victory) and continued for many years since Octavian made references to his accomplishment at Actium on many occasions, for instance in 27 BC when there was a real outburst of gems (especially cameos) commemorating the event. The example given here is intended just to alert the reader to the phenomenon and symbolic gems will be discussed later (cf. chapter 9.3.1.9).

The impact of political propaganda on glyptics under Octavian/Augustus was so great that many times one accepts it as the correct interpretation of various kinds of symbolic representations. Nevertheless, their interpretation requires more critical thinking as some of those taken as commemorating the Battle of Actium, in fact are private seals serving for different purposes. For example, a sard intaglio presenting Fortuna seated on a rudder and holding ears of corn and a cornucopia with a prow behind her accompanied with an inscription 'AMICUS' is interpreted by Berges as commemorating the Battle of Actium (cat. no. 9.698, Figure 560).[320] However, Fortuna was a popular symbol

[314] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 455-456; Weiß 2007, no. 39.
[315] Toso 2007: 224-227.
[316] Weiß 2007, no. 39; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 286.
[317] For instance, Toso suggests Amymone on gems to be another subject related to the Battle of Actium (2007: 135).
[318] Sena Chiesa 2002: 409.
[319] Another proof for legionaries' preference for such gems comes from the recently studied assortment of bronze rings set with glass gems among which there is one bearing an eagle on an altar, see: Gradel (forthcoming).
[320] Berges 2002, no. 92.

of good luck and while holding ears of corn and a cornucopia, she stands for prosperity too. The rudder was an attribute typical of her, while the prow may indicate the profession or even the naval military troop to which the gem's owner belonged to. The inscription is of key importance here because it suggests the gem to be a gift for a friend. To sum up, this piece has nothing in common with Actium and was a personal amulet aiming to bring its sitter good luck (perhaps on a battlefield) and prosperity in life.

A whole series of gems presenting various symbolic combinations from Geneva was interpreted by Vollenweider in the context of the Battle of Actium (cat. nos 9.699-704, Figures 561-563). For example, she stated that the presence of a palm tree and two birds sitting on prows is an allusion to Actium due to the palm tree to be an eastern element suggesting that (cat. no. 9.701, Figure 561).[321] However, the tree and palm branches were popular symbols standing for a wished for or accomplished victory and they could refer to private not political victories. Another popular subject often interpreted as illustrating Octavian's victory at Actium is a warship either with soldiers travelling on it or legionary symbols (cat. nos 9.703, Figure 562). One must keep in mind that the military character of the depiction does not automatically mean the Battle of Actium. Such subjects were surely suitable for legionaries serving in the Roman naval forces in general like the legionary eagle and other similar themes for the infantry units. Nevertheless, sometimes the additional symbolism like an eagle standing on a globe (cat. no. 9.704, Figure 563) somehow seems to recall devices known from Octavian's coinage minted shortly after the Actium victory which suggests linking these intaglios with that event (Figure 564).[322]

Finally, I should mention that from c. 30 BC the Battle of Actium was probably promoted also on cameos. On the early examples, the defeat of Mark Antony was usually concealed within a mythological context. For example, on a cameo found in France and now in the Louvre Museum in Paris, Venus Victrix is paired with Heracles on both sides of a trophy (cat. no. 9.705). While Venus possibly stands for Octavian, as she was the mother of the Julian family, Heracles would represent the defeated Antony who identified with a hero through the legendary origins of his family to Anton, son of Heracles. The trophy indicates the victory on the Venus side and thus the whole concept may be an allusion to the Battle of Actium. For many scholars, this gem clearly refers to the Battle of Actium,[323] however, some are less certain about such conclusions.[324] It is true that without any direct evidence or iconographical element suggesting the object should be linked to one side of the conflict, it is difficult to judge whether the piece had any propagandistic value. Nevertheless, in other instances where such clues are present the identification with, for example, Octavian's success at Actium comes to mind automatically in cases similar to those. It is true that the language of Roman propaganda was vague and because of many obstacles and limitations, Octavian could not openly boast of his victory from the start. This changed in 27 BC and there is a considerable production of the gems commemorating Actium and his new titles and the appointment as Augustus released in glyptics which I will present in chapter 10.5.

Concerning the titles, offices and appointments that Octavian was given, and which are commemorated on engraved gems, one must list a substantial class of glass intaglios presenting his portrait over the *sella curulis* often with additional symbolism like cornucopiae and ears of corn (cat. nos 9.706-712, Figure 565). The subject relates to Octavian's consulship obtained in 43 BC and in addition the *sella curulis* symbol advertised his connection with Julius Caesar.[325] Moreover, the accompanying cornucopiae and ears of corn make allusion to Octavian as guarantor of abundance and prosperity. According to the provenance and history analysis, this series of gems was probably produced in Rome on the commission of Octavian himself as many come from the same matrix. It must be observed that the series was not a new phenomenon. Again, Octavian used a deeply anchored mechanism for his propaganda to be successful. Already under Caesar consuls and aediles tended to depict themselves on engraved gems over the *sella curulis* and with accompanying symbols (cf. chapter 8.2.7).

Another important event in Octavian's life was the priesthood of Apollo obtained in 37 BC and his inclusion in the collegium of *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. There are several gems commemorating this, like a cameo in Cologne presenting the tripod and Apollo in the guise of a serpent (cat. no. 9.713, Figure 566). The piece commemorates this event and it also illustrates Octavian's relationship with Apollo who was his divine father and inseminated Octavian's mother Atia in the guise of a serpent.[326] As Zwierlein-Diehl points out, this cameo may have been related to this event or Octavian's appointment to the collegium of *Septemviri epulones* in 16 BC and thus, it should be dated 37-16

[321] Vollenweider 1979, no. 482.
[322] *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 277 (aureus of Augustus, 27 BC).
[323] For instance: Laubscher 1974: 248-255.
[324] For instance: Hekster 2004: 173-174. Hekster recognises the male figure as Heracles and according to him it would be pointless for Octavian to present his victory over Mark Antony-Heracles since the image of Antony-Dionysus would have served in a much better way. It is noteworthy that Ritter thinks this cameo illustrates *Pax Augusta* (1995: 137-139).
[325] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 199.
[326] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 94.

BC.[327] The subject is repeated on a carnelian in Berlin (cat. no. 9.714, Figure 567).

Finally, I should briefly discuss the commemoration of Octavian's marriages reflected on engraved gems. These important events were usually portrayed on intaglios in the form of a pair of male and female heads confronted (*capita opposita*) and Vollenweider considers that many gems present Octavian and Scribonia or Octavian and Livia which would have commemorated the marriages in 40 and 37 BC respectively.[328] There are indeed many gems bearing this subject and they can be related to these two events, however, for political reasons, the marriage with Livia seems more appropriate for official propaganda (cat. nos 9.715-733, Figures 568-569). The proportions of gemstone intaglios to the glass gems are in favour of the latter as in the case of all other categories of propaganda gems distinguished (3 to 16). Nevertheless, the similarity of female haircuts at the time between the official portraits of prominent Roman matrons and private figures makes it difficult to distinguish which gems really commemorate Octavian's marriage and which were private tokens of love and marriage. Sometimes the second can be distinguished due to the peculiarities of iconography (cat. nos 9.734-736, Figure 570) or inscriptions clearly suggesting that the objects had a private character rather than being official propaganda (cat. nos 9.737-739, Figure 571). Perhaps also some mythological subjects could recall the marriage of Octavian and Livia as proposed by Weiß in regard to the carnelian intaglio in Berlin presenting Venus (cat. no. 9.740, Figure 572), but such hypotheses seem to include too much speculation. Consequently, one cannot properly judge if there was a significant production of gems commemorating the marriages of Octavian and the same is the case with the marriage of Mark Antony and Octavia which will be discussed later (cf. chapter 9.3.2.6).

9.3.1.8. Divine and mythological references

In the 40s and 30s BC there was a development of a strong trend in the patronage of a specific deity or even several deities over various Roman politicians. In previous chapters one has observed that Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar, Sextus Pompey and even possibly Marcus Iunius Brutus and Cassius Longinus – all used to make references to their divine patrons in various ways which are reflected in their coinage, architectural plans and their realisations and, of course, engraved gems. In this regard, Octavian was extremely successful as a whole array of various deities - Venus, Mars, Victory, Mercury, Neptune and Jupiter – all acted on his side.[329] This phenomenon is reflected on glyptics, and this sub-chapter is designed to illustrate that.

While discussing the commemoration of Octavian's military victories such as the Battle at Naulochus and Actium, I have highlighted the key role of Neptune in Octavian's propaganda practices. Just before Naulochus in 36 BC Octavian promoted the view that Neptune is on his side in contrast to the well-established image of *Neptuni filius* that was associated with Sextus Pompey.[330] The victory in the battle with Sextus was the turning point because it confirmed that Neptune was in favour of Octavian; he was his protector and supporter.[331] In ancient literary sources, Octavian is often compared to the god,[332] and the same mechanism functioned on engraved gems. The famous intaglio in Boston depicting Octavian driving a sea-*quadriga* discussed above is the best illustration of that (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2). In fact, it is supposed that many more intaglios due to their outstanding formats, sizes and style, close to Augustan classicism, are related to this matter too. Sometimes these are mistakenly attributed to Sextus Pompey, but if they had any political significance, this must have been only due to their relationship with Octavian (cf. chapters 9.3.1.2 and 9.3.1.7). But the point of Octavian's propaganda was not only to attain divine status, but also to show his complete dominance on land and sea.[333] For this reason, his image as Neptune, in the Lateran type, who stands with his foot on a prow, should be interpreted not only as a commemoration of the Battle of Actium,[334] but also as a clear sign of his dominance in the whole world which will result in abundance and prosperity for everyone. This is highlighted, for instance, by the globe appearing on some examples (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7).[335] Moreover, the concept was employed also for other deities like Mercury and Mars which was consistent with Octavian's ideology at the time as each deity represented its different aspect – Neptune domination, Mercury peace and prosperity and Mars security and military power.[336]

The victory in the Battle of Naulochus was not only due to the help of Neptune, but also Diana. In recognition of her help in the battle, Octavian dedicated a temple to her and she was also promoted in glyptics.[337] I have already remarked on an intaglio presenting a bust of Diana Siciliensis above (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7), which most likely refers to the Battle at Naulochus. Also, an important piece of evidence for Octavian's veneration of Artemis/Diana is the fact that on a pair of the agate

[327] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 128.
[328] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 210.
[329] Zanker 1988: 53-57.
[330] Barcaro 2008/2009: 225-236; Morawiecki 2014: 101-103; Zanker 1988: 39-40.
[331] Trunk 2008: 163; Zanker 1988: 53-54.
[332] Barcaro 2008/2009: 228-230.
[333] Barcaro 2008/2009: 236.
[334] Toso 2007: 209.
[335] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 128.
[336] Morawiecki 2014: 207-215.
[337] Zanker 1988: 66-67.

plaques from London, his sister Octavia was depicted as Artemis/Diana (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2). Some exceptional gems with Diana as the main subject were created in the third quarter of the 1st century BC, for instance by Apollonios II (cat. nos 9.741-742, Figure 573), and one wonders if these were created due to some political influence, e.g. Octavian, or free creations inspired by more ancient sculptural prototypes.[338] Another case is the cameo vessel housed in St. Petersburg where Diana is paired with Apollo and engaged in a complex scene probably reflecting the real role of midwives in the process of developing the imperial ideology of Augustus, which will be discussed later (cf. chapter 10.9). There is not much more material to look at in Octavian's early political career. The reason for this can be the fact that propaganda messages encoded in mythological themes are difficult to spot. However, it should be also kept in mind that in his propaganda activities, Octavian focused primarily on Apollo as his patron deity and the temple dedicated through another man (L. Cornificius) to Diana was relatively insignificant so that it would not have taken on the splendour owed to Apollo.[339]

Regarding other deities who acted in favour of Octavian, Mars played an important role either as the avenger of Julius Caesar or just as a patron in military terms.[340] He appears to be a supporter of Octavian very early, before the Battle of Philippi, which is best illustrated by his presence on Octavian's coins clearly minted for the wish of victory in the forthcoming clash.[341] Mars was an important deity supportive of Octavian for his patronage over the Roman army. Because many portrait gems exhibit traits of being produced for Roman soldiers, it is not surprising that among them there is a large group bearing a head of Octavian accompanied with various military symbols (shield, spears or trophy) which possibly refer to Mars too (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4). This kind of imagery was appealing for the soldiers and it helped to establish the authority of the young Octavian among them. Sometimes, this connection is more evident in figural scenes like the one engraved on a carnelian in Lisbon, where Octavian appears as Mars dressed only in a cloak, otherwise naked, with a round shield and spear in front of an aedicule placed on an altar (cat. no. 9.743, Figure 574). The shape of the gemstone employed, and its classicising style suggests it should be dated to the Octavian/Augustan Age. It is difficult to say whether the figure can be identified with Octavian, but this seems possible and the shrine might belong to Artemis/Diana whom he venerated after the victory at Naulochus so there would be a combination of these two in one piece. Interpreting mythological subjects as propagandistic ones is tricky, though. For example, another interesting carnelian is housed in Vienna and it depicts a male figure standing to the right, holding a round shield in his right arm and a sword in a sheath in the left hand and beside him is a trophy (cat. no. 9.744, Figure 575). Zwierlein-Diehl sees here a Roman general in the guise of Mars whose name would be abbreviated in three letters PRI appearing on the gem.[342] If that is true, it would be a perfect example of self-presentation through a gem with full identification of the gem's sitter with his patron deity.[343] But such a level was reserved to very few, e.g. Octavian, and while one does not find any features pointing to him here, the gem probably depicts just Mars to whom the owner of the piece addressed his request for help and support and expected him to bring victory.

The role of Mars as the avenger might have more powerful meaning in the context of propaganda of all three triumviri and especially Octavian. The god presented on some gems might be an embodiment of this idea. For instance, on a carnelian intaglio in Budapest, Mars stands to the front with a captive under a trophy (cat. no. 9.745, Figure 576). Such a depiction could be making an allusion to defeated enemies like Brutus and Cassius after the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC. Moreover, on a series of gems Mars presents his military equipment with a special regard to the shield decorated with a star which might be in fact the *sidus Iulium* making a clear allusion to the avenging of Caesar (cat. nos 9.746-753, Figure 577). In this instance, Mars was regarded as the divine helper, supporter of the Caesarian faction and assistant in the act of avenge. It is difficult to point to specific dates and place of production for such items, but the analysis of their provenance and history suggests Rome or Italy. The Temple of Mars Ultor was accomplished in 2 BC in the Forum of Augustus in Rome in order to commemorate the victory in 42 BC at the Battle of Philippi over the assassins of Julius Caesar. Inside, there was a statue of the god which probably looked different from the Mars presented on the gems in question (it was rather the classical type of Mars Ultor, extremely popular on engraved gems from later on), thus, one believes that these were produced shortly after 42 BC.[344] The fact that some have been found in Dalmatia and other territories outside Italy may point to their use by Roman legionaries in the provinces.

Discussing the role of Mars in propaganda of Octavian and glyptics, one must mention his relationship with the *gens* Iulia in general. This was one of the key aspects of Octavian/Augustus' ideology. The origin of Rome was born from Mars through Romulus, along with the

[338] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 143.
[339] Zanker 1988: 66-67.
[340] Zanker 1988: 53 and 105-109.
[341] *RRC*: 740.
[342] Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1096.
[343] Maderna-Lauter goes even further proposing that the gem presents a Roman general (1988: 443). Either way, a mechanism of self-advertisment is possible here.
[344] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 230.

gens Iulia generated from Venus through the mythical Aeneas. Thus, Octavian/Augustus presented the young Romulus as the new founder of the city and he himself was his successor. This is well reflected in his coinage as well as in the wall painting decorations in Pompeii that possibly inform about the considerable influence of Octavian's ideology.[345] Regarding engraved gems, the subject of Mars' and Venus' involvement into the origins of Rome and Octavian's family is splendidly expressed for instance on the intaglio now in Cologne presenting a scene of Mars giving his sword to Venus (cat. no. 9.754, Figure 578). The propagandistic value of this gem is obvious since Venus was the patroness of the *gens* Iulia and the sword that she is receiving may symbolise the vengeance accomplished at the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC.[346] The artist who created this remarkable intaglio also produced several other pieces that focus on the same theme. For instance, on a sard now in Naples cut by his hand there is Mars seated on a *cuirass* and shield and being crowned by Victory with a laurel wreath – a composition clearly suggesting military victory (cat. no. 9.755, Figure 579). On another sard, he carved Minerva holding a female head that might belong to the personification of Egypt or Africa and thus, the object would address the success in the Battle at Actium in 31 BC (cat. no. 9.756, Figure 580). From these three stones only, it is altogether clear that the artist responsible for them acted on the commission of Octavian and he used divine subjects as allegories of his patron's accomplishments so that it was suggested that they were due to the assistance of Mars, Venus and Victory. The same mechanism functioned after the Battle of Actium since Mars is involved mostly indirectly in the triumph of order over evil and chaos as has been discussed in the case of gems presenting his engagement in gigantomachy and naval themes (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7).

The role of Victory in Octavian's propaganda was extremely important as she broadcasted his military successes or those he wished for if she appeared with symbolism suggesting a pre-battle situation.[347] It is supposed that bust of the goddess on some gems might be identified with Fulvia, first wife of Mark Antony, and Livia, wife of Octavian, respectively. They would illustrate the victory and the avenging of Julius Caesar wished for by the triumvirs in the war with his assassins.[348] Although attractive, the view cannot be entirely accepted as will be discussed later (cf. chapter 9.5.2). Victory's cult was much widespread shortly after the Battle of Actium. She became one of the main symbols of this accomplishment due to her statue installed in the Curia Iulia building which was vigorously copied on engraved gems (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7).[349] Nevertheless, one must be careful while judging her depictions on intaglios and cameos. The triumvirs' opponents would have had the same wish for good luck as the triumvirs had. The intaglio from Krakow presumably best illustrates that problem since it plausibly reflects the Caesarians' hope for victory together with a more general idea of liberation of the Roman Republic from tyranny promoted by the Republicans (cat. no. 9.757, Figure 581). There is an analogous situation on coinage as some series of coins minted by Casca for Brutus in 43-42 BC depict the goddess as an illustration for the hope of victory in the forthcoming Battle at Philippi.[350] If there is no specific symbolism applied, it is difficult to tell whether some gems should be regarded as propagandistic and to which party they belong.[351] Another matter is *Victoria Augusti* who may be securely linked with Augustus, but that issue will be discussed in the chapter 10.6.

The most intriguing case of divine and mythological references practised by Octavian on engraved gems is the one concerning Mercury.[352] The relationship between the two is well-documented in ancient literary sources as well as in the coinage where the attributes of the god like the caduceus often appear on aurei and denarii of Octavian.[353] However, it is rightly observed by Boardman that glyptic art offered much more space and allowed scope for the artist to depict concepts which were unacceptable in other branches of art.[354] For this reason, Octavian's head as Mercury with the caduceus in front of him appears on an unparalleled large agate plaque once in the celebrated Marlborough collection and now in the British Museum in London (cat. no. 9.281, Figure 434). The object has been attributed to the engraver Solon about whom I have written above stating that he possibly worked for Octavian in the 30s and early 20s BC (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2).[355] It is tempting to think that the gem was paired with another agate plaque depicting Octavia as Diana since she is facing right, while her brother left. The two could have been installed in Octavian's palace as an antithetic pair for a display as their unusual forms and sizes exclude them from use for sealing or any other pragmatic purpose. An important aspect is that the gem presents Octavian as assimilated with the god not only alluding to him in one way or another, but the direct relationship or even full identification is the subject here. This was unthinkable in coinage or any other channel of propaganda. Most likely, the plaque was a highly personal gift from one of Octavian's supporters or the other way around, it

345 *AGDS* II, no. 531; Zanker 1988: 36.
346 Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 65; 2007: 129.
347 Vermeule 1958: 5.
348 Sena Chiesa 1989: 267-269.
349 Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 129-131.
350 Vermeule 1958: 8.
351 Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 291.
352 Sena Chiesa, Magni and Tassinari 2009: 44-45.
353 Barcarro 2008/2009: 49-57; Morawiecki 2014: 206-208.
354 Boardman 1968: 28.
355 Vollenweider 1966: 53-54.

was commissioned by Octavian to depict himself in the guise of a peaceful deity who brought abundance and wealth – the issues he always tried to highlight in his relationship with Mercury.[356] Yet, this pairing is rather unusual since a natural partner to Diana was her brother Apollo with whom she represented the concept of world order – *ordo rerum* as a lunar and solar deity respectively. Together, they were often a subject of Octavian/Augustus' propaganda in other media.[357] It seems then that the pair of agate plaques must have been cut in the early 20s when Octavian used to employ a whole array of deities to illustrate various aspects of his ideology, including the foundation of his dynasty, and he never made Apollo his chief divine patron.[358]

As a matter of fact, there is a surprisingly large group of gemstone and glass gems interpreted as depicting Octavian in the guise of Mercury. In this sub-chapter I would like not only to comment on those which indeed include a portrait of Octavian, but also draw attention to detail and conclude that some pieces are simply studies of Mercury and have nothing in common with Octavian's propaganda activities. One of the most popular type of gem related to the issue of Octavian's relationship with Mercury is his portrait combined with one or many attributes of the god like caduceus, tortoise and cockerel (cat. nos 9.758-763, Figures 582-583). Sometimes these are accompanied with additional symbols like cornucopiae, ears of corn, comedy mask and syrinx which is consistent with the previously discussed groups presenting Octavian as a guarantor of peace and prosperity (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4). It seems that allusions made to Mercury and even perhaps the intended identification with the god was meant to enforce the propagandistic message encoded in those objects. Analysing the provenance and history of those pieces, it can be said that they were also manufactured in Rome or Italy in a broader sense and the ratio of gemstone intaglios to glass gems is as usual in favour of the latter (2 to 4) possibly suggesting that they were mass produced.

Another group consists of gems featuring the head of a youth with a *petasos* on his head and a variety of accompanying symbols (cat. nos 9.764-778, Figures 584-588). That head may be also positively identified with Octavian due to some characteristic elements. For instance, many of those gems also address typical issues of the promotion of peace, abundance and prosperity through such symbols as cornucopiae, ears of corn and parrots, but on cat. no. 9.768 there is a prow that possibly refers to one of the naval battles – Naulochus or Actium and a glass gem in London clearly presents Octavian with a slight beard and wearing a *paludamentum* as well as *petasos* (cat. no. 9.772, Figure 585). There are also configurations where there is a clear reference to the Second Triumvirate in the form of two clasped hands – the *dextrarum iunctio* symbol (cat. no. 9.777, Figure 587). Finally, in Berlin there is an example of Octavian's head wearing a *petasos* flanked by Capricorns and with a globe beneath (cat. no. 9.778, Figure 588). This gem makes an allusion to Octavian's role as the ruler of the land and sea. Another gem also in Berlin presents a bust of Octavian as Mercury wearing a lotus-petal diadem on his head and a caduceus emerging behind his back, and the inscription: OPT|ATUS (cat. no. 9.528, Figure 484). The inscription suggests the name of the gem's sitter and surely a supporter of Octavian.[359] In all these cases Octavian is presented in the guise of Mercury to highlight his peaceful nature and as a guarantor of positive values such as abundance and prosperity and again, the provenance and history of the pieces in question suggest their production took place in Rome or Italy but the ratio between gemstone intaglios and glass gems is equal (7 to 7).

Apart from these, there is a substantial group of problematic gems which bear a similar portrait, but the symbolism is limited only to that related to Mercury (cat. no. 9.779-787, Figure 589). Some of these may have been intended to depict Octavian as Mercury, however having no context and basing purely on iconographical clues, one must accept the view that interpreting them as simple busts and heads of Mercury is equally possible. Not less problematic is a group of gems presenting a youthful head surrounded with various symbols, but the main one is the winged foot of Mercury (cat. nos 9.779-796, Figures 590-591). Here, there is a mixture since many objects clearly relate to Octavian's naval battles (symbolised by dolphins, trident, rudder etc. - cat. nos 9.788, 790-793 and 795-796, Figures 590-591) and his relationship with Caesar (adoption ring – cat. no. 9.788, Figure 590), while other objects lack these elements, therefore, one wonders if they depict Octavian as Mercury or simply Mercury. Taking a more general view on the matter, it is evident that the number of gems presenting Octavian identified with Mercury is overestimated if compared to other deities like Neptune, Mars, Diana, Victory, Apollo and Jupiter, thus, one should critically examine all the evidence and if the identification of the subject-matter as related to Octavian is based only on the portrait itself, this is not enough and leads to overinterpretation of the gems presenting Mercury as an object of political propaganda. Besides, analysing Octavian's propaganda activities as the whole, it is clear that in other media Apollo, Venus and Mars were the main subjects of promotion rather than Mercury, hence, I believe that his outstanding popularity in glyptics is due to overinterpretations of many portrait gems as shown above.

[356] Barcarrro 2008/2009: 59-60.
[357] Morawiecki 2014: 198-202.
[358] Morawiecki 2014: 207-215.
[359] Weiß 2007, no. 389.

Regarding Jupiter, his relationship with Octavian is noticeable in coinage where a combination of a portrait of Octavian and a herm of Jupiter Terminus or Feretrius on one denarius appears, and another one represents a Octavian-Jupiter Terminus or Feretrius herm combined with Octavian seated on the *sella curulis* with Victoriola on his hand.[360] Many interpretations of these two issues exist, but it is generally accepted that Octavian is associated with Jupiter Terminus or Feretrius here to illustrate the integrity of the empire and its borders and also the legal inclusion of the eastern parts that were bestowed by Mark Antony to his children against the interest of Rome.[361] Although the head of Jupiter Terminus was a popular subject in Roman Republican glyptics, one is unable to identify similar versions to these appearing on Octavian's coins.[362] Perhaps, a point of reference between Octavian and Jupiter on gems is the globe - symbol of domination on the land and sea appearing in combinations with other symbols (cf. chapter 9.3.1.9).[363] The relationship between Augustus and Jupiter is much clearer, for instance on the famous *Gemma Augustea* or another cameo from Vienna which will be discussed in detail in chapters 10.5-10.6 and 10.9.

All the deities described above as related to Octavian usually played a supportive role to him, except for Mercury, who is to be sometimes observed as more than that with attempts to the identification that was meant to establish Octavian's image of a peace loving and a caring for society politician. Nevertheless, even these actions cannot be compared to the ones that Octavian and later Augustus addressed to Apollo.[364] Since the very beginning he used to refer to him in his coinage like the Republicans did and after winning the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC, he proved that Apollo was acting on his side.[365] Various symbols of Apollo (a tripod, raven etc.) appear on coins as references to the liberators of the Roman Republic. It is observed that the same symbolism was adopted by Octavian in his coinage from c. 37 BC which was a natural reaction (counterpropaganda) to Mark Antony's identification with *Neos Dionysus* and Sextus Pompey's with Neptune.[366] A similar symbolism functioned on engraved gems but without any specific context and points of reference, one cannot tell if some of them were used by followers of Octavian or the Republicans for the manifestation of specific political views and allegiance to one political party or another (cf. chapter 9.3.1.9). For this reason, the meaning of glyptic art in propagation of the connection between Octavian and Apollo might be underestimated here.[367] I have remarked on the fact that initially, Octavian used a sphinx motif for his personal seal that he inherited from his mother who, according to a legend, bore him after being inseminated by Apollo in the god's temple while sleeping. This was not a coincidence, but a conscious propaganda act aimed at creation of a strong relationship between Octavian and Apollo (cf. chapter 9.3.1.3).[368]

Even though symbolic gems are problematic due to the lack of direct connectors that would allow us to connect them with Octavian and his promotion of the cult of Apollo, one observes a considerable role the god played in Octavian's propaganda practices aimed at celebration of the victory at Actium. I have already discussed several gems commemorating not only the victory itself but also promoting Octavian's identification with the god (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7). In the repertoire of gems attributed to engraver Solon, Vollenweider notices a bust of Apollo in Florence that was possibly cut by him or in his workshop and could have been commissioned by Octavian after the Battle of Actium (cat. no. 9.797, Figure 592).[369] Similarly, I think it should be argued that an amethyst masterpiece intaglio in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu attributed to Solon, depicting a bust of Apollo evokes Octavian to some degree (cat. no. 9.282, Figure 435). It is a fact that after the Battle of Actium the image of Apollo became extremely popular in glyptics which suggests his special place in Octavian's propaganda activities. The best illustration of this is a carnelian intaglio in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg signed by Hyllos that depicts a diademed bust of Apollo to the right (cat. no. 10.8, Figure 779). This gem reproduces the head of Apollo from the statue by Scopas (4th century BC) which was transported from Ramnunta (Greece) to Rome in 28 BC and installed in the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill. The type was then frequently copied (cat. no. 9.798, Figure 593) which resulted in several new versions where Apollo wears a laurel wreath (cat. nos 9.799-800, Figure 594), has his bow and quiver with him (cat. nos 9.781-802, Figure 595), his *cithara* (cat. nos 9.803-806, Figure 596) or a laurel branch (cat. no. 9.807, Figure 597). Overall, the image of Apollo and the laurel were two symbols standing for Octavian/Augustus' *aurea aetas* concept and therefore were suitable subjects for glyptic objects at the time.[370] Apollo also symbolised the new era and was responsible for the world order like Octavian/ Augustus who after the Battle of Actium changed the rhetoric of his propaganda putting emphasis on his

[360] *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 36 and *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 270 (denarius of Augustus, 29-27 BC) respectively.
[361] Morawiecki 2014: 209; Zanker 1988: 55-56.
[362] For the Jupiter Terminus image in glyptic art on gems produced ca. mid of the 1st century BC and their contemporary coins images, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 87.
[363] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 457-458; Sena Chiesa 2012: 260.
[364] Morawiecki 2014: 204-215.
[365] Morawiecki 2014: 182-183; Zanker 1988: 49.
[366] Barcarro 2008/2009: 36; Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 296; Kühnen 2008: 121-122; Morawiecki 2014: 153-154 and 182-188; Ritter 1995: 81; *RRC*: 744.
[367] See a more optimistic point of view on this matter in: Barcarro 2008/2009: 15-29; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 447; Zanker 1988: 49.
[368] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 94.
[369] Vollenweider 1966: 54-55.
[370] Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 42.

capabilities to rule the Roman Empire (cat. nos 9.808-811).[371] Sometimes the subject of Atia's insemination by Apollo reflecting his role as the divine father of the Julian clan was still promoted like on an intaglio from Hannover (cat. no. 9.812, Figure 598). All those gems cannot be precisely dated and could have been executed in the last third of the 1st century BC or even in the early 1st century AD, but it is altogether clear that the victory at Actium triggered their production as they were a part of the cult of Apollo either with the epithet Acticus or Palatinus – the patron deity of Octavian/Augustus.[372] More examples of this peculiar phenomenon shall be discussed in the next chapter since Apollo was an important element of the imperial propaganda of Augustus.

There was a general trend in glyptics towards the end of the 1st century BC that Trojan War subjects became increasingly preferred. Among them, Aeneas and Diomedes had special meaning for Augustus' propaganda and they will be discussed in chapter 10.7. Concerning other mythological figures related to Octavian, Achilles comes to mind. In ancient literary sources there are some passages where he is compared to the hero.[373] Toso claims that the motif of Priam begging Achilles to give him the corpse of Hector might have reflected the concept of *clementia*. Since Achilles could have embodied Octavian/Augustus, a gem bearing such a scene might have represented his *clementia*.[374] This view is supported by literary sources since Ovid writes about Octavian/Augustus' clemency and compares him to Achilles.[375] After the Battle of Actium, Octavian was providing insurance for the future pledging that *clementia* would be shown to other defeated nations and conquered people, provided that they submitted to the might of Rome. Reflections of this concept are difficult to spot in glyptic material, but sometimes small details are helpful.[376] For example, on the cameo in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg presenting Priam and Achilles, a sphinx sitting on a column indicates the subject to be related to Octavian as he used that motif for his personal seals (cat. no. 9.813, Figure 599). The sphinx may also reflect Egypt and the East in general that after Actium joined the rest of the Roman Empire. There could be many more gems showing Achilles but meant to be compared with Octavian since the hero was immensely popular in the last third of the 1st century BC, for instance, an amethyst in Cambridge presents Achilles sulking in response to having been wronged by Agamemnon or mourning Patroclus (cat. no. 9.814, Figure 600). Henig suggests the gem to have come from Solon's workshop which is indeed possible and there could be a correlation between Octavian and Achilles.[377] Vollenweider proposed that several gems depicting Achilles at various activities should be linked with Octavian since she noticed similarities in facial features and coiffure on some of them to portraits of Octavian (cat. no. 9.815, Figure 601). However, Furtwängler noticed some difficulties in making such identifications, although the subjects and quality of engraving in some cases clearly indicate Augustan Age (cat. no. 9.816, Figure 602). Furthermore, Weiß convincingly argues that this way of identification is misleading. The portrait type which Vollenweider attributed to Octavian so often was in fact employed for various Greek heroes and many of them had no connections with Octavian whatsoever. Instead, they derive from a 4th century BC sculptural prototype.[378] To sum up, unless there is at least one element or the whole composition makes a clear allusion to Octavian, identifications with him should be treated as speculative but the general adoption of heroic types for exceptional gems like those discussed here perhaps feel into the spirit of Octavian's regime even when the propaganda was not direct or obvious. This observation applies not only to Achilles but other heroic types listed below.

Concerning Heracles, Ritter made an interesting observation that during the reign of Octavian/Augustus, one observes a considerable decrease in gems with motifs relating to Heracles, including his image. This was due to new trends in art in general after the Battle of Actium and the fact that Mark Antony identified with the hero before.[379] This theory is only partially true for politics did indeed strongly influence glyptic production in the last third of the 1st century BC, however, images of Heracles are still present. Moreover, some scholars attempt to connect glyptic masterpieces presenting Heracles with Octavian. Vollenweider suggested that Anteros, who cut an amethyst with Heracles carrying a bull (cat. no. 9.817), worked for Octavian. She claimed that the hero should be identified with Octavian on the basis of facial features and coiffure both of which, according to her, resemble portraits of Octavian.[380] On the same basis sometimes other gems presenting heads and busts of Heracles are linked with Octavian (cat. nos 9.819-822, Figure 604). Nevertheless, as pointed out above, Weiß convincingly argues that the similarity of some heads to Octavian's portraits are coincidental or rather effects of scholars' rampant

[371] Morawiecki 2014: 198-205.
[372] Morawiecki 2014: 189-199; Spier 2001, no. 23.
[373] For instance: Seneca, *Troades*, 188-189. For some more examples and commentary, see: Barcarro 2008/2009: 162-169.
[374] Toso 2007: 25-26.
[375] Ovid, *Tristia*, 3.5.37-38
[376] Vahl 2007: 15.
[377] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 196.
[378] Weiß 2007, no. 254. Besides, as well-observed by Zanker, it is often tempting to see Octavian/Augustus' features in idealised portraits, and many researchers do this, but they are misled by the classicising style of the official portraiture of the period (1988: 351).
[379] Ritter 1995: 190.
[380] Vollenweider 1966: 43-44. Her view has been accepted, for instance by Toso, see: 2007: 177-178.

imagination. The mottled agate intaglio in the J. Paul Getty Musuem in Malibu presents exactly the same subject as Antheros' work from Chatsworth, however, no treats of Octavian can be found in this case (cat. no. 9.818, Figure 603). The piece is signed by Moschos, an otherwise unknown artist, which fact proves that the subject enjoyed outstanding popularity among the gem engravers of the second half of the 1st century BC and there could be artistic motivations for that rather than political ones. It is noteworthy that the famous cameo presenting Heracles wrestling with Cerberus by Dioscurides, now in Berlin, has also been suggested as fitting into Octavian's propaganda programme (cat. no. 9.823, Figure 605).[381] Toso thinks that Octavian/Augustus could be using the motif of Heracles when he performs one of the labours as this was *exemplum virtutis* and *exemplum pietatis* – both were positive values and might be useful for Octavian/Augustus.[382] However, this is not a very convincing explanation especially given the fact that in other branches of art Octavian does not exploit Heracles for propaganda purposes.[383] Regarding Heracles, it is noteworthy to mention that he rarely appears as killing a giant or hydra with his club in a very similar way to Mars and Athena discussed above (cat. nos 9.824-825, Figure 606). I therefore think that such imagery has very low political potential in Octavian's propaganda as other scholars believe (cf. discussion in chapter 9.3.1.7)

Regarding comparisons to Greek heroes, the next one concerning Octavian is Meleager. Although in this case there is no evidence in the literary sources for such a phenomenon, some gems present intriguing subjects that have been regarded as illustrating this issue. Meleager was a skilful hunter most famed for the Calydonian boar hunt and one of the Argonauts. Vollenweider has noted a gem presenting a young male head with a spear behind and head of a boar beneath (cat. no. 9.826, Figure 607). She associated it with Octavian and due to the accompanying symbolism identified him as Octavian-Meleager and took the piece as commemorating the Battle of Naulochus.[384] In my research, I have found three more examples presenting similar iconography (cat. nos 9.827-829). Although Vollenweider's hypothesis is attractive and has been accepted by some scholars,[385] in all the cases the head is schematically engraved, thus identification of the portrait with Octavian is uncertain and the symbolism is unusual for him. The reasoning of Vollenweider also includes the type of the head of Octavian with two spears behind interpreted as an allusion to Meleager, whose numerous portraits we have already discussed above (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4). Those portrait gems might compare Octavian with Mars, however the four under discussion here are more likely private objects reflecting self-presentation of their owners who wished to be compared with the Greek hero or the portraits involving the head of a boar simply present Meleager himself and have no political message encoded whatsoever. The fact that a sort of similar type (head of Octavian with two spears behind) have been positively identified with Octavian does not mean that one should automatically identify other similar compositions like the one with head of a boar discussed here, since one iconographical element can make a huge difference and I believe this is the case here.

More problematic is a carnelian intaglio in St. Petersburg presenting a young, naked Greek hero leaning on a pillar and feeding an eagle with a hare and his dog sits behind him (cat. no. 9.830, Figure 608). Basing on the similarity of the head of the youth to Octavian portraits, Vollenweider interpreted the piece as Octavian feeding the imperial eagle – an allegory of his protection of the Roman Empire.[386] However, this seems a quite far-fetched hypothesis. Other scholars take the figure depicted on this piece as Ganymede flirting with Zeus in the guise of eagle which is also unconvincing giving the fact that Ganymede was a shepherd, not a hunter,[387] or Meleager which is probably the most convincing identification.[388] I believe that the gem in question probably copies the theme of the famous masterpiece signed by Koinos which was based on a sculptural prototype.[389] It is another version like many others (cat. nos 9.831-833) and it is not clear if all of them were meant to present Meleager, Actaeon or Hippolytus.[390] Be that as it may, their identification with Octavian's propaganda is hazardous.

Another case is Theseus. I have already discussed an intaglio possibly engraved by Solon or in his workshop presenting, in my opinion, Theseus and his father Aegeus as an allegorical depiction of the relationship between Julius Caesar and Octavian (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2). This concept might have been illustrated by a series of exceptionally well-cut gems, some of them attributed to Solon and his workshop, presenting Theseus examining the sword of his father (cat. nos 9.834-841, Figure 609) as well as ordinary and cheap glass gems (cat. nos 9.842-843). Although many variants exist, they all follow one tradition and some of the pieces have heads resembling portraits of Octavian.[391] Naturally, these similarities might be just coincidental as seems to be the case with other gems supposed to depict Octavian in the guise of

[381] Vollenweider 1966: 60.
[382] Toso 2007: 191.
[383] The most recent analysis of this cameo does not support its propagandistic value too, see: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 25.
[384] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 205-206.
[385] For instance, see: Toso 2007: 100.
[386] Vollenweider 1966: 52.
[387] Kagan and Neverov 2000, no. 35/16.
[388] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 465.
[389] Furtwängler 1888-1889: 51.
[390] For a fruitful discussion on this matter, see: Weiß 2007, no. 254.
[391] Vollenweider 1966: 52.

various Greek heroes discussed above and the subject was quite popular in general at the time and also later, but the conceptual aspect is far stronger in the case of Theseus. Perhaps the political message of Octavian as the heir of Caesar was combined with the already recognisable subject to increase its success. Among these gems there is a nicolo intaglio signed by Solon, set in a ring and discovered in 1861 in Pompeii. It presents a male figure leaning on a club and holding a sword in a sheath (cat. no. 9.844, Figure 610). Vollenweider widely discussed the piece and interpreted the figure as Heracles and linked him with Mark Antony on the basis of his identification with the hero.[392] Moreover, she proposed that the ring once belonged to one of Antony's followers, possibly a veteran from his army who resided in Pompeii instead of going to Egypt. However, as it has recently been established neither the subject, nor the dating of the gem was correct. In fact, the male hero should be identified as Theseus.[393] Furthermore, the idea of linking the object with one of Antony's veterans is unconvincing and lastly, if compared to other works by Solon, the nicolo from Pompeii exhibits strong classicising influence which points to the Octavian/ Augustan Era.[394] As a result, if the gem had any political significance, it should be linked to Octavian, not Antony. Theseus was an attractive figure to follow due to the fact that he embodied the quality of *virtus* and such a positive association with Octavian could be desirable in his promotional practices, especially among soldiers.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the victory at Actium encouraged Octavian to advertise new concepts for his political propaganda. As I have discussed above, most likely at that time he changed his personal seal from the sphinx to a portrait of Alexander the Great which is probably the purest example of *imitatio Alexandri* possible in terms of glyptic art (cf. chapter 9.3.1.3). Adoption of this portrait, was a clear comparison of the Actium success to the conquest of the East by Alexander and on a personal level, Octavian regarded himself equal to the Macedonian king.[395] Comparisons between Octavian and Alexander are frequent and evident in contemporary literature.[396] It is interesting to observe that a considerable number of gemstone and glass gems presenting head of Alexander the Great is produced in the last third of the 1st century BC and perhaps early 1st century AD (cat. nos 9.845-853, Figure 611). They are Roman imitations of the Hellenistic images, sometimes even cut as cameos (cat. nos 9.854-856, Figure 612) and what is more the Petescia hoard contains an exceptional cameo presenting, as recently re-evaluated by Platz-Horster, a diademed bust of Octavian/Augustus identified with Alexander the Great (cat. no. 9.857, Figure 613). This piece is unique and certifies that glyptics allowed the promotion of much bolder propaganda messages to be transmitted than any other branch of Roman art. One supposes that most of the gems in question were manufactured shortly after 30 BC. This production was possibly an effect of Octavian's application of the image of Alexander as his personal seal and bringing the figure of the Macedonian king to the public so his propaganda of the victory at Actium was successful.[397]

Concerning Octavian's *imitatio Alexandri* reflected in glyptics, Vollenweider suggested that the gem now in Lisbon presenting a young male figure leaning on a spear shows Octavian as Jupiter (cat. no. 9.858, Figure 614).[398] She compared the image to the statue that stood on the Columna Rostrata erected after the Battle of Actium which also appears on coins minted c. 29-27 BC (Figure 615).[399] Indeed, the subject is close to the mentioned statue and the engraving is of high level suggesting it to be a product of the imperial court workshop.[400] Nevertheless, as Zanker observes, in this image Octavian follows Pompey the Great who brought to Rome the mantle of Alexander the Great from the East as he uses one like this too.[401] Therefore, he should be recognised on the intaglio in question as Alexander the Great who conquered the East as well. On a carnelian intaglio in London Octavian might be also presented as Alexander the Great as he stands next to a horse wearing chlamys and holding a sceptre (cat. no. 9.859). In this case the references to Alexander's peculiar attributes were probably meant to identify the youth, whose head is given Octavian's features, with the famous Macedonian king.

Apart from such direct allusions to Alexander, indirect connections between him and Octavian are also noticeable, and they concern glyptic art too. For instance, Plantzos remarks that Olympias, mother of Alexander, was *sealed* (inseminated) by Ammon in the very same way as Atia, mother of Octavian was which is an interesting and possibly deliberate imitation of the story by Octavian.[402] Vollenweider suggested that at least some gems presenting Achilles may hide allusions to Alexander the Great and their popularity was due to the promotion of Alexander by Octavian.[403] Henig believes that Dioscurides' signed intaglio presenting Alexander the Great as Achilles may recall that seal used by Augustus (cat. no. 9.860, Figure 616), but the

[392] Vollenweider 1966: 49-50.
[393] Hekster 2004: 171-172.
[394] For a detailed discussion of Solon's style of engraving, see: Plantzos 1999: 97.
[395] Kühnen 2008: 26-27 and 131-134.
[396] Kühnen 2008: 142-160.
[397] Plantzos 1999: 62.
[398] For a more thorough discussion of Octavian/Augustus' *imitatio Alexandri*, see: Pollini 2012: 162-203.
[399] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 214-215. For the coin, see: *RIC* I² Augustus 271 (denarius of Augustus, 29-27 BC).
[400] Spier 2001, no. 21.
[401] Zanker 1988: 41-42.
[402] Plantzos 1999: 20.
[403] Vollenweider 1966: 61.

subject seems more popular (cat. no. 9.861) and as discussed above, Alexander's portrait seems more suitable (cf. chapter 9.3.1.3).[404] Furthermore, it is rightly observed by Toso that Achilles was widely popular in Late Roman Republican glyptics in general as he was an attractive image for Roman soldiers and generals in the army. Even though there was some kind of bond between the hero and Octavian (see above) perhaps Alexander the Great could somehow get in between the two, for instance on the famous gem presenting Achilles signed by Dioscurides.[405] Nevertheless, in my opinion, such motifs are extremely vague and having no context either archaeological or one drawn from literary sources, discussion of them is based on pure speculations. *Imitatio Alexandri* was vigorously practised by Octavian also during his reign as Augustus and as will be shown, the moment when legionary standards were regained from the Parthians in 20 BC was the next occasion enlarging the scale of this phenomenon.

9.3.1.9. Political symbols

According to a popular view, the political leaders of the Caesarian party used the same symbolism on engraved gems as Julius Caesar did in order to show their intentions to continue his programme of *ordo rerum* – focusing on the promotion of peace and prosperity that should be guaranteed by their reign.[406] Because on gems produced at the time there are many symbols relating to deities such as Mercury or Heracles, it has been somehow automatically accepted that these elements refer to Octavian and Mark Antony respectively.[407] Moreover, it is believed that some combinations stand for peculiar virtues promoted by these political leaders such as *virtus*, *dignitas*, *pax* and *concordia*.[408] In the case of Octavian, there are also some symbols very peculiar for him like the sphinx or Capricorn. Nevertheless, we should examine what kinds of configurations may have had propagandistic character and which certainly did not since they were used for personal purposes such as decoration or amulets.

One of the symbols appearing on engraved gems that is often given political significance and is linked with the establishment of the Second Triumvirate are two clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) which was a symbol of Concordia, in that case, between the three leaders of the Caesarian party or a symbol of peace guaranteed by Octavian.[409] This is due to the fact that the motif appears in coinage of the triumviri but in the case of Octavian and Mark Antony also on the issues commemorating their reconciliation after the Brundisium War.[410] In fact in glyptics, the subject of *dextrarum iunctio* was vastly popular in the whole 1st century BC and especially in the second half of that century and beyond in the Imperial period. As has been discussed earlier, the gems with such iconography could be used as betrothal gifts or simply amulets guarantying wealth and prosperity to their owners (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4). Moreover, some gems exhibit a close connection between Mercury and the subject of two clasped hands which can in fact stand for the god himself if they hold a caduceus or Mercury stands on them (cat. nos 9.862-866, Figure 617). Therefore, I think that most of the gems involving *dextrarum iunctio* motif produced in the second half of the 1st century BC were used as private amulets. The only exceptions are those gems where the symbol is set together with a head of a youth probably identified with Octavian, sometimes in the guise of Mercury (cf. chapters 9.3.1.4 and 9.3.1.8). Only these may have some propagandistic meaning unless they depict once again, simply Mercury. In the absence of science, the propagandistic value of these and other gems cannot be properly measured.

A similar situation pertains with symbolic gems presenting combinations relating to Apollo who was the main divine supporter of Octavian, especially shortly before and after the Battle of Actium. Within the vast number of gems presenting symbolism related to this deity, the raven seems to be of special importance and it exists in combination with symbols that may have some political significance.[411] Among them are the globe – symbol of domination on the land and sea (cat. no. 9.867), eagle – which may stand for imperial power (cat. no. 9.868, Figure 618), a bust of Athena which signifies military power (cat. no. 9.869, Figure 619), a laurel branch, another symbol of imperial power (cat. nos 9.870-871, Figure 620) or an altar, that may symbolise celebrations after the successful battle (cat. no. 9.872, Figure 618). Apart from these, during the political domination of Octavian/Augustus a number of gems which were in my opinion private amulets intended to bring good luck, prosperity and the blessing of Apollo as well as other deities was produced, even though they are sometimes taken as reflecting Octavian's promotion of a new age – *aurea aetas* (cat. nos 9.873-875, Figure 621). Even the examples listed above which might have some political significance are uncertain as the globe and eagle may stand for Jupiter as well, the bust of Athena indicates her blessing, a palm branch a private victory, probably a wished for one and the burning altar one of the basic elements of the nature – fire. There are multiple explanations for such

[404] Henig 1994: 153.
[405] Toso 2007: 31-34.
[406] Vollenweider 1955: 100-101.
[407] Sena Chiesa 2002: 490; 2013: 68.
[408] Sena Chiesa 2002: 410-411.
[409] Richter 1956, no. 563; Vollenweider 1955: 100-101; 1984, no. 334.
[410] *RRC*, nos. 494/10-12 (aurei of C. Vibius Varus, 42 BC) and no. 494/41 (denarius of L. Mussidius Longus, 42 BC) and nos. 529/4a-b (quinari of Mark Antony and Octavian, 39 BC).
[411] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 463.

combinations and having no direct indicator or context to link them with a specific politician, e.g. Octavian, it is impossible to rightly judge their propagandistic value. However, it is a fact that the production of gems bearing combinations involving symbols relating to Apollo considerably increased during Augustus' reign, which may indicate their political use, but this issue will be more extensively discussed in the chapter 10.8 while addressing the *aurea aetas* concept.

At some point in the 30s BC, Octavian employed the sphinx motif as his personal seal. According to Pliny the Elder, Suetonius and Dio Cassius, he took two identical rings from his mother Atia, which is not a coincidence, but a purposeful propaganda action referring to her miraculous insemination by the god Apollo and later birth of Octavian.[412] For the sphinx was the symbol of the *regnum Apollonis* prophesied by the Sybil and soon it became a frequent element in the whole Octavian/Augustan art.[413] Octavian was purposed to be a new Apollo who will introduce peace and prosperity to the Roman Empire.[414] In the Augustan context, a sphinx is often explained as a symbol of victory over the East, the harbinger of the Golden Age and the guardian of the New World.[415] Indeed, there was a significant increase in the production of gems bearing sphinxes at the times of Octavian/Augustus' political dominance and this is certainly to some degree a result of his propaganda. For he not only used the symbol as his own private seal, which could be influential and encourage his followers to use it as one of the tokens of his party, but he also promoted it in his coinage.[416] Furthermore, Pliny informs us that the two seals of Octavian/Augustus could have been used by Maecenas and Agrippa to open and seal letters on his behalf.[417] Basing on this, some scholars even suggest that the sphinx became a universal symbol of the Roman Empire and was used as the official state seal.[418]

Surely, the sphinx had a considerable political significance in the times of Augustus, but not all depictions of this creature on gems dated to that period should be taken as propagandistic and the whole phenomenon is often too widespread. Weiß and Zwierlein-Diehl rightly point out that the variant of a female sphinx with straight wings and hair braided around the head and tied back in a bun, resembling the one belonging to Octavia, was the motif used by Octavian and perhaps his followers, however, it is not altogether clear if these gems were produced in one workshop in Egypt as they claim since my provenance and history analysis suggest many examples to be cut in Italy (cat. nos 9.876-901, Figures 622-623).[419] Indeed, this type is the most popular one appearing on both gemstone and glass intaglios and even on several cameos which must be contemporary (cat. nos 9.902-905, Figure 624). Another popular type is the same female sphinx as described above but with caduceus in front of it (cat. nos 9.906-913, Figures 625-626). This version probably introduces another deity related to Octavian – Mercury or attests to his political will to restore peace within the Roman Empire. The combination of Apollo and Mercury on one gem as deities supporting Octavian is best illustrated on a carnelian now in Berlin where a female sphinx sits to the right while Mercury with a caduceus and money bag stands above and there is cockerel below (cat. no. 9.910, Figure 625). Henig suggests that these kinds of gems were used by followers of Octavian, perhaps distributed to them directly from their patron.[420] However, it must be highlighted that it is difficult to estimate how large was the scale of this propaganda action and the actual use of the sphinx motif by the followers of Octavian. I have collected several examples where the female sphinx in the Octavian/Augustan type is accompanied with an inscription (cat. nos 9.914-920, Figure 627). In most of the cases, they refer to gem owners' names. There is no evidence from them for some particular relationship with Octavian and they could be used as private seals because the sphinx was considered a warden of the secret and as such, he was a perfect device to protect the message or content of the sealed letter or document.[421] It is noteworthy that sealings with that device are found throughout the Mediterranean basin (cat. nos 9.921-922, Figure 628).

The motif of a sphinx in glyptics at the time around 1st century BC/AD and especially under Octavian/Augustus was not limited only to the variants discussed above. There are representations of the creature completely eastern in character where the sphinx has the *modius* on his head, upturned and curved wings or even has a bearded male head (cat. nos 9.923-937, Figures 629-631). Moreover, occasionally sphinx plays with a human head which is a reference to the famous myth of Oedipus (cat. nos 9.938-948, Figure 632). Although some scholars propose to regard such depictions as related to Octavian/Augustus,[422] I believe they were used as private seals or in acts of self-presentation rather than having any propagandistic significance in contrast to the female version described above. Finally, it is noteworthy that the sphinx motif in all its variants was

[412] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4 and 10; Suretonius, *Augustus*, 50; Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, LI.3.6.
[413] Zanker 1988: 49-50.
[414] Morawiecki 2014: 181.
[415] Sagiv 2018: 148-149.
[416] The sphinx appears on Octavian/Augustus cistophori probably minted in Pergamum ca. 27-26 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 492; RPC I, no. 2210) and also later on his aurei from 19-18 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 511). See also, Sutherland 1970: 90–99, pls. XVII-XIX.
[417] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.10.
[418] Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1217.
[419] Weiß 1996, no. 391.
[420] Henig 1975, no. 171.
[421] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 300.
[422] For instance, Berges 2002, no. 115.

continuously used also in the Roman Imperial era which supports my hypothesis of its primary significance as a seal device, especially in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire (cat. nos 9.949-950).

Another important and frequently used symbol in Octavian's propaganda was his zodiacal sign – Capricorn. Suetonius tells a popular story about young Octavian being a student in Apollonia and having his horoscope read by astrologer Theogenes. The interpretation was so positive that 'from this moment Octavian had such great faith in his own destiny that he made public his horoscope and later minted a silver coin with the Zodiac sign Capricorn, under which he was born'.[423] This could be a denarius struck by Octavian c. 28-27 BC with his portrait and Capricorn sign on the obverse and crocodile on the reverse side, which commemorated the Battle of Actium (Figure 633).[424] Shortly after 30 BC Capricorn was employed in official propaganda of Octavian and later Augustus especially on gems and coins.[425] Zanker believes that Octavian's followers would have worn glass gems representing this zodiacal sign in rings as cheap substitutes for precious stones.[426] Although the propagandistic value of such gems was considerable, this view is only partially true for there are several other explanations for the popularity of Capricorn on gems. Capricorn is engraved on intaglios already in the 2nd century BC and since the very beginning it was used as an astrological symbol standing for one's horoscope (cat. nos 9.951-954, Figure 634). These early examples suggest that also many later gems were used as private astrological amulets, especially those where Capricorn is accompanied with stars, the crescent and other astrological symbols or conjoined with other zodiacal signs like Taurus, Pisces or Scorpio (cat. nos 9.955-964, Figure 635).[427]

According to Hamburger, in ancient Rome, to be born under the sign of Capricorn was regarded as a lucky omen, therefore attributes of Fortuna like the rudder and cornucopia often accompany the creature on some gems to illustrate a positive private horoscope.[428] This is the best illustrated on a glass gem in Copenhagen featuring a male head between a Bull and Capricorn (cat. no. 9.962, Figure 636). However, this is not true in all instances as will be explained later. The next functions of Capricorn on gems were sealing and gifts. There are several gems presenting the creature with inscriptions pointing to the names of intaglios' owners (private seals) or specific wishes suggesting them to be love gifts (cat. nos 9.965-966, Figure 637) as well as actual sealings where a motif involving Capricorn was reproduced (cat. nos 9.967-970, Figure 638). Another plausible explanation for Capricorn's appearance on gems is that as early as the time of Julius Caesar, Roman legions bore, in addition to their *cognomen*, an emblem, often related to the zodiacal sign of their founder or of their own foundation date – *dies natales*. Therefore, gems with Capricorn may have belonged to Roman soldiers and could have been used by them as an emblem of the specific unit they belonged to.[429] This is suggested by military symbols combined with Capricorn on several examples (cat. nos 9.971-974, Figure 639), however, one cannot exclude that those symbolise Octavian and his military victory as well. There is a class of gems presenting Capricorn with symbols of victory like a palm branch, trophy or a laurel wreath, sometimes even depicted over a war-ship (cat. nos 9.975-979, Figure 640). These often include naval elements like a rudder or dolphins which may point to the Battle of Actium. Moreover, some specimens from Munich and Hannover (cat. nos 9.980-981, Figure 641) clearly copy the reverse of the cistophori of Augustus minted throughout 27-20 BC with Capricorn and cornucopia within a laurel wreath which motif commemorated the Battle of Actium (Figure 642).[430] The naval symbols accompanying Capricorn are quite popular on engraved gems dated to the last third of the 1st century BC and early 1st century AD (cat. nos 9.982-993, Figures 643-644). Elements like dolphins, trident and rudder place such subjects into the marine category, perhaps pointing to Neptune and thus, one associates them with the celebration of Octavian's victory at Actium. Besides, in some cases political allegiance to Octavian/ Augustus could be marked by such objects being used by legionaries since, for instance, the Capricorn was the symbol of Legio II Augusta raised by Augustus. The Capricorn could symbolise the link to the legion's founder – Augustus. Analysing the provenance and history of those gems it is clear that they were produced in Italy and exported from the peninsula by soldiers as some are found in military areas alongside the *limes* (cat. nos 9.986 and 990-992). It is noteworthy that this symbolism also occurred on Octavian's portrait gems (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4). Similarly, a portion of the gems bearing Capricorn present the creature surrounded with symbols of prosperity like cornucopiae, fish and parrots (cat. nos 9.994-1003, Figure 645). Bucolic

[423] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 94.
[424] *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 545 and see also a companion aureus - *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 544.
[425] Wagner 2019: 40.
[426] Zanker 1988: 48. A similar view has also been expressed by Sena Chiesa, see: 2002: 410-411 and 2012: 265.
[427] For a more extensive discussion on this issue, see: Dwyer 1973; Weiß 1994 and 2010. Regarding Scorpio, Weiß suggests that its combination with Capricorn may symbolise Augustus' and Tiberius' zodiacal signs (1996, no. 402), however, giving the fact that combinations with Taurus or Pisces also exist, it seems more reasonable to regard them as just astrological amulets having no political significance.
[428] Hamburger 1968: 20.
[429] Henkel 1913, no. 1167; Plantzos 1998: 37-38; Vollenweider 1979, no. 583. It is noteworthy that similar compositions exist on much later gems dated to the 1st-3rd century AD, see, for instance:*AGDS* III Braunschweig, nos. 180-181; Casal Garcia 1990, nos. 416-418; Guiraud 1988, nos. 812-813; Henig and Whiting 1987, nos. 314-317.
[430] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 477, 480, 488, 489 and 493.

elements and reference to the imperial power represented by the eagle also appear (cat. nos 9.1004-1005, Figure 646). All these configurations possibly make references to abundance and prosperity that would have followed Octavian's victory at Actium. There are also intaglios presenting Capricorn swimming to the side over two clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) with additional symbolism like a poppy, ears of corn and a star (cat. nos 9.1006-1007, Figure 647). These examples are interpreted as referring to the Second Triumvirate or peace and world order established after the Battle of Actium,[431] but is also possible that they were amulets of a prosperous marriage for a person whose zodiacal sign was Capricorn. It is believed that several other configurations involving Capricorn appearing on engraved gems were issued to celebrate the victory at Actium. One of them is a highly popular motif of Capricorn swimming to the side over an altar decorated with garlands and bucrania and sometimes combined with some maritime symbols like a trident, prows, dolphins etc. (cat. nos 9.1008-1016, Figures 648-649).

As one can see from this overview, coming to any conclusion as to the role of Capricorn in Octavian's propaganda, especially the celebration of the victory at Actium is not easy. I believe that the reasoning presented and the fact that there are so many similarities in terms of iconography between the examples listed here and the Octavian portrait gems discussed above as well as coinage make it possible to accept that many of the gems types discussed were produced for propaganda reasons. Naturally, there are many gems presenting Capricorn without any other symbols (cat. nos 1017-1025, Figure 650), these might have multiple explanations as stated above and one of them might be political propaganda of Octavian because some of those Capricorns appearing on intaglios are very close to the ones one finds on aurei of Augustus struck c. 19-18 BC (Figure 651).[432] However, without any context, this cannot be measured in any reasonable way. It must be borne in mind that symbolic gems had personal meaning related to the general *koinè* deriving from the language of symbols widespread in private art and were simply used as amulets too. Combinations of Capricorn, the globe and other symbols which refer to Augustus' domination on the land and sea are another matter, but these will be thoroughly analysed alongside the relevant coinage in the next chapter.

Regarding other symbolic gems possibly presenting subjects related to Octavian's propaganda scholars often point to a depiction of an eagle standing on a round, decorated altar. It is repeated in many variants on both gemstone and glass intaglios, but the most popular one is the type involving various military elements or symbols of victory like legionary standards, palm branch and laurel wreath (cat. nos 9.1026-1051, Figures 652-654). The eagle represented Roman State and imperial power and when placed within a military and victorious context, at the first glance, it plausibly symbolises Octavian's victory at Actium and the altars probably illustrate *immobilia* erected in celebration of this event and Octavian's *consecratio* to various gods for their help and support during the battle.[433] The *consecratio* issue is even further developed, for example, on glass gems in Perugia and Geneva where an eagle stands on an altar decorated with the garlands placed within a temple with a frieze decorated with a lotus flower – a symbol of conquered Egypt (cat. nos 9.1052-1053, Figure 655). The whole composition appears to make an allusion to the *consecratio* of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus that commemorated Octavian/Augustus' victories at Naulochus and Actium.[434] The connection of the image involving an eagle standing on altar with Octavian's propaganda is confirmed by the sign of Capricorn appearing on several examples (cat. nos 9.1034, 1038-1039 and 1050, Figure 656). Moreover, on some gems there are laurel branches flanking the altars possibly symbolising the laurel trees planted on the Palatine Hill near the entrance to the House of Augustus from which the laurel wreaths for all the Roman emperors were later created signalling the connection between Octavian/Augustus and Apollo (cat. nos 9.1026, 1029-1030, 1044 and 1046-1047, Figure 652).[435] All this evidence suggests these gems to be a part of Octavian's propaganda from 36 BC (Naulochus victory) but most of them were probably manufactured between 29-27 BC and also later as a part of commemoration of the battle of Actium and Octavian's connection with Apollo. It is noteworthy to add that the eagle standing on an altar is a part of another iconographical type related to the retrieval of legionary standards from the Parthians (cf. cat. no. 10.141, Figure 837 and discussion in chapter 10.5). As to the target group, these gems were intended or suitable for soldiers serving in Octavian's army because of the military symbols appearing on some gems and also because the eagle was the main emblem of the Roman army.[436] The production of those intaglios was considerable, even massive considering a large group of glass gems bear this subject. Most of them must have been produced in Italy as analysis of the provenance and history of many pieces suggests.

[431] Lang and Cain 2015: 116.
[432] For instance: *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 521-522.
[433] Hölscher 1967: 181; Vollenweider 1979, no. 438; Weiß 1996, nos. 337-338.
[434] Vitellozzi 2010, no. 419.
[435] Alföldi 1973: 49-50.
[436] This is also supported by the recently studied assortment of bronze rings set with glass gems once belonging to one of Octavian's veterans among which there is one example bearing an eagle on altar, see: Gradel (forthcoming).

This picture seems complete at the first glance. Nevertheless, some details require more attention. First of all, one observes variants of that motif but without any symbolism that could suggest military victory (cat. nos 9.1054-1057, Figure 656). Sometimes a cornucopia is doubled and paired with other emblems upon altar and such designs recall altar decorations, like the one in Boncellino.[437] Secondly, it has been mentioned that in some cases protomes of Capricorn decorate the altars, but heads of rams and bucrania or rather heads of bulls appear too. Moreover, on the one hand, some of the altars are decorated with scenes like a *quadriga* and Pegasus, which have no connection to Octavian unless they stand for legionary symbols (for instance, Pegasus was the emblem of Legio II Augusta founded by Augustus), but on the other hand there are also *lupa romana* or Victory in the type of Curia Iulia on the decoration which can be easily connected with the politician (cat. nos 9.1027, 1029-1030, 1033-1036, 1038-1041, 1044-1045 and 1048-1049). Furthermore, there is a large group of gems presenting just the altars without an eagle standing on them (cat. nos 9.1058-1074, Figure 657), which still may be connected with Octavian as proved by Weiß,[438] but their existence suggests no connection to military success. Apart from that, configurations where a parrot stands on a crater positioned on the same type of altar also exist alongside other unusual configurations (cat. nos 9.1075-1079, Figure 658). Finally, it is proved that gems with the motif of an eagle standing on altar and related configurations were used as seals by surviving sealings (cat. no. 9.1080). Taking all this information into consideration, it seems that the type was well-received and later it became very common, probably depicting a general idea of the Roman state and imperialism advertised during the reign of Augustus. Naturally, some of these gems were used as private seals and amulets as proved by the existence of sealings and astrological symbols (Capricorn, Taurus, Ares). The primary meaning of such symbolism was bounty, good luck and victory.[439] Most likely, Octavian's propaganda messages were hooked into a well-established language as having positive connotations. As a result, the gems discussed here boosted the promotion of Octavian's positive image in very much the same way as other casual objects did because the same iconography appears for instance on oil lamps dated to the same period.[440]

Adjusting propaganda messages to the already existing language used by Roman society is also observed on another version of the motif often involving a highly decorated altar but this time with a cockerel of Mercury on top or cockerel combined with other symbols (cat. nos 9.1081-1097, Figures 659-661). Giving the fact that Octavian was identified with Mercury (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8), one supposes that some gems with that motif played a role in his propaganda activities as he would be indirectly depicted here as *Mercurius Augustus*.[441] Perhaps these gems were meant to signify the victory at Actium as suggested, for instance, by a warship, trophy and palm branch appearing on some examples (cat. nos 9.1081, 1090 and 1093, Figures 659-661). However, as Vollenweider stated, the iconography of those gems might refer to *Romana avis* and generally to Octavian's policy.[442] There are naturally other explanations for the appearance of a cockerel on intaglios like its apotropaic significance. The bird was also recognised as a symbol of good luck but it may have referred to the Gallic ethnicity of the gem's owner too.[443] Since Julius Caesar and Octavian heavily recruited their soldiers in Gaul, perhaps the gems bearing the above-discussed motifs could have been used by them as supporters of Octavian.[444]

Apart from these, there are many more combinations of symbols on engraved gems that supposedly had some propagandistic meaning. One such example is a depiction of a goat standing on a short ground line with one fore-leg raised in profile in front of which there is a cornucopia and a globe (cat. nos 9.1098-1107, Figure 662). The combination of goat and cornucopia brings to mind associations with Amalthea. However, the globe signifies world domination or imperial power that was reached by Octavian after his victory at Actium in 31 BC. The cornucopia then symbolises abundance and prosperity that would follow the end of the Civil War (*aurea aetas*). The goat may be related to Octavian's birth-sign – Capricorn - since a similar composition appears on Augustus' aurei and denarii struck c. 18–17 BC.[445] For all these reasons, it seems reasonable to think that the gems in question are the next examples of Octavian's propaganda reflections in glyptics and perhaps they were worn by his supporters.[446] It is noteworthy to observe that again, the symbolism employed is not reinvented but rather reinterpreted since alongside the combinations described here, simple sets of a goat and cornucopia exist on contemporary gems too and they most likely served their owners as amulets ensuring prosperity and abundance (cat. nos 9.1108-1109).

Another issue are gems depicting various combinations of symbols signifying personal victory, represented by a palm branch, abundance, wealth and prosperity by ears of corn, cornucopiae, poppies and similar

[437] Fossing 1929, no. 1616.
[438] Weiß 1996, no. 420.
[439] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 278.
[440] Weiß 1996, no. 420.
[441] Weiß 1996, no. 343.
[442] Vollenweider 1979, no. 448 and an interesting discussion in: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 45.
[443] Henig 1997b: 48.
[444] Gradel (forthcoming).
[445] Weiß 1994: 358-360.
[446] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 233; Zanker 2000: 84-85.

symbolism and having references to various deities for their blessing and protection (Mercury – caduceus, Jupiter – globe, Fortuna – rudder, Annona - *modius* etc.) and even averting all kinds of evil (Heracles' club), which are abundant in the last third of the 1st century BC (cat. nos 9.1110-1122, Figures 663-664). Although many scholars take these combinations as addressing ideology or 'cultural programme' introduced by Octavian/Augustus promoting the new golden age of peace and prosperity to all Romans after the terrible period of Civil Wars,[447] I prefer to follow Furtwängler who stated that many of these gems served as private amulets that were later gradually replaced by the so-called *grylloi/baskania* gems.[448] Some of the examples bear inscriptions clearly suggesting their private use (cat. nos 1124-1125, Figures 665-666). On the other hand, some subjects make clearer references to the current political situation like the motif of a bust of Isis within a laurel wreath which due to Cleopatra's identification with the goddess may stand for Octavian's victory at Actium (cat. nos 1126-1127, Figure 667) or an eagle over the *sella curulis* signifying imperial power (cat. no. 1128, Figure 668). It is often believed that similar gems continued the policy of Julius Caesar who established a new world order (*ordo rerum*). One cannot exclude that a portion of them indeed reflect Octavian/Augustus' policy and ideology but this issue was much more promoted after 27 BC when Octavian became Augustus and usually through different kinds of iconography that will be presented in the chapter 10.8.[449]

9.3.1.10 Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda

Regarding engraved gems used as luxury objects by Octavian and the inner circle of his supporters these are not numerous prior to 30 BC as there are only a few portrait cameos identified with the future emperor of Rome (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4). It seems that the Battle of Actium was a major landmark in the production of cameos, cameo-vessels and small works in the round that turned out to transmit the most complex and sophisticated propaganda messages. However, they communicate different ideas from all the gems presented so far as related to Octavian's propaganda, hence, they will be discussed in the next chapter. There is very little evidence for Octavian engaging in the religious use of engraved gems like his predecessors did (for instance Pompey the Great or Julius Caesar, cf. chapters 8.1.1, 8.1.2 and 8.2.1). Although Octavian/Augustus had had some gems cut for him by top artists of the epoch who travelled to his court from Alexandria and the East, he does not seem to be seriously engaged in collecting gems and the collections of the Ptolemies could have been already exploited by Caesar, thus the information given us by Suetonius about Octavian's modesty, who among the great treasuries of Alexandria took only one agate cup (possibly a *muhrrine vessel*) is most likely a misleading information repeated by the writer on the basis of earlier Octavian's act of propaganda which survived many years after the emperor.[450]

9.3.2. Mark Antony

Mark Antony was a supporter of Julius Caesar and served as one of his generals during the conquest of Gaul and the later Civil War. Antony was appointed administrator of Italy while Caesar eliminated political opponents in Greece, North Africa, and Spain. After the death of his patron, he fought for his legacy with Octavian, but ultimately it was far more reasonable for both to establish an alliance in 43 BC known as the Second Triumvirate, to which Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was invited as the third part. This resulted in the defeat of the Republican faction in the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC, however, the rivalry between Octavian and Antony never ceased and thus the pact survived, except for the Brundisium War in 40 BC until 36 BC when a new Civil War between the two was declared. In 31 BC Antony was defeated in the Battle of Actium and a year later he committed a suicide. During all these years, Antony led a sumptuous lifestyle, especially while in Egypt with Cleopatra. One would expect him to spend large sums of money on luxurious arts such as engraved gems, but the evidence for Mark Antony's use of intaglios and cameos for propaganda purposes does not meet those expectations. For sure, there was some engagement in propaganda with the use of gems by Antony, especially as far as portrait gems are concerned, but even those sometimes were cut on the commissions of his followers. Besides, one does not observe Mark Antony using of engraved gems as extensively as Sulla, Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar or Octavian/Augustus, even though he surely had the means to do so while in Alexandria where the Ptolemies had patronised glyptic art for centuries and where one of the most important gem workshop operated.[451] Yet, there are some gem engravers who could have worked for Antony and some unprecedented spheres of glyptic art that have not as yet been politically explored. In this chapter I shall focus on both matters in order to deliver the most objective possible judgment of Mark Antony's and his supporters use of gems for social and political purposes.

[447] For instance: Sena Chiesa 2002: 400-401; 2012: 260 and individual commentaries to the pieces listed in the catalogue part as well as Gołyźniak 2017, no. 216.
[448] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 353-354.
[449] See also discussion in: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 216.
[450] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 71.
[451] On this patronage, see: Plantzos 1999: 63-64. On Alexandria as a glyptics centre, see: Tassinari 2008: 263-268.

9.3.2.1. Collecting and personal seals

Engraved gems were widely fashionable among the Ptolemies in Egypt who supported many artists to cut intaglios and cameos for them primarily in Alexandria, but possibly also beyond.[452] One expects that substantial collections of gems and related objects to have been treasured there, as in the case of Mithridates VI Eupator. This is partially confirmed by the fact that among the six dactyliothecae belonging to Julius Caesar there could have been some jewels brought to Rome by him from Egypt,[453] and that after the Battle of Actium, Augustus came to Rome from Alexandria with vast treasuries. Among the second, there were some engraved gems and vessels that he offered to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the way Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar did before him (cf. chapter 10.1).[454] Even while in Egypt, Antony does not seem to have used the Ptolemies' treasuries for a similar purpose, but this might be due to the simple fact that he did not have to do that there because of the completely different habits in the East. Antony was never mentioned by Pliny the Elder, Suetonius or any other ancient writer as interested much in gems, their collecting or performing actions like those listed above except for one incident when he quarrelled with senator Nonius over a beryl gem (not known if engraved) which was estimated at an astronomical price – 2,000000 sestertii (20,000 aurei).[455] There is no other testimony to Antony's involvement in the noble practice gem collecting and what is even more important, none of ancient writers mention his private seals. This could be coincidental, but on the other hand, his contemporary, Octavian/Augustus, is well described in this and other matters related to engraved gems.

9.3.2.2. Possible gem engravers working for Mark Antony

Even though there is no information in the literary sources for Mark Antony collecting engraved gemstones, that does not mean he did not commission or buy them from the artists. Many scholars suggest some gem engravers worked under Antony's patronage especially in Alexandria.[456] Among those who were active at the time Antony resided in Egypt, one of the foremost is Aspasios. Vollenweider was the first to link the engraver with Antony. She claimed that he first worked for Juba I and later for the Roman general and travelled with him through Greece to Egypt. This would have been reflected by the subjects appearing on the gems signed by the artist: Athena – linked to Antony's visit to Athens, Dionysus – matching his identification with the god and finally Sarapis – relating to his stay in Egypt (cat. nos 9.1129-1131, Figures 669-670).[457] As has been already discussed above, Aspasios probably worked for Pompey the Great since he cut a portrait resembling the general in an *imitatio Alexandri* tradition and possibly for Juba I (cf. chapters 8.1.3 and 8.3.1). So far, the best analysis of this and three other signed works of Aspasios has been produced by Zwierlein-Diehl who proposed to date his activity to c. 50-30 BC.[458] If one accepts his commitment to Pompey, the dates should be expanded a bit to the late 60s BC which is still probable. The provenance and history of the gem bearing the bust of Athena suggest that Aspasios indeed worked in Rome at some point of his career.

Even though Vollenweider's proposal is attractive, it remains largely hypothetical.[459] It is difficult to accept the idea of a link between Antony and Athena on the basis of only one gem, while he did not use her image for his propaganda activities either in other glyptic works or on his coinage. The bust or rather one should say the herm of Dionysus is more probable since indeed, Antony openly identified himself with the god, but as Zwierlein-Diehl points out, this is a rather archaistic image which was popular in Roman Republican glyptics throughout the 1st century BC and Jenkins is of the same opinion.[460] The bust of Sarapis might be the best candidate for a work commissioned by Antony since only a recently discovered by Henig cameo presenting Mark Antony and Cleopatra as Sarapis and Isis sheds some new light on their divine identifications (cf. chapter 9.3.2.7). Overall, I believe that Vollenweider's hypothesis lacks substantial objective proofs, although, it cannot be simply rejected, and one might still imagine that Aspasios worked for Antony at some point of his career.

A much less problematical gem engraver is Sostratos and his repertoire of gems, especially cameos which concentrate on the subjects of Dionysus/Bacchus and figures related to this god (cat. nos 9.1132-1133, Figures 671-672). The themes of his works appear to be consistent with the ideology of Mark Antony and his identification with the deity, which has been observed and commented on by Vollenweider and others.[461] Of course, Sostratos' gem production can be explained as a part of a much wider phenomenon, because in the 1st century BC bacchic themes became especially popular first in the Hellenistic East and later in Rome due to

[452] Plantzos 1999: 63-64; Tassinari 2008: 263-266; Vollenweider 1966: 12-16.
[453] Toso 2007: 4; Vollenweider 1966: 18.
[454] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 30; Toso 2007: 4.
[455] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.81-82.
[456] On this matter, see: Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 24-26; Tassinari 2008: 263-266.
[457] Vollenweider 1966: 30-32.
[458] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 144, pp. 99-100.
[459] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 111-112.
[460] Jenkins and Sloane 1996, no. 111 (with a commentary to the doubtful genuineness of the intaglio); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986: 99.
[461] On this matter, see: Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 24-26; Toso 2007: 201; Volenweider 1966: 32-36; 1972-1974: 181.

their relationship with gender expression.[462] Besides, he also engraved other images like Nike/Victory riding a *biga* (cat. no. 9.1134, Figure 673). However, if one pays a close attention to Sostratos' career, one discovers that political motivations may indeed account for the themes he chose for his gems. One of the late works by him is Nike slaughtering a bull, a subject much promoted by Augustus symbolising his regaining of legionary standards from the Parthians (cf. chapter 10.5). Can it then be proposed that after the Battle of Actium Sostratos transferred his business to Rome and served Augustus?[463] If that is the case, there is no point in denying his earlier commitment to Mark Antony.

Nevertheless, I should notice here that sometimes overinterpretations occur. A cameo in the Beverley collection at the Alnwick Castle presenting Heracles subdued by Eros/Cupid is a good example of that. Vollenweider attributed this piece to Sostratos because of its style and subject matter, in which she saw an allegory to Mark Antony as defeated by his passionate love for Cleopatra (cat. no. 9.1135, Figure 674).[464] The explanation proposed by her is far-fetched. If Sostratos indeed worked for Antony, he would have never created work like that, unless he cut the cameo under the patronage of Augustus and it would then be an example of black propaganda practice intended to mock the opponent. However, considering Sostratos' potential arrival in Rome after the Battle of Actium, there was no need to create such a composition since Antony was already defeated and Augustus focused his propaganda on the celebration of his triumph. In fact, the motif of Heracles subdued by Eros/Cupid was extremely popular in the 1st century BC on intaglios and cameos as will be shown later and should not be connected with Mark Antony in any terms (cf. chapter 9.3.2.7). It denotes the victory of love over strength. Also, the attribution of the Beverley cameo to Sostratos was based on subjective criteria and is not accepted any more.[465]

The next artist that is sometimes recognised as working for Mark Antony is a Roman engraver, Gnaeus.[466] Plantzos even claims that he cut not only gems but also coin dies for Antony. He bases his view on the similarity between an amethyst now in the J. Paul Getty Museum but once in the Ionides and Rosarena collections that carries image of Antony and some coins minted by him and bearing his portrait (cat. no. 9.1136, Figure 675).[467] This work of art shows Mark Antony clean shaven and with much idealised features: his hair is neatly arranged on the head, his eye is big and wide open, his nose is hooked and slightly bowed, but not as sharply as on his other portraits, his lips are full and slightly open and his cheek is less prominent than normally and smoothly modelled so that the overall impression is an elegant and carefully carved portrait. Gnaeus' signature on this intaglio is exceedingly carefully cut as well. The unparalleled quality of the piece resulted in agreement between scholars that the piece is genuine, even though the above-described portrait features should ring alarm bells. Boardman recognises Antony's image from this intaglio as a posthumous portrait and some other researchers agree with his proposal.[468] Nevertheless, Wagner has only recently informed me that in fact the gem belonged to the Prince Stanislas Poniatowski collection of post-classical intaglios and it is a 19th century product.[469] Similarly, a carnelian in New York also bearing a signature of Gnaeus and for a long time taken for a genuine ancient masterpiece presenting a portrait of Juba II's wife Cleopatra Selene, who was a daughter of Mark Antony, (cat. no. 9.1137, Figure 676) has recently been identified as one of the Poniatowski gems.[470] These new discoveries seriously undermine the previously proposed hypotheses that first, Gnaeus worked at the court of Mark Antony and later he transferred his business to Numidia where he worked for Juba II.[471] As discussed earlier, it is still possible that Gnaeus worked first for *gens* Gneia from whom he took his name once freed (like in the case of Heius) and later he could have either worked for Augustus or Juba II. This can be deduced from the subjects appearing on his other signed gems like the bust of Heracles shouldering a club (cf. chapter 8.3.1).[472] The stylistic features of all Gnaeus' works also support this view for they are closer to Augustan classicism than Hellenistic manners.[473] This is observed by Plantzos himself regarding, for instance, Gnaeus' gem presenting Diomedes.[474] Summing up, there is no direct or even indirect evidence for Gnaeus to have worked for Mark Antony which is another reason for

462 Henig 1997a; Joyce 2002; Plantzos 1999: 86-87.
463 Vollenweider 1966: 36; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 156.
464 Vollenweider 1966: 36.
465 On this, see the most accurate interpretation of the piece in: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 35.
466 See, for instance: Zazoff 1983: 288-289.
467 Plantzos 1999: 94. See also similar opinions in: Boardman 1968: 27-28; Vollenweider 1966: 45-46; 1972-1974: 188-189; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 121.
468 Boardman 1968, no. 18; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 121.
469 This view is based on the recently identified plaster impression from the Berlin Poniatowski dactyliotheca that was sent by Prince Poniatowski himself to Berlin in 1832, see: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/2F79A640-9FFE-481D-8DFE-BCF6474A08A5 [retrieved on 17 March 2019].
470 This view is based on the recently identified Cades' plaster impression that belongs to a large set containing a series of Poniatowski portrait depictions, see: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/198052D5-3C41-452C-8336-767C383A28F0 [retrieved on 17 March 2019].
471 Vollenweider 1972-1974: 188-189; Zazoff 1983: 288-289.
472 Apart from these, see also a cameo in Naples presenting a bust of young Heracles attributed by Lapatin to Gnaeus (2015, pl. 108, p. 250 – with more literature).
473 See a good discussion on this issue in: Vollenweider 1966: 45-46 who does not link Gnaeus with Mark Antony, but with the Numidian royal court, as well as: Zazoff 1983: 288-289.
474 Plantzos 1999: 94.

supposing that Mark Antony was not much involved in gem engraving and its use for his propaganda purposes.

There are a few more gem engravers who may have worked for Mark Antony, although, similarly to the ones discussed above, usually, their connection with him is based on the relationship of the subject matter to Antony. For instance, Teukros cut an amethyst, now in Florence, which bears Heracles and a Nymph, and on the basis of the subject Vollenweider and Zazoff proposed to link the gem to Mark Antony (cat. no. 9.1138, Figure 677).[475] Although indeed, Antony identified himself with the Greek hero, as Zwierlein-Diehl argues, the style of Teukros' work is comparable to another amethyst in St. Petersburg and essentially classicising in character. The gem should be dated to the last quarter of the 1st century BC and thus, cannot be related to Mark Antony and his propaganda.[476] The last figure we should mention here is Solon, an engraver of gems active in the second half of the 1st century BC.[477] In 1861 in Pompeii a ring with nicolo intaglio was found which presents a male figure leaning on a club and the signature of Solon. Vollenweider widely discussed the piece and interpreted the figure as Heracles and linked him with Mark Antony on the basis of his identification with the hero.[478] However, according to my research, the majority of his works were created for Octavian/ Augustus and the gem in question bears Theseus, not Heracles, thus it should not be connected with Mark Antony (cf. chapter 9.3.1.8).

In conclusion, in this subchapter I have listed a substantial group of gem engravers traditionally linked to Mark Antony. However, as my research on their signed or attributed works as well as their potential employments reveals, in fact only Aspasios and Sostratos might have been responsible for cutting of some gems for Antony. Even for those two the evidence is scanty and ambiguous. Gnaeus, Teukros and Solon had nothing to do with Antony and the overall image is that the Roman general did not patronised glyptic art either while in Italy or later in Egypt to any considerable degree. This is the first argument for my claim that he barely involved glyptics in his propaganda which seems to have been based on more traditional and less sophisticated means such as coins.

9.3.2.3. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty

Previous chapters served as an introduction to the further analysis of Mark Antony's use of engraved gems for propaganda purposes. He does not seem to have been interested very much in this kind of art and his patronage, if it existed at all, was limited. Perhaps it was more due to Cleopatra who continued the ancient tradition of the Ptolemies in issuing gems presenting subjects related to Antony. A significant group of gems, either made of gemstones or glass, consists of those bearing portraits of Mark Antony. Their number cannot be compared to the prolific production of gems related to Octavian, but still it is considerable. Vollenweider analysed most of the objects in her monumental study, but some are newly discovered stones.[479] In order to answer the question of the usefulness and importance of these objects for Mark Antony's propaganda, I shall carefully analyse the types of portraits in existence, the materials they are made of and all information available about their provenance. Only then can we specify whether they were a part of Antony's own propaganda actions or should be considered as their reception by his followers.

As discussed with portraits of the Pompeians (Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey), the Republicans (Marcus Iunius Brutus and Quintus Cassius Longinus) and Octavian above, around 44 BC there was a clear trend among young prominent Roman politicians to wear a beard which might either be a sign of adolescence or stand for mourning a dead father or the collapse of the Republic (cf. chapters 9.1.3, 9.2.2 and 9.3.1.1).[480] In the case of Mark Antony, there are three gems that possibly carry his likeness and one that was attributed to him in previous scholarship, and they are all bearded (cat. nos 9.1139-1142, Figures 678-681). Cat. no. 9.1139 is a carnelian presenting a youthful bust of a bearded man wearing a toga. As Vollenweider observed, the facial features, shape of the nose and coiffure are consistent with coins minted by P. Sepullius Macer in 44 BC after death of Caesar (Figure 682).[481] The man on the coin is Mark Antony as an augur and through comparison one identifies the figure from the intaglio with him as well, although, he lacks the *lituus* and *capis*.[482] The three other gems are known only from their modern impressions in plaster and glass. While cat. nos 9.1140 and 9.1141 are close to each other, cat. no. 9.1142 differs, and I think Zwierlein-Diehl is right to doubt that the man is Mark Antony. This has been suggested based on the inscription referring to Gnaeus who cut a posthumous portrait of Antony (cf. chapter 9.3.2.2 above), which is however a misleading modern addition from the first half of the 18th century.[483]

All in all, there are three more or less certain examples of the bearded portraits of Mark Antony. Noteworthy

[475] Vollenweider 1966: 43; Zazoff 1983: 288.
[476] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986: 117-118.
[477] On Solon and his works, see: Plantzos 1999: 96-97; Vollenweider 1966: 47-56.
[478] Vollenweider 1966: 49-50.
[479] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 174-190.
[480] See also a fruitful discussion on this matter in other media than glyptics in: Biedermann 2014; Piegdoń 2012.
[481] *RRC*, no. 480/22 (denarius of P. Sepullius Macer, 44 BC).
[482] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 174.
[483] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 542.

is the fact that on these stones he does not carry a fully developed beard but rather *iuvenes barbatuli*. Crawford suggests that the coins I have referred to here were issued immediately after the disaster that came with Caesar's death and they illustrate the reaction of Antony to this tragic event.[484] If that is the case, the beard would be a sign of mourning carried by Antony as a commemoration of his great patron rather than a sign of his full capacity to rule (adolescence) since he was already 39 years old.[485] This was a deliberate propaganda action aimed first to show that Antony will avenge Caesar and second that he was deeply connected with him and because of that he should be the new leader of the Caesarian faction. The gems discussed here were probably contemporary with the coins minted by P. Sepullius Macer or were executed slightly later but not after 42 BC when another image of Antony was introduced in coinage and other media and perhaps not even after 43 since the series of aurei and denarii from these issues present another version of the bearded head of Antony in terms of composition (bigger head, more massive and fleshy jaw, more tidy coiffure, even less visible beard etc.) (Figure 683).[486] These last coins were minted after the establishment of the Second Triumvirate. This means that although there is no reliable information on the actual place of production, it is highly possible that the gems in question here were cut in Rome or more broadly Italy. It is unknown whether it was Antony who commissioned them for his personal branding or the image was popularised on gems by his followers who wanted to express their loyalty to him, but the second option, due to the relatively short period of production, is more likely. What is more, the fact that the images from gems do not exactly copy the iconography of the coins makes such a claim even more probable. If the gems were manufactured on private commissions, they would probably have not followed the coins since there were limited sources for inspiration and differences in styles and approaches to Antony's portraits of various artists producing them is another factor that contributed to this.

In 43 BC Antony formed the Second Triumvirate with Octavian and Lepidus and was charged with the reorganisation of the eastern part of the Roman Empire. This pact was widely celebrated for instance through coinage and gems (cf. chapters 9.3.1.7 and 9.3.2.6),[487] but each of the three promoted themselves separately too. There are several gems that bear Antony's portrait resembling very much the one put on his own coins in 43 BC and those minted until c. 40/39 BC which comparison suggests linking them with his promotion after the establishment of the Second Triumvirate (cat. nos 9.1143-1150, Figures 684-685).[488] Regarding gemstone intaglios, cat. no. 9.1143, Figure 685 is a carnelian intaglio once in the celebrated Marlborough collection which closely copies the image of Antony from the mentioned coins. Another example exhibiting considerable similarities to the coin images is a red jasper intaglio in London (cat. no. 9.1144, Figure 686). Cat. no. 9.1144 - a lost intaglio that was once in the Sir Arthur Evans Collection and was said to have been found in Greece. If the provenance information is reliable, this would be interesting because in 42 BC before departing to Anatolia, Antony resided in Athens and thus the gem might be related to this stay. One more gemstone intaglio with a portrait of Antony, dated c. 43-39 BC, is known only from a glass impression in Würzburg – cat. no. 9.1146, Figure 687. Zwierlein-Diehl thinks it is a posthumous portrait basing her judgment on the closeness to the work of Gnaeus,[489] but I believe that this portrait is far closer to the image appearing on coins issued by Antony himself in 40 BC (Figure 688).[490]

Interestingly, there are four glass gems that should be most likely dated to the same period and related to Mark Antony's self-advertisement (cat. nos 9.1147-1150, Figures 689-690a-b). Some of them (cat. nos 9.1147-1149) were once in the collections formed in Rome which makes it possible that they were produced in the city or its neighbourhood. They follow the image from the coins since their portraits are still well within the Roman Republican tradition for their accurate, even brutally realistic representations.[491] The earlier, bearded portraits betrayed some Hellenistic traits as observed by Zwierlein-Diehl.[492] Now one is dealing with purely Roman products. In addition, regarding one specimen from the Berlin collection, Weiß observes that the portrait on this gem is close to the one appearing together with the head of Octavia on another piece in the collection which, according to her, was meant to celebrate the peace-making after the Battle of Brundisium (cf. cat. no. 9.1146, Figure 687, and discussion in chapter 9.3.2.6).[493] This confirms the chronological framework proposed for the gems in question. Whether those glass gems were produced on the command of Mark Antony as a part of his personal branding cannot be established. He

[484] *RRC*: 493 and 495.
[485] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 124.
[486] Cf. *RRC*, nos. 488/1-2 (denarii of Mark Antony, 43 BC), 494/2a-b (aureii of L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC), 494/5 (aureus of P. Clodius, 42 BC), 494/8a-b (aureii of L. Mussidius Longus, 42 BC), 494/11 (aureus of C. Vibius Varus, 42 BC), 494/14 (aureus of L. Mussidius Longus, 42 BC), 494/17 (denarius of P. Clodius, 42 BC), 494/32 (denarius of C. Vibius Varus, 42 BC)
[487] Regarding the coinage, see: *RRC*: 740-741.
[488] *RRC*, nos. 488/1-2 (denarii of Mark Antony, 43 BC), 516/1-5 (aurei and denarii of Mark Antony, 41 BC), 517/1a-8 (aurei and denarii minted by Mark Antony and his officers, 41 BC), 520/1 (denarius of Mark Antony, 40 BC), 528/1a-3 (aurei and denarii of Mark Antony, 39 BC).
[489] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 539.
[490] *RRC*, no. 520/1 (denarius of Mark Antony, 40 BC).
[491] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 177.
[492] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 542.
[493] Weiß 2007, no. 380 and cf. no. 371 (double portrait).

was staying in Athens by 42 BC and then departed to reorganise the Roman eastern provinces in Anatolia and beyond, but some of his influential followers were left in Rome to oversee Antony's position and react in case Octavian tried to gain full control over the empire. His followers (including soldiers) might have wished to manifest loyalty to their patron and commander by carrying gems with his portrait which is suggested also by the number of glass objects listed above, though the ratio of gemstone to glass gems is equal (4 to 4). Alternatively, the objects could have been manufactured in some independent workshops and delivered to the market making them available to every kind of client. Nevertheless, the involvement of Antony in this process cannot be entirely excluded since he was personally concerned with his coinage production, so perhaps he did care for glyptics as well.

Regarding portrait gems of Mark Antony produced after c. 39/38 BC these are not abundant.[494] According to my research, only seven examples may be broadly dated to the 30s BC (cat. nos 9.1151-1155, Figures 691-693). They are distinctive due to their pure Roman character which means highly realistic or even verist images often presenting a schematised big head with prominent cheek, creased forehead, hooked nose and somewhat receding mouth; the hair is long and the locks neatly combed, especially above the forehead. This image of Antony is consistent with the one appearing on coinage between 39 and 30 BC (Figure 694).[495] All these specimens are carved gemstones, and none is made of glass. Vollenweider suggested that because Antony became consul in 44 BC, he could put his image on coins freely and focused his propaganda activities on this channel, while Octavian could not do that and therefore, he issued more gems, especially the glass ones.[496] This highly interesting observation would explain the relatively small interest of Antony in glyptics in general, but one notices that in the 30s BC glass gems with his portrait are totally absent. This is probably due to the fact that he was in the East with access to workshops producing only gemstone intaglios. At the same time, Octavian, who controlled Rome, produced many glass gems (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4).

Concerning provenance, not much can be deduced from the objects' history. Cat. no. 9.1154 is kept in Palazzo Braschi in Rome and possibly was found in the city. It could have belonged to one of the followers acting on the behalf of Antony in Rome then. Cat. no. 9.1151, Figure 691 now in Paris, was once in the Seyrig collection which suggests it was purchased in the East (Syria?). As to the other five gems one has no idea where they come from, but even those two first intaglios illustrate that Antony could issue gems with his likeness while in the East and his followers in Rome still carried his portraits on their rings to manifest their loyalty. The first issue might be plausible since starting from 38 BC Antony focused his propaganda on coinage on his sole accomplishments like the triumph over Armenia.[497] It seems that portrait gems produced in the 30s BC were a part of that phenomenon too and the best proof of that is the intaglio now in Boston presenting an eagle crowning the head of Mark Antony with a wreath, which I shall discuss later (cf. chapter 9.3.2.6). Another proof is a sealing in brown clay found in Artashat, Armenia, which presents the head of Mark Antony facing left (cat. no. 9.1156, Figure 695). This extremely valuable find proves that as in Hellenistic times, at the time of Antony, portrait gems were gifted to the governors of provinces as valuable diplomatic gifts which were supposed to bind the client king or governor with his patron.[498] The usage of such a gift for administrative purposes was mutually beneficial since the image of the propagandist, in this case Mark Antony, became widespread, and his client showed that he is supported by a powerful figure representing Rome. One supposes that the original intaglio from which the sealing was taken was delivered during Antony's victorious Armenian military campaign in 37 BC to its anonymous owner.

Finally, while discussing portraits of Mark Antony on engraved gems and their usefulness for the triumvir's propaganda, I should mention that sometimes it is highly problematic to decide whether one is dealing with the actual portrait of Antony or not. Cat. nos 9.1157-1166, Figures 695-697 are good examples of that. All have been recognised as Antony's portraits, but in my opinion, they do not exhibit enough features to be taken as such. These stones probably present private portraits, some as Vollenweider suggests belonging perhaps to officers serving in Antony's army who wished to be presented in a similar way as their patron upon their portrait rings.[499] If this was true, it would be interesting to see if followers of Antony tended to identify with him on such a personal level, which cannot be observed anywhere else except for glyptics. For later periods it is evident that imperial portraits set standards, especially in female portraiture, which were followed by common people. This would prove that Antony's propaganda and self-advertisement were highly influential and successful since his followers not only carried his image upon their rings, but also have their own portraits modelled on those of their patron. It is noteworthy that sometimes portrait gems are completely erroneously attributed to Mark Antony too.

[494] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 183-189.
[495] See, for instance: *RRC*, nos. 541/1-2 (aurei of Mark Antony, 34 BC) and 543/1 (denarius of Mark Antony, 32 BC).
[496] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 183.
[497] *RRC*: 743-744.
[498] On this issue in the Hellenistic Times, see: Plantzos 1999: 111-112.
[499] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 32.

For instance, Vollenweider recognised Mark Antony on a garnet signed by Menophilos (ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ) and suggested it to be related to the investiture of the new Roman provinces established by Antony in winter of 37/36 BC.[500] However, this portrait should not be attributed to the politician. As discussed above, this is a much earlier work of c. 150 BC and belongs to the group of very early Roman portraits executed in the Hellenistic East (cf. chapter 6.2.1).[501]

The discussion of potential gem engravers working for Mark Antony showed that the triumvir did not exploit glyptic art for his propaganda to a considerable degree. The research on his portraits appearing on intaglios confirms that too and there can be several reasons for that. As suggested by Vollenweider, because Antony was a consul in 44 BC, he was fully authorised to put his own image on coins in contrast, for example, to Octavian and he focused his personal branding on this channel instead of glyptics.[502] The evidence amassed here also suggests that most likely his followers tended to carry his portrait on their rings to manifest loyalty to their patron. The majority of Antony's portrait gem production was probably due to them, but on the other hand, the findings of sealings with his portrait in Armenia and several other facts suggest that he was engaged to some basic degree too in the promotion of his own image through glyptics.

9.3.2.4. Promotion of family

Engraved gems were frequently used to promote family members and to show family connections, especially if a propagandist wanted to transfer the authority of his great predecessor onto himself (cf. chapters 9.1.4, 9.2.3, 9.3.1.1 and 9.3.1.5). In the case of Mark Antony and his propaganda, direct references to illustrious ancestors do not exist, but the triumvir promoted the legendary descent of his family from Anton – one of Heracles' descendants (cf. chapter 9.3.2.7).[503] This is clearly observable on Antony's coins,[504] but one does not find similar motifs engraved on gems. Moreover, at some point of his political career, Antony promoted his brother Lucius on some coin issues,[505] but this is also absent from glyptics.[506] The same is the case with a special issue of aurei bearing portraits of Antony and his son Mark Antony junior,[507] whose portraits are absent from glyptics or at least remain unidentified. Mark Antony's marriage with Octavia was broadly celebrated in various media and perhaps in this case, glyptics may offer some hints for the propagandistic value of some intaglios, but this shall be discussed later (cf. chapter 9.3.2.6). Vollenweider believed that some gems presenting a pair of Triton and Nereid could illustrate the relationship of Antony and Octavia,[508] however, they are likely to be a part of a much broader art trend and some were transformed into depictions of Triton and Venus Pelagia due to the influence of Augustan cultural programme (cf. chapter 10.6).

Nevertheless, regarding family propaganda, Antony's relationship with Cleopatra should be analysed in terms of its potential reflections in glyptics. This is probably due to the fact that the Ptolemaic court had far more ancient traditions regarding the employment of gems for propaganda than Rome. First of all, I should note that coins testify to some propaganda of the relationship between Antony and Cleopatra.[509] The couple is often identified with pairs of various deities, notably Dionysus and Aphrodite, Osiris and Isis, Heracles and Omphale or even Paris and Helen.[510] Concerning engraved gems, Sena Chiesa and several other scholars proposed Tazza Farnese's iconography to be a mythical allegory of the reign of Antony and Cleopatra in Egypt and the East,[511] but this is improbable and the outstanding vessel should be dated c. 100 BC (cf. a discussion in chapter 9.3.2.7).[512] Among the mentioned pairs, Heracles and Omphale together often appear on gems and have been the most widely discussed as reflections of Antony's and Cleopatra's relationship. Yet, there are some contradictory conceptual issues. On the one hand, the Omphale myth was used to present even a stronger relationship between Mark Antony, a descendant of Anton (indirectly Heracles), with Cleopatra as Omphale but there were no negative connotations with Heracles being a slave at Omphale's court; on the contrary, the effort was undertaken to contradict this popular connotation.[513] On the other hand, some scholars argue that the myth of Heracles and Omphale was deliberately promoted by Octavian as a form of his counterpropaganda aimed at mocking Antony seduced by Cleopatra like Heracles was seduced by Omphale.[514] Be that as it may, a very important voice in this debate, which I share, is that of Hekster, who observes that not every image presenting Heracles and Omphale together on engraved gems should be automatically interpreted as a reflection of either Antony's personal

[500] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 185-187.
[501] Lapatin 2015: 247; Spier 1989, no. H, p. 30.
[502] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 183.
[503] Ritter 1995: 71.
[504] Ritter 1995: 74-75. See also: *RRC*, nos. 494/2a-b (aurei of L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC).
[505] *RRC*, nos. 517/3-5c (denarii and aurei of Mark Antony and M. Cocceius Nerva, 41 BC).
[506] Neither Vollenweider (1972-1974: 174-190), nor we were able to find even one example of a portrait gem that could be securely identified with Lucius Antony figure.
[507] *RRC*, nos. 541/1-2 (aurei of Mark Antony, 34 BC).
[508] Vollenweider 1966: 21.
[509] For instance, *RRC*, no. 543/1 (denarius of Mark Antony).
[510] Barcaro 2008/2009: 109-110, 144-147 and 161-163; Ritter 1995: 76-77.
[511] Sena Chiesa 1989: 272; 2013: 67-68 and 70-71.
[512] See an extensive discussion of this problem in: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 66-67.
[513] Ritter 1995: 84-85 and 101-102 regarding engraved gems.
[514] Toso 2007: 157-158.

promotion or Octavian's counterpropaganda.[515] For instance, the symplegma scenes between Heracles and Omphale appearing on some ancient gems as well as other subjects referring to their relationship could be erotic gifts exchanged between lovers.[516] The same can be said of the already discussed cameo from the Beverley collection that Vollenweider had taken for a propaganda piece (cf. chapter 9.3.2.1). In fact, without any direct evidence that the figures on display refer to Mark Antony and Cleopatra, and without any evidence that the design originated from Octavian/Augustus or the circle of people surrounding him, it is difficult, if not pointless, to interpret such scenes as having some propagandistic value.

9.3.2.5. Promotion of the faction

Self-advertisement through gems in Roman society was deeply rooted and popular and it is noteworthy that glyptics was a perfect platform for people belonging to the close circle of a political leader to express their allegiance to him. Gems certainly helped to integrate a group of followers and as already noted at many points in this book, portrait gems served this excellently. Considering the fact that Mark Antony seems to be not particularly active in self-promotion through gems, I believe that most of the gems bearing his portrait were commissioned by his followers who wished to mark their allegiance to his faction. Sometimes there seems to be a direct evidence for that. For instance, in Würzburg there is a glass impression after a lost carnelian intaglio featuring a bearded portrait of Mark Antony accompanied with three letters CAI probably standing for the *tria nomina* of gem's owner (cat. no. 9.1167, Figure 698). This particularly interesting piece shows that apart from the subject, which is consistent with a series of similar portraits of Antony discussed above, here, the owner additionally put his signature so that it was clear that he supports Antony. Such situations are rare, but in the case of other portrait gems of the great Roman statesmen, one observes the same phenomenon which scale is also similar (cf. chapters 8.1.5, 8.1.7, 8.2.4, 8.2.6, 9.1.3, 9.1.5, 9.2.2, 9.2.4, 9.3.1.4 and 9.3.1.6).

One more issue to consider is if there were any motifs suitable for carrying by the Caesarians from both sides (Antony's and Octavian's followers) in general? Ritter suggests that such a subject could be Venus Victrix and indeed, since Caesar promoted her, armed Venus repeatedly appears on engraved gems throughout the second half of the 1st century BC.[517] It cannot be fully demonstrated if she served as a sort of party token but I believe that Mark Antony did not prefer to use her, since Caesar promoted Venus as a divine patroness of the Julian family. Thus, she was automatically recognised more as a symbol of Octavian. It seems reasonable to claim that Antony used symbolism referring to his own family legend since he must have created a sort counterweight to Octavian's but he did that from a scratch and his position was more difficult than Octavian's. Apart from that, it is worth mentioning that Antony's military career already flourished while he served as a cavalry chief under Aulus Gabinius in 57 in Syria. He was always appreciated for his outstanding military merits and prowess. Vollenweider drew attention to an unusual motif of a cavalryman wearing a tunic and standing next to his horse whom she connected with Mark Antony (cat. no. 9.1168, Figure 699).[518] This is due to another stone, known only from a plaster impression, bearing the very same motif but accompanied with inscription M•ANT•NYMP which can be read as M(arcus) Ant(onius) Nymp(hios) (cat. no. 9.1169, Figure 700). Most likely it refers to the gem's owner and as such points to his potential share of family bloodline with Antony. Vollenweider presumed that these gems present Mark Antony as a member of the College of Luperci due to his partial nakedness,[519] but in my opinion this might symbolise heroization and simply refer to Antony's skills as a military commander. If that is the case, one would deal here with a clear example of propaganda that aimed to praise Mark Antony's military command over cavalry. Moreover, the gem was probably carried by one of his family members which cannot be a coincidence. The subject itself is much copied in glass gems (cat. nos 9.1170-1171) so one wonders if it was multiplied and distributed to Antony's followers This question cannot be fully answered based on the incomplete data one has at one's disposal at the moment, but there is some potential that the motifs like the one under discussion they functioned as references of common people and especially soldiers to their patron who in this case could be Mark Antony.

9.3.2.6. Commemoration

Commemoration of important events in the life of political leaders of the Roman Republic was one of the crucial propaganda practices reflected on engraved gems. Regarding Mark Antony, there are several major events that one would expect to be singled out in the glyptic material like the Second Triumvirate. Sena Chiesa believes that after the pact was established, both Octavian and Mark Antony started to use the symbolism referring to the political programme of Julius Caesar which basically concentrated on the promotion of peace, harmony and pacification – *ordo*

[515] Hekster 2004: 175-177.
[516] See some examples: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973a, nos. 269-271 (with more literature).
[517] Ritter 1995: 86.
[518] Vollenweider 1979, no. 161.
[519] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 182-183.

rerum - and this is observable in glyptics' iconography.[520] I shall come back to this issue later, while discussing symbolic gems, but the first thing to notice is that there is no gem whatsoever that would clearly refer to the Second Triumvirate as a pact between all three figures. Instead, one observes that both Octavian and Mark Antony focused on themselves, for instance issuing gems with portraits, sometimes referring to the Triumvirate act (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7), but even in this kind of activity, the interest of Mark Antony is rather unwitnessed. In this place I should also remark that sometimes, the propagandistic message may be encoded in a more camouflaged image such as that appearing on a glass gem in Vienna, which presents busts of Heracles and Mercury confronted (cat. no. 9.581, cf. chapter 9.3.1.5). Because in their propaganda activities Octavian tended to identify with Mercury and Mark Antony with Heracles, one wonders if this gem is another piece making allusion to the Brundisium Treaty. Another unusual configuration is a pair of youths presented as Heracles with a club and Apollo with a cithara to the front and inscription in the field BN (cat. no. 9.1172, Figure 701). In this case, if the gem has any political significance it would probably commemorate the Brundisium Treaty too, although, such early identifications of both politicians with their divine patrons would be unusual.[521]

The Brundisium Treaty was of great political significance and was probably widely promoted, especially the issue of the marriage between Mark Antony and Octavia. It is possible that the event may be reflected on some gems presenting confronted (*capita opposita*) male and female heads. Generally speaking, there are large quantities of gems of this type and many of them are made of cheap glass. They cannot be more precisely dated than to the second half of the 1st century BC and they are often believed to present leading members of the major families of the Roman Republic and the princes and princesses of the imperial family during the early Principate.[522] Some of them may commemorate the marriage of Mark Antony and Octavia (cat. nos 9.1173-1194, Figures 702-704).[523] It was an event of considerable political significance celebrated in various ways, for instance on coins, as Antony minted special issues commemorating this event and consistently kept putting his and Octavia's portraits on his coins until 38 BC (Figure 705).[524] For this reason, many scholars believe that most of these gems should be related to this event and perhaps some mythological pairs like Neptune and Amphitrite appearing on gems should be taken for propaganda messages encoded and related to Antony's and Octavia's marriage too.[525] Due to the high percentage of glass gems bearing this subject, Vollenweider proposed that they should be regarded as propaganda pieces aimed to reach the common people and inform them about the new period of peace and prosperity that the marriage guaranteed.[526] However, it should be noted that the real impact of these gems cannot be measured in any reasonable terms. The identification of these portraits with specific historical figures (here Antony and Octavia) is difficult because of the reduced quality of the glass gems and the frequent slight variation in coiffure and physiognomy of people at the time among whom many modelled their appearance on that of the main political figures. Moreover, on some gems of this kind the heads are accompanied with the caduceus – in a political context, a symbol of peace (cat. nos 9.1192-1193). However, it also appears on betrothal gems and rings so that one cannot be sure about its political meaning in every case. In fact, many of the uninscribed gems could have been private objects having no connection with politics at all. A few gems bear inscriptions which make it clear that they do not have anything in common with Antony and Octavia. For instance, a sard intaglio in Hannover presents a pair of heads which due to the iconographical reasoning could be taken for Mark Antony and Octavia, but the inscription accompanying it spells I ΛA PO Y (Hilario) and points to the name of the gem's owner (cat. no. 9.1194, Figure 704). It is far more probable that this one was manufactured for a man named Hilarius as a commemoration of his private marriage not the political one i.e. the option that the gem was used by a follower of Mark Antony who wished to commemorate his marriage and express allegiance to his faction is much less probable.

It has been already shown in this book that gems presenting augural symbols constitute an important category in Roman Republican glyptics (6.1 and 7.1.6). The evidence from statues and other sources suggests that they were used by augurs and other priests, so they were symbols of these offices and as such helped to raise the authority of their possessors. In 50 BC Julius Caesar as *pontifex maximus* appointed his loyal servant Mark Antony augur. This was a great honour that helped him to develop his career and strengthen his position in Rome. Antony consistently referred to this office in his coinage.[527] Just after Caesar's death, he even

[520] Sena Chiesa 2002: 405-406.
[521] *LIMC* V: 141 and 143 s.v. Herakles, no. 3072 (S. Woodford and J. Boardman).
[522] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 27.
[523] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 208-209; Weiß 2007, no. 371. See also a valuable commentary on this issue in: Zwierlein-Diehl 1990: 549-550.
[524] For instance: *RRC*, nos. 527/1 (aureus of Mark Antony, 39 BC) and 533/1a-b (aureus of Mark Antony, 38 BC).
[525] Toso 2007: 211; Zanker 1988: 61; Zazoff 1983: 284. Toso (2007: 208) even claims that Neptune and Athena if paired may also reflect the marriage of Mark Antony and Octavia, but they were usually presented on gems in a quarrel over the control of Athens, therefore this seems to be unsuitable (Rambach 2011b). See also a discussion on similar matters in chapters 9.3.2.4 and 10.6.
[526] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 208-209. Some other scholars share this view too, see: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 27.
[527] For instance: nos. 492/1-2 (aurei of Mark Antony, 43 BC), 496/2-3

issued coins presenting him as an augur with mourning beard most likely to highlight that he was appointed to continue Caesar's politics by himself (Figure 682).[528] The promotion from Caesar must have been particularly important for Antony since in 38 BC on one of his denarii, he once again refers to his augural office presenting himself as an augur.[529] According to Crawford, this was one of the first signs that Octavian's and Antony's coinages are going to part company and the two, after a short reconciliation at Brundisium, start to focus their promotion on their own figures.[530] Later on, Antony's coinage praises mainly his own accomplishments and stop referring to him and his wife Octavia at the same time. For this reason, he came back to the issue of his priesthood. There are two glass gems, one in Cortona and the second in Geneva bearing veiled busts of augurs holding the *lituus* that that according to Vollenweider could to be linked with Antony and his augural office (cat. nos 9.1195-1196, Figure 706).[531] Nevertheless, in these cases, the figure or figures depicted are clean-shaven and if one recalls the very special issue of Mark Antony's coins minted just after Caesar's death, where he is presented similarly to these gems, but bearded and with different facial features, it is less likely to trust Vollenweider's identification.[532] The glass gems under discussion here were certainly produced in Italy as their provenance history suggests. In 38 BC Antony was already in the East battling with Parthia, so if he was to be responsible for issuing gems of this kind, he must have done that through the services of one of his followers left in Rome, but this seems unlikely. Since a certain identification with Antony cannot be made, it is more likely that the objects depict generic priests rather than specific historical figures.

Since c. 38 BC Mark Antony started to promote only himself in his coinage and as will be shown here in glyptics as well.[533] This promotion mainly focused on his military successes like the triumph over Armenia that he celebrated in 34 BC in Alexandria. With that event, one perhaps should connect a carnelian intaglio, said to have been found in Asia Minor and now in Boston, which features the head of Mark Antony to the left crowned by an eagle standing on an altar with a laurel wreath (cat. no. 9.1197, Figure 707a-b). The head is identified with Mark Antony due to its similarities with portraits known from gems and coins (cf. chapter 9.3.2.3 above). In addition to the image there is an inscription: ΠΡΟCΩΛΑC. As Vermeule correctly observes, the letters were probably added later (2nd-3rd century AD?).[534] The iconography itself indicates that the original gem's owner must have been a follower of Antony, perhaps one of officers in his army since the subject is suitable for military men. To the Romans, eagles were symbols of victory, of the military legion as a whole, and of apotheosis and were widely present on engraved gems belonging to the legionaries.[535] The image of an altar topped with an eagle, which is quite common on Roman hardstone and glass gems, should be in this particular case interpreted as a symbol of the cult of the victor, bringing wealth and luck after the war. In this regard, it is logical that the eagle crowns the bust as a victor. Given the military associations of eagle imagery, as well as Mark Antony's role as a general of the Roman army, it seems reasonable to recognise this gesture as a reference to his triumph over Armenia rather than his apotheosis as proposed by Vermeule.[536]

Finally, regarding the commemoration of Antony's military victories, Vollenweider suggested that it is perhaps not a coincidence that gem engraver Sostratos, who supposedly worked at the court of Cleopatra and Antony in Alexandria, produced cameos with dionysiac subjects because they relate to Antony's triumph over Armenia and overall the East.[537] His triumph would be compared to the one that Dionysus celebrated after his quest to India. Although there may be other explanations for the popularity of dionysiac subjects on 1st century BC gems, Vollenweider might be quite right in her theory. Zanker proved that in other media than glyptics there is a clear reflection of Antony making reference to Dionysus so maybe gems are a part of this phenomenon too.[538] The triumph Antony celebrated in Alexandria in 34 BC could have been commemorated in various ways including cameos. One such example seems to be a lost piece once in the George Frederick Nott collection known only from a plaster cast made by Cades.[539] It presents a male portrait that due to its distinctive facial features is identified with Mark Antony, carrying a ram's horn belonging to the Egyptian god Ammon (cat. no. 9.1208, Figure 715). In 37/36 BC Antony was defeated by the Parthians, he organised his second expedition to Armenia which was largely successful. In order to erase the memory of the fruitless Parthian War, he organised celebrations in Alexandria of his victory over Armenia which was compared to Alexander's conquests in the East. Considering the fact that over the Hellenistic period Alexander was depicted with a ram's horn of Ammon, the cameo in question could have been intended to depict Mark Antony as a

(denarii of Mark Antony, 42 BC), 517/5c and 7-8 (aurei and denarii of Mark Antony, M. Cocceius Nerva and L. Gellius Poplicola, 41 BC), 520/a (denarius of Mark Antony, 40 BC), 522/1-4 (denarii of Mark Antony and L. Munatius Plancus, 40 BC).

528 *RRC*, no. 480/22 (denarius of P. Sepullius Macer, 44 BC).

529 *RRC*, no. 533/2 (denarius of Mark Antony, 38 BC).

530 *RRC*: 743.

531 Vollenweider 1972-1974: 176.

532 Compare: *RRC*, no. 480/22 (denarius of P. Sepullius Macer, 44 BC).

533 Regarding coinage, see: *RRC*: 743-744.

534 Vermeule 1966: 32.

535 For a more thorough discussion on this matter, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 188.

536 Vermeule 1966: 32.

537 Vollenweider 1966: 19-20.

538 Zanker 1988: 47.

539 Vollenweider 1972-1974: 187-188.

new Alexander. This issue will be more widely discussed in the next sub-chapter, but here I would like just to remark the possible circumstances in which the cameo could have been created.

9.3.2.7. Divine and mythological references

As correctly observed by Morawiecki, after the death of Julius Caesar references to various deities and mythological figures became standard among young political leaders.[540] Mark Antony was not an exception and during his career he used to compare or identify with a number of them. Shortly after Caesar's death in 44 BC Antony was struck by the skilfulness of the young Octavian who promoted himself as son of the deified Julius Caesar (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1). In order to respond to that propaganda action, he had to create his own legend, which would be counterpropaganda for Octavian's and others' actions (mainly Sextus Pompey, cf. chapter 9.1.4), and he focused on his familial ancestry which was based on the figure of Anton – one of the descendants of Heracles.[541] Several ancient writers compare Antony to Heracles seeing even some physiognomic similarities between the two or at least mention his relationship with the hero through Anton.[542] There is no doubt that some early coinage of Antony was intended to help him to build his legend since Heracles appears on some special issues.[543] Some scholars see also an indirect allusion to Heracles through a lion appearing on a gold medallion of Antony struck in 38 BC but this was related to *imitatio Alexandri* not Heracles and will be discussed later.[544] Antony also expressed his particular veneration of Heracles by erecting the statue of the hero called after him Heracles Antoninianus.[545] It should be stressed that this Heracles was very different in propaganda terms from for instance Heracles Pompeianus. While Pompey flirted through Heracles with Hellenistic traditions seeking comparison with Alexander the Great, Antony focused more on the relationship between Anton/Heracles and the beginnings or Rome.[546] Hekster rightly comments that Antony did not fully identified with Heracles, but his intention was to show his bond with the hero so that he could raise his own authority and be regarded as equal to Octavian and other political rivals.[547]

Overall, the use of Heracles for his propaganda by Antony is clear in various media, therefore, a number of scholars somehow automatically started to link some engraved gems presenting Heracles with Mark Antony and his propaganda. Vollenweider suggested that Heracles on gems in the 40s and 30s BC may have stood for Mark Antony in general or at least ought to be associated with the politician and gems with his busts and heads may have been produced in Alexandria for Antony's supporters (cat. nos 9.1198-1200, Figure 708).[548] This view gained some supporters who even saw busts and heads of Heracles on gems to serve as tokens used by the followers of Antony to express their allegiance to him.[549] Indeed, busts and heads of Heracles were particularly popular on gems those days, but if one analyses these motifs in a wider spectrum, it is obvious that they were quite popular throughout the whole of the 1st century BC and well down into the Imperial era.[550] There is no particular growth in the number of these in the 40s and 30s BC which would indicate their special status and connection with Antony. Furthermore, when Antony transferred himself to Egypt, his propaganda focused on his identification with Dionysus/Bacchus rather than with Heracles. Therefore, one of course cannot entirely exclude that some gems presenting Heracles could be automatically associated with Antony if within society this idea was widely accepted, but on the other hand, glyptics does not in itself deliver clear proofs for such a situation. It should be taken into account that individuals generally identified with Heracles as their patron deity or as an example worth following on a private level.[551]

Concerning figural scenes, Vollenweider recognised Mark Antony on one of intaglios in Paris (cat. no. 9.1201, Figure 709) basing her reasoning on the similarity of the piece with Solon's work now housed in Naples (cf. cat. no. 9.844, Figure 610).[552] Nevertheless, I have already proved that if Solon's work had any political significance, it belonged to the propaganda of Octavian and on the gem in question here, one does not find any direct reference to Mark Antony including the facial features or coiffure of the hero depicted. Vollenweider also remarked on the cameo from the Beverley collection that she attributed to Sostratos, who could have worked for Antony while he was in Egypt and claimed it represented Antony seduced by Cleopatra (cat. no. 9.1135, Figure 674).[553] But neither the attribution is convincing nor the explanation for the subject-matter. In fact, a broader analysis of the motif reveals that many variants exist, and it must have served as an allegory to a more general conspectus, like the victory of love over strength

[540] Morawiecki 2014.
[541] Barcaro 2008/2009: 138-140; Ritter 1995: 70-71.
[542] Kühnen 2008: 101-102; Ritter 1995: 72-73.
[543] For example, *RRC*, nos. 494/2a-2b (aurei of L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC). See also some commentaries on this issue: Barcaro 2008/2009: 104-105; Ritter 1995: 73-76.
[544] Ritter 1995: 73. See, also, the criticism of this idea expressed by Hekster (2004: 172).
[545] Barcaro 2008/2009: 140-141.
[546] Ritter 1995: 71-72.
[547] Hekster 2004: 174.
[548] Vollenweider 1966: 19; 1972-1974: 184.
[549] Ritter 1995: 116-117.
[550] Cf. also discussion on this matter in chapter 8.1.9.
[551] Hansson 2005: 138.
[552] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 31.
[553] Vollenweider 1966: 36.

(cat. nos 9.1202-1204, Figure 710).[554] Regarding other possible motifs involving Heracles that could have served as propaganda messages, the work of Teukros already mentioned is often taken to have some political significance as it might present Antony and Cleopatra (cat. no. 9.1138, Figure 677).[555] Also, a gold ring with a nicolo intaglio signed by Solon and presenting a male figure with a club found in Pompeii is often regarded as a propagandistic piece illustrating the relationship between Antony and Heracles; it is even suggested that it belonged to one of Antony's veterans.[556] As already discussed there is no ground for the connection between Solon and Mark Antony (cf. chapter 9.3.2.2), but maybe it has not been completely explained why the idea of linking this subject with Antony emerged at all. This view was based on the similar image appearing on a denarius struck in 47-46 BC which Vollenweider assumed to be Heracles Antoninianus (Figure 711).[557] However, Crawford rightly argues that the subject on the coin refers to Heracles Pompeianus which is suggested by the head of Africa that appears on the coin's obverse that indicates the place where Pompey's followers (including the moneyers responsible for the issue) fled after Pompey's death.[558] This is also consistent with a more general issue that Antony did not aim to be identified with Heracles, but rather to show his family connection with the hero and since Solon's work does not exhibit this idea, it should not be linked with Antony's propaganda.[559]

The analysis of potential reflections of the relationship between Heracles and Mark Antony, whichever one believes (full identification or just familial reference), in glyptics, reveals that there is only some vague evidence for that phenomenon to have occurred. An increase in popularity of motifs like busts and heads as well as figural representations of Heracles and Anton seems too insignificant to link them with Mark Antony and it is difficult to point to individual pieces that could testify to that directly and unambiguously.[560]

Regarding other mythological figures, some ancient writers compared Mark Antony to Paris, usually in a negative way to create the image of a coward Antony like Paris who used to flee the battlefield in the Trojan War to take refuge in the arms of his beloved.[561] This image was of course black propaganda created by Augustan writers and Toso wonders if the representations of Paris on gems can be linked to the same phenomenon.[562] However, representations of Paris exist on Roman Republican gems already in the 3rd century BC and thus are nothing special in the 40s and 30s BC. His popularity in glyptics does not rise during Antony's and Octavian's fierce rivalry. Moreover, Pairs is often shown with Venus due to their common story of the golden apple of discord which suggests that he was put on gems for private reasons rather than political ones.[563] It has been also put forward that the motif of Ajax carrying the corpse of Achilles from the battlefield could symbolise Mark Antony and Julius Caesar's relationship and the continuation of Caesar's politics by Antony, but Toso makes it clear that such ideas are overinterpretations. The motif is popular already on 3rdcentury BC gemstones and the theme stood for the representation of a close relationship between two soldiers reflected on a gem by a sophisticated allegory encapsulated in this mythological motif.[564]

Turning now to divine patrons of Mark Antony, like his contemporaries he demonstrated that he is supported by various deities, but Dionysus prevailed above them all. This was his respond to a general trend since Sextus Pompey identified himself with Neptune and Octavian with Apollo (cf. chapters 9.1.7 and 9.3.1.8 respectively).[565] Antony started to identify himself with Dionysus following the victory in the Battle of Pharsalus in 42 BC and from the very beginning, he attempted to create his own image independently claiming he is a *Neos Dionysus*.[566] For sure, meeting Cleopatra, who identified herself with Isis motivated Antony to go the same way.[567] This was a process very different from the propaganda of his family relationship with Heracles, which emphasised Antony's figure, not presenting him as a humble servant of the god. In the case of Antony, this is highlighted, for instance, by the title *autokrator* that appears on his coins from 37/36 BC.[568] Moreover, identification with Dionysus was related to Antony's propaganda of military accomplishments in the East, like the triumph over Armenia in 34 BC which were compared to Dionysus' Indian triumph and Alexander's conquests of the East in coinage and beyond (cf. chapter 9.3.2.6).[569] Taking all of this into account, one wonders

[554] On this, see the most convincing interpretation of the piece in: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 35. Regarding the subject itself, see also valuable commentaries in the following: Toso 2007: 188-189; Weiß 2007, no. 28; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 385.

[555] Vollenweider 1966: 43; Zazoff 1983: 288.

[556] Laubscher 1974: 251-252; Ritter 1995: 79-81; Toso 2007: 172-173; Vollenweider 1966: 49-50; Zanker 1988: 45-46.

[557] Vollenweider 1966: 49-50. For the coin, see: *RRC*, no. 461/1 (denarius of Eppius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, 47-46 BC).

[558] *RRC*: 737-738.

[559] Hekster 2004: 173-174; Megow 1985: 484-484.

[560] Toso 2007: 191. Regarding representations of Anton, a valuable commentary is given by Toso, who notices that this subject was continually present in glyptics from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD (2007: 185). So the situation is similar to that of the busts and heads of Heracles described by us above.

[561] Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, 90.5; Barcaro 2008/2009: 155-160.

[562] Toso 2007: 49.

[563] Toso 2007: 49.

[564] Toso 2007: 28-30.

[565] Morawiecki 2014; Ritter 1995: 79-81.

[566] Barcaro 2008/2009: 102-103. For a detailed analysis of the beginnings of Antony's identification with Dionysus, see: Morawiecki 2014: 107-119.

[567] Morawiecki 2014: 119-124; Plantzos 1999: 86.

[568] Barcaro 2008/2009: 119; Plantzos 1999: 43-44.

[569] For a detailed analysis of these two propaganda processes

if engraved gems could have contributed to Antony's propaganda efforts in this respect.

Many scholars declared Mark Antony's relationship with Dionysus to be reflected on engraved gems. For instance, Toso observes that on many cameos and intaglios bearing dionysiac/bacchic themes Dionysus often appears together with Ariadne which is possibly a reflection of the sacred marriage between Antony and Cleopatra.[570] She makes an interesting observation that actually, Antony could not have been the first Roman political leader who exploited that theme. For Gaius Marius while celebrating his triumph over Jugurtha also referred to Dionysus, so the tradition of this kind of identification may have been deeply rooted in glyptic art.[571] I believe that ancient literary sources add some valuable information to the issue under discussion since it is reported that one of the Cleopatras carried a finger ring with a gem engraved with the figure of Methe – a personification of drunkenness and a member of Dionysus' *thiasos*.[572] The source does not specify which one it was, but I agree with Gutzwiller that the context of the description and the overall promotion of the cult of Dionysus in the late 4th century BC suggests Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, not Cleopatra VII as it is often supposed.[573] As Gutzwiller explains, the wife of Alexander of Epirus had many good political motivations, especially after the death of her husband in 330 BC, to allude through Methe to her brother Alexander identified with Dionysus.[574] This illustrates that even the motifs which at the first glance appear insignificant from the political point of view may have actually contributed to the establishment of a connection between the queen and Alexander. A similar situation could have occurred with Antony associated with Dionysus and Cleopatra VII identified with Ariadne. The more this idea was promoted in various ways, the more acceptable it was for common people. There are many more motifs which could play the same role as the representation of Methe cut upon Cleopatra's ring. For instance, there is a peculiar group of gems presenting a highly popular subject of a dancing satyr with a panther skin, thyrsus and vessel at his foot, which on the one hand may reflect some propaganda activities of Antony towards establishing a sort of intimate connection between dionysiac subjects and him that would further commemorate some of his military victories accomplished thanks to his divine nature as *Neos Dionysus*, for instance, that at Ephesus in 42 BC (cat. nos 9.1205-1206, Figure 712).[575] But on the other hand, there are many other explanations for these subjects appearing on gems including quite simple ones like gem engravers drawing inspiration from the sculpture and the simple popularity of dionysiac subjects in Roman glyptics of the 1st century BC transferred from the Hellenistic one.[576] The general popularity of dionysiac subjects at the time which should not be linked with Mark Antony and his propaganda is apparent from evidence such as a small collection of bronze rings set with glass gems recently studied by Gradel. He correctly concludes that due to the fact that many gems in this unique assortment bear subjects clearly related to Octavian's propaganda (including his portraits) these rings belonged to one of Octavian's veterans. Still, the very same soldier possessed in his collection four examples of gems with dionysiac subjects.[577] Yet, usually without this or any sort of context explaining us how these stones functioned and circulated within the society, they remain ambiguous to us.[578]

All these mythological and divine relationships between Mark Antony and Cleopatra seem to be present in glyptics, although their propagandistic value is difficult for us to measure today without the cultural context within which they circulated. Nevertheless, there are examples of a more direct and unambiguous reference towards divine nature of Antony and Cleopatra as the rulers of Egypt and the eastern part of the Roman Empire. In a private collection in Stockholm Henig has recently discovered a remarkable cameo presenting Mark Antony seated on a throne with a *phiale* and presumably *thyrsus*, which were originally intended to identify him with *Neos Dionysus*/Osiris, and Cleopatra depicted as Isis with a large cornucopia seated on his side (cat. no. 9.1207, Figure 713). He presented the cameo first in 2015/2016 and even more interestingly, in 2017 he has notified about some evidence for the piece to have been recut possibly after the Battle of Actium.[579] The cameo is a very rare example of Mark Antony's direct propaganda reflected in glyptic art, though, one wonders if that was Cleopatra who decided on this, since her figure seems bigger than Antony's one. As has been said, the gem was later recut possibly to remove reference to Antony and Cleopatra after the Battle of Actium and to reinterpret the subject itself as an ordinary depiction of Isis and Osiris (for this reason, a part of thyrsus has been removed and the head of Antony recut in a crude way).[580]

reflected in the coinage of Antony, see: Morawiecki 2014: 124-152.

[570] Toso 2007: 196-197. However, see also commentary of Zwierlein-Diehl to the cameo with this subject in Vienna (2008: 190-193).

[571] Toso 2007: 204-205.

[572] *Anthologia Palatina*, IX.756.

[573] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 61; Gradel (forthcoming); Gutzwiller 1995; Henig 2007: 34; Neverov 2005: 189.

[574] Gutzwiller 1995: 392-393.

[575] Weiß 2007, no. 112.

[576] Plantzos 1999: 86-87. Regarding inspiration from the sculpture, this applies, for instance, to the dancing satyr motif, which might be in fact based on a Praxitelean prototype, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 232; Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 163.

[577] Gradel (forthcoming).

[578] See an important argument of Zwierlein-Diehl in the discussion of this matter in:*AGDS* II, no. 375.

[579] Henig 2015/2016; Henig 2017: 28-29.

[580] Henig 2017: 28-29.

While discussing the commemoration of Mark Antony's military accomplishments, I have mentioned a cameo perhaps presenting him as Jupiter-Ammon or simply as with horn of Ammon added in the way it occurs on portraits of Alexander the Great (cf. chapter 9.3.2.6 above). A very similar head appears on some denarii struck by Antony and his moneyer in 31 BC combined with Victory on the reverse side which configuration expresses hope for the victory in the forthcoming clash with Octavian and also reflects Antony's *imitatio Alexandri* (Figure 714).[581] In glyptics such references are rare and based on single objects, it is difficult to judge their true propagandistic value, but they do exist, suggesting Antony's wish to be presented as the new Alexander (cat. no. 9.1208, Figure 715). To Vollenweider the most clear proof of that is a remarkable cameo in Paris which according to her addresses Antony's identification with Alexander the Great (cat. no. 9.1209, Figure 716). It presents the head of a man with slight beard and long hair wearing an ornate casque and laurel wreath on his head. On the top of the helmet there is a walking lion. Vollenweider discussed this cameo in detail pointing to Mark Antony (identified through the walking lion which may symbolise Antony's zodiacal sign or Heracles from whom Antony's family descended)[582] as the person depicted here in the guise of Alexander the Great, however, this idea cannot be accepted due to several details that require attention.[583] The cameo is somehow close to the famous *Ptolemaic Cameo* from Vienna and especially the *Cameo Gonzaga* now in St. Petersburg.[584] While the first one is a Hellenistic work presenting possibly Ptolemy II (283-246 BC) and Arsinoe II (277-270 BC), the latter is probably of later date, late Hellenistic or maybe even Roman (first half of the 1st century AD).[585] The pair presented on it, despite many proposals, remain unidentified. It is clear that the *Cameo Gonzaga* as well as the one from Paris under discussion here show rulers in the guise of Alexander the Great. The Paris cameo seems severely trimmed if not re-cut. The laurel wreath may indicate imperial power which points to the Roman age of production, but the wreath was also worn by Heracles with whom one combines the lion and from whom Alexander was descended.[586] The slight beard the man carries is repeated on the *Cameo Gonzaga*, although, it depicts another person which is clear when one compares facial features, profiles and style. All in all, the identification of the man depicted on the cameo in Paris cannot be satisfactory established, but it is clear that he is not Mark Antony (possibly 'just' Alexander the Great himself). Starting from the forehead line through gently bowed nose to slightly receded lips but clearly extended chin, the face profile differs from that of Antony considerably. Vollenweider's hypothesis that the piece may illustrate Antony's idea of the continuation of Caesar's politics (explanation to the beard) regarding the eastern part of the Roman Empire and the planned war with Parthia must be rejected.[587] Even though Antony is attested as unambiguously presenting himself iconographically as a successor of Alexander the Great, for instance, on the extraordinary gold medallion struck in 38 BC,[588] this particular cameo is not a part of the same political agenda. If by any chance Roman, the cameo is completely exceptional especially in stylistic terms. In Rome such pieces had not been produced in the 40s BC. Giving the fact that in the case of Mark Antony the mourning beard as a sign of veneration of Caesar was not the main subject of Antony's propaganda after 38 BC and maybe even after 43 BC, this is another argument contradicting Vollenweider's theory.

Finally, I should briefly discuss a potential Mark Antony's propaganda message encoded on a glass gem in the Berlin collection which depicts a male figure seated on a *diphros* and holding in his right arm a cornucopia, while on the left, extended hand is a Victoriola that is about to crown a statue of the god Mars standing on an altar (cat. no. 9.1210, Figure 717). The object was interpreted by Furtwängler as a representation of a genius, however, the inscription appearing under the ground line makes the piece interesting as it reads: MAR•VIC. Perhaps, it refers to a legionary Marcus who wished to be victorious on the battlefield, but the scene seems to be too complex for a regular legionary gem and the inscription may actually indicate Mar(k) (Antony) Vic(tor). If that is the case, he would be presented here in the guise of *Genius Populi Romani* who offers his victory to Mars, divine patron of the Roman army. The intaglio would bear a powerful propaganda message still suitable for a legionary and perhaps a gift to one of the officers in Antony's army. Interesting is the divine nature highlighted not only in the figure of Antony himself, but also by his *pietas* towards Mars to whom he offers his victory. Noteworthy is also that Victory appears on some coins of Antony minted just before the Battle of Actium as a sign of a wished-for victory over Octavian (Figure 714).[589] Perhaps, the intaglio in question is a part of the same phenomenon.

[581] *RRC*, nos. 546/1-3c (denarii of Mark Antony and L. Pinarius Scarpus, 31 BC).
[582] Leo as the zodiacal sign of Mark Antony appears on his coins in 43 BC, see: Kühnen 2008: 104-105.
[583] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995, no. 36.
[584] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 59-65; 2008: 56-73 and 238-247 (with abundant bibliography).
[585] Pollit 1986: 23-24; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 62-65.
[586] I am grateful to Ittai Gradel for a passionate discussion on this piece and valuable remarks.
[587] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995, no. 36.
[588] For a detailed discussion on Mark Antony's *imitatio Alexandri*, see: Kühnen 2008: 101-120.
[589] *RRC*, nos. 546/1-3c (denarii of Mark Antony and L. Pinarius Scarpus, 31 BC).

9.3.2.8. Political symbols

According to a popular view, the political leaders of the Caesarian party used the same symbolism on engraved gems as Julius Caesar did in order to show their intentions to continue his programme of *ordo rerum* – focusing on the promotion of peace and prosperity that should be guaranteed by their reign.[590] Because many of the symbols related to deities such as Mercury or Heracles, it has been somehow automatically accepted that these elements refer to Octavian and Mark Antony respectively.[591] Moreover, it is believed that some combinations stand for particular virtues promoted by these political leaders such as *virtus*, *dignitas*, *pax* and *concordia*.[592] The hypothesis is based on similarities between gems and coins, which however, exist only at first glance. A more scrupulous analysis reveals that many of these combinations on gems were intended to bring protection and blessing from various gods and avert the Evil Eye from the gems' owners. I have already discussed the nature of symbolic gems in several previous chapters (cf. chapters 7.1.6, 7.2.5, 8.1.11, 8.2.9, 9.1.8, 9.2.7 and 9.3.1.9), therefore, here, I focus only on particular subjects which to some degree may potentially have had something in common with Mark Antony, but still, the evidence I have gathered suggests that the majority of the gems bearing similar compositions were private amulets rather than means of propaganda. This view is supported by the fact that Antony did not promote a complex political programme like Julius Caesar and Octavian did. His propaganda was primarily focused on his own person and the classes of gems commemorating his successes or highlighting his *comparatio* or *imitatio* of Alexander the Great are best proofs of that.

The analysis of symbolic gems potentially referring to Mark Antony should start with combinations of symbols involving elements related to Heracles and Dionysus. These basically involve Heracles' club as the main symbol which is often combined with ears of corn, rudder or a palm branch or other configurations of these including, for instance, a staff (sceptre?) belonging to Dionysus (cat. nos 9.1211-1213, Figure 718).[593] It has been suggested that Heracles' club allows us to identify the gems it appears on as being issued under the influence of Mark Antony or even belonging to members of *gens* Fabia.[594] However, this element had apotropaic properties too and was believed to help avert all kinds of evil that could reach the gem's owner. Besides, symbolic gems involving Heracles' club were manufactured in large quantities in a variety of materials and all parts of Italy (including a vast production in Aquileia) and beyond by the beginning of the 1st century BC (cf. chapter 7.1.6). The other elements accompanying this symbol usually may be interpreted as wishes for prosperity, abundance, good fortune etc. Noteworthy is that inscriptions appearing on the gems of this kind usually refer to the names of their owners (cat. no. 9.1214, Figure 719), which suggests their personal use as amulets rather than political functions. Summing up, these combinations work well on the personal level rather than a political one. Besides, in the coinage of Antony, there is no example that would take Heracles' club as a basis of the subject-matter and there is not even one identical set of symbols that gems and coins share.

A peculiar class of gems are those bearing warships with soldiers on board and other elements such as legionary standards, *aquilae* etc. (cat. no. 9.1215, Figure 720). Because indeed a very similar motif appears on a series of aurei and denarii struck just before the Battle of Actium in 32 and 31 BC by Mark Antony, they are usually associated with him (Figure 721).[595] However, Sena Chiesa rightly points out that naval themes in various forms (ships, prows, *aphlustre* etc.) were used on the coins of Brutus and Sextus Pompey too (cf. chapter 9.1.8), therefore, they seem quite problematic for there is not one specific political leader that could be clearly and exclusively associated with these themes.[596] Besides one cannot exclude that gems engraved with warships were used by legionaries serving in naval units of the Roman army in the same way as those bearing legionary eagles were used by the infantry. So they were tokens of profession rather than a means of political propaganda.[597]

Finally, there are many gems that bear combinations of symbols similar to those used by Antony on his own coins and these are more likely to transmit some propaganda messages (Figure 722).[598] These usually involve such elements like: cornucopiae, globe, palm branch, caduceus etc. On these coins, those symbols refer to the reconciliation between Octavian and Mark Antony after the treaty they sealed in Brundisium in 40 BC and it is noteworthy that they do not refer to the continuation of Caesar's new world order, but were put there because caduceus, cornucopiae and other elements were typical symbols of peace/Concordia and prosperity that these two politicians aimed to guarantee their followers and the people of Rome.[599] On gems, these symbols are highly popular (cat. nos 9.1216-1220, Figures 723-724) and were certainly suitable as personal amulets rather than appearing on them for political reasons. This view is supported by

[590] Vollenweider 1955: 100-101.
[591] Sena Chiesa 2002: 490; 2013: 68.
[592] Sena Chiesa 2002: 410-411.
[593] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 213.
[594] Middleton 1991, no. 27; Weiß 1996, no. 426 (with more literature).
[595] For the coins, see: *RRC*, nos. 544/1-39.
[596] Sena Chiesa 2012: 260-261.
[597] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 226. Henig and Marshman also suggest that such gems found in Britain would relate to the Roman invasion in AD 43, see: Marshman 2015: 186.
[598] Vollenweider 1979, no. 432; Weiß 2007, no. 593. Regarding coins, see, for instance: *RRC*, nos. 520/1 (denarius of Mark Antony, 40 BC) and 529 (aurei and denarii of Octavian and Mark Antony, 39 BC).
[599] *RRC*: 743.

the inscriptions that sometimes appear with them too which indicate mostly names of gems' owners (cat. no. 9.1221, Figure 725).[600] Nevertheless, some of them might indeed carry political messages. A good example of that are the gems presenting combinations of symbols involving a stork – symbol of *pietas* (cat. nos 9.1222-1224, Figure 726). The bird appears rarely on gems and coins, but crucial here is the issue of Mark Antony from 41 BC where Pietas appears on his aurei and denarii together with storks (Figure 727).[601] These coins were minted to celebrate the consulship of Antony's brother – Lucius Antonius, thus, one figures out that the personification and the stork were intended to show Antony's *pietas erga fratrem*.[602] Based on this, some scholars deduce that a stork combined with other motifs symbolising peace, prosperity and abundance were manufactured for the same purpose as the special issue of Mark Antony's coins, that is to commemorate the consulship of his brother and were distributed among common people and his supporters to increase the popularity of his brother.[603] This view, although attractive is based purely on a comparison of sets of symbols that seem similar in coinage and glyptics, but could have had completely different meanings in these two various media. Because gems were strictly private objects it is likely that a stork on an intaglio would have referred to a private issue rather than a political one especially given the fact that there is no specific clue linking this iconography on gems with Mark Antony in contrast with coins where his head appears on the obverse side. In private terms, perhaps gems with iconography involving the stork were intended for self-presentation since *pietas* was one of the key virtues cherished by the Romans. Therefore, a gem's owner would want to highlight his *pietas* which for many could testify to his religious way of life and that was a thing to be proud of. If put on a small intaglio, it was discreetly promoted. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that on the above-mentioned coins a stork is combined with Fortuna, whereas on the intaglio in question (cat. no. 9.1224, Figure 726) the bird is set together with a cornucopia, the main attribute of that personification. In conclusion, if there is any political message encoded on that intaglio, it appears largely speculative from the perspective of a modern researcher, however, such allusions could have been much less enigmatic for the Romans who knew the context.

A similar case is involved in the case of a lion as a symbol of Mark Antony and indirectly his familial origins from Anton and therefore, Heracles. One has seen that the animal, if figured as a symbol related to the mythological Greek hero, may help to identify Mark Antony on a cameo from Paris (cf. chapter 9.3.2.7). Vollenweider, who so often compared gems and coins devices noticed, that a lion as a sole symbol appears on some gems in the same way as it does on coins of Mark Antony (cat. no. 9.1225, Figures 728-729).[604] Nevertheless, I believe that this is just a coincidence and there are numerous, less complex, explanations for the lion to be present on gems (for instance it may stand for the Zodiac sign Leo), so if there is no clear reference to a propagandist or a politician, one should treat interpretations linking the lion with propaganda as highly speculative.[605]

9.3.2.9. Luxury objects (State Cameos, vessels etc.) and religious propaganda

It is believed that during the Hellenistic period Alexandria was one of the major locations for workshops producing engraved gems.[606] For this reason, it was expected that Mark Antony's stay in Alexandria would have contributed with a large amount of the so-called State Cameos and other relevant objects that on the one hand would reflect his passion for luxury life and on the other hand his intentions to glorify his successes. Overall, it is observed that only very few cameos, which iconography and quality mark out as exceptional, can be connected to Antony. There is not such a production as it was in the previous centuries for the Ptolemies. Moreover, there is a considerable discrepancy in the cameo portraits of Antony and Cleopatra (cf. chapter 9.5.1). These facts seem to support a general view that Antony used coinage as the main channel for his propaganda, while glyptics was used on minor scale in such terms. One should add that despite a surely abundant collection of gems built by the Ptolemies in Alexandria, there is no information whatsoever about Antony having used intaglios and cameos for some religious propaganda or other purposes like Pompey the Great or Julius Caesar did before him. This might be another proof for the claim that Caesar's six dactyliothecae were in a substantial part based on treasuries brought to Rome from Egypt. All this evidence suggests that Mark Antony's interest in glyptics was only superficial, but it was Cleopatra who had a larger interest. Whether she was responsible for the employment of Sostratos at the Alexandrian court cannot be securely established, but it seems likely as does the employment of other gem engravers to cut Cleopatra's portrait gems. It is difficult to say whether these pieces were created due to political reasons e.g. propaganda or were meant for the personal

[600] In this particular case, Aubry suggests the inscription is a name of the gem's owner who was a freed slave, see: Aubry 2009: 17.
[601] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 260; *RRC*, nos. 516/1-5 (aurei and denarii of Mark Antony, 41 BC).
[602] *RRC*: 742.
[603] Vollenweider 1979, no. 427; Weiß 1996, nos. 340 and 440 (with more literature).
[604] Vollenweider 1984, no. 176. For the coins, see: *RRC*, nos. 489/5-6 (quinarii of Mark Antony, 43-42 BC).
[605] On some possible explanations of the lion on gems, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 194; Henig 1997b: 45.
[606] Mobius 1964; Plantzos 1999: 101-102; Tassinari 2008: 263-266.

use of the Queen of Egypt and her court. Perhaps both since cameos with the image of Cleopatra are found as far as in Georgia, where they could get during one of Antony's military campaigns in Armenia in the 30s and exchanged with local rulers as diplomatic gifts.[607]

9.3.3. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (triumvir)

Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (c. 89/88-13/12 BC) was one of the main supporters of Julius Caesar and continuator of his policy after dictator's death in 44 BC. In 43 BC he became a part of the political pact established together with Mark Antony and Octavian but from the very beginning he was largely marginalised. His propaganda activities practically include only his coinage and not much is known about him using other channels.[608] In this chapter I would like to present that evidence suggesting that use of engraved gems for propaganda by Lepidus is scarce. There is no evidence whatsoever in ancient literary sources for Lepidus to have employed gem engravers and the archaeological material does not support this too. This supports information obtained from other archaeological material and makes one believe that his position within the Triumvirate was insignificant.

9.3.3.1. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty

There are only two portrait gems presenting Marcus Aemilius Lepidus that can be credibly identified with the triumvir by comparison to his image appearing on coins (cat. nos 9.1226-1227, Figures 730-731).[609] Both present him as *pontifex maximus* with the *lituus* in the field. The example from Vienna is particularly interesting for the unusual frontal view and nakedness which brings to mind comparison with athletes perhaps aimed to highlight physical prowess? Both gems are probably related to the coins minted in 43 and 42 BC where Lepidus is presented and there are augural symbols exhibited as references to his *pontifex maximus* office (Figure 732).[610] Nothing certain can be said about the provenance of these gems and it is difficult to establish whether they were created on the commission of Lepidus himself or by his followers who wished to show their allegiance to him. In any case, these stones transmit a powerful propaganda message because like in the case of Mark Antony and Octavian, Lepidus is presented as an heir to Julius Caesar's policy since he replaced him as *pontifex maximus* after death. This practice observable in coinage and glyptics accounts for the transfer of *auctoritas* and it presented Lepidus as an important political leader. This however did not last long since already in 42 BC Lepidus' image very rarely if at all appears on coins and it seems that the same happens regarding glyptic art. There are two more portrait gems that might depict him; however, their attribution is less certain than in previous cases (cat. nos 9.1228-1229, Figure 733). Furthermore, Neverov suggested that within a sealings hoard found in Artashat in Armenia, there is one presenting Lepidus (cat. no. 9.1230, Figure 734) but this is disputable and without holding the object in one's hands, one cannot decide whether the identification of the person is correct or not.

9.3.3.2. Political symbols

Regarding constellations of symbols on gems, if considered as political, they are usually associated with Octavian and Mark Antony rather than Lepidus (cf. chapters 9.3.1.9 and 9.3.2.8 respectively). In his limited propaganda actions, Lepidus used to propagate his *pontifex maximus* office by adding augural symbols and raven to his portrait on his coins and gems.[611] On the very same coins he also applies an image of Vestal virgin which was an allusion to the legendary ancestry of the *gens* Aemilia (Figure 732).[612] A similar depiction occurs on some engraved gems which, however, cannot be precisely dated and linked with the specific propagandistic action of Lepidus (cat. no. 9.1231, Figure 735), although, some researches tried to do so.[613] Engraved gems were private objects and those bearing the Vestal virgin motif may not have only reflected someone's allegiance to Lepidus' political faction, but more plausibly, refer to one's affiliation to the *gens* Aemilia. The issue of family symbols was already touched on at several places in this work and the motif in question might be related to this matter too rather than to Lepidus' propaganda since there are not large quantities of gems with that motif and there is no reason to link any of them directly with Lepidus.

9.4. Less significant politicians

In the period between the death of Caesar in 44 BC and the Battle of Actium in 31 BC there were many politicians trying to promote themselves, but the leaders of the three political parties discussed above were the most successful in propaganda. Regarding glyptic art, major

[607] Lordkipanidze 1961, no. 61.

[608] Regarding Lepidus' propaganda in the coinage, see: *RRC*, nos. 489/1-6 (denarii and quinarii of Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, 43-42 BC), 494/1 (aureus of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC), 494/13 (aureus of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and L. Mussidius, 42 BC) and see commentary on p. 740.

[609] For the coins, see: *RRC*, nos. 492/2 (aureus of Mark Antony, 43 BC), 494/1 (aureus of L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC), 494/4 and 7a-b (aurei of L. Mussidius Longus, 42 BC) and less similr heads on nos. 494/10 and 13 (aurei of C. Vibius Varus, 42 BC).

[610] *RRC*, nos. 489/1-6 (denarii and quinarii of Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, 43-42 BC), 494/1 (aureus of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC), 494/13 (aureus of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and L. Mussidius, 42 BC).

[611] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 292.

[612] Hekster 2004: 171.

[613] Guiraud 1986: 338-339; Vollenweider 1979, no. 125.

acts were due to the leaders and sometimes resulted from the bottom-up initiatives of their followers as described above. Portrait gems were very fashionable just as in the first half of the 1st century BC and they illustrate some attempts of personal branding performed by a number of individuals (cat. nos 9.1224-1273, Figures 736-737). The material gathered here as well as by Vollenweider in her monumental study gives us an idea of how considerable was the production of gemstone and glass portrait gems during this period.[614]

Most of the portrait gems present private individuals at various stages of their lives (cat. nos 9.1232-1257, Figures 736-737). There is a small group where private individuals promoted themselves as priests, which supports the view that this kind of self-presentation was meant to highlight special social status also in regard to the triumvirs and other major politicians discussed above (cat. nos 9.1258-1259, Figures 738-739). Furthermore, there is a small group of objects featuring private portraits with some accompanying symbolism that was possibly as in the case of major political figures, supposed to highlight particular issues (cat. nos 9.1260-1263, Figures 740-742). On cat. no. 9.1260, Figure 740 a head of a young man is surrounded by a prow, spear and goat probably suggesting him to be a military commander (spear) entrusting his destiny to Fortuna (rudder) and Ceres whom he might have sacrificed a goat. Another man presents himself with a Silenus mask and club of Heracles which indicate his profession as an actor (cat. no. 9.1261, Figure 741).[615] Victorious athletes were immortalised on intaglios, but there are also examples clearly meant for a promotion, however, the additional symbolism remains obscure to us today (cat. nos 9.1262-1263, Figures 741-742). There is a fairly numerous group of portrait gems accompanied by inscriptions indicating their names and even though it is impossible to decipher and identify most of them today, their role as markers of distinction is clear (cat. nos 9.1264-1269, Figures 743-744). Finally, there is some evidence from the hoards of sealings that portrait gems were used as private seals (cat. nos 9.1270-1273, Figure 745).

It is clear that there is no series of the same person portrayed that would suggest an intentional propagandistic action e.g. personal branding on a massive scale as in the case of the leading statesmen. Based on this, it is concluded that all the minor Roman politicians could achieve was commissioning their private seals bearing their portraits which was already a considerable financial effort. Surely, this kind of self-advertisement was not for everyone and raised social status, but one cannot point to any other activity involving engraved gems that would have resulted in any splendour added to the politician or raising his popularity. The only exception to the rule seems Juba II whose involvement in glyptic art and even studies of gemmology has been partially discussed above (cf. chapter 8.3.1). Here, I would like to mention his portrait gems that exist in six examples (cat. nos 9.1274-1279, Figures 746-747). They are made of both gemstones and glass, and their production certainly was an effect of Juba II's personal interest in glyptics, but since he was strongly influenced by Augustus, he could try to imitate his advertisement through glyptics issuing his own portrait gems too.

9.5. Women and their propaganda significance on engraved gems

So far, I have primarily focused on key male figures of the Roman Republican politics, but it seems that in the second half of the 1st century BC women also played an important role in everyday propaganda. The wives of political leaders served as supporters to their husbands and what is even more important also as examples to follow. The second role seems to be particularly important and successful since there are many gems that one cannot tell if they bear private portraits or the official ones because ordinary women used to imitate the hairstyles or even stylize their facial features on these prominent female figures. If it goes to propaganda techniques which apply to them, basically, one distinguishes two: personal branding and raising or transfer of authority through a comparison or a complete identification with divine figures. The first was meant to make those women popular and recognisable, while the second took them on a higher level of propaganda and was consistent with the techniques used by their male counterparts. For instance, to be credible, in Egypt Mark Antony and Cleopatra needed to adopt a divine rank together since Cleopatra was the link with the gods, true creator of Antony's divine image of *Neos Dionysus* and she was a powerful figure herself with big ambitions. In the case of Octavian, he needed his sister Octavia and wives (especially Livia Drusilla) to support his construction of family divine origins by comparing them to deities like Diana and especially Venus. Later in order to build a dynasty, he needed the divine role of Livia who guaranteed the continuity of his lineage and secured the future of the Julio-Claudian family.

9.5.1. Portraits – personal branding

Regarding the production of female portrait gems in the second half of the 1st century BC, it was Furtwängler who first remarked on this large-scale phenomenon also pointing for a special place for the gems presenting Roman matrons such as Livia Drusilla,

[614] Cf. the number of portraits dated ca. between 50-30 BC illustrated in: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pls. 103.1-11, 105.1-3, 106.1 and 4, 107.1, 5-7, 108.1-5, 109.1-7, 110.1-2, 128.1-3, 138.1-3 and 139.1-2 and 5-7.

[615] See a detailed discussion in:*AGDS* II, no. 416.

Julia and Octavia.[616] Vollenweider delivered much more rich information, however, even she did not grasp the scale of the whole phenomenon and what one might figure out from proportions of the identifiable and unidentifiable gems.[617] Because she focused mainly on the first category, the image one may have from this period portraiture on gems is distorted. I am going to touch on both kinds of portrait gems produced in the second half of the 1st century BC because such an approach offers a more objective judgment of the phenomenon and allows us to measure its potential significance in propaganda activities at that time. In order to best expose the material and the problem of identification of the portraits, first I will comment on the production of identifiable gems and then on those which cannot be securely identified with historical figures.

The first person whose portraits are present on engraved gems in relatively large quantities is Octavia (69-11 BC), the elder sister of Octavian. She was much promoted by her brother in various media on a variety of occasions since she was a part of Octavian's political game and played an important role in his dynastic plans.[618] There are many portraits of her on engraved gems, majority of which are carved on gemstones rather than glass gems (cat. nos 9.1280-1291, Figures 748-750 – for the gemstones and cat. nos 9.1292-1295, Figure 751 – for the glass gems). Naturally, some of the listed examples may not depict Octavia, but even if one or two gems are private portraits, it is an undeniable fact that many intaglios and cameos with her likeness exist.[619] Octavia did not play a key role in Octavian's policy and she was not as independent as Livia, but she was important for Octavian to create his divine ancestry of the Julio-Claudian family and to create his own divine-like image, especially when he struggled for power with Mark Antony and thus, she appears as Diana on an agate plaque discussed above (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2). It should be stressed that Octavia was important for Octavian's policy as from 40 BC she was the wife of Mark Antony. Her marriage with one of the triumvirs was surely one of the reasons why she was promoted in various media, including glyptics (cf. chapter 9.3.2.6).[620] As a sole figure, she was promoted more for family reasons and in the same way as Julia, daughter of Augustus and Livia, his wife, were. Provenance study of the gems presenting Octavia alone does not provide many useful clues except that some objects originate from the collections formed in Rome which may indicate that a substantial portion of Octavia's portrait gems was produced in the city or more broadly in Italy. There are two cameos that may depict her (cat. no. 9.1296-1297, Figure 751-752) and Neverov identified one of the sealings from the hoard discovered in Artashat in Armenia with her too (cat. no. 9.1298, Figure 753). Various dates are proposed for the gems presenting Octavia, however, they do not exceed a period between c. 40 BC and 10 BC. In contrast to Livia, there are no posthumous portraits of Octavia whatsoever which only strengthens the hypothesis that she was advertised on gems as a part of Octavian's plan of the promotion of the Julio-Claudian family.

The most important female character in Octavian and later Augustus propaganda, which aimed to create a strong Julio-Claudian dynasty, was definitely Livia Drusilla (58 BC-AD 29), his third wife whom he married in 37 BC. Only a few portrait gems (intaglios, cameos and glass gems) featuring her portraits are known from the period spanning between 37-27 BC since the majority of them were produced after Octavian was proclaimed Augustus in 27 BC and especially in the early 1st century AD when she was much promoted as the priestess of his posthumous cult (cf. chapter 10.10). Even though the production of Livia's portrait gems prior to 27 BC is not considerable it is still important because these gems were intended to build a strong image of the imperial family (cat. nos 9.1299-1303, Figures 754-755).[621] On those gems, Livia is not presented with divine attributes or references yet. She is the wife of Octavian and that was her role in the first years after their marriage.

The promotion of women belonging to the Julio-Claudian family focused mainly on Octavia and Livia, while Octavian's daughter Julia (39 BC-AD 14) received much less attention not only in glyptic art but also in other media.[622] I was able to collect only a few portrait gems that might depict her, most of them executed on gemstones rather than glass gems (cat. nos 9.1304-1309, Figure 756). Some of these portraits are known to us only from modern impressions and there is no cameo depicting her.[623] It seems that portraits of Julia only supplemented those of Octavia and Livia and because Julia was born to Octavian and his second wife Scribonia, she received less attention.

Apart from women related to Octavian, one does not observe any larger concentrations of female portrait gems. It has been suggested that some objects produced at the time may represent Fulvia (c. 83-40 BC), wife of Mark Antony, Servilia, Porcia, Hortensia or Pompeia,

[616] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 318.
[617] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 223-228.
[618] On these matters, see: Wood 2000: 27-35 and 41-63 (with more literature).
[619] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 226-227.
[620] Wood 2000: 27-28.
[621] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 227-228. Zazoff (1983: 325) mentions portraits of Scribonia on gems, however, these are problematic and, in my opinion, misinterpreted. There was no point to promote Scribonia on gems and coins by Octavian since he focused on his actual wife Livia and does not seem to be interested in the earlier promotion of his family before, he established the Julio-Claudian clan.
[622] See a useful commentary in Wood 2000: 35-40 and 63-75. Regarding glyptics, see: Zazoff 1983: 325; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 125.
[623] Megow 1987: 288.

daughter of Pompey the Great and many others (cat. nos 9.1310-1319, Figures 757-758).[624] However, because their images are scarce on coins and in other media, identifications of their portraits on gems remain largely speculative since apart from these, there were many private portraits of anonymous female figures executed in similar styles, wearing similar coiffures and even copying idealised facial features. Many of them are presented on glass gems of poor quality (cat. nos 9.1320-1337, Figure 759). and some bear inscriptions pointing to the gems' owners' names (cat. nos 9.1338-1341, Figure 760). This makes identification of those portrait gems pointless, but for a more global perspective, the most important is the existence of considerable and distinguishable groups of portrait gems belonging to the women related to Octavian. They show that the propaganda phenomenon in glyptics did not exclude them and in fact only those can be explained due to the political reasons.

There is one more category of portrait gems that escapes traditional categorization, those presenting Cleopatra of Egypt. Her portraits on gems exist but they are not particularly numerous and can be identified if compared to the coins (cat. nos 9.1342-1343). Some of her portraits are cut in the types of gemstones typical for Hellenistic culture (intaglio garnets and cameo sardonyxes) which points to their production in Alexandria, where such materials were more obtainable. Perhaps there are more portrait gems with Cleopatra's likeness, but they remain unidentified, thus, the scale of their production cannot be properly measured. Moreover, as it will be shown in the next sub-chapter, a substantial proportion of Cleopatra's portrait gems present her in the guise of Isis, which was a natural continuation of the old Ptolemaic tradition (cf. chapter 9.5.2 below).

Finally, it should be noted that the tradition of Cleopatra and more broadly the Ptolemaic dynasty was further cultivated by her daughter Cleopatra Selene at the Numidian court of Juba II. Although the two intaglios with Gnaeus' signature recently turned out to be Poniatowski gems (cf. chapter 9.3.2.2), there are some other portraits of Cleopatra Selene (cat. nos 9.1344-1346, Figure 761a-b) which can be interpreted as a form of personal branding practiced through gems by the daughter of Cleopatra and Mark Antony.

9.5.2. Divine and mythological references

In the quest for identification of propaganda gems I try to present an evolutionary model starting from simple, but effective self-presentation activities focusing mainly on personal branding and self-promotion reflected mainly in portrait gems. Other propaganda activities usually appear if the position of a propagandist is well settled so that he can extrapolate to other activities and start to transfer and use the authority of his predecessors and ancestors or make references to divine nature of his patrons. All these activities usually end up with a full identification of a propagandist with a particular deity.

Regarding Roman female historical figures, Vollenweider and Sena Chiesa put forward the idea that many busts and heads of various deities should be in fact interpreted as historical figures in their guises.[625] Such a view was proposed because of the comparison of images appearing on coins and gems together. One of the motifs analysed that way by her was a bust of Victory. Indeed, similarities between these two classes of archaeological material are extensive, but this does not mean the reasons for the similarities were the same in both cases. First, it should be noted that the proportion of gemstone intaglios compared to glass gems is clearly in favour of the latter (cat. nos 9.1347-1364, Figures 762-763). Secondly, some of the gems are inscribed with three initials of the Roman *tria nomina*, possibly possessors of the gems (cat. no. 9.1365, Figure 764). Even a small selection of the material presented in the catalogue makes it clear that there were many types differing in small details and the subject was popular throughout the whole 1st century BC, not in a specific period. Therefore, I believe that the view proposed by Furtwängler, who set the subject of the bust of Victory on gems within a wider class of busts of deities such as Diana, Nemesis Apollo etc., is closer to the truth. He observed similarities between gems and coins too but he proposed that the gems and coins in question were the work of the same artists.[626] Moreover, a detailed analysis of Apollo's heads and busts conducted by Maaskant-Kleibrink reveals that the images on coins and gems were often based on the same prototypes and therefore, they are similar.[627] The prototype for busts of Victory on coins and gems could have been a Hellenistic sculpture.[628] Therefore, the fact that on coins, used by Vollenweider for comparison to the gems, there are references to Roman matrons, does not necessarily mean the same is true in the case of gems. If the bust of Victoria on coins and gems alike had any political meaning it could be different from identification with the goddess. Sena Chiesa observed that the motif appears on coins of Caesar and may stand for *Victoria Caesaris*.[629] Whether the gems were produced for the same reason, e.g. to commemorate Caesar's military victories, cannot be said, but such an explanation is more plausible than identifications with historical figures. Finally, it should be born in mind

[624] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 223-226.

[625] Sena Chiesa 1989: 267-269; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 225.
[626] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 289-290.
[627] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1989/1993.
[628] Platz-Horster 2012, no. 234.
[629] Sena Chiesa 2002: 199.

that a bust of Victory upon a gem could simply mean a wish for personal victory or good luck and thus, had no propaganda meaning whatsoever.

The case of the bust of Victory on 1st century BC gems shows that deciphering the meaning of an image cut upon a gem is often problematic and obscure. Nevertheless, there are some motifs that allow us to be more optimistic as to their potential propagandistic significance. One of them is the bust of Diana which appears on 1st century BC gems quite often in various configurations (cat. nos 9.1366-1369, Figure 765), sometimes carved by the best artists like Pamphilos (cat. no. 9.1369, Figure 765). Similar images appear on coins (Figure 766),[630] but there is a very peculiar large agate plaque now in London, but once in the Marlborough collection, presenting a distinctive idealised portrait bust of a Roman lady as Diana with her dress falling from one shoulder and a spear in front of her (cf. cat. no. 9.280, Figure 431). Generally, the gem is considered to show Octavia, sister of Octavian, in the guise of Diana and it is paired with another large agate plaque showing Octavian as Mercury also now in London. Vollenweider suggested that both gems were carved by one of the top artists of the time – Solon - who possibly worked for Octavian around 30 BC (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2).[631] Nevertheless, a more detailed analysis shows that although very similar, those two pieces are not identical in the stylistic terms and were possibly cut in the same workshop, but not necessary by the same hand.[632] While most of the scholars focus on the objects themselves, much less attention was given to the propagandistic value of these gems. I have already explained the intaglio featuring Octavian as Mercury which relates to the issue of his identification with the god in glyptics as well as in other media (cf. chapters 9.3.1.2 and 9.3.1.8). This was a popular and powerful propaganda message aimed at strengthening his position and respond to divine identifications of Sextus Pompey and Mark Antony, a sort of counter-propaganda. But Octavian seems to have gone further and engaged other members of his family in his propaganda activities. To give them the same rank as his own, he seems to present them as deities as well, therefore, Octavia is paired with him as Diana on another agate plaque. The intention was to create a unified image that laid the foundations for the creation of a new dynasty that would rule Rome. The subtle references to the gods were popular in glyptics because this particular form of art was more private and even though its limited audience may seem an obstacle to propaganda being successful, apparently it was easier to promote some issues first in the circle of close followers through gems and only then more openly to everyone, for instance through coins. It has been suggested above that the gem in question could have been displayed as a pair with the Octavian/Hermes plaque and together, the two promoted the idea of a strong Julio-Claudian family legitimised to rule from the gods. The Octavia/Diana plaque does not seem to be exceptional since in London, there is an intriguing cameo presenting a similar bust of Diana that should probably be identified with Julia, daughter of the future emperor Augustus (cat. no. 9.1370, Figure 767). If the identification is correct, this is another proof of Octavian's efforts towards the creation of a unified family image based on identification with the gods.

Regarding Julia, scholars believed her to have been promoted in the divine guise like Octavia. In her case, two possible identifications were proposed by Vollenweider: Agathe-Tyche and Athena (cat. nos 9.1371-1378, Figures 768-769 and 9.1379, Figure 770 respectively).[633] Nevertheless, regarding the former, recently Weiß convincingly argues that such an identification is impossible, although the motif itself may have some propagandistic meaning e.g. to illustrate *Pax Augusta* and the overall guarantee of peace and prosperity.[634] In the case of a gem from Paris presenting a bust of Athena, Vollenweider believed that the griffin related to Nemesis on the helmet points to Augustus and thus, indirectly to his daughter Julia and her banishment in 2 BC. However, this view has been dismissed by Lapatin and we believe that indeed there was no point in commemorating this event in a so precious medium as an expensive cameo.[635] If by any chance the cameo presents a Julio-Claudian princess, it should be Octavia since she is compared to Athena by some ancient writers.[636]

Concerning the construction of a homogenous dynastic image by Octavian and later Augustus, his wife Livia played the most significant role since she was often compared to Venus Genetrix – mother of the Julio-Claudian clan. Because of her key importance and the fact that the majority of the gems promoting her in this guise was produced under Augustus, her case will be discussed in the next chapter. Overall, it is clear that already before Octavian became Augustus, he started to promote his family, especially women, on intaglios and cameos because he needed to build up a strong image of a dynasty that was destined from the gods to rule Rome. His efforts continued after 27 BC when glyptics became one of the key branches of art for building that image.

630 *RRC*, no. 372 (denarius serratus of A. Postumius Albinus, 81 BC).
631 Vollenweider 1966: 53-54. See also: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 114-115.
632 Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 158.
633 Vollenweider 1979, no. 209; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 67.
634 Weiß 2007, no. 196.
635 Lapatin 2015: 251.
636 Barcaro 2008/2009: 118.

Finally, among Octavian's enemies there is only one female figure who probably promoted herself through engraved gems, the late spouse of Mark Antony – Cleopatra VII of Egypt. Her images as identified with Isis are popular on intaglios and cameos and the existence of the latter suggest that at least some of these Claopatra-Isis busts and heads may have been commissioned by the queen (cat. nos 9.1380-1385, Figures 771-772). Another argument in favour of gems showing Cleopatra-Isis having some political significance are the sealings found in the Edfu hoard which suggest that the image was employed by the Egyptian administration.[637] In fact, Cleopatra's promotion as Isis may be a part of a more ancient phenomenon present at the Ptolemaic court at least from the 2nd century BC.[638] The reason why Cleopatra promoted herself in the guise of Isis is to justify her legitimacy to rule Egypt and her use of this image must have been successful perhaps even official since she is presented as such also when paired with Antony (cf. chapter 9.3.2.7) and references to Antony when she is presented alone also exist as in the case of a garnet in a private collection where a bust of Cleopatra-Isis is surrounded with a vine of *Neos Dionysus* (cat. no. 9.1383, Figure 771). Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the scale of this phenomenon cannot be properly judged since as Zwierlein-Diehl and I myself observe, some of the Isis busts and heads can show just the goddess, whose cult was increasingly popular in the late 1st century BC in the Roman Empire.[639] Besides, Cleopatra herself is reported to have used a ring with an amethyst engraved with the image of Methe – the personification of drunkness - , which was believed to protect against inebriation, a hardly political, but rather personal choice of subject-matter.[640]

[637] Smith 1988: 14 (with more literature).
[638] On this issue, see: Boardman and Vollenweider 1978, no. 290; Plantzos 1999: 52-54; Spier, Potts and Cole 2018: 194.
[639] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 86; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 270.
[640] *Anthologia Palatina*, IX.756; Neverov 2005: 189; Spier 1992, no. 180.

10. Augustus (27 BC-AD 14)

The year 27 BC was a landmark in Octavian's politics as he was appointed Augustus by the Senate and this resulted in a considerable change in his propaganda. Military and other accomplishments of the first emperor of Rome were still a basis for self-promotion, but religious devotion now became increasingly important. Subjects addressing issues like *Res Publica Restituta*, *Pax Augusta* and *Aurea Aetas* became fashionable and Augustus used to emphasise his modesty and respect for old Roman traditions. As Zanker observes, glorification of the *princeps* now was more stimulated by the Senate, city councils and private individuals while the emperor's self-promotion was restrained.[1] This general trend is observable in glyptics to a greater degree than in other branches of Roman art because of the more private character of glyptic art that always allowed the owner to do more without any loss of modesty and piety. A general observation for the last decades of the 1st century BC and first ones of the 1st century AD is that extraordinarily complex and powerful messages are replaced by solemn compositions and the united, peaceful and prosperous tone of Classicism, although rich and meaningful symbolism was still in fashion.[2] The art of this age became eclectic and regarding glyptics, the imperial court workshop was established which promoted new trends that were eagerly taken up by lesser workshops. For this reason, even the insignificant private seals and objects of personal adornment or even collecting follow the large-scale works, and all speak the same propaganda language.[3] These aspects were also important elements of Augustus' propaganda since gems, like the architecture and art of the period in general reflected the needs and goals of the ruler.[4] The Empire was reborn under the firm grip of one man who apart from caring for his own public image must have established his own dynasty and glyptic art reflects his attempts to do this very well.

10.1. Collecting

There is some ambiguity in the literary sources regarding Augustus' direct involvement in gem collecting and their deposition in the temples of Rome as in the case of Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar. As explained before, most likely when Octavian reached Alexandria there were very few gems there since the rich collections of the Ptolemies had probably been already exploited by Caesar many years before (cf. chapter 8.2.1). Thus, the information given by Suetonius about Octavian's modesty, who among the great treasuries of Alexandria took only one agate cup (possibly a *muhrrine* vessel) is most likely a misleading act of propaganda which was consistent with his new image of a modest and pious ruler that survived many years after his reign.[5] However, Suetonius describing various accomplishments of the first emperor mentions that he offered a considerable amount of gold, pearls and other precious stones to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[6] Using this evidence some scholars concluded that Augustus was somehow involved in gem collecting.[7] Indeed, when Octavian reached Alexandria, he must have encountered some jewels accumulated during the reign of Cleopatra and Antony since he decorated the statue of Venus Genetrix in her temple at the Forum Iulii with pearls once belonging to the queen of Egypt.[8] Interestingly, Marcellus (42-23 BC), son of Octavia and the first Julio-Claudian prince appointed by Augustus to be his heir, bequeathed one dactyliotheca of gems to the Temple of Apollo at the Palatine Hill.[9] There is no specific information about his interest in glyptic art and the origin of his cabinet despite a brief mention in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*,[10] but the fact that he placed his collection in a temple which had a special meaning for Augustus suggests that this was a deliberate act of propaganda when the future emperor shows his modesty and abandons his private fortune which could then be used by Augustus himself.

A similar case might be Livia who was said by Pliny to have offered the famous stone once set in the ring of Polycrates of Samos, but now in a drinking horn to the Temple of Concord in Rome, however, even the writer doubts whether it was indeed the same stone as mentioned first by Herodotus.[11] Be that as it may, from our perspective it is important that such events were recorded by Pliny which means they were important and must have made big impact on the audience, otherwise he would not have bothered about them. In this case, it was not the number of gems donated but their quality and historical value that was important, and Livia like Marcellus probably offered them for purely political reasons, building up her positive public

[1] Zanker 1988: 92.
[2] Sena Chiesa 2012: 266.
[3] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: 91.
[4] Fulińska 2017: 67-68; Heilmeyer, La Rocca and Martin (eds) 1988; Zanker 1988: 5.
[5] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 71.
[6] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 30. See also commentaries on this issue in: Casagrade-Kim 2018: 104; Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 304; Plantzos 1999: 105; Vollenweider 1966: 18; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 108-109.
[7] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 31.
[8] Toso 2007: 5, note 17.
[9] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.5.
[10] Lapatin 2015: 118.
[11] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVIII.4 – who mentions that the stone donated by Livia was sardonyx, while Herodotus describes that the ring of Polycrates of Samos was emerald (3.40.41). See also: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 10.

image. I believe that all the performances described here were purely propagandistic in character and the intention was to build a positive image of all the donors. In the times of Augustus private collections of gems could also be created, for example by Maecenas, one of Augustus' advisors, who was generally interested in glyptic art as stated by Macrobius, and Pliny mentions his seal featuring a frog that scared those who saw it because the image announced monetary imposts.[12]

10.2. Gem engravers working for Augustus

As proven in the previous chapter, Octavian already prior to becoming Augustus employed gem engravers to cut propaganda gems for him. Although one does not have ultimate proof, it seems very likely that Octavian controlled glyptic production in Rome to some degree or at least strongly influenced the craft based on the number of propaganda gems produced for him. The evidence for Augustus organising a glyptic workshop at his court after 27 BC is much more certain. It is supposed that the victory at Actium resulted in an influx of gem engravers from Alexandria and other eastern workshops to Rome where the artists could find new patrons and customers for their craft.[13] Among the artists who supposedly migrated to Rome to work for Augustus is Sostratos, a gem engraver previously working for Cleopatra and Mark Antony (cf. chapter 9.3.2.3). His signed work presenting Nike slaughtering a bull is believed to be an allusion to Augustus' success in the retrieval of legionary standards from the Parthians celebrated around 20 BC or his victory over Armenia which in about 20 BC became a client kingdom of the Roman Empire (cat. no. 10.1, Figure 773).[14]

Glyptic art under Augustus was strongly influenced by the ideology promoted by the emperor, thus, one observes that the repertoire of motifs cut by several artists was often adjusted to or shaped by it. For instance, this is the case with Aulos, who is known to have been working for the Numidian king Juba II (cf. chapter 8.3.1), and to whom one attributes intaglios presenting Nike slaughtering a bull as well as a bust of Kassandra (cat. nos 10.2, Figure 774 and 10.3-4, Figures 775-776 respectively). The subject-matter of these gems is consistent with Augustan ideology which concentrated on allegorical motifs relating to the mythical foundations of Rome as the emperor wanted to be perceived as the new Romulus.[15] For this reason, Vollenweider suggested that Aulos was one of the carvers working for Augustus and her theory seems reasonable.[16] Similarly, Gnaeus, who perhaps worked for Juba II (cf. chapters 8.3.1, 9.3.2.2 and 9.5.1), might have cut some gems for Augustus as well and the intaglio presenting Diomedes stealing the Palladion is the best proof of that (cat. no. 10.5, Figure 777).[17] Another artist is even more interesting since Felix not only could have worked directly for Augustus but he possibly also executed private commissions, for example that of Calpurnius Severus with an intaglio featuring the rape of the Palladion, which was possibly a gift to the emperor or a sort of imitation of Augustus' lifestyle by this individual (cat. no. 10.6, Figure 778 and see a discussion in chapter 10.7).[18] This work of art is a perfect example of the success of Augustan propaganda. The new ideology was widely accepted and the fact that citizens of whatever rank attempted to please their ruler or follow his example only confirms that.

Zwierlein-Diehl suggests that Thamyras could have worked for Augustus and was the engraver of the famous intaglio from Boston presenting Octavian as Neptune,[19] however, as proved above, this attribution is unlikely (cf. cat. no. 9.283, Figure 434 and discussion in chapter 9.3.1.2). As argued above, the next engraver who plausibly worked for Augustus is Solon. I have explained his possible contributions to Octavian's propaganda and he might have continued to work for Augustus in the early 20s BC but I believe he played the main role at the court workshop in the 30s BC (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2).[20] Most likely his position became secondary when Augustus employed Dioscurides at his court, but still, Solon's intaglio presenting Diomedes stealing the Palladion is more appropriate for Augustan than Octavian's propaganda.[21]

Regarding Dioscurides, he is the first engraver about whom one has reliable evidence in both archaeological material and literary sources that he was appointed an official Roman imperial gem engraver.[22] Pliny and Suetonius alike inform us that Dioscurides, who was originally from Aigai in Asia Minor, cut the seal for Augustus with the emperor's own portrait.[23] This issue will be broadly commented on in the next sub-chapter (10.3). The analysis of all known genuine surviving works of the artist shows that only a few of his cameos and intaglios like the ones presenting Diomedes stealing the Palladion (cat. no. 10.7) or Heracles (cat. no. 9.823, Figure 605) bear subjects consistent with Augustan

[12] Macrobius, 2.4; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4. See also an extensive commentary on the possible meanings of frog on gems in: Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 88.
[13] Möbius 1964; Plantzos 1999: 94-95; Vollenweider 1966: 47-80.
[14] Vollenweider 1966: 36; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 156.
[15] Zanker 1988: 201-210.
[16] Vollenweider 1966: 41-43.
[17] Zazoff 1983: 288.
[18] Vollenweider 1966: 43; Zazoff 1983: 287; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 119 and 122.
[19] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 121.
[20] But see also other opinion: Vollenweider 1966: 49-56.
[21] Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 154.
[22] Henig 1994: 153.
[23] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.8; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 1; Instinsky 1962: 35-38.

ideology.[24] Like Plantzos, I am not entirely convinced that Dioscurides indeed first worked for Julius Caesar and was later was taken over by Augustus since Solon seems to have played the dominant role in Octavian's production of propaganda gems in the 30s BC, but this popular view cannot be entirely dismissed.[25] It is known that Dioscurides had three sons (Herophilos, Eutyches and Hyllos) who all probably worked in the workshop founded by their father and on commissions from Augustus, especially where portraits of Julio-Claudian princes are concerned.[26] Their individual works will be fully commented on in the next sub-chapters, but it is noteworthy that their subjects often tie in to the Augustan political and cultural programme. The best illustrations of that are two intaglios signed by Hyllos, one presenting a bust of Apollo Palatinus and the second a bull trampling on a thyrsus (cat. nos 10.8-9, Figures 779-780, cf. also discussion in chapter 9.3.1.8). As to the latter, Furtwängler thought the combination of a bull with thyrsus represented Dionysus so that he did not recognise the subject as having any political significance.[27] Yet, it was all too clear to Vollenweider that the bull standing on a thyrsus may be an allegory of Augustus' victory over Mark Antony.[28] This hypothesis is possible given the fact that Hyllos as a son of Dioscurides worked for Augustus and could use an allegorical subject to commemorate the Actium victory. It is noteworthy that together Dioscurides and his sons created a sort of dynasty of gem engravers delivering top quality works of glyptic art to the imperial court.

As suggested by Vollenweider, there were other artists working with them in the same workshop as well.[29] One of them was Epitynchanos whose works in terms of style, composition and quality are very close to these of Dioscurides so that it is clear that he must have been a pupil of this famous artist and he produced cameos with portraits of Julio-Claudian princes (cf. chapter 10.10).[30] In conclusion, Augustus was able to create an official imperial court workshop which produced gems to fulfil his needs and desire for luxurious jewellery. This was a well-organised mechanism serving the emperor's propaganda since the artists under Augustan patronage cut their gems with images consistent with the ideology promoted by their patron. The form of this patronage is very similar to if not the same as that known from the Hellenistic world where rulers often employed gem engravers to cut gems for them.[31] The official glyptic workshop active at the imperial court not only helped to express, present and promote Augustan ideology and the cultural programme, as the works of Dioscurides and his sons were copied by less skilful Roman engravers, but also the employment of top artists in this field clearly raised Augustus' social status. He could afford to use the services of the best artists available who generated fashion and official style, while promoting a positive image and ideology of the ruler. Moreover, the employment of Solon, Dioscurides and others resembles to some degree Alexander the Great's employments of one specific artist for each branch of art and can be perceived as a form of *imitatio Alexandri*.

10.3. The final seal of Augustus

Dioscurides was the main gem engraver working for Augustus; Pliny and Suetonius tell us that he cut the final seal of the emperor featuring his portrait and this seal was later used by other Roman emperors from the Julio-Claudian family.[32] Cassius Dio also mentions that Augustus used a seal with his own likeness to seal all kinds of documents and letters he issued, but according to him, this seal was used by Roman emperors until Galba took the throne.[33] Augustus' final seal is considered lost, although several have been proposed to be taken as such among which the most plausible is an exceptional ruby intaglio with a wreathed head of Augustus to the right in the Guy Ladrière collection in Paris (cat. no. 10.10, Figure 781a-b), thus, the testimony from Pliny is particularly valuable since he highlights that Augustus' portrait on the stone presented an excellent likeness of the actual image of the emperor.[34] According to Plantzos, this probably should not be taken literally, but most likely Pliny meant that Dioscurides' work was entirely Classicising in character and the portrait must have been strongly idealised, canonical and followed the general type established by Augustus.[35] For this reason, Zwierlein-Diehl supposes that it could have looked very much like Augustus' Prima Porta portrait type.[36]

However, the ruby intaglio from the Guy Ladrière collection meets all the conditions one would expect from an imperial seal. It is cut in an exceptional material since Roman ruby intaglios are exceedingly rare and the stone is rather big for a regular ruby. Moreover, as Giard observed, Augustus' nose from the Ladrière ruby is very much like the one described by Suetonius, which suggests the engraver was close to his subject, and the leaves of the wreath are of the form more typical for oak than laurel.[37] Thus, the image, even if in the classical Prima Porta type, is clearly individualised and

[24] Plantzos 1999: 86 and 96-97; Vollenweider 1966: 58-60.
[25] Henig 2007: 4; Plantzos 1999: 97; Vollenweider 1966: 57-58.
[26] Vollenweider 1966: 65-70; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 117-121.
[27] Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLV.11, vol. II: 218.
[28] Vollenweider 1966, pl. 78.1–2 and 4, pp. 70, 118–119.
[29] Vollenweider 1966, pp. 74-80.
[30] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 122.
[31] Plantzos 1999: 63-64 and 97.
[32] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 50.
[33] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 51.3.5-7.
[34] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4.
[35] Plantzos 1999: 97.
[36] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 12.
[37] Giard 1975: 70.

the quality of engraving is exceptional especially given the extreme hardness of corundum material used. The problem is that one does not expect a personal seal of Augustus to be signed by Dioscurides and the material of which it was made is not specified in ancient literary sources. Furthermore, the orientation of the portrait on the Ladrière ruby seems wrong for a seal as it should be facing right on an impression, not left. Finally, it is noteworthy that Dioscurides' style usually displays subtle refinements as observed not only in the case of his figural compositions but also portraits like the one of Demosthenes cut in amethyst in the Sangiorgi collection.[38] This is not totally absent in the case of the ruby gem in question and might be a result of the difficult material used, but I agree with Giard who noticed that Augustus' head from the intaglio depicts him as elderly and it resembles the one known from the coins minted from 2 BC onwards (Figure 782).[39] Such a late date for Dioscurides' work is unacceptable. The previous seals of Octavian have been described above and it is reasonable to follow Instinsky's and Zwierlein-Diehl's views that the new seal with Augustus' own portrait was cut for him in 27 BC. The new seal combined with the new image of Octavian would match his new rank of emperor and title of *Augustus*.[40] Therefore, in my opinion, the Ladrière ruby might be a later work of one of Dioscurides' sons rather than Dioscurides himself. It is expected that the imperial court workshop produced many exceptional intaglios with Augustus' image and the ruby described here is definitely such a product.[41]

Whatever the final seal of Augustus looked like, it was a clear propaganda manifestation since no other ruler before or after him had his own portrait depicted upon a private seal except for Alexander the Great. So, even though the image of the Macedonian king from the previous seal was replaced by the *princeps*, the way he introduced his new seal might be viewed as another clever variation of *imitatio Alexandri* because Alexander the Great also used to employ one specific artist who could engrave his image upon gems – Pyrgoteles - and now Augustus did the same with Dioscurides.[42] The propagandistic value of Augustus' new seal could not be higher; he was confirming his absolute dominance in the Roman Empire and the focus was given to his own person. Lack of modesty in this act seems strange and inappropriate to the general principles of Augustan propaganda, but glyptics was a very peculiar branch of art that allowed the owner to realise desires that would not have been accepted in other media. Supposedly Augustus could then fulfil his personal goal, but even more important is that his portrait became an official symbol of the Roman State. The importance of this is best illustrated by the fact that when seriously ill, Augustus gave his ring to Agrippa appointing him his successor.[43] The seal was now a symbol of continuity of the Roman Empire, hence, it was used by all the emperors from the Julio-Claudian dynasty or even up to the Severan era.[44]

10.4. Portraits – personal branding induction and manifestation of loyalty

In the chapter devoted to Octavian, I have made clear that his portraits combined with a variety of symbolism constituted one of the most significant and meaningful categories of his propaganda gems. The aim was personal branding combined with the creation of a positive public image. After the battle of Actium this trend in Octavian's propaganda still existed, but it was gradually replaced with more classical portraits of Augustus that bear just his likeness and only seldom some additional symbols (cat. nos 10.11-27, Figures 783-785). There is no clear shift in the iconography though, or at least one cannot discern it as in the case of sculpture because very often Octavian/Augustus' images were schematically cut upon tiny gemstones and the quality of glass gems might be another misleading factor. Therefore, some of the portraits gathered here could have been executed in the late 30s or early 20s BC,[45] however, most of them are distinguishable because they follow the new type of Augustus portrait – *Prima Porta* – introduced around 27 BC.[46] The harmonious proportions combined with calm, noble, elevated expression of the face and careful, neat arrangement of hair on the head resulted in a resolutely Classicising portrait, very different from the previous youthful image based on Roman Republican canons. One finds these features on Augustus' images which after 27 BC were cut upon gemstones and moulded in glass gems until his death. Some examples are very close to coins, for instance the emerald in Leiden (cat. no. 10.19, Figure 783) mirrors the image from aurei minted c. 19-18 BC (Figure 786).[47] While earlier mass-produced cheap glass gems were much more numerous than gemstones, now the proportions are more equal which probably is due to the fact that Augustan propaganda was not so intensive, at least in terms of glyptics, as during the Civil War. If one believes that many gems during the Civil War served as tokens allowing the owner to mark political affinity, now, when the war was over, this motivation among

[38] Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 107.
[39] For example: *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 210 (denarius of Augustus, 2 BC-AD 4); Giard 1975: 71.
[40] Instinsky 1962: 36-38; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 12.
[41] Although on other grounds, Giard came to similar conclusion, see: Giard 1975: 72.
[42] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4; Baldus 1987; Plantzos 1999: 60; Rush 2012: 5 and 57-58.
[43] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 53.30.
[44] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 51.3.4-7; Instinsky 1962: 37-38.
[45] For instance Platz-Horster suggests date 30-20 BC for a glass cameo in Berlin since according to her the portrait is in the Actium type (so-called 'Alcundia'), see: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 338.
[46] Zanker 1988: 98-100.
[47] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 29a-32.

Augustus' followers must have been limited. It is clear that official art inspired lower status art and most likely, the imperial court workshop created pieces that were copied and disseminated by common engravers. As already mentioned, gems simply bearing portraits of Augustus were widespread, but the new image required an element that would highlight the divine power of the emperor in a very subtle way. This was obtained by putting a laurel wreath on Augustus' head and intaglios made of gemstones and glass bearing this image are abundant (cat. nos 10.28-42, Figures 787-789). The wreath was originally the decoration of triumphators, but under Augustus it became a customary emperor's insignium and on a personal level, it visualised his relationship with Apollo. Nevertheless, the popularity of bare heads and busts of Augustus on intaglios and cameos (see above) might be explained as deliberate. For the emperor wanted his image to be popularised in a simple form without any divine or triumphal references to make it more acceptable to the people of Rome.[48] This way Augustus did not separate himself from the common people, an approach which should of itself be treated as a propaganda practice.

It is noteworthy that some of the gems are cut in exceptional materials like ruby, sapphire and emerald which were virtually unknown before in Roman glyptics. It is evident that the conquest of Egypt and the establishment of peace in the eastern provinces of the Empire resulted in the reestablishment of the long-distance gem trade. Access to the new materials, which must have been hugely expensive, suggests that these objects were produced in the imperial court workshop or on the private commissions of the wealthiest and most influential people who proudly carried them to show their sympathy to the *princeps* or tried to follow Augustus' example in showing their taste for exceptional and rare gemstones.[49] Some of them could have been gifted to the emperor surely also when the giver was counting on his support in times of need. Only a few bear signatures which are clear testimonies of this practice (cat. nos 10.43-44, Figure 790). What is more, it seems that sometimes identification with the ruler was more advanced as some private portraits on gems are clearly based on Augustus' official image (cat. nos 10.45-48, Figure 791). Manifestation of loyalty by using a seal with the emperor's image is also noticeable on sealings in distant provinces like Cyrenaica and Syria/Mesopotamia. In the archives of Cyrene and Zeugma one encounters sealings with Augustus' image which were possibly used by the authorities of the cities (cat. nos 10.49-53, Figure 792). This illustrates that the local aristocracy tended to highlight its relationship with the emperor, who usually appointed them to posts in local government. This was mutually beneficial because they could show themselves as being supported by the emperor and Augustus became increasingly popular thanks to them as they popularised his image in a positive way. The same mechanism functioned well in other branches of art since many cities put up statues of Augustus and installed them in important public places and the emperor's image repeatedly appeared on silverware and Arretine terra-cotta vessels alike.[50] It is noteworthy that in the case of Zeugma, the images from the sealings are comparable to the ones present in the local coinage and in the case of one example, Augustus' portrait is accompanied with the inscription ANT (cat. no. 10.53, Figure 793) suggesting Antioch as the name of a province.[51] These are further proofs for the view that some gems with Augustus' portraits were cut in local workshops throughout the Empire and then used by local governors, although analysis of the material amassed in the catalogue part of this book suggests that as before, most intaglios of this sort were manufactured in Rome and Italy, including the highly important gem cutting centre in Aquileia. Concerning the manifestation of loyalty and portraits of Augustus, an interesting specimen is a double-sided intaglio from the Berry collection featuring an unfinished male portrait and the zodiacal sign of Augustus – Capricorn (cat. no. 10.54, Figure 793a-b). A private person was clearly here showing his support for the emperor using one of the main symbols of his propaganda, unless Capricorn is a private horoscope. But more evidence for such an act comes from another stone in the British Museum featuring Capricorn and the inscription: IVL DAVAMAGVS suggesting the intaglio owner to have been a member of the Julian family who manifested his affiliation to the imperial family (cat. no. 10.55, Figure 794).

During the reign of Augustus, the most significant change in terms of portrait gems is the production of a great number of cameos, unprecedented in Roman glyptic art.[52] Although single cameos were produced for Pompey the Great, Cassius, Octavian and Mark Antony (cf. chapters 8.1.5, 9.2.2, 9.3.1.4 and 9.3.2.3 respectively), these were possibly carved in the East. Once Augustus won the battle of Actium, many skilful Greek gem engravers migrated to Rome where they sought new commissioners. The establishment of an imperial court workshop was a continuation of Hellenistic traditions and contributed to the rise in popularity of this glyptic art form which was meant to support Augustus' promotion of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (cf. chapter 10.10 below).[53] Cameos were perfect for the new type of

[48] Zwierlein-Diehl 2008: 124.

[49] This view seems justified because as Zanker states: 'Apparently many private individuals used the new symbols on their seals, judging from the dolphins, ships, and prows that occur, together with the victor's likeness, on stones and glass paste from seal rings.' (1988: 84).

[50] Zanker 1988: 267.

[51] Compare: RPC I, no. 4251, pl. 161.

[52] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 38-39; Jucker 1982; Megow 1987: 1-20; Möbius 1985; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 146-147.

[53] Guiraud 1996: 130; Megow 1987: 2.

power established in Rome because they were luxurious products expressing the prestige and power of the ruler and his inner circle, hence, their social significance was considerable.[54] As a result, many pieces featuring portraits of the first emperor of Rome were created in those days. These include his standard portraits without attributes and wreaths (cat. nos 10.56-64, Figures 795-796) and the laureate ones (cat. nos 10.65-75, Figures 797-799). It can be only speculated that Dioscurides and his sons were authors of some the most valuable cameo portraits showing Augustus. According to Megow, who till now has researched this issue in the greatest detail, those cameos were a powerful means of propaganda since they could have been displayed by the emperor in his palaces and gifted to his followers, family members and friends as a form of valuable donations and contributed to his personal branding.[55] On the other hand it seems very likely that private commissions were equally popular since cameos with portraits of Augustus have been found in Aquileia, Izmir and other locations outside Rome (cat. nos 10.68-70).[56] Some of them have been found in Rome or Italy in a broader sense. Glass cameos that were probably commissioned by the people of Rome are also important and all this evidence together suggest that the cult of Augustus as the emperor of Rome was practised with the use of gems throughout his whole reign. The dates of individual objects vary and sometimes are difficult to precisely establish, yet all belong to the same phenomenon.

10.5. Commemoration and State Cameos

In 27 BC Octavian was granted by the Senate the title *Augustus* and received an oak wreath (*corona civica*) for finishing the Civil War and rescuing all his fellow citizens (*ob cives servatos*). This reward was exceptional because according to Pliny, during the Roman Republic it was regarded as the second highest military distinction to which a citizen could aspire only for rescuing a comrade in battle.[57] But one should remember that the *corona civica* was also regarded as the emblem of *pater patriae*. Although Augustus received this title considerably later in 2 BC, the oak wreath received by him in 27 BC might have symbolised his paternal role to the people of Rome. In other words, it emphasised Augustus' role as the sole leader of the Roman Empire.[58] He became the emperor of Rome and the year 27 BC marked a substantial change in the public image that Augustus wanted to propagate. His main success in the battle of Actium was still promoted, but in a different way than before, more subtly and with greater dignity. For the emphasis was put on the success of the great man himself, hence, in art and propaganda glorification was now closely connected with self-promotion rather than the punishment of Antony and conquest of the East.[59] The new image of Augustus has already been discussed above and the evidence for its wide dissemination in glyptics is overwhelming if compared to the production of portrait gems in the preceding centuries. Commemoration of various events was equally important for Augustus since it helped him to establish the image of an always successful ruler and true leader of the Roman Empire.

There is a good number of cameos and intaglios commemorating the granting of the titles *Augustus* and *Princeps* to Augustus by the Senate (cat. nos 10.76-91, Figures 800, 801-807 and 810-811). One of them is the Imperial Eagle Cameo now housed in Vienna (cat. no. 10.76, Figure 800). It is one of the largest surviving cameos from antiquity, perfectly encapsulating the status of the cameos cut in the imperial court workshop. This piece is not only a glorification of Roman power and the State, but it also alludes to Augustus' divine patron – Jupiter - for whom the eagle was a sacred bird and oak the sacred plant. On the cameo, the bird stands on a palm branch making an allusion to the victory at Actium in 31 BC for which Augustus obtained the *corona civica* – the highest military award possible, as he saved many lives of his fellow Roman citizens.[60] This extraordinary artwork was possibly meant to be displayed in public judging by its dimensions and exceptional workmanship. The touch of a Greek Hellenistic hand is noticeable in the quality of engraving and the selection of the material proves the item to be of the highest status possible.[61] We would be justified in thinking that this cameo is an imperial court workshop product perhaps commissioned by Augustus to immortalize his success in the pursuit of sole rule.[62] Zanker even thinks that the cameo was the first work of art illustrating this and the motif was then frequently copied or served as a source of inspiration for gem engravers and coin die makers alike.[63] This is evidenced by the surviving glass gems which were mass products circulating within Roman society at the time and slightly later (cf. cat. no. 10.584, Figure 937). The oak wreath and eagle now became universal symbols of the imperial power that was approved by the chief god of the Roman pantheon and they appear on a special issue of aurei struck in 27 BC (Figure 801) as well as becoming a decorative element in relief and sculpture.[64]

[54] Sena Chiesa 2012: 272-273.
[55] Megow 1987: 138-139.
[56] Sena Chiesa shares the view of Megow about usefulness of these cameos in Augustus' propaganda, see: 2009: 90-91.
[57] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XVI.5.
[58] Later, it became a prerogative for the Roman emperors to be awarded the Civic Crown, for example Tiberius, see: Flory 1995: 53.
[59] Zanker 1988: 79.
[60] Hannestad 1988: 40.
[61] Lapatin 2015: 251.
[62] For a detailed discussion of the Imperial Eagle Cameo from Vienna, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 4.
[63] Zanker 1988: 93.
[64] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 457-458; *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 277; Zanker 1988: 93-94.

Augustus is also sometimes presented on his coins as wearing the oak wreath on his head throughout his whole reign (Figure 802),[65] and he does so on several cameos manufactured probably shortly after 27 BC. Some even faithfully copy the images from coins as their rims are milled in the same way (cat. nos 10.77-80, Figures 803-804). This element is extremely important because as Zanker states, under Augustus it had acquired a new meaning. It was originally rooted in the military sphere, but the oak tree was sacred to Jupiter. The eagle of Jupiter on this cameo from Vienna and aurei from 27 BC carries the oak wreath in order to display Augustus' badge together with the god. This idea is best illustrated by another cameo from Vienna presenting Augustus as Alexander the Great-Jupiter (cf. chapter 10.6). It is possible that some of these portrait cameos could have been carved around 20 BC on the occasion of the retrieval of legionary standards from the Parthians as they could intentionally reproduce the new image of the great emperor.[66] Intaglios were also cut with this image, but in a different variant since the head of Augustus usually appears within the oak wreath (cat. nos 10.81-83, Figures 805-806). This image is traditionally interpreted as an allusion to the battle of Actium, but its primary propaganda message was the commemoration of the events from 27 BC.[67] Owing to their special, luxurious value, cameos and intaglios were far more valuable and meaningful objects of propaganda if given to a supporter or displayed in the imperial palaces. The relationship between Augustus and Jupiter could be understood and accepted in the private sphere to which gems belonged, in a far more monarchical way than in official, public means like coins. Zanker suggests that the crown was more like the Hellenistic diadem – a symbol of royal power to which Augustus aspired.[68] The relatively small number of Augustus portrait cameos with oak wreath on the head compared to his laureate and bare portraits supports the view that even in 27 BC and later, Augustus' propaganda must have been carefully tailored to the means and channels it used. The fact that a few glass cameos and intaglios bear his oak-wreathed image indicates that the official art was influential and ordinary people wished to have their patron illustrated that way too which accounts for the widespread cult of the *Princeps*.

In 27 BC the Senate granted Octavian not only new titles but also a golden, honorific shield (*clipeus virtutis*) which was displayed in the meeting hall of the Curia Iulia ever since. The shield was inscribed with four of the most important Roman virtues: *virtus*, *pietas*, *clementia* and *iustitia* and was quickly introduced to the Augustan propaganda repertoire. Like the *corona civica* and eagle, this was the next modest symbol alluding to the basic old Roman values and honours which were consistent with the new image of Augustus. It is observed that starting from 27 BC Augustan propaganda had a different character and many times its impetus was initiated by the bottom up activities of individuals.[69] For every single Roman citizen was free to choose his intaglio device, yet during the reign of Augustus, some motifs experienced particular popularity and were deliberately chosen which can be explained only as the result of highly successful propaganda campaigns.[70] A good illustration of this is Victory presenting a *clipeus virtutis* appearing on a number of intaglios produced in the Age of Augustus which resembles the depictions known from coins and in some cases the shield is even decorated with a male head, possibly that of Octavian/Augustus (cat. nos 10.84-89, Figures 807-809).[71] She is in the Curia Iulia type imitating the statue placed there by Octavian after his victory at Actium (cf. the discussion in chapter 9.3.1.7) and sometimes stands on a globe confirming Augustus' domination on land and sea.[72] Many of these gems are made of glass which points to their mass-production for common people. This is a perfect example of the considerable influence of official art on ordinary craftsmanship which is evident after 27 BC as such gems were intended to commemorate the titles, nominations and honours Octavian received.

The employment of the *clipeus virtutis* in glyptics was long-lasting and sometimes received a more sophisticated form being used for complex compositions like two cameos featuring the laureate portrait of Augustus between two Capricorns dated c. AD 10-14 according to the portrait analysis (cat. nos 10.90-91, Figures 810-811).[73] In these cases, Augustus' astrological sign of Capricorn was utilised too, and the heraldic composition may point to Hellenistic origins so that the artists, although working on Roman commissions, approached the subject according to their Hellenistic habits which might be coincidental or deliberate if the pieces were intended for Augustan propaganda.[74] The cameo now in New York is said to have been found in Egypt, while the one from Berlin was purchased in Rome. If this information is reliable, the uniformity of glyptic art under Augustus is surprising despite the large distance between the places where the two cameos were discovered.

[65] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 33a-b, 35-38, 46-49, 278, 285, 293, 298, 308, 316, 409, 411 and 414.
[66] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 716.
[67] On the possible references to the battle of Actium, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 561.
[68] Zanker 1988: 93-94.
[69] Zanker 1988: 92.
[70] Zanker 1988: 265-266.
[71] For the coins, see: *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 31-32, 45-49, 61-62, 88-95.
[72] She appears as such on several series of aurei minted ca. 18-17 BC, see: *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 121-123.
[73] Platz-Horster 2012, no. 33.
[74] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 318; Richter 1956, no. 649; Sena Chiesa 2009b: 83-84.

Most of the gems reflecting Octavian's victory at Actium in 31 BC have already been discussed in chapter 9.3.1.7, but the fact is that this great success was very much promoted not only just after the battle, but for many subsequent years. This is observed in the architecture, sculpture and the coinage of the first Roman emperor.[75] However, the approach to the celebration of this particular success changed after 27 BC when Octavian became Augustus. The Actium Cameo in Vienna illustrates this in the best way possible because it uses a new pictorial language encapsulating both the panegyrics and social effects of the victory for the people of Rome (cat. no. 10.92, Figure 812). It was now also focused on glorification of the *princeps* thus, the sea-chariot pulled by four tritons is driven by *Genius Augusti* not the Octavian-Neptune semi-god as in the case of the intaglio in Boston (cf. cat. no. 9.283, Figure 434 and discussion in chapter 9.3.1.2).[76] The piece combines all the symbols introduced in 27 BC into one meaningful and thus powerful image since the tritons hold globes surmounted with Victory holding the *corona civica*, the *clipeus virtutis* framed by an oak wreath and two Capricorns flanking another golden shield framed by an oak wreath. The message transmitted here is clear – without the victory at Actium, there would not have been a restoration of the Republic and consequently a guarantee of peace and prosperity to the people of Rome.[77] All of this is due to one man – Augustus - who is not a mediator between the people and the gods anymore, but a principal author of the common success.

Another cameo, housed in St. Petersburg, may be deciphered in the same way because the head of Augustus is surrounded with the following symbols: Capricorn, *clipeus virtutis*, caduceus, trident, hand with *aplustre* and altar with laurel branches (cat. no. 10.93, Figure 813). The inscription one reads as follows: OCT. CAES. AVG. MA. RQ. VOT. PVB. TER is a modern addition hence it has no significance. Although there are references to all Augustan patron-deities, his head is in the centre of the composition and is clearly the most important element of the iconography. It is noteworthy that Apollo, so far the most important supporter of Octavian, is presented on an equal level with the other deities. Morawiecki claimed that this is because Augustus never wanted him to dominate the pantheon of Roman gods, but to my mind Augustus wanted to emphasise his primary role in the success which is consistent with his new ideology and attempts to elevate his own legend to the divine level.

The idea of the Battle of Actium as the starting point for the restoration of the Roman Republic and for Augustus personally the moment of his unquestionable dominance is well expressed in glyptic art, for instance by the outstanding popularity of Victory in the type of Curia Iulia on intaglios and cameos dated to the late 1st century BC (cat. nos 10.94-97, Figures 814-815). Sometimes a reference to the act of vengeance for the death of Julius Caesar or the connection with him is illustrated by the adoption ring being involved in such iconography (cat. nos 10.98-99, Figures 816-817). Zwierlein-Diehl draws attention to this aspect because little gems like the one in Oxford or Geneva (cat. nos 10.98-100, Figure 816) encapsulate the whole propagandistic programme of Augustus. It not only highlights his patrimony and relationship with Caesar, but it also commemorates his mission to avenge him, and Victory not only informs about the victory at Actium, but also about the realisation of this act of vengeance, while the ring also communicates about the patronage of Venus over the Julian family.[78] It should be added that since 27 BC Augustus also styled himself as *Imperator Caesar divi filius* – the Commander Caesar, son of the deified one. With this title, he boasted his familial link to the already deified Julius Caesar, and the use of the title *imperator* signified a permanent link to the Roman tradition of victory. Furthermore, the name *Caesar* was merely a cognomen for just one branch of the Julian family and now Augustus transformed it into a new family line that began with him which is basically equal to the founding of a dynasty.[79] This whole political programme is reflected in the visual language employed for these intaglios and it must have been widely successful as one finds sealings in distant provinces bearing iconography suggesting that similar messages were transmitted, thus testifying to the acceptance of the new ideology by local governors (cat. no. 10.100, Figure 817).

Victory is also frequently depicted as standing on a prow or globe (cat. nos 10.101-120, Figures 818-820) and the analysis of the provenance of these gems suggests their distribution primarily among Roman soldiers, perhaps being given to them during the celebrations in 29 or 27 BC since similar depictions are fairly popular on Augustus' coins minted around these dates (Figures 821-822) but their production probably continued well after 27 BC.[80] Some of these gems are inscribed and one learns that these kinds of images were popular among members of the Julio-Claudian family too (cat. nos 10.114, Figure 819 and 10.119, Figure 820). The concept of world domination obtained by Augustus and Victory shown as a bringer of Augustus' successes is best

[75] See individual chapters in: Heilmeyer, La Rocca and Martin (eds) 1988. For the coins, see: *RIC* I[2] Augustus, nos. 260-263; Trillmich 1988: 482-485 and 488-489; Zanker 1988: 82-84.

[76] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 318.

[77] For a detailed analysis and discussion of this cameo, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 5.

[78] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 129.

[79] Eck 2003: 50.

[80] Regarding coinage, see: *RIC* I[2] Augustus, nos. 263-264 (Victory on a prow) and 268 (Victory on a globe).

illustrated on two glyptic objects where the emperor holds a globe, while the goddess is about to crown him (cat. nos 10.121-122, Figures 823-824). Concerning Victory and her significance in the promotion of Augustus and his military success, she also appears on intaglios throughout his whole reign with some additional symbolism like a female head, *dextrarum iunctio,* as well as when engaged in some activities typical of her e.g. driving a chariot and crowning a trophy (cat. nos 10.123-130, Figures 825-828) and it is noteworthy that the repertoire known from glyptics mirrors that employed in official propaganda in the coinage (Figures 829-830).[81]

The motifs described above belong to the category of simple, but effective propaganda communications, however, sometimes complex allegories expressed in a sophisticated, even poetic language were targeted at the imperial court and people related to it. According to Zwierlein-Diehl this is true in the case of the famous Beverley Cameo depicting a naked youth riding Capricorn and fishing with a rod (cat. no. 10.131, Figure 831). In this allegorical scene Octavian might be depicted as the victor at Actium supported by Venus (represented by a dolphin caught on the rod). Vollenweider and Megow recognise his portrait,[82] however, this is uncertain.[83] Zwierlein-Diehl sees here a Pan and argues the cameo to be a work of Dioscurides.[84] As suggested by Hölscher, there is indeed strong evidence that the victory at Actium was celebrated on similar cameos.[85] For example, it is interesting to see a young Julio-Claudian prince in the guise of Pan on an intaglio signed by Epitynchanos (cf. chapter 10.10) so it is perhaps true that the subject in question acquired some political significance under Augustus. Furtwängler already explained the relationship of the Greeks Hipparchos and Aigokeros with Pan, which is possibly illustrated on a burnt carnelian in Munich (cat. no. 10.132, Figure 832) but Weiß further argues that the motif in glyptics, although rare, was fairly ancient and the Capricorn on the Beverley Cameo indeed makes a reference to Octavian/Augustus as his zodiacal sign.[86] A very similar depiction occurs on a carnelian intaglio found in Augsburg (cat. no. 10.133) and interestingly, in Krakow, Berlin and Hannover there are three intaglios featuring Cupid riding Capricorn or a hippocamp in a similar composition (cat. nos 10.134-136, Figure 833). The presence of Cupid only strengthens the connections of this particular subject with Augustan propaganda since he was son of Venus, the patroness of the Julian family and thus, those gems might portray Octavian as the son of Julius Caesar and victorious political leader after Actium who brings peace and prosperity to the Roman Empire. This is suggested by a cornucopia as an attribute of Cupid in the case of the gem from Krakow (cat. no. 10.136, Figure 833).[87]

Augustan propaganda on engraved gems was not limited only to the celebrations of the victory at Actium and the honours and titles granted to Augustus by the Senate in 27 BC. In 20 BC the emperor succeeded in a diplomatic mission to Parthia because its ruler Phraates IV of Parthia (37-2 BC) returned the legionary standards lost by Crassus in the Battle of Carrhae in 53 BC. This was not a military success, but it was a great boost for the morale of Rome and was celebrated as much as Actium's victory and the conquest of the East in all the major media: coinage, sculpture and architecture.[88] In glyptics this subject was also much exploited. The best example is a cameo in Vienna featuring Augustus as Alexander the Great-Jupiter standing frontally, holding a bundle of thunderbolts in his left hand, while in his right he grasps a sceptre. On his left there is a trophy and defeated barbarian, on his right an eagle (cat. no. 10.137, Figure 834). This piece transmits several powerful propaganda messages which basically work on three levels at the same time. First of all, the seated barbarian under the trophy symbolises the submission of Parthia to Rome which was a purely propagandistic creation of Augustus because in reality, the two empires remained equal, but such a communication would not have made any impact on the Romans, on contrary it would have been disappointing. Furthermore, Augustus is presented here in the guise of Jupiter holding his sceptre and with the eagle, his sacred bird, at his side. This is consistent with the Imperial Eagle Cameo and the propagandistic programme related to it described above. Finally, Augustus is also presented as Alexander the Great – the conqueror of the East - which is another example of his *imitatio Alexandri*.[89] The complex subject, sophisticated language and exceptional workmanship suggest the cameo to be a product of imperial court workshop and it was possibly intended to be exhibited publicly to glorify the emperor and immortalise his success.[90] Another exceptional glyptic object related to the return of legionary standards by the Parthians is the cameo carved with a bust of Augustus from the Lothar Cross in Aachen (cat. no. 10.138, Figure 835). In this case,

[81] For instance: *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 1a-b (Victory crowning a trophy) and 260-261 (Victory riding a biga). For a more thorough discussion, see: Trillmich 1988: 482-483.
[82] Megow 1987: 172-174; Vollenweider 1966: 60.
[83] Wagner, Boardman and Scarisbrick 2016a, no. 6.
[84] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 130.
[85] Hölscher 1983.
[86] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 264; Weiß 2007, no. 51.
[87] See, a detailed discussion on this matter in: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 228.
[88] Regarding, coins, see: *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 287-292, 304-306, 314-315, 413 and 416. Concerning sculpture, the best example is the decoration relief on the breastplate of the famous Prima Porta statue of Augustus and the regained legionary standards were installed in the temple of Mars Ultor (Avenger), see Zanker 1988: 186.
[89] For a more thorough discussion of Octavian/Augustus' *imitatio Alexandri*, see: Pollini 2012: 162-203.
[90] For a detailed discussion, including the explanation of the magical characters added to the cameo later, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 3.

Augustus is presented as a military commander wearing the *paludamentum* and laurel wreath, and he grasps a sceptre topped with an eagle. Again, a reference to Jupiter through the eagle and sceptre is noticeable, but the bird was also put on the top of legionary standards which here makes a clear allusion to the event from 20 BC. This is another splendid product of the imperial court workshop speculated to be a work of the famous Dioscurides.[91] It is clear that such pieces were intended to impress various social groups, from nobility (because of their exceptional forms and sophisticated language) to soldiers who may have easily identify with their emperor and commander.

Concerning the celebration of the 'victory' over Parthians in glyptics, it is evident that official imperial art strongly influenced ordinary craftsmanship. There is an immense number of intaglios featuring various illustrations of this issue. Intaglios featuring Victory with a trophy and laurel wreath standing on an altar flanked by two barbarians wearing trousers, surely the Parthians, raising legionary standards to her constitute one example (cat. nos 10.139-140, Figure 836). Sometimes Victory is replaced by eagle, a symbol of *imperium* and the Roman State, in the same configuration (cat. no. 10.141, Figure 837). Combinations linking the Parthian submission with the previously obtained titles of *Augusts* and *Princeps* through symbolism such as *clipeus virtutis* also exist and Victory is particularly often employed signifying the event as an important military victory with references to defeated Parthians (cat. nos 10.142-147, Figures 838-840). In this context particularly interesting is a glass gem in London that bears a female figure who is a combination of Venus Victrix (due to the way her body and dress is presented) and Victory (according to the wings and activity with the shield). She wears a Phrygian cap on her head and inscribes a shield, while next to her is a trophy with two barbarians wearing Phrygian caps seated beneath (cat. no. 10.147). The gem makes an allusion to the eastern success of Augustus and the union of two of the most important female deities for Augustus in one figure is a unique but powerful propaganda message as it was meant to bring straightforward associations with the emperor. Finally, some symbolic gems may hide political messages related to the reclaiming of legionary standards from Parthia in 20 BC (cat. nos 10.148-150, Figure 841). These are problematical and may refer to private issues like hope for victory and wish for good luck, however, *sidus Iulium* and Capricorn are frequently used elements possibly alluding to Augustus and his political programme.

Closely related to Augustus' diplomatic success with the Parthians was his victory over Armenia which in about 20 BC became a client kingdom of the Roman Empire. There are several subjects repeatedly broadcast on gems and coins alike commemorating this success of Augustus. The most significant is a motif of Nike slaughtering or sacrificing a bull that often appears on gemstone and glass intaglios (cat. nos 10.151-164, Figures 842-843). The subject itself is fairly ancient and ultimately derives from Late Classical prototypes. For example, the reliefs of the Nike balustrade on the Acropolis at Athens include two Victories sacrificing a bull.[92] As Spier observes, noteworthy are big glass gems that clearly follow a common prototype[93] which has been attributed by Vollenweider to the engraver Aulos, who indeed worked on similar compositions and in similar style and perhaps was among the cutters whom Augustus commissioned to produce his gems (cf. chapter 10.2).[94] Moreover, Sostratos also incised a carnelian intaglio featuring Nike scarifying a bull and thus, he has been accounted to the group of gem carvers working for Augustus (cf. chapter 10.2). It appears that shortly after 20 BC the subject in question became fashionable and introduced to popular art as evidenced from the decoration of a silver vessel found in Boscoreale and now in Paris.[95] It is another example when official propaganda promoted some motifs which later were copied and used on a daily basis by common people. In terms of glyptics, it could be that the works of Aulos and Sostratos introduced it on the command of Augustus and then were widely copied by regular artists and craftsmen on gemstone and glass gems. It is noteworthy that they use exactly the same image that occurs on aurei minted by Augustus in 19 BC in Pergamum with a legend: ARMENIA CAPTA, hence, the whole series was supposedly produced around this date too with the intention of commemorating the success (Figure 844).[96] A similar case could be the sphinx which also appears on Augustan aurei commemorating the conquest of Armenia and also in glyptics (cf. chapter 9.3.1.9).[97]

Another popular subject in Augustan glyptics that most likely relates to the successes in the East is a depiction of a female sitting on a rock or ground to the left, in front of whom is a trophy, behind her a pillar with a vessel atop and a tree in the field (cat. nos 10.165-180, Figures 845-847). The identification of the figure is uncertain since scholars have proposed so far, the following eastern provinces: Parthia, Armenia and

[91] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 148. Henig wonders whether the cameo is a posthumous work executed shortly after AD 14 though, like the Great Cameo of St. Albans (oral communication).

[92] Richter 1920, no. 189.
[93] Spier 1992, no. 424.
[94] Vollenweider 1966: 42.
[95] Spier 1992, no. 424.
[96] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 460; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 130; For the coins, see: *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 514.
[97] *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 513.

Phrygia (either as *capta* or *devicta*),[98] and sometimes also a nymph or Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles.[99] It might be that no specific province was addressed by this iconography and the female figure presented on these gems is a general personification of the East conquered by Augustus.[100] Furthermore, an important voice in the discussion was taken by Alföldi, who noticed that similar representations are those of Ilia receiving an oracle about the future greatness of Rome.[101] Perhaps then, the images on gems were a clever propagandistic combination of the two and meant that the success in the East is the best proof of the greatness of Rome and confirms the capacity of the empire to rule the world. It is interesting to observe that a series of intaglios with this kind of iconography was produced in Aquileia (cat. nos 10.165-168) and analysis of the provenance of other examples suggest that many were cut in Italy. One intaglio was found in a military context in Xanten which suggests that these propaganda gems were addressed to or popular among Roman soldiers (cat. no. 10.172). The type continues in the Imperial period too which strengthens association of the figure with a general idea of disseminating imperial power.[102]

Regarding other military accomplishments of Augustus commemorated on engraved gems, Roman victories over the Germans seem to be quite popular and are advertised on gems. A good illustration is an onyx cameo in Berlin presenting a personification of a province, possibly Germania, in the type *provincia capta,* that is seated on the ground supporting her head with her left hand; behind her there is a Germanic shield which suggests the identification, and a tree or a twig in the background (cat. no. 10.181, Figure 847). A similar study where the triumph over the Celts living in the Alps, as one deduces from the spine form on the long-oval shield, is even more emphasised by the horse belonging to the Roman soldier literally smashing the personification under its hoof, was once in the Marlborough collection (cat. no. 10.182, Figure 848). In both cases, it seems reasonable to date the cameos to the early 1st century AD. Another interesting cameo is preserved in Paris and depicts Augustus wearing *cuirass* and *paludamentum* with a globe in his hand (cat. no. 10.183). This image shows the emperor as the military commander with the symbol of ultimate power so that it is all clear who rules the world.

The military prowess of Augustus is also emphasised and documented on the glass gem in Hannover featuring the emperor riding a *biga* (cat. no. 10.184, Figure 849). By far, the greatest glyptic artwork of the early 1st century AD transmitting a highly important political message is the famous *Gemma Augustea* housed in Vienna (cat. no. 10.185, Figure 850).[103] It is one of the most impressive ancient State Cameos cut in two-layered Arabian onyx. Although recut on the edges, it represents 25 figures arranged in two rows, a compositional device stemming from Hellenistic art.[104] The lower row depicts the triumph of the Roman army over barbarians (Celts and Germans) as the legionaries erect a trophy with the help of Mercury and Diana to the side and their captives sit on the ground with their hands bound behind their backs resembling Marsyas being punished by Apollo on the previously discussed intaglio commemorating the Battle of Actium (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2).[105] In the upper register there is Augustus in the centre half-clad and seated on a throne associated with Jupiter whose eagle is at his feet and whose sceptre the emperor holds in his hand as in the case of the previously discussed cameo from Vienna (cf. above). In addition, he holds the *lituus* in his right hand which implies his office of *pontifex maximus* and his foot is on the golden shield – *clipeus virtutis*. Megow believes that the head of Augustus on this cameo offers the most realistic image of the first Roman emperor.[106] Behind Augustus there is Oikumene, the personification of the civilised world, crowning him with the oak wreath. Above the head of Augustus there is a solar disc alluding to Apollo-Sol decorated with his zodiacal sign – Capricorn and a star – *sidus Iulium* recalling the deified Julius Caesar. Behind Oikumene there are several figures interpreted variously as Okeanos, Neptune, Saturn, Earth or Tellus – together they symbolise the land and sea as being subject to Augustus' rule. On the right side of Augustus sits Roma – the personification of the city - behind whom stands a young Roman general usually identified as Drusus or Germanicus and there is another Roman triumphator (Tiberius) wearing a toga and getting in a chariot driven by Victory.

The precise dating and specific meaning of this magnificent cameo has been much scrutinised over centuries,[107] but it is generally accepted that the *Gemma Augustea* transmits a propaganda message focused on Augustus as the ruler of Rome and his family together as bringers of peace and prosperity to the Empire through their military efforts. The iconography of the lower row combined with the figures of Tiberius and

[98] For Armenia or Parthia, see: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 695. For Parthia, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 130. For Phrygia, see: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 4.36; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 697; Weiß 2007, no. 217.

[99] Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 41. Krug rightly rejects the Polyxena identification because the figure is never presented strictly next to a tomb and always wears a Phrygian cap (1995b: 109).

[100] *AGDS* I.3, nos. 2212-2213. Although, Zwierlein-Diehl suggests that the lack of the Phrygian cap points to Parthia specifically, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 130.

[101] Alföldi 1963, no. 6.

[102] See, for instance, a clearly later example in: Krug 1995b: 109.

[103] Henig 1994: 156.

[104] Hölscher 2011: 68.

[105] Rambach 2011a: 133.

[106] Megow 1987: 8.

[107] For a detailed description, identification of the figures and possible meanings of this extraordinary cameo, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 6 (with extensive bibliography).

Drusus or Germanicus suggest that the Roman victory over Germans or Pannonians was meant. This in turn allows us to date the cameo to c. AD 9-12 when the first two were dispatched to the Rhineland to pacify the province experiencing a constant threat from the Germanic tribes. At the same time, there was an uprising in Dalmatia and Pannonia which were also pacified by those two. In AD 12 there was a triumph over these provinces and the accomplishments were much celebrated owing to the previous tragic Battle of Teutoburg Forest in AD 9, when three Roman legions were completely destroyed in Germania by Arminius, leader of the Cherusci tribe. It is supposed that the *Gemma Augustea* was commissioned by Livia and gifted to Augustus in order to erase painful memories of the terrible defeat from AD 9 (*consolatio*).[108] It is certain that it was executed by one of the leading carvers employed in the imperial court workshop and many scholars attribute it to Dioscurides, although, its date seems too late for him, thus one of his sons or disciples is a more likely candidate. The perfect elaboration of the stone, its rich detailing, a perfect combination of the Roman theme with a somewhat Hellenistic approach to the subject with the subtle highlight of the emperors' sole power point to Hyllos, one of the three sons of Dioscurides, active in the late Augustan and Tiberian reign.[109] The cameo speaks a panegyric language and illustrate Augustus' dynastic ambitions since Tiberius and Drusus or Germanicus are involved in the scene. Moreover, it highlights the universal ideas promoted throughout the whole reign of the *princeps – Pax Augusta* and *Aurea Aetas* through the abundant symbolism mentioned above. Furthermore, one may decipher here even a comparison of Augustus to Alexander the Great as he conquered the civilised Mediterranean world like his great predecessor did.[110] But on a more spiritual level, the gem displays the establishment of the cult of Roma in the West and confirms the divine patronage of *Divus Iulius*, Apollo and Jupiter over the emperor and his whole family. Therefore, the propagandistic message is extremely powerful as it combines all aspects of Augustan promotional activities and the intention for continuity of his work by his successors in one piece.[111]

Owing to the fact that Augustus did not allow himself to be worshipped as a god in Rome, in contrast to the eastern provinces where such a tradition had been established centuries ago by Hellenistic kings, Sena Chiesa suggests and Lapatin gives us an option that the cameo may have been intended for a close friend or a relative of Augustus in the inner court circle or that the recipient was a client king resident in the East.[112] However, one should take into account the highly private character of glyptic art which as I have already mentioned several times allowed one to promote oneself more directly and openly than coinage and other propaganda channels. For this reason, it appears plausible to me that the *Gemma Augustea* was made for Augustus rather than someone else but if so, it is reasonable to ask about its propagandistic value. It might seem to have been limited considering the fact that it would have been inappropriate to display it publicly so very few people could have seen it within the interiors of imperial palaces. But only the highly educated elite social class well versed in the literary and rhetorical traditions of Graeco-Roman culture could read the iconography, interpret it correctly and appreciate not only the great workmanship but also the idea behind it.[113]

Coming back to the titles and offices granted to Augustus during his reign, there are several gems engraved with a specific portrait of Augustus - *capite velato* - with the veil on the head and wearing a toga, usually captured *en face* since they were intended to commemorate his appointment to the *pontifex maximus* office in 12 BC (cat. nos 10.186-190, Figures 851-852). These can be securely dated around this year. Most of them are cameos of superb quality that were possibly manufactured in the imperial court workshop for Augustus, but regular cheap glass gems occur too – all of them should be accounted as propagandistic and testify to the limited circulation of the best cameo pieces and the wide availability of replicas issued for ordinary people.

It is noteworthy that figural subjects illustrating Augustus as a guarantor of peace to whom people gather for guardianship exist on gems as they do in coinage and toreutics. A glass gem in a private collection in Denmark features an image of Augustus, togate, seated on the *sella curulis* on a platform and receiving a child from the standing barbarian who is one of the Gallic chieftains (cat. no. 10.191, Figure 853).[114] The very same image appears on the aurei and denarii minted by Augustus in 9 BC (Figure 854) and also it is a part of the decoration of one of the panels of the famous Boscoreale Cups.[115] This peculiar scene informs us about a specific and unusual event, when a group of the *primores* of Gallia Comata petitioned to have their young children educated under Augustus' authority, e.g. at his court. They did that on the behalf of Drusus Maior who was supposed to be a good administrator and general at the same time acting as Augustus' legate in the West. According to Kuttner's thorough analysis this event happened between 13 and 9 BC and it was promoted in official art from which it

[108] Lapatin 2015: 252; Pollini 1993: 285; Sena Chiesa 2012: 269.
[109] Zwierlein-Diehl 2008: 117-118.
[110] Galinsky 1996: 120.
[111] Guiraud 1996: 116-117.
[112] Lapatin 2015: 252; Sena Chiesa 2012: 269.
[113] Gross 2008: 19; Pollini 1993: 286.
[114] I am grateful to Ittai Gradel for notifying me about this gem as well as supplying me with photographs.
[115] For the coins, see: *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 200-201a-b and a discussion in Kuttner 1995: 107-111.

infiltrated private art too.[116] In a broader sense, it is an illustration of a benevolent imperialism in which those ruled are delighted at Roman guidance and are valued by their ruler since the emperor, who wears only the toga, not the *cuirass,* greets his subordinates. The gem in question here is utterly unique and it might have been a part of Augustus' official propaganda rather than a piece issued on a private commission since it promotes a general idea with a reference to a specific event. Moreover, it testifies to dynastic promotion of Drusus Maior by Augustus.

Finally, in Florence, there is an intriguing sard intaglio engraved with a scene presenting Augustus seated on the *sella curulis* positioned over a pedestal decorated with a Capricorn. He is watching an equestrian parade (with legionary standards) and there is a Victory behind him climbing on a ladder in order to crown him with a laurel wreath (cat. no. 10.192, Figure 855). The gem depicts an unusual scene for glyptics which is *transvectio equitum* – an ancient parade of young men (*iuventus*) of the Roman equestrian class that took place annually on 15 July.[117] The emperor Augustus revived the ancient ceremony, combining it with a *recognitio equitum* or *probatio equitum* in order to scrutinize the character of the equestrians themselves.[118] On this intaglio the custom is subordinated to Augustus which is symbolised by Victory about to crown the emperor with the laurel wreath. The piece illustrates well the shift in Roman politics now focusing on its sole ruler who oversees all aspects of public life.

10.6. Divine and mythological references

In the chapter devoted to Octavian, his relationships with an impressive number of deities was thoroughly explained mostly with reference to his counter-propaganda practices aimed at responding to actions of his opponents like Sextus Pompey and Mark Antony. Mythological and divine references were extremely important at this point of his career, while after 27 BC he focused on the more narrative mythological foundations of the New Rome that he was a central figure. This was an inevitable step in the evolution of Augustus' propaganda because his new position required different messages to be sent out to the audience, which was now stimulated to accept a sole ruler and in the course of time also his family, court and successors.[119] These aspects shall be presented and commented on in the next sub-chapter. Nevertheless, it does not mean that references to various mythological and divine figures ceased to be used outright. It is difficult to judge if some gems discussed here should be linked to the earlier phase of Octavian/Augustus' propaganda. Gems expressing the bond between Augustus and Apollo, Jupiter, Mars as well as other deities after 27 BC were not as abundant as before that date but were still manufactured for sure to communicate continuous blessing and approval from the divine powers to the Roman emperor. This is reflected on several cameos and intaglios discussed above the main role of which, however, was to commemorate important events from Augustus' life and career. For example, one has seen him in the guise of Jupiter on the cameo in Vienna (cf. cat. no. 10.137, Figure 834 and discussion in chapter 10.5). Here, I shall focus on those motifs and subjects that clearly or supposedly transmit similar powerful propaganda messages.

Regarding mythological figures related to Augustan propaganda, most of them, like Aeneas, Diomedes and so on were related to the mythological beginnings of Rome and hence promoted by Augustus. There is little content that would act separately as a good illustration of other Augustan propaganda practices. Perhaps to some extent such a figure is Telephus who rarely appears on Roman intaglios and cameos, however, he experiences a short-lived popularity in the Augustan era (cat. nos 10.193-201, Figures 856-859). Some scholars are reluctant to consider his usefulness for Augustus propaganda,[120] but it is noteworthy to remember that Telephus was related to Aeneas and thus, he might have been appropriate for Augustus' promotional practices.[121] This is most likely the reason why the hero appears on some rather extraordinary cameos (cat. nos 10.194-195, Figures 857-858) and one finds his story as a subject for wall paintings in Herculaneum, reliefs and coins.[122] Particularly interesting is the intaglio found in Djemila and from New York illustrating a combination of these two myths - Romulus and Remus with the Telephus story (cat. nos 10.192 and 196, Figure 859).[123] All this evidence is not entirely convincing, but one imagines that imperial propaganda stimulated artists to undertake subjects suitable for Augustus and the myth of Telephus could be appropriate.

Concerning divine figures, Apollo naturally took the leading role in the promotional practices of Augustus. I have mentioned many examples of his tremendously important role in the victory at Actium (cf. chapters 9.3.1.7 and 9.3.1.8), but he was equally important after that success. In 28 BC Octavian dedicated a new Temple of Apollo Palatinus which had been reinstituted during the *ludi saeculares* in 17 BC. Augustus' private house was directly connected with the temple so one can

[116] See an extensive discussion of this subject in: Kuttner 1995: 94-123.
[117] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 131.
[118] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 38.
[119] Zanker 1988: 167.
[120] Toso 2007: 184-185.
[121] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 251; Sena Chiesa, Magni and Tassinari 2009, no. 526; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 134.
[122] Furtwängler in: Roscher's Lexikon, s.v. Herakles, col. 2247; Hafner 1969: 231-237.
[123] Leglay 1957.

hardly find a better illustration of a close relationship between Augustus and his patron god. For this temple Augustus installed the famous sculptural group of 'Myron's herd' which was reproduced on special coin and gem issues that I shall discuss fully later (cf. chapter 10.8) and a statue of Apollo possibly by Scopas was transported from Ramnuta (Greece) to this new cult place of the god. It seems that the statue was highly influential as the head of Apollo, now called 'Palatinus', was a highly popular subject on engraved gems not only at that time, but throughout Augustus' reign. As discussed in the chapter 9.3.1.8, there is some evidence suggesting that the first creations were deliberately initiated by Augustus himself, as he might have commissioned a beautiful carnelian intaglio by Hyllos, now in St. Petersburg (cat. no. 10.8, Figure 779) and works of Eutyches and Solon (cat. nos 9.797 and 799, Figure 592), which were later copied by ordinary gem engravers (cat. nos 9.798, Figure 654 and 800-807, Figures 594-597).[124] Sometimes Apollo is shown with a laurel wreath on his head – a symbol which alluded to the *aurea aetas* concept proving the usefulness of this motif for Augustan propaganda.[125] Other versions were equally important from a propaganda perspective, like Apollo Daphnephoros holding a caduceus, which possibly illustrated the *Pax Augusta* idea promoted by the emperor after 27 BC.[126] This is also deduced from the fact that, for instance, Apollo Palatinus' classical image was employed for other variants of Apollo heads and busts like the one with *cithara* – so popular in glyptics of the Augustan Age. Finally, one finds figural representations on gems that might present Octavian or Augustus in the guise of Apollo as in the case of two extraordinarily large intaglios in private collections and one more object in Vienna (cat. nos 9.808-812, Figure 598). The meaning of such pieces was surely to propagate the new image of the emperor identified with the god.

While discussing the cameo from Vienna commemorating Augustus' involvement in the retrieval of legionary standards from the Parthians (cf. chapter 10.5), the emperor was compared with Jupiter in a very direct way. One finds another comparison in this type on a gem in Vienna where Octavian or Augustus is presented as Jupiter Veiovis who rests his foot on a globe and feeds an eagle (cat. no. 10.202, Figure 860). The intaglio shows not only the emperor's capability to rule the world, but he is also presented as the feeder of the Roman Empire, the one who cares for the state and people of Rome as the eagle became at that time a universal symbol of the Roman Empire.

The regaining of the legionary standards in 20 BC was one of the most important and exploited events in Augustus' career as Roman emperor. I have already pointed out many gems commemorating this particular success, but the role of the god Mars in this event has not been properly explored yet. His involvement is confirmed by substantial evidence extracted, for instance, from the decoration of the breastplate on the Prima Porta statue, where perhaps the embodiment of Mars Ultor himself is involved in the central scene as he receives the legionary standard from the Parthian king.[127] Several gems present Mars in a victorious attitude, usually as crowned by Victory or holding her on his outstretched hand and with a trophy in the background which implies the success of the Roman State (cf. cat. nos 9.692, 745 and 755, Figures 554, 576 and 579). It has already been suggested that some of them could commemorate the Battle of Actium but since their precise dates cannot be established, they may signify the successful negotiations with the Parthians too. A particular case is a glass gem in Vienna featuring Mars riding a she-wolf that suckles Romulus and Remus (cat. no. 10.203, Figure 861). This piece illustrates the important role of Mars in the propaganda of the mythological foundations of Rome which was much advertised by Augustus after 27 BC (cf. chapter 10.7).

A highly interesting motif appears on a series of gems where Mars presents his shield decorated with a comet that he puts on an altar, column or other pedestal. These were commented on in chapter 9.3.1.8. This image possibly alludes to the statue of Mars Ultor, a centre-piece placed in the temple of the god in the Forum of Augustus inaugurated in 2 BC surrounded by legionary standards retrieved from the Parthians. Because of these special decorations, it is possible that some of the gems in question commemorate not only the avenging of Julius Caesar, but also the inauguration of the temple. The god played an important role in Augustus' propaganda machinery as the avenger (Ultor) of Julius Caesar which is deduced from the shield decoration that might be the comet – *sidus Iulium*.[128] But the political message encoded then could be that Caesar had been avenged by Augustus thanks to the assistance of Mars and also the emperor could fulfil Caesar's plan to conquest the East also thanks to the god.[129] Gems like a sard in London and a carnelian in Florence that might actually show Augustus in the guise of Mars with a spear and shield in front of an aedicule are also intriguing (cat. nos 10.204-205, Figures 862). The highly decorative base of the aedicule, the

[124] Spier 2001, no. 23.
[125] Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 42
[126] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 460.
[127] Zanker 1988: 189-190.
[128] Zanker 1988: 53; Middleton makes an interesting observation on one gem from Dalmatia which presents a similar subject but is possibly a Hellenistic creation. The sunburst decoration of the shield presented by the hero on this gem is interpreted as a sunburst symbol of the Macedonian dynasty, see: Middleton 1991, no. 19.
[129] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 230.

style and iconographical elements suggest dating the piece to Augustus' reign for sure, but it is uncertain whether one should take the motif as reflecting the bond between Augustus and Mars or just a simple representation of a Greek hero.

As for other male deities promoted as Augustus' divine patrons, there is a clear drop in the interest in Augustus presenting himself in the guise of Mercury or Neptune compared to the pre-27 BC period. Naturally, some extraordinarily gems could have been commissioned by the emperor or his court in order to promote the cult of those deities like the amethyst intaglio in Vienna (cat. no. 10.206, Figure 863), but the evidence for using such objects for propaganda purposes is next to nothing. It seems that new themes like Diomedes with the Palladion and Aeneas dominated imperial court glyptics so that the previously popular themes lost their importance unless they were conflated with these new trends like on a cameo in London where Augustus is presented as Mercury in front of a small figure of Athena that might be the Palladion (cat. no. 10.207).[130]

As for female patronesses of Augustus and deities favourable to him, Athena/Minerva was one of them. An interesting depiction of her is the Athena Lemnia type that appears, for example, on a sard in Berlin and quartz in London (cat. nos 10.208-209, Figure 864). As Weiß argues, the specimen in Berlin probably was cut by an engraver working in Solon's atelier as suggested by the composition and style which are similar to the busts of Octavian as Mercury and Octavia as Diana (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2). Since Solon is supposed to have worked for Augustus at some point of his career, it looks like other cutters working with him also preferred themes that would have been suitable for the emperor's propaganda. As for the workshop of Solon and gems produced for Augustus, in Lisbon there is a fragment of another extraordinarily big sard plaque very much like the afore-mentioned busts of Octavian and Octavia in the guise of Mercury and Diana but presenting a winged Athena/Minerva (cat. no. 10.210, Figure 865). In this instance, the goddess has some eastern features like the sphinx-like crest on her helmet and the wings of Nemesis or Victory which on the one hand may point to Octavian/Augustus as he used to seal his documents with a sphinx device, but on the other hand the creature is of the Egyptian type, a fact that makes it difficult to link it with the emperor unless understood as a reminiscence of his eastern conquest. However, in Florence, there is another similar plaque, but in glass, also from Solon's workshop presenting an unusual bust of Athena/Minerva too (cat. no. 10.211, Figure 866) so that the odd elements may be more due to eastern origins of the engravers working on those gems rather than a deliberate propaganda or any other motivation.[131]

During the reign of Augustus, Venus, the mother of the Julian clan and patroness of Julius Caesar, was an increasingly popular theme on engraved gems. The type of Venus Victrix experienced special popularity in glyptics as well as in other media e.g. coinage throughout the period as it was probably still recognised by many as one of the symbols of Caesar and Augustus alike (cat. nos 10.212-223, Figures 867-869).[132] Typically for the Augustan epoch, even canonical subjects like this one were often given new, exceptional forms, like in the case of an amethyst intaglio in Leiden, where Venus Victrix stands next to a trophy, or a citrine intaglio from a private collection where she is accompanied with a large crater and cuirass placed upon it (cat. nos 10.222-223, Figures 869-870). This meaningful image communicates about Augustus' victory in the Battle of Actium over Mark Antony-Dionysus. Venus, on her own or with her son Cupid, appeared on cameos and intaglios of high quality probably produced for the use of the inner circle of Augustus' court (cat. nos 10.224-226, Figures 871-873). Moreover, the goddess was also engaged in complex scenes that clearly had propagandistic meaning. I have already mentioned the large sard intaglio from Cologne cut by an artist who according to the subjects employed for this and his other gems must have worked for Octavian/Augustus (cat. no. 9.754, Figure 578). It features Mars presenting his sword to the enthroned Venus who is crowned by Victory with a laurel wreath. This exceptional work is difficult to date since it might relate to the Battle of Actium, however, the context of the scene would have fitted 27 BC and the granting of the title *Augustus* as well. The gem combines four deities extremely important for the first emperor of Rome.[133] The scene is focused on the act of sword presentation from Mars to Venus which is possibly a political allusion to the transfer of power from Mars to the Julian family e.g. Augustus who could not be presented here directly so that there is his representative – Venus with Cupid. The goddess is crowned by Victory with a laurel wreath that became a symbol of imperial power which is also a significant element of the whole composition. Maybe the gem was not meant to commemorate a specific historical event but is arguably an allegory of Augustus' rise to power, confirmed and sanctioned by Roman deities.

[130] Plantzos 1999: 95-97.

[131] Vollenweider argued the gem to be work of Hyllos, but Zwierlein-Diehl (1986, no. 301) and Spier (2001, no. 22) convincingly showed it to be product of Solon's workshop. Another product of the Augustan Age where Athena's helmet is richly decorated including the sphinx-like crest is a cameo in London, inv. no.: 1866,0504.119.

[132] Concerning coins, see: *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 250a-b (denarii of Octavian, ca. 32-29 BC) and a discussion in: Trillmich 1988: 483-485.

[133] Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 65.

The sword obtained from Mars by Venus is also an element of a complex depiction of the goddess seated on an altar with spear and helmet in her hands, a shield in front of her and with a column behind in the field with an urn atop on an intaglio from Hannover (cat. no. 10.230, Figure 874). This object illustrates how successful was Augustus' political and cultural programme and the official images sent to the public in visual art, like the one discussed above, penetrated craftsmanship of the period to a considerable degree. A clear promotion of the cult of Venus under Augustus is evidenced from her head appearing on several coin issues struck either c. 32-29 BC or 16 BC (Figure 875).[134] Exactly the same diademed head of Venus is broadcast on gemstone and glass intaglios alike (cat. no. 10.231, Figure 876). The considerable success of the Augustan cultural and political programme is reflected on a series of gems presenting *Venus Pelagia* (Venus of the sea). There was a general trend in 1st century BC glyptic art to promote maritime subjects which resulted from the growing significance of the sea in Roman life as the conquest of the Mediterranean basin progressed. One of the particularly popular subjects was a pair of Tritons riding with a Nereid through the sea, but during the Age of Augustus, gem engravers often replaced the Nereid with Venus (cat. nos 10.232-238, Figures 877-879). This change resulted from the massive broadcast of Venus as the patroness of the Julian family so that she became a universal symbol of the Roman Empire. In a pair with Triton, the deities became heralds of Augustus' victory at Actium. Many of the gems presenting *Venus Pelagia* with Triton are regular intaglios circulating among common people which suggests how considerable was the influence of Augustus' 'cultural programme' in the private sphere. That influence is also reflected in an outburst of other marine subjects involving Venus like the one where she is entitled *Epithragia* and rides Capricorn – Augustus' zodiacal sign (cat. nos 10.239-242, Figures 880-881).[135] The example housed in the British Museum in London is particularly interesting since the cameo is set in a lead mount that served as a pendant (cat. no. 10.240, Figure 881). It is tempting to suggest that it was gifted to one of Augustus' followers or was carried by an officer in the Roman army who was awarded it for his particular merits perhaps by the emperor himself.

Victory was of key importance for Octavian's propaganda on gems as the herald of his military accomplishments, especially the one at Actium (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7). Her significance after 27 BC was equally great as I have already explained while discussing gems commemorating the events of 27 BC and other important successes of Augustus. It remains only to add that throughout the whole reign of Augustus, Victory frequently appears on engraved gems, especially in the type of Curia Iulia that is standing on a globe, flying or advancing with a palm branch and laurel wreath (cat. nos 10.243-251, Figures 882-883). It remains unclear though, whether her representations had political messages encoded or are just illustrations of private wishes for good luck since one finds many examples inscribed with the names of gems' owners (cat. nos 10.244-245, 247 and 250-251). It is possible that these images were put on gems because their owners followed general trends in Augustan art and craft that repeatedly used the same motifs for quite long period of time. It means that private commissions could copy a popular image without its primary propagandistic value because it was already so deeply rooted in society's consciousness. A similar phenomenon is observed on Arretine bowls which are often decorated with the motifs from the early principate in the early 1st century AD when nobody was concerned with Augustus' victory at Actium anymore.[136] So even though the propagandistic value of such gems was probably close to zero, they are important proofs of the success of Augustan propaganda. For if it was not successful, those motifs would not have experienced such popularity after c. 30 BC until the death of Augustus. Naturally during the reign of Augustus exceptional pieces were crafted too. A good example of that is a sardonyx cameo in Florence presenting a bust of Augustus crowned by Victory with a laurel wreath (cat. no. 10.252, Figure 884). In this instance, the goddess is evoked to remind us of Augustus' successes and such cameos were surely princely gifts circulating within the inner circle of Augustus' followers or at his court.

A kind of novelty in Augustan propaganda in glyptics is the use of the image of the goddess Roma. She was associated first with the city of Rome as she personified it, but under Augustus she became a general embodiment of the Roman State.[137] Her cult spread in the western part of the Empire in response to the eastern initiatives for the establishment of the imperial cult. As a result, *dea Roma* started to be promoted by Augustus as an integral part of his own propaganda because in this way, he made his goals more convincing and acceptable for people unaccustomed to the ideology of sole rule. A reflection of that process is the images of Roma seated on a throne, altar or *cuirass* with Victoriola on her outstretched hand or holding a *parazonium* or even highly elaborate compositions including a trophy with captives, the Palladion and Victory as a second figure, that begin to appear on engraved gems during the times of Augustus (cat. nos 10.253-256, Figures 885-886). Another kind of motif involving Roma is

[134] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 251 and 367-368 (denarii of Octavian/ Augustus, 32-29 BC and 16 BC respectively).
[135] For a more detailed analysis and description of this issue, see: Gołyźniak 2019.
[136] Łuczewska 2002: 65.
[137] Zazoff 1983: 335.

her head appearing, for example, on a sard intaglio in Berlin (cat. no. 10.257, Figure 887). The propagandistic message included in this artwork was supposedly the glorification of the Roman state as such and the military victories of Augustus thanks to whom Rome rules the world, however, it remains an open question whether the victory at Actium, over the Parthians or another people was meant to be commemorated at the same time.[138] Generally, the trend for Roma appearing in glyptics took on a considerable strength over the 1st and 2nd century AD, but these first occurrences discussed here are noteworthy because the initial impetus could have come from Augustus himself during his reign.[139] Analysing the archaeological context of these and later examples, it is clear that most of them were exported outside Italy, mostly to Gaul in order to intensify the process of Romanisation. In conclusion, one supposes that Augustus' primary goal was to influence non-Roman people and encourage them to be connected with his Empire which might have worked by donations of such gems to the local aristocracy in the provinces.

Finally, the last female divine figure for us to consider in this chapter is Virgo who is sometimes suggested to be related to Augustus' propaganda. Indeed, Virgo becomes popular in glyptics during the reign of Augustus, however, she exists on earlier gems too (cat. nos 10.258-265, Figure 888). Weiß argues that because the female deity is often combined with Capricorn, the zodiacal sign of Augustus, and Taurus, the zodiacal sign of Julius Caesar, she might be a part of Augustus' propaganda practices on engraved gems signifying prosperity for the people of Rome arising from the actions of these two politicians.[140] However, it should be highlighted that in Roman mythology, the figure was often associated with Ceres and as such she was understood as a personification of abundance and prosperity. On some gems she appears as a pantheistic goddess combining Ceres-Fortuna-Iustitia-Virgo in one (cat. no. 10.266, Figure 889). She was also sometimes identified with Iustitia and Astrea holding the scales of justice in her hand (cat. no. 10.262). Moreover, she is not combined only with the afore-mentioned zodiacal signs, but sometimes Ares and other signs are involved (cat. no. 10.265) and the combinations of those signs alone also frequently appear on gems (cat. nos 10.267, Figure 971/890). All this evidence suggests that the gems with her depictions were used as amulets which combined private horoscopes with the wish for abundance and prosperity, thus, their political significance was rather small.

10.7. Mythological foundations of the New Rome

According to Zanker, in about 17 BC Augustus started another wave of stimulation of public opinion. The victory over the Parthians had been celebrated over several previous years, so the subject was much exploited, and a new impulse was needed to strengthen not only the leading role of Augustus as a sole ruler of Rome, but also to lay foundations for his Julio-Claudian dynasty.[141] The first steps towards doing that, however, were taken when Octavian proclaimed his heritage from Julius Caesar, automatically taking on his mythological descent from Venus and Aeneas.[142] Caesar had issued coins presenting the head of Venus on the obverse and Aeneas running out of Troy with the Palladion and his father Anchises on the left shoulder, and his son Ascanius/Iulus beside him on the reverse in 47-46 BC.[143] In 42 BC Octavian followed him placing Aeneas carrying Anchises on his left shoulder on his aurei.[144] Both issues were related to the promotion of the mythological beginnings of the *gens* Iulia, but in the case of Octavian, two more things mattered: by adding this image to his repertoire, he expressed either his *pietas erga patrem* (Julius Caesar) and *pietas erga deos* (Venus and Aeneas).[145] In the course of time, the subject of Aeneas experienced growing popularity that culminated c. 2 BC when the Forum of Augustus was inaugurated. Among the rich statuary decoration, there was a group representing Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading his son Ascanius/Iulus by his hand in one of the niches paired with Romulus statue on the opposite side so that while Aeneas was *exemplum pietatis*, Romulus was *exemplum virtutis*.[146] It is taken for granted that the statuary group was highly influential and resulted in numerous copies and pastiches in various art forms including glyptics.[147] This was certainly true and the official image worked its way down to all strata of Roman society as there are many gems of either good or poor quality presenting this theme (cat. nos 10.268-282, Figures 891-892).[148] However, Maaskant-Kleibrink proved that the first substantial change in the presentation of Aeneas' arrival took place on Julius Caesar's coins and glyptics followed this trend too.[149] It is noticeable that in glyptics extraordinary versions of the Aeneas group exist on single gems

[138] Maderna-Lauter (1988: 469) and Zwierlein-Diehl (2007: 116-117) suggest Actium, but this is uncertain.
[139] Regarding the examples of 1st-2nd century gems with the image of Roma, see:*AGDS* IV Hannover, no. 773; Guiraud 1988-2008, nos. 93-101 and 1009-1112; Henig and MacGregor 2004, nos. 4.38-4.40; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 646-652.
[140] Weiß 1996, no. 227.
[141] Zanker 1988: 167.
[142] Zanker 1988: 193.
[143] *RRC*, no. 458/1 (denarius of Julius Caesar, 47-46 BC).
[144] *RRC*, 494/3a-b (aurei of L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC).
[145] Barcarro 2009: 71-72; Evans 1992: 41-44; Toso 2007: 71-73.
[146] Zanker 1988: 203.
[147] Laubscher 1974: 258; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 134. However, it does not mean that the subject was absent in previous centuries on intaglios, see an early example: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 217.
[148] Evans 1992: 51.
[149] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992: 132 and 146.

exhibiting the unparalleled skill of the engravers as in the case of the carnelian in a private collection which could be attributed to Felix, one of the artists working for Augustus (cat. no. 10.283, Figure 893). This peculiar object probably includes a propagandistic message for which speaks the star in the sky presumably signifying *Divus Iulius* while helmeted Roma with a torch on the walls of Troy may prophesy the new city (Rome) to be founded by Aeneas and his offspring, unless the figure is a Greek warrior setting the city on fire.[150] It is likely that more general production in lower-status workshops was stimulated by such masterpieces.

Zanker and Evans rightly observe that in the early Augustan examples Aeneas is presented in the Greek manner as he is nude, and his father carries no Penates, while later he is more Roman as he wears armour to show the avenging of Julius Caesar's death and the Penates are present.[151] This is probably as explained by Maaskant-Kleibrink due to two different archaic prototypes that were sources of inspiration for later artists.[152] Even though the first version occurs on Etruscan, Italic and early Roman scarabs and ringstones as a reference to Rome's foundations, it is hardly observable in glyptics of 1st century BC as the second type clearly dominates and one presumes that most of the gems with the Aeneas theme were produced during Augustus' reign, possibly not before c. 20 BC.[153] Overall, the role of these objects was to propagate Octavian/ Augustus' ancestral roots identified with Julius Caesar, Aeneas and Venus and also to show him as re-founder of the city of Rome after the many years of the Civil War.[154] Furthermore, when later Aeneas is equipped with the Palladion or his father with the Penates, the whole act is a sacred one pointing to Augustus' special role as Pontifex Maximus.[155] Finally, Aeneas was a useful figure for Augustus because he was associated with continuity of the dynasty (Troy-Rome, Julius Caesar-Octavian/Augustus), which could be easily reinterpreted in new circumstances as referring to the continuity of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[156] The production of gems with this subject fits the general trend observable in other branches of Roman art and the stimuli from the imperial court were taken on further by ordinary people who decorated their houses with paintings showing Aeneas or used Arretine bowls featuring this myth and signet rings engraved with it too.[157]

The second extremely useful and appealing subject for Augustan gem engravers as well as those less skilful ones but working at the time of his reign was Diomedes stealing the Palladion. As proved by Moret, Plantzos, Toso and Weiß, the subject was deeply rooted in Greek and Roman glyptics because Diomedes was recognised in Italy as the founder of numerous cities, but under Augustus it was largely reinterpreted.[158] The particular popularity of this motif was, as in the case of Aeneas, due to the strong promotion of the mythological foundations of Rome, now rebuilt or literally refounded by the *princeps* combined with the mythical descent of the Iulii family from Venus.[159] It is noteworthy that the subject appears on several large intaglios signed by glyptic masters that surely date to the times of Augustus, which enabled the creation of didactic and narrative scenes that imply double sacrilege on the part of the Greeks, atrocities committed against the Trojans (mythological ancestors of the Romans) which thanks to Augustus should be rewarded in the present day as the Romans repaid the evil deeds of the Greeks by the victory at Actium or the one over the Parthians (cf. chapter 10.2).[160] The Actium success may make sense because in some versions a small statue of Neptune on a pillar appears in front of Diomedes. The historical significance of these large gems was beyond doubt far-reaching as they were numerously copied by common gem engravers (cf. below). In fact, they are perfect examples of the considerable influence that the imperial court workshop had on the production of gems as a whole. The official images issued by artists such as Solon, Dioscurides and Gnaeus are perfect examples of Augustus' integrational propaganda because the subject of Diomedes stealing the Palladion was related to the general concepts of Roman power, *imperium* and *pietas* towards Venus. It is noteworthy that the Romans considered the fall of Troy as necessary for the rise of Rome which was happening right now under the guidance of Augustus. The theft of the Palladion was an important part of the whole story, thus, several top artists dealt with the subject. The unity of the strongly classicising style and exceptional workmanship made a great impact on the viewers of these gems which were not employed for sealing, but rather for display in the private chambers or treasury of Augustus. A particularly interesting example is the intaglio cut by Felix (cat. no. 10.6, Figure 854), because apart from artist's signature, on the gem appears the name of Calpurnius Severus. A detailed analysis of the two inscriptions revealed that the latter was added by another hand than the artist's,[161] therefore, a conclusion might be drawn that

[150] Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 136.
[151] Evans 1992: 50; Zanker 1988: 203.
[152] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992.
[153] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992: 133-136 and 139-146.
[154] Evans 1992: 46.
[155] Evans 1992: 48-50.
[156] Barcarro 2009: 99.
[157] Zanker 1988: 203-210.
[158] Moret 1997; Plantzos 1999b; Toso 2007: 55-60; Weiß 2007, no. 273.
[159] Zazoff 1983: 296. However, Toso notices that the motif was popular much earlier and could have been used by other politicians like Pompey the Great or Julius Caesar because it was a universal subject related to the Roman power and *imperium* (Toso 2007: 61-64).
[160] Laubscher 1974: 256-258; Plantzos 1999: 95.
[161] Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 165.

the gem was a gift, possibly from the commissioner (Augustus?) to his follower (Calpurnius Severus) in recognition of the particular merits of the latter. One imagines such a gift made a great impression on the supporters of the emperor, thus the new possessor of the gem wanted to put his name on the piece to make his mark on it. Such an interpretation is supported by the fact that many Calpurnii were in the service of Augustus and Vollenweider even proposed that 'Severus' means servant to Augustus so the name could fit for instance L. Calpurnius Piso, indeed a servant and follower of Augustus and Tiberius.[162] As Boardman and others note, the subject of Diomedes stealing the Palladion was a very common one on gems, presumably based on originals in other media which only supports my view that glyptics was an integral part of the Augustan propaganda machinery (cat. nos 10.284-322, Figures 894-896).[163] Henig argues that it does not seem possible to arrange the numerous representations of the theme on gems in a satisfactory chronological order, which is true, but the better examples like the carnelian intaglio in Cambridge and the nicolo gem in the Beverley collection (cat. nos 10.284-285, Figures 894-895) definitely follow the masterpieces produced for Augustus cut in the spirit of the neo-Classical or Pasitelean phase of Hellenistic art.[164] The rest may have been produced throughout Italy and even in the provinces as an effect of progressive romanisation of the local elites and ordinary people.

One finds the same narrative elements as in the case of Aeneas group and Diomedes on the gems presenting Cassandra, a daughter of King Priam and Queen Hecuba of Troy. Her heads and busts became a fashionable decorative theme for many intaglios produced in the Late Republic and early Empire (cat. nos 10.323-324, Figure 897).[165] Already Furtwängler remarked that she became very popular in Augustan glyptics and suspected this to be due to her role as a priestess of Apollo, whose cult was very important in the Augustan Age.[166] Recently, the subject of Cassandra on engraved gems has been thoroughly analysed and commented on in detail by Maaskant-Kleibrink, who among many useful observations, noticed that indeed her heads and busts are presented in the same aspects and manners as those of Apollo.[167] Moreover, the new role assigned to Apollo Palatinus by transferring the Sybilline books to his temple at the Palatine founded by Augustus resulted in the incorporation of Cassandra into his cult as she was a famous prophetess. This relationship is illustrated on a substantial group of gems presenting Apollo approaching Cassandra during her dream or the princess sleeping beside Apollo's tripod (cat. no. 10.325, Figure 898) which resemble the pair of Mars and Rhea Silvia; this issue will be commented on later. This is not a coincidence because both motifs could circulate in Augustan times as a reference to the miraculous insemination of Atia, Augustus' mother, by Apollo while she was sleeping in his temple.[168]

These were certainly some of the reasons for Cassandra's popularity on gems those days, but it is noteworthy that she predicted that her cousin Aeneas would escape during the fall of Troy and found a new nation in Rome which places her within the Trojan cycle and makes her another figure suitable for Augustus' propaganda aimed at promoting him as the refounder of New Rome. There are numerous examples of Cassandra kneeling or sitting in front of the Palladion that clearly indicate her role in the Trojan cycle and prophesy the foundation of New Rome (cat. nos 10.326-343, Figures 899-900). It is noteworthy that some examples of those as well as gems from previously mentioned groups were engraved by top quality engravers, including those working for Augustus like Hyllos, Solon or Aulos as stated by Neverov, Vollenweider and Henig (cf. chapter 10.2).[169] Therefore, it is possible that a part of the production was initiated as propaganda campaigns by the emperor who on the one hand promoted the story of his divine origin and on the other hand his prophesised role as refounder of New Rome. Perhaps the works commissioned by him were quite influential and as in the case of other themes promoted by the imperial court, they found their way into the ordinary workshops producing gems so that the myth was promulgated by countless repetition on its own reaching vast amounts of people. The main reason why Cassandra on gems was an attractive motif for common people in the time of Augustus was that she herself was a talisman propelling people towards a golden future guaranteed by Augustus.[170]

The mythological aspect of Augustan propaganda consisted of two essential myths combined together. The first one was the Trojan cycle the major figures of which (Aeneas, Diomedes and Cassandra) I have described above, while the second was the legend focused on Romulus as Augustus was compared to him and was even regarded as the new Romulus refounding the New Rome.[171] These two narratives were interchangeable and one often notices the same mechanisms to transmit the same propagandistic message. The starting point for the Romulus myth was Rhea Silvia, the mother of the twins Romulus and Remus. According to Livy's account of the legend she

[162] Vollenweider 1987: 278.
[163] Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 165.
[164] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 197.
[165] Plantzos 1999: 95-96.
[166] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 344.
[167] Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017, and on the striking similarities between Cassandra's heads and busts and Apollo's ones, see especially p. 43.
[168] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 50.
[169] Neverov 1976, no. 116; Vollenweider 1966: 55-56; Henig in the note by Cohon and Henig 1994: 2.
[170] Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017: 46.
[171] Zanker 1988: 195.

was the daughter of Numitor, king of Alba Longa, and descended from Aeneas. Here one notices the first link between the Trojan cycle and the Roman tradition that proved to be very useful for Augustus' propaganda. Rhea Silvia becomes a particularly popular motif on intaglios in the late Roman Republic and Early Empire and she is usually represented as a clothed woman sitting on the ground. In front of her there is a large hydria with ears of corn and sometimes a tree emerges behind her with the eagle of Jupiter holding a sceptre above her head (cat. nos 10.344-366, Figures 901-902). Sometimes, she is represented as such also with *lupa romana* suckling the twins or Faustulus watching the babies (cat. nos 10.367-370, Figures 903-904). The subject perfectly transmitted the basic propaganda message from Augustus to his people. Rhea Silvia alluded to the mythical foundations of the Julian family that descended from Aeneas, Venus and Mars combined and the reign of the new ruler – Augustus- is also sanctified by Jupiter, the chief god of the Roman pantheon. The bird is about to drop the sceptre – an act which symbolises the power to be transferred on Romulus who will found Rome and this in turn recalls Augustus and his refoundation of the city. Additional symbols like the hydria or basket and ears of corn symbolised the prosperity and abundance guaranteed by Augustus.[172] Another motif including Rhea Silvia on gems is her dream during which Mars ascended to inseminate her (cat. nos 10.371-374, Figures 905-906). This story resembles a great deal the one about Atia and Apollo which is at the same time another link to the Trojan cycle where Cassandra played the same role as Rhea Silvia. On some gems the story of Atia and Apollo is recalled even more directly under the guise of the Rhea Silvia myth as Apollo appears on the gem as a serpent like in the story told by Suetonius. All in all, the significance of the gems presenting Rhea Silvia was large and important for Augustan propaganda and the number of surviving examples either in gemstones and glass produced in various parts of Italy and beyond as suggested by provenance analysis makes it clear that Augustus strongly promoted his ideology through glyptics and the response to it was very positive.

Another subject related to the myth of Rome's foundations was *lupa romana* suckling the twins Romulus and Remus. This subject became extremely popular in the Late Republic and Early Empire, however, its career in glyptics has more ancient roots.[173] Although some scholars are reluctant to take this motif as propagandistic and explain its popularity due to the bucolic character of the scene as often on gems Faustulus is depicted watching over the she-wolf and the twins,[174] in my opinion the explosion of gems with this iconography in the times of Augustus is not a coincidence and should be explained by political reasons.[175] Generally speaking, the *lupa romana* subject on the gems produced c. 50 BC-AD 50 divides into three main categories: *lupa romana* suckling the twins alone (cat. nos 10.375-394, Figures 907-908), Faustulus (sometimes accompanied by more shepherds) discovering *lupa romana* suckling the twins (cat. nos 10.395-440, Figures 909-910) and finally, a combination of both but with Roma, Mars or Victory engaged in the scene (cat. nos 10.441-456, Figures 911-914). It is noteworthy that the motif is sometimes accompanied with a bird – eagle, which like in the case of Rhea Silvia probably informs about Jupiter's support for Augustus cause (cat. nos 10.387, 390, 393 and 448) or a woodpecker that points to Mars (cat. no. 10.454, Figure 913).[176] The other time, the scene is arranged on a ship probably suggesting a naval victory (Actium?) and accompanied with inscription *COMUNIS* clearly implying a common purpose and unity under Augustus (cat. no. 10.456, Figure 914).[177] Moreover, the she-wolf motif is paired with the Aeneas story on such important monuments as the Ara Pacis Augustae which suggests that the two were linked together by Augustus' deliberate propaganda programme. The promotion of Aeneas on gems and the *lupa romana* motif at the same time under Augustus in glyptics is then not coincidental.[178] The confirmation of this comes from additional elements that accompany the motif on some gems like the sitting figure of Roma or her head, the head of Mars and Victory etc. (cat. nos 10.441-453, Figures 911-912) and inscriptions like *FELIX* inscribed on the specimen from Geneva (cat. no. 10.454, Figure 913) that informs us about the Augustan Golden Age. All these symbols and inscriptions allude to Roman power and were added to highlight divine support for Augustus' cause and the privileged position of the Romans as rulers of the world. As already remarked, sometimes the whole scene is arranged on a ship which is a clear allusion to Augustus' victory at Actium or the *lupa romana* motif is combined with Victories – another clear indication of a military victory (most likely Actium) (cat. nos 10.449, Figure 911). The motif was widely popular on gems not only in Italy but also in the Roman provinces as suggested by the provenance analysis. This provokes us to think about it also as a universal symbol of the Roman Empire and perhaps people in the provinces willingly carried such gems to manifest their affiliation to Rome and the emperor. This is confirmed by the presence of inscriptions being abbreviations of gem sitters' names (cat. nos 10.391 and 394, Figure 907).

Finally, it is noteworthy to see that in the times of Augustus the image of Romulus appears in glyptics.

[172] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 249; Weiß 2007, no. 247.
[173] For a complete study of this motif in glyptics, see: Dardenay 2009.
[174] Dardenay 2009.
[175] See also a similar opinion in: Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 174.
[176] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 296; Evans 1992: 63-64.
[177] Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 202.
[178] Zazoff 1983: 295-296.

It was unpopular during Republican times because he recalled kingship so much hatred by the Romans, but it was Julius Caesar who already changed that image of Romulus for the mighty ruler, founder of Rome and brave general.[179] These virtues were later exploited by Augustus who took Romulus as his example also because he was descendant of Aeneas which supported Augustus' own claim.[180] The statue of Romulus was placed in the Forum Augustus in front of that of Aeneas, hence, gems with this mythological figure were produced during his reign too and they were widespread not only in Italy but also in the provinces, especially Gaul, for which one has evidence (cat. nos 10.457-462, Figure 915). The same subject was used also in wall paintings as evidenced in Pompeii.[181] The phenomenon sparked under Augustus endured for the following centuries in glyptics, although, it never reached a similar range on glyptics as it did on coinage.[182]

10.8. Promotion of peace and prosperity

Apart from the commemoration of the military victories of Augustus and the celebration of the refounding of the New Rome by the emperor, it was crucial for his propaganda to create a specific climate of security and prosperity so that the people of Rome believed that indeed the new world order was established and new Golden Age (*aurea aetas*) had just begun. This became a focus of Augustus' propaganda after 20 BC and official arts all strongly influenced ordinary artists and stimulated people through the decorations of altars, temples, statues, coinage, gems and other luxury objects which all now employed rich symbolism including allusions to abundance, prosperity and peace guaranteed by the *princeps*.[183] This was the time when references to Julius Caesar, father of Augustus were recalled alongside the relationships with Aeneas, Mars and Venus described above in order to promote family issues and show continuity which at the time resulted with peace and prosperity.[184] Fertility and abundance were obtained through the gods who sanctioned Augustus' moves giving him a chance to establish something which was durable and solid in contrast to the turbulent period of the Civil War (*saeculum aureum*).[185] For instance, the secular games to Apollo in 17 BC were a perfect occasion to manifest *Pax Augusta* and reflections of all these issues can be found in glyptics as in any other branch of art. For it is indeed a special complex symbolic language applied those days based on a variety of signs and codes that at the first glance could be taken just as decorative elements, but in fact transmit powerful propaganda messages or introduce the ground for more important issues to be accepted.[186] In terms of glyptics, this mechanism is observable since the times of Sulla as during his domination, symbolic gems appear that scholars often interpret as related to the promotion of specific ideas and qualities like *virtus*, *dignitas*, *pax*, *concordia*, *ordo rerum* and they should be linked to the Roman political leaders if they are meant to express a specific political programme (cf. chapters 7.1.6, 8.1.11, 8.2.9, 9.1.8, 9.2.7, 9.3.1.9 and 9.3.2.9).[187] It is even sometimes suggested that such gems were used to identify with the politics of the leader and were carried in order to manifest someone's support for his case.[188] This seems especially true for the Augustan Age because the production of symbolic gems was so considerable those days and indeed, their political connotations may be one of the explanations for their popularity, but on a more sophisticated level that includes them into a wider 'cultural phenomenon'. It might be argued that due to the strictly private character of engraved gems, it is easy to make a mistake that often leads to overinterpretation and many subjects taken somehow automatically as propagandistic, are in fact combinations used for private amulets that should ensure the owners good luck, abundance, prosperity and the blessing of various deities. On the other hand, there are combinations that clearly promote imperial qualities and the Golden Age of Augustus so that it is clear that these two categories mingled together and the boundary between them is often blurred. Still the ultimate conclusion is that in the Age of Augustus the universal symbolism employed for gems' decorations followed general trends encouraged by the imperial court and its popularity definitely informs us about the success of Augustus 'cultural programme'.

It is a fact that the number of symbolic gems produced under Augustus outnumbers those produced earlier and the range of combinations of symbols is wider than ever before. There are several main elements that worked as points of reference enclosed by additional symbols. One of them was the cornucopia – symbol of abundance used for political reasons on engraved gems and coins already by the Ptolemies in the Hellenistic period.[189] In the 1st century BC Roman glyptics, the cornucopia or cornucopiae were popular symbols on gems standing for abundance and prosperity also often brought by Fortuna. On Augustan gems the symbol was particularly popular and combined with many other positive elements like *modius*, poppies, ears of corn, rudder, animals such as mouse, peacock, parrot

[179] Evans 1992: 102-103.
[180] Zanker 1988: 201-210.
[181] Schefold 1957: 289.
[182] See, for instance a similar representation in: *RIC* II Hadrian, nos. 266c-g and i and 370; *RIC* III Antoninus Pius, nos. 90b-c and 698; *RIC* IV Severus Alexander, nos. 85-86, 96-97, 103-104, 223-224, 481-483 and 626a-b.
[183] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 250; Zanker 1988: 167.
[184] Zanker 1988: 167-172.
[185] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 447-448.
[186] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 352-353; Zanker 1988: 172-183.
[187] Sena Chiesa 2002: 408-411.
[188] Sena Chiesa 2012: 257.
[189] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 42; Sena Chiesa 2013: 68.

or butterfly and objects such as caduceus, torch, globe and even astrological signs, especially Capricorn (cat. nos 10.463-493, Figures 916-919). According to some scholars, these combinations illustrate the Augustan *aurea aetas* and *felicitas temporum* with reference to Augustus' domination on land and sea.[190] This view is based on the fact that many elements can be linked with deities acting in favour of Augustus such as the globe – Jupiter, caduceus, *marsupium* and cockerel – Mercury, raven, lyre and tripod - Apollo and so on and the fact that Capricorn, the astrological sign of Augustus is also often present supports this idea. The great number of these gems, often made of glass, suggests that they were mass produced and analysing the provenance and history of those pieces, it is clear that many of them were manufactured in workshops active in Italy including Aquileia. According to Vollenweider, this would be another argument for giving them some political significance.[191] The fact that so many gems bearing cornucopiae and other symbols were produced in Aquileia, a workshop that was not directly controlled by Augustus, suggests that these kinds of gems were popular civic objects which were targeted by Augustus' 'cultural programme' and ideology.[192] Most of the iconographical elements listed above can be explained as having significance for a private user too so that even ordinary people could easily identify with imperial values. Even the elements that at first glance do not seem to fit, like the peacock, which is difficult to be explained in an Augustan context unless it is a symbol of Juno and represents fertility, the rudder, which may, of course, allude to the Battle at Actium but is plausibly an attribute of Fortuna signifying good luck, the globe, suggesting domination and power, but also associated with Jupiter and possibly ensuring the god's blessing, the parrot bringing about bacchic theme rather difficult to be explained as an Augustan symbol unless indicating the support of that deity for Augustus' cause after the victory at Actium and finally Heracles' club could also both recall Augustus' victory over Mark Antony and avert all evil forces due to its apotropaic character. All these elements worked well either for a private individual and his personal wishes or as official imperial rhetoric.

Similar rules work for other popular combinations of symbols in the times of Augustus. The *aerarium* or crater were other popular centre-symbols on Augustan symbolic gems that were combined with a variety of elements like ears of corn and poppies signifying prosperity and wealth (cat. nos 10.494-508, Figures 920-921).[193] As Maaskant-Kleibrink observes, the *aerarium* is engraved on gems, which is suggested by the fact that the head of Octavian sometimes appeared in juxtaposition with that symbol earlier (cf. chapter 9.3.1.4), and thus, the political significance of these gems could be considerable. It was possibly later that the symbol was reinterpreted as a *modius* under the influence of the coinage of the 1st century AD.[194] Moreover, among the countless combinations, there are those which can be linked with Augustus on the basis of additional elements like dolphins that refer to the Battle at Actium or Venus as another symbol of his military victory (cat. no. 10.506, Figure 921), birds pecking fruits, which were popular decorative elements on the Ara Pacis Augustae, for instance, as well as eagles symbolising imperial power and Jupiter's favour (cat. nos 10.497 and 501-504).[195] On the other hand, the *modius* is combined with elements like Heracles' club, parrots, lizard and astral symbols as well as occasionally inscriptions suggesting the strictly private character of some of these gems which were certainly used as popular amulets (cat. nos 10.495-496, 501 and 505).

The same applies to another popular symbol often assigned to Augustus' propaganda of peace and prosperity – *dextrarum iunctio* (cat. nos 10.509-518, Figure 922).[196] It is combined either with symbols used in Augustus' propaganda like legionary standards, dolphins, the *cithara* of Apollo or caduceus of Mercury (cat. nos 10.511-513 and 518, Figure 922), but on the other hand, again, inscriptions suggest the use of similar gems as personal amulets or betrothal rings (cat. nos 10.516-517).[197] A very similar situation occurs with a combination consisting of a clenched fist holding poppies and ears of corn (cat. nos 10.519-524, Figure 923). Generally, it is believed to symbolise bread, wealth and glory,[198] but it is also sometimes taken for an emblem of the Caesarians and followers of Augustus.[199]

There are many more symbolic gems whose meanings are ambiguous and can be explained either as related to Augustan propaganda or as private amulets. A palm tree combined on a gem with a globe could signify military victory and Augustus' domination as suggested by Sena Chiesa in the case of an intaglio from Luni,[200] but astrological elements on the same gem indicate Jupiter, the ruler of the sky, which still fits Augustan rhetoric, but might equally be seen as a private wish for good luck and Jupiter's blessing (cat. no. 10.525, Figure 924). On a sard intaglio in Hannover, a finger ring is presented, and it automatically brings about associations with earlier gems related to Octavian's propaganda (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1), but now it occurs in

190 Vollenweider 1979, no. 458; 1984, no. 330; Weiß 1996, no. 417; 2007, no. 595.
191 Vollenweider 1955: 100-101.
192 Henig 1994: 154.
193 Vollenweider 1979, nos. 451 and 487.
194 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 79.
195 Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 250 and 256; Zanker 1988: 179-183.
196 Sena Chiesa 1978, nos. 165 and 167; Weiß 2007, no. 602.
197 Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 165.
198 Zahlhaas 1993, no. 49.
199 Vollenweider 1979, no. 426.
200 Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 166.

a combination with a swan, butterfly, ear of corn and grasshopper – elements that cannot be directly linked with Augustus, however, they make sense if they are treated as symbols of private wishes and issues (cat. no. 10.526, Figure 925). Another case are the gems bearing Heracles' club set with various symbols among which some would be plausible as Augustan propaganda (dolphins, *marsupium*, Isis' crown) and for instance could celebrate his victory at Actium,[201] but it seems more reasonable to take them as personal amulets averting the Evil Eye and ensuring fertility, prosperity and good luck to the owner (cat. nos 10.527-530, Figure 926). The other instances are for example *cista mystica*, a motif that could be related to the *ludi saeculares* celebrations (cat. nos 10.531-533, Figure 927), while a combination of a helmeted head surrounded with a charging bull, Capricorn, ram, palm branch, shield and bundle of thunderbolts (cat. no. 10.532, Figure 928) or the one including a lyre with two birds atop (cat. no. 10.533, Figure 929) could equally be related to Augustus and his ideology as well as to an individual's private wishes.

All the combinations discussed above seem problematical, yet they certainly have some Augustan spirit and thus, may be related to his propaganda. There are many more symbolic gems dated to the Age of Augustus that are more explicitly related to the emperor's propagandistic actions. For instance, a highly popular theme those days is a burning altar or fountain flanked by various symbols referring generally to the concept of *Pax Augusta* and *aurea aetas* (cat. nos 10.534-560, Figures 930-932). These gems are often decorated with symbols known from other propaganda media like coinage, for instance a charging bull or heifer, which also exist on Augustan gems separately (cf. below) or a relief as in the case of a fragment of a cameo featuring a pedestal base decorated with egg and dart, wreath ribbons and other floral elements in the Content Family collection that resembles the decoration of the Ara Pacis Augustae (cat. no. 10.561, Figure 933), therefore, taking them as propaganda pieces does not appear unreasonable. Some scholars even attempt to link them to specific events like the construction of *aqua virgo* by Agrippa or Octavian's victory at Actium,[202] but it seems more reasonable to take them just as reflections of Augustan ideology promoting peace and prosperity due to his accomplishments, a sort of carefully designed 'cultural and political programme'.[203] This view is also supported by the fact that similar decorative elements were applied in Roman architecture, relief, wall-painting and even Arretine bowls due to the considerable influence of official art.[204] Private commissioners were eager to decorate their personal objects (including rings with gems) according to the general trends created by Augustus and his court which should be taken as a successful response to imperial propaganda.[205]

There are several main themes presented on Augustan symbolic gems that are clearly propagandistic in character. One of them is Capricorn either combined with other marine symbols and swimming to the side with the globe between its legs with sometimes additional elements like a palm branch, cornucopia, dolphin or trident (cat. nos 10.562-583, Figures 934-935). The difference between the earlier gems bearing Capricorn and those amassed in this part of the study is a much greater uniformity of type and only infrequent references to naval victories which in the case of a dolphin might be related to Cupid as the son of Venus. The type employed on gems very often mirrors the image one finds on aurei and denarii minted for Augustus c. 18-17 BC,[206] and those struck c. 12 BC (Figure 936).[207] The presence of the globe signifies Augustus' dominance on land and sea and is a symbol of his *imperium*.[208] Provenance and history analysis suggest that most of these gems were manufactured in Italy, including Aquileia, but they were later dispersed outside the peninsula most likely by soldiers or merchants. As Weiß suggests, these gems were surely used to manifest one's support of Augustus and could have been especially popular among soldiers.[209]

Concerning other political symbols appearing on Augustan engraved gems, I have already discussed the Imperial Eagle Cameo from Vienna featuring the sacred bird of Jupiter employed as a political symbol of Augustus' reign. The eagle signified the imperial power that comes from the chief god of Roman pantheon. It became a popular subject on engraved gems produced during Augustus' reign often combined with other positive elements highlighting the full and everlasting power of Augustus like the globe, Victory, laurel wreath, bundle of thunderbolts, ears of corn and so on (cat. nos 10.584-620, Figures 937-938). It is noteworthy that many gems presenting the imperial eagle set it with military symbols like legionary standards (cat. nos 10.595 and 605) and gems with this type of iconography are found in Roman provinces which suggests they appealed to the soldiers who carried them there.[210]

[201] Vollenweider 1979, no. 546; Weiβ 1996, no. 418; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 932.
[202] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 302; Vollenweider 1979, no. 430; Weiß 207, nos. 588-589.
[203] See also alternative hypothesis suggesting these gems to be related to personal matters: Middleton 1991, no. 19.
[204] Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 250 and 256.
[205] Łuszczewska 2002: 61.
[206] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 125-130.
[207] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 174-175.
[208] Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 160.
[209] Weiß 2007, no. 557.
[210] Platz-Horster 2018, no. 3.

Another subject used in Augustan propaganda in glyptics is the heifer (cat. nos 10.621-642, Figures 939-940). There are multiple explanations for the appearance of cattle on engraved gems,[211] but in the times of Augustus a special type was employed that mirrors the image from a special issue of aurei which was in turn inspired by the group of four heifer statues executed by Myron (Figure 941).[212] The most famous representation of the cow in antiquity was the bronze statue by Myron (mid-5th century BC), which stood on the Acropolis at Athens.[213] The sculptor also made statues of four heifers, probably originally related to the introduction of Heracles into Olympos.[214] During the reign of Augustus, these were transferred from Athens to Rome where they were installed in front of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill. It is very likely that the heifer appearing on gems and coins alike is based on these statues. Top gem engravers like Apollonios cut their masterpieces with this theme (cat. no. 10.637, Figure 939). Rustic animals like cows/heifers, suckling calves and even herds of cattle should be accounted to the idyllic subjects which are typical of Augustan glyptics and communicate the idea of *terre nourricière*.[215] Apart from that it is noteworthy that the miraculous heifer was sacrificed to Diana which resulted in Rome's role as *caput rerum* according to the prophecy of the divine sanction of Rome's empire in Italy.[216] As Diana was one of the patronesses of Octavian/Augustus, this explanation for the popularity of the heifer on gems in the Augustan Age is also possible. However, it is also possible that being aware of Antony's identification with Heracles, his goal was to erase this connection by dismantling the original composition and reinterpreting the subject in a new way, much more his own.[217] This should be considered counterpropaganda.

There are more examples of connections between gems and coins minted in the Age of Augustus. One of the most common devices on Augustan era gems is the butting bull (cat. nos 10.643-670, Figures 942-944).[218] As explained by Weiß, the motif is not related to the unbeatable power of Mars shown during the Battle of Philippi – a common view among scholars, especially numismatists.[219] It resembles the bulls appearing on the coins struck by Augustus in Lugdunum in the years 14–10 BC a great deal (Figure 945).[220] The subject was even employed on a splendid chalcedony intaglio carved by Hyllos, one of the imperial court masters (cf. chapter 10.2). Hyllos' work itself or his concept were copied by ordinary gem cutters (cat. no. 10.660, Figure 942). It is true that some variants present the bull mainly as the zodiacal symbol *Taurus* and consequently such gems were plausibly personal amulets (cat. nos 10.661, 667 and 670, Figure 943). However, some of the bulls might illustrate Augustus' relationship with Venus (and through her to be allusions to *gens* Iulia and Julius Caesar).[221] It might be coincidental, but the fact is that many of the intaglios presenting the butting bull motif cut in the times of Augustus are made of sardonyx, onyx, agate or banded agate (cat. nos 10.643, 649, 651, 653-655, 662, 666 and 670) – the kinds of gemstones which were, on the one hand considered as an aphrodisiac, but on the other hand as referring to Venus.[222] Thus, the charging bull (or rather *Taurus*) motif on gems should be recognized as an aspect of Augustus' complex visual propaganda. Sometimes inscriptions - abbreviations of the gem sitters' names - accompany this particular subject (cat. nos 10.652-654 and 668, Figure 946) but it cannot be said if this was due to the conscious manifestation of loyalty towards Augustus or if it was simply marking of someone's personal horoscope or the amuletic properties of the intaglio.

There are many more symbolic gems bearing subjects that can be explained either as private or political. For instance, if a crab appears on Augustan gems, it can be explained as the astrological symbol of *Cancer*,[223] however, some gems (cat. no. 10.671, Figure 947) feature the same composition as a special issue of aurei minted for Augustus in 19 BC (Figure 463) - a crab holding a butterfly in its claws - which may allude to Augustus' maxim *festina lente*.[224] This makes one wonder if those examples could have had some political significance (but cf. discussion on similar motif in chapter 9.3.1.4).[225] Another case is a plough (cat. nos 10.672-673, Figure 948), the appearance of which on gems dated to Augustan times according to Weiß might relate to the land distribution to veterans and soldiers.[226] It can also signify victory over Africa since the item appears as such on several coin issues in the 1st century BC,[227]

[211] For a thorough discussion on this subjects, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 262.
[212] Rambach and Walker 2012.
[213] Rush 2012: 78-86; Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 156.
[214] Lapatin 2010: 260.
[215] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: 91. See also a detailed commentary to this issue in: Campagnolo and Fallani 2018: 128.
[216] Evans 1992: 151-152.
[217] Lapatin 2010: 260.
[218] However, the subject itself is much more ancient, see for instance: Boardman 2001, pls. 498–499; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, nos. 37-38.
[219] Weiβ 1996, no. 311. For a discussion on the coins, see: Trillmich 1988: 488-489.
[220] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 166–169, 176–178, 186–189 (aurei and denarii of Augustus, Lugdunum, 15–10 BC) and no. 228 (quadrans of Augustus, Lugdunum, 15–10 BC).
[221] Megow (1989: 449), Platz-Horster (1994, no. 315) and Zanker (1988: 225–227) link the bull with Mars Ultor, while Weiß (1994: 262–269) and Zwierlein-Diehl (2007: 141–142) see it as an astrological symbol.
[222] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.54.
[223] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 507; Weiß 2007, no. 509.
[224] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 25.
[225] For the coins, see: *RIC* I² Augustus, no. 316.
[226] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 204; Weiß 1996, no. 428.
[227] The corn ears and the plough appear in Roman Republican coinage in the 1st century BC usually as symbols of Africa, see: *RRC*, nos. 357/4a-b (C. Norbanus, 83 BC), 443/1 (Caesar, 49–48 BC) and 525/2–4c (Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, 40 BC or later).

or as Vollenweider proposed for earlier gems, refers to the revolution of Gaius Marius (157–86 BC) and Lucius Cornelius Cinna (130–84 BC), and more precisely to Gaius Norbanus Balbo (d. 82 BC) who was said to have supplied the people of Rome with corn.[228] Thus, later gems (Augustan) could refer to the concept of *aurea aetas*. Nevertheless, since the subject is often combined with symbols of prosperity and abundance, but no specific political elements are involved, such a configuration is also likely to be another amuletic theme ensuring these qualities or confirming the landowner status of the gem's sitter.[229]

10.9. Luxury objects (State Cameos, cameo vessels etc.) and religious propaganda

As my survey on the use of gems as luxury objects shows above, prior to Augustus intaglios, cameos, cameo vessels and small figurines cut in the round were limited and in fact it was only in the late 1st century BC and early 1st century AD when these artforms became fashionable, although their purpose was purely Hellenistic, transferred from Alexandria to Rome.[230] The definition of State Cameos as these large gems are usually called was given in the beginning of the book (cf. chapter 5.1.14). Apart from educational and panegyric functions, these objects seemingly raised social status by giving to their owners *auctoritas maxima* as stated by Pliny the Elder.[231] Clear evidence for State Cameos being made for Augustus and the members of his family and imperial court comes from Vergil's *Aeneid*.[232] Only the emperor was able to hire the best engravers who could produce pieces of this kind. There was for this reason such large-scale production of portrait cameos under Augustus, most of them bearing the heads and busts of the members of the Julio-Claudian family (cf. chapters 10.4 and 10.10). Apart from these, cameos like *Gemma Augustea* were occasionally produced too and if one believes that piece to be indeed a gift from Livia to Augustus, it becomes clear how big a change took place as regards the way the imperial family perceived itself (cf. chapter 10.5). Glyptics was a perfect medium for the realisation of the imperial desires of Augustus and his circle. On the one hand, cheap glass gems and gemstone intaglios transmitted official propaganda messages on a daily basis, but on the other hand, State Cameos allowed the emperor and his circle to celebrate their victories, successes and private events to the full as well as to immortalize their own images very much as it was in the Hellenistic royal courts due to the private character of glyptics which helped to keep these celebrations from those who might react unfavourably.[233] As a result, the emperor's needs were satisfied and his vigorously cultivated reputation of modesty was maintained intact.

Good illustrations of that are the Ptolemaic cameos with double-portraits as well as vessels like the famous Tazza Farnese and Coupe de Ptolémée that find their parallels among the cameos and vessels produced under Augustus and the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[234] State Cameos are discussed in this book in individual chapters showing their propagandistic potential and the role they played in establishing the Julio-Claudian family identity and position within Roman society. It is difficult to say whether State Cameos and related luxury objects were available to a wider public, for instance by their exhibition in the imperial palace, Senate or temples as suggested by some scholars.[235] Nevertheless, it seems more probable that they were not so openly displayed and could be treasured in Augustus' private house or delivered only to people from his inner circle.[236] This is suggested by the intimate subjects they portray, the highly sophisticated and complex symbolic language they use as well as allusions to divine honours not yet accepted in Roman society.[237] Also, in some cases, the history of their provenance suggests that they were transferred from Rome to Constantinople when the latter became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire which further suggests their highly private status and exclusive use at the imperial court. Their propagandistic value was still considerable since those pieces affected a narrow, but highly demanding group of close followers of the emperor who would not have been satisfied with popular intaglios and cameos. Their access to objects unavailable to the public already made them special and enabling his followers to participate in a top-quality artistic experience would have been more profitable for Augustus than any other way of making an impression on those people, except for direct gifts.

One should also allow thoughts that State Cameos were probably imitated by small communities and individuals seeking to express their loyalty and appreciation to the first emperor of Rome. In Vienna, there is preserved a small fragment of a much larger cameo which presents Magna Mater or a city goddess handing Victoriola with a laurel wreath to the emperor (most likely Augustus) holding a sceptre (cat. no. 10.674, Figure 949). She wears a turret-crown on the head suggesting her origin

[228] Vollenweider 1979, no. 476.
[229] Gołyźniak 2017, nos. 183 and 303.
[230] Megow 1987: 4; Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 314.
[231] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.23, 85; Sena Chiesa 2009b: 85.
[232] Vergil, *Aeneid*, 6.883.
[233] Hölscher 2011: 68.
[234] Many of these Hellenistic/Roman cameos and cameo vessels are controversial due to the uncertain identification of the figures they depict and their dates. See the most recent discussion on this problem with useful tables showing various interpretations in: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 59-68. See also another interesting commentary on this matter in: Sena Chiesa 2012: 266-267.
[235] Guiraud 1996: 116.
[236] Gross 2008: 19; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 146-147.
[237] Sena Chiesa 2012: 268.

from the East Mediterranean.[238] The object's quality lags behind the top pieces like *Gemma Augustea*, thus, it becomes clear that it was not made in the imperial court workshop but most likely in a provincial one located in the East Mediterranean. It was meant to be a gift for Augustus, perhaps on the occasion of the retrieve of legionary standards from the Parthians or another accomplishment. One expects that such an expensive present had a similar impact as the statues and temples of Augustus erected in the cities of Asia Minor in response to the widespreading imperial cult, but it was much more intimate and direct even personal statement of support.[239]

A very special and specific group of Augustan glyptic products were cameo vessels. They were more significant than the *muhrrine vessels* brought to Rome by Pompey the Great from the East because apart from being luxurious objects testifying to the wealth and economic capabilities of their owners, they transmitted powerful propaganda messages carved in relief.[240] Furtwängler noticed that many of them were made on the occasion of the birth of imperial family members which places them in the intimate sphere and celebration of important family events.[241] However, it does not always seem to be a cheerful occasion to be commemorated on such vessels as suggested by Simon and Zwierlein-Diehl in the case of the onyx flagon from Saint-Maurice d'Agaune Abbey (see below). Moreover, the recent discovery of the Bonhams Vase allowed us to reinterpret the iconography of the Portland Vase and link the two with other Roman cameo vessels bearing bacchic themes which points to their wedding-gift function. As in the case of State Cameos, the complexity of the scenes presented on the cameo vessels, their mythological allusions and rich, sometimes ambiguous, symbolism often results in various interpretations being proposed by scholars.[242] Be that as it may, the artistic virtuosity reflected in the carved relief decoration suggests them to be products of the imperial court workshop or on the commissions of aristocratic families loyal to the emperor aimed at making an impression on him by their gifts. Augustus' special esteem for vessels cut out of precious stones is attested by Suetonius who claims that after the Battle of Actium, the emperor took only one *muhrinne vessel* from the Alexandrian treasury.[243] Several surviving vessels of this type give us the most direct insight into Roman imperial private propaganda.[244]

In Berlin there is an *alabastron* (perfume vase) made of four-layered sardonyx carved with two scenes: the one is a religious ritual involving three women holding an infant male, while the second presents Venus Victrix seated on a rock with a trophy and *aedicula* to the sides and there is a barbarian captive beneath her (cat. no. 10.675, Figure 950a-c). Because Venus was the divine ancestor of the *gens* Iulia, one quickly realises that the mythological scenes are related to Octavian/Augustus and his family. The new-born child is usually identified with Marcellus, who was the first successor designated by Augustus himself, thus, the object is regarded as commemorative of his birth in 42 BC.[245] There is no agreement to the identification of the female figures holding the child as they might be the members of the Julio-Claudian family or Roman birth goddesses Carmenta, Porrima and Posverta or the three Fates prophesying a great future for the child and the whole Julio-Claudian family.[246] It is equally problematical to date the object precisely, but if indeed the child depicted on the vessel is Marcellus, even a date as early as c. 40 BC is possible. Giving the function of the flask (perfume vase), it is likely that the object was a gift from Octavian/Augustus to his sister Octavia on the occasion of giving a birth to the new member of their family. This seems to be supported also by the fact that one of the women presented has coiffure similar to the one used by Octavia at that time (hair braided around the head and tied in a bun at its back), while the other two female characters have their hair tight at the top of their heads which is more typical for divine figures in those days. Could then Octavia be cleverly composed into the scene?

The references to familial stories are clear on a particularly intriguing *amphoriskos* made of sardonyx housed in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (cat. no. 10.676, Figure 951). The vessel is decorated with the figures of Aphrodite/Venus, Apollo and Artemis surrounded with Cupids. The scene is traditionally interpreted as an allegory of might and love, but the three main figures are certainly consciously set together to represent Octavian (Apollo), his sister Octavia (Artemis/Diana) while Aphrodite/Venus is here the patroness of the Julian family.[247] The iconography was chosen in the same spirit as the two agate plaques celebrating Octavian and Octavia as a pair of gods (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2), but the presence of Aphrodite/Venus

[238] Zwierlein-Diehl 2008a: 203.
[239] On the statues and temples erected in the eastern provinces, see: Zanker 1988: 297-306.
[240] Del Bufalo 2009. For a thorough analysis of cameo and other vessels made of precious stones, see: Bühler 1973.
[241] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 336-341. See also on this matter: Laubscher 1974: 247 who is of the same opinion as Furtwängler.
[242] For instance the Portland Vase has been interpreted by Zanker as a wedding gift (1988: 253-254) and Haynes also doubts in political message to be transmitted here (1995) while Zwierlein-Diehl thinks the vase was made ca. 30 BC and the subject is miraculous insemination of Atia by Apollo and birth of Augustus (2007: 170-174).
[243] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 71.
[244] Most of these vessels were made within the chronological horizon spanning from ca. 50/40 BC to AD 50/60, see more on this matter in: Whitehouse and Painter 1993: 4.
[245] See a detailed analysis of this piece in: Bühler 1973, no. 68; Platz-Horster 2012, no. 86; Zwierlein-Diehl 1999; 2007: 169-170.
[246] Lapatin 2015: 257.
[247] Bühler 1973, no. 73.

puts emphasis on the family issue which was much more important during Augustus' reign. Consequently, it is difficult to precisely date this vessel as it would fit both 30s and 20s BC propaganda practices.[248]

Another interesting example of a cameo vessel produced under Augustus is the onyx flagon from the Saint-Maurice d'Agaune Abbey (cat. no. 10.677, Figure 952a-b). This is another object decorated with a mythological scene involving Venus and Anchises – clear references to Augustus' ancestral story.[249] The dating, meaning of the iconography and function of the piece remain uncertain, but recently Zwierlein-Diehl analysed it thoroughly pointing to its propagandistic value. Most likely the vessel was commissioned by Augustus to commemorate the death of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.[250]

Apart from the vessels cut in multi-layered onyxes or sardonyxes, in Augustan times there was a considerable production of cameo glass vessels and the well-organised workshop might have been managed by Dioscurides himself, at least in the beginning. The best-known example by far is the famous Portland Vase housed in the British Museum in London (cat. no. 10.678, Figure 953a-e), which was most likely found in a monumental tomb just outside Rome in Monte del Grano.[251] It is decorated with two scenes variously interpreted by scholars. It is not even fully agreed if they are related to the same narrative or present two separate stories. The most attractive and interesting explanation is that proposed by Simon who suggests that the vase was made after c. 30 BC, perhaps by Dioscurides himself or in his workshop, for Augustus in order to commemorate his mythical birth-story.[252] The figures depicted would be on the one side Gaius Octavius, father of the future emperor, and Attia, his mother who was miraculously inseminated by Apollo in the guise of a serpent (in this instance a sea-serpent – *ketos*) during her dream. The whole act would be observed by Aeneas from whom Augustus claimed descent and noteworthy is the presence of a Cupid who might signify Venus, another divine patroness of the *gens* Iulia. On the other side of the amphora, there are Octavian, Octavia and Livia presented, while the original bottom-disc has been broken and replaced with a new one in 1810 presenting a bust of Paris or Priam.[253]

The explanation proposed here is one thing, but it is also problematic to propose a definite function for the Portland Vase. For it has been viewed as a funerary urn for the ashes of the heirs of Augustus (Marcellus, d. 23 BC, Lucius Caesar, d. AD 2 or Gaius Caesar, d. AD 4) or, on the contrary, as a wedding gift.[254]

In this instance, a better and still largely political seems the interpretation proposed by Walker who sees in the decoration of the Portland Vase an allegory to the historical events, namely Cleopatra's seduction of Antony and his desolation of Octavia in 35 BC.[255]

Criticism of Simon's interpretation emerged already in the 1990s[256] but it is the recently discovered Bohnams Vase in a private collection, which is a comparable piece to the Portland Vase (doubtless as the form is concerned but the quality is not at the same level), which allows us to establish a more certain interpretation of the iconography and function of such vessels (cat. no. 10.679, Figure 954). The Bonhams Vase is higher and has two registers which implies that longly-suggested rework of the Portland Vase already in antiquity indeed took place. The subject of the upper register on the Bohnams Vase is the myth of Antiope, while the lower one presents an Amazonomachy. Analysing the scene depicted on the vase it is clear that both sides of the vessel are complimentary and tell one story which suggests the same is the case with the Portland Vase. Another finding is that the Amazonomachy from the lower register links to the Antiope myth in the upper one and on the Bohnams vase there is a procession that is a part of the Mysteries of Dionysus. The Antiope myth is concerned with the history of Thebes as her father was Nycteus the 'nocturnal' Theban king. Basing on this, von Mosch reinterpreted the iconography of the Portland Vase figuring out that it depicts the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia and the story of the foundation of Thebes.[257] At the same time, the Bonhams Vase presents the birth of Dionysus which is consistent with similar cameo vessels that usually bear dionysiac subjects.[258] As a result, the whole political-historical interpretation of the Portland Vase as a mean of Augustan propaganda might seem doubtful,[259] however, still, the object makes sense if taken as a luxurious object for entertainment e.g. symposium. The vessel was most likely destined to be used during the banquets at the imperial court which stays in consistency with dionysiac subjects known from other similar vessels but its decoration could have celebrated the foundation of the New Rome under Augustus by bringing back the history of his

[248] Dominguez-Arranz 2015.
[249] Bühler 1973, no. 35.
[250] Simon 1998; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 174-177. See also a detailed analysis of the myth represented on this vessel and its potential connections with their similar luxury goods in: Schwarz 1991.
[251] Whitehouse and Painter 1993: 3. But see also their contradictory view and criticism of this attribution in Haynes 1995: 152.
[252] Simon 1986: 163-164 and 247.
[253] For a detailed analysis of the history of the Portland Vase, its iconography including various explanations and usage proposals, see: Harden (ed.) 1988, nos. 29-30; Whitehouse and Painter 1993; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 170-174.
[254] Harden (ed.) 1988: 63-64.
[255] Walker 2015: 41-63.
[256] Haynes 1995.
[257] Mosch 2010.
[258] See some examples discussed in: Whitehouse and Painter 1993 as well as: *Auction 1999*, lot 85.
[259] Mosch 2010: 212.

birth and his connections with mythological figures like Venus, Apollo, Achilles and Aeneas and bring about the emperor's intention for establishment of a dynasty and the continuity of the principate. At the same time, it might have made a reference to Octavia and her eternal reputation as a virtuous, single mother abandoned by Mark Antony.[260] A suitable moment for production of such sophisticated objects is the late 1st century BC because as Zwierlein-Diehl observes, all the figures have idealised faces and coiffures consistent with Augustan art.[261] Perhaps Walker is right that death of Octavia in 11 BC was an occasion for which the vase was produced.[262] In any case, it was certainly designed to be used by Augustus or someone from his inner circle as these types of vessels were extravagant, rare and luxurious. The Portland Vase is then one of the best examples of an imperial product that was copied by aristocracy and it illustrates how official art influenced the private one.

One may point to several more objects as belonging to the same category as the Portland and Bonhams Vases. Among them there is the Getty Cup which in terms of technology, style and composition seems very close to the Portland Vase and is dated to the end of the 1st century BC or early 1st century AD (cat. no. 10.680, Figure 955a-d).[263] It presents a bacchic theme the propagandistic value of which seems close to zero unless one finds a reclining woman (Ariadne) similar to Attia in her dream and generally speaking, the bacchic, peaceful subject would be relevant for Augustan propaganda after 20 BC which focused on the promotion of peace and prosperity. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that this cup was made for the private use of a Roman nobleman rather than for the Augustan imperial court and its decoration simply fits the function of the vessel, although, possibly it was manufactured in the same workshop as the Portland and Bonhams Vases.[264] The same is probably the case with two decorative cameo glass panels found in Pompeii which also bear bacchic themes. The first one presents the appearance of Dionysus to Ariadne, while the second Ariadne's Initiation into the mysteries. Both objects are dated to the early 1st century AD and are most likely products of the same workshop as the Portland and Bonhams Vases and the Getty Cup.[265] The Getty Museum in Malibu possess another intriguing artefact – a cameo glass bottle decorated with a scene of Horus, son of Isis paying homage to his mother and to Toth for bringing him back to life after he had been bitten by a scorpion (cat. no. 10.681, Figure 956a-e). In the case of this object, a claim that it transmits a propaganda message might actually be justified. As Harden observes, the depiction on the bottle is a reference to Horus and Heliopolis from which Augustus in 10 BC transported two obelisks and installed them in Rome (one of them in the Circus Maximus), thus, the vessel might commemorate this important propaganda event and reflect a combination of the power of a solar god with the *imperium* of Augustus.[266]

10.10. Promotion of family and successors

Promotion of family members and the family as a dynasty was a very important issue for Augustus since the beginning of his political career and became one of the main aims of his propaganda practices in glyptics after 27 BC.[267] As has been discussed above, he used to refer to his divine origins from Venus, Apollo and Aeneas through Julius Caesar and his mother Atia. During his fierce rivalry with Mark Antony, his promotional actions in glyptics involved his sister Octavia whose propagandistic potential and role in glyptics, which should be considered part of the counter-propaganda phenomenon, was described above. When Octavian became Augustus, the focus of his family propaganda shifted to his wife Livia and successors he designated one after another. For this reason, a good number of intaglios and cameos were produced for various occasions in order to promote members of the Julio-Claudian family. Megow is certainly right when he says that cameos were related to dynastic propaganda because the biggest concentrations of their production took place under the Julio-Claudian, Flavian and Severan dynasties.[268]

Augustus was the first one who wanted in Rome to create a dynasty, hence, first he tried to make his cause appear sanctioned and favoured by the gods. Once his historical-mythological claim was settled, he could intensify promotion of the most important members of the Julio-Claudian family. The gems bearing portraits of the members of Augustus' family could be distributed among the aristocracy and soldiers to increase support for their cause in the future. But the first step was the promotion of the emperor and empress Livia.[269] There are several gems presenting this pair in a clearly propagandistic context. For example, four intaglios, three from Paris and one from Bern, bear portraits of Augustus and Livia in the *capita iugata* pose to the side as victors over Egypt (cat. nos 10.682-685, Figures 957-

[260] Walker 2015: 41-63.
[261] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 171-174.
[262] Walker 2015: 63-64.
[263] Harden (ed.) 1988, no. 31.
[264] Whitehouse and Painter 1993: 9 and 14.
[265] Harden (ed.) 1988, no. 32.
[266] Harden (ed.) 1988, no. 36.
[267] Henig 1994: 154-156. The same phenomenon is observale in other artistic media, for example sculpture, although, it is unknown to what extent (either in glyptics or sculpture) the Julio-Claudian dynastic advertisement was induced by the Imperial family since the input of individual Roman citizens and local communities in Roman provinces must have been considerable too, see: Rose 1997: 11-21 and 51-53.
[268] Megow 1987: 2.
[269] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 39.

958). They are depicted as a pair of gods – Augustus in the guise of Dionysus with an ivy wreath on the head (it is possibly a diadem with leaves attached) and sceptre in front of him, while Livia wears a lotus flower on her head identifying her with Isis. Under their busts there is a crocodile – symbol of defeated Egypt that mirrors the one presented on a series of Augustus' coins minted c. 20 BC-AD 14 in Nîmes (Figure 959).[270] This type of a crocodile looks a bit different from the one from the series of denarii and aurei struck shortly after the Battle of Actium in 28-27 BC to commemorate it.[271] The identification of the imperial pair with Dionysus and Isis is unusual and would have been impossible to portray on official art, though, it clearly shows the *evocatio* of the gods previously acting on the side of Antony and Cleopatra. Just as after the Battle of Naulochus, when Octavian dragged Neptune over to his side, now the Battle of Actium proved that Dionysus and Isis in fact acted in favour of Octavian. I believe that the gems are local (Alexandrian?) products commissioned or gifted to the followers of Augustus in the late 1st century BC to express the imperial family's relationships with deities native to and more popular in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. Only a few examples bearing this vague and unusual iconography are known which hardly supports Vollenweider's idea of the type being a part of a large-scale production induced by Augustus.[272]

The next two cameos are indicative of more open propaganda practices also employed on gems. In Berlin there is a multi-layered sardonyx cameo presenting the heads of the emperor Augustus and his wife Livia in the *capita iugata* pose to the left (cat. no. 10.686, Figure 960). As Platz-Horster rightly observes, originally the piece presented most likely Cleopatra VII and her father Ptolemy XII or Mark Antony, however, surely after the Battle of Actium it was recut to represent the victorious imperial couple – Augustus and Livia.[273] This is an extraordinary propaganda piece since the original design was reshaped into the new one and it shows the great esteem and value of cameos of this type. It is noteworthy that Augustus wears a Roman casque surmounted with an eagle – symbol of the imperial power handed to him from Zeus-Jupiter and it is additionally decorated with a laurel wreath signifying his connection with Apollo and overall imperial status. Livia is also presented with a laurel wreath and veil which makes her an allusion to Venus Genetrix, the type of portrait so popular on Augustan cameos of her in the late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD (cf. below). Promotion of the imperial couple in glyptics might have reached a considerable degree as there are several glass cameos presenting Augustus and Livia together. A good example of that is the specimen in Vienna featuring a laureate bust of Augustus combined with the one of Livia in the *capita iugata* pose to the left (cat. no. 10.687, Figure 961). Intriguingly, the empress is not laureate as on the cameo from Berlin and other known examples (cf. below) which probably suggests a relatively early date (shortly after 27 BC?) for the piece as clearly Augustus is the most important figure here and Livia seems to be just a filler without any attribute signifying her importance and power.

Although the above-mentioned cameo in Vienna suggests that Livia had an inferior role in the propagandistic actions in glyptics, this is just one case. One finds a surprisingly large number of cameos and intaglios with her likeness, many of top quality, surely executed in the imperial court workshop. It is noteworthy that Livia expressed her interest in glyptic art because as Pliny informs us, she offered the famous ring of Polycrates to the Temple of Concord alongside some other gems.[274] The earliest portraits of Livia from the Augustan period are dated from c. 30 BC onwards and usually present the classical type of her portrait, that is, the head in profile with her hair in a plait along the top of her head and gathered in a plaited coil at the nape (cat. no. 10.688-708, Figures 962-965). On iconographic and stylistic grounds, these portraits usually account to the 'Marbury Hall' and 'Fayum' types which suggests that these gems were produced over a long period , perhaps even until the death of Augustus in AD 14.[275] Noteworthy is the high number of top-quality cameos as well as the glass ones which suggests those gems were produced either in the imperial court and casual workshops. Some of them could have been gifted to the empress from Augustus or other people from the inner circle on various occasions, but some were surely distributed among the supporters of the imperial family.[276] Sometimes portraits of Livia are executed in atypical material like carnelian and presented to the front as in the case of the cameo now in Berlin but found in the Petescia hoard or other pieces from Naples (cat. nos 10.688 and 694, Figure 962). These were certainly products of the imperial court workshop cut for the personal adornment of Livia or gifted to her.[277]

Promotion of peace and prosperity by Augustus in art and craft of all kinds including glyptics is well attested (cf. chapter 10.8). It seems that the image of Livia could have been involved in this aspect of Augustan propaganda on gems too. Vollenweider proposed identifying Livia on a series of large glass gems presenting a bust a female goddess with a veil

[270] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 154-161 (dupondii and ases of Augustus, 20 BC-AD 14).
[271] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 275b (denarius of Augustus, 28 BC), 544-545 (denarius and aureus of Augustus 28-27 BC).
[272] Vollenweider 1984, no. 293.
[273] Platz-Horster 2012, no. 31.
[274] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.8.
[275] Wood 2000: 87-91 and 94-96.
[276] Platz-Horster 2012, no. 345.
[277] Platz-Horster 2012, no. 4.

and laurel wreath on her head holding a cornucopia on her arm (Venus or Agathe Tyche, cat. no. 10.709, Figure 966).[278] Nevertheless, Maderna-Lauter, Weiß and Zwierlein-Diehl convincingly proved that the depiction should be interpreted as Fortuna or Pax and while it still belongs to the Augustan propaganda programme, it ought not to be directly linked with the Empress.[279]

It seems that from 20 BC Augustus increasingly promoted the idea of his divine ancestry; at about that time the first portraits of Livia as Venus, that is in the role of the mother of the Julio-Claudian family, began to appear.[280] The most typical depiction of the empress in the guise of Venus is her bust or head veiled and diademed in profile (cat. nos 10.710-720, Figures 967-968). These portraits always present an idealised image of Livia with delicate and calm facial features, hair swept back over her ear and she often wears the *stephane* instead of a diadem. It is clear that the prototypes for such a depiction were Hellenistic cameos presenting Ptolemaic queens in divine guise and the intention was to conflate the ruler with a deity.[281]

Another version where Livia is compared if not entirely identified with Venus are her portraits with a laurel wreath on her head (cat. nos 10.721-726, Figures 969-970). The attribute that Livia wears on her head makes these portraits exceptional and difficult to date. In the later times, many female members of the Julio-Claudian family were depicted almost exclusively on cameos as wreathed (with many kinds of wreaths made of ears of corn, poppies, myrtle and so on). The significance of these wreaths has been a matter of a long dispute among scholars, but generally, they are linked to several feminine qualities, among all fertility.[282] The role of Livia in establishing this kind of portraiture is crucial. The laurel wreath on the mentioned cameos considerably differs from the *corona laurea* used by males; it is not fastened at the nape of the neck by ribbons which makes it a typical attribute of Venus.[283] Its form, like the chiton that she often wears, highlights the semi-divine character of Livia Augusta.[284] It is believed that the unusual combination of a female portrait with a totally male attribute was the invention of the Augustan Age,[285] however, it is disputable if the image was in use already during the reign of Augustus or the laurel wreath's use testifies to Livia's role as the priestess of Augustus, her fecundity and maternal abilities.[286] This is because after the death of Augustus in AD 14, according to his will, Livia became a member of *gens* Iulia and called Augusta. Her adoption into the Julian family made her the direct descendant of Venus and the second founding mother of the *gens*. This new role was followed by a new image of the empress that incorporated the laurel wreath.[287] It was most likely invented by the empress herself. It clearly expresses her badge with Augustus and highlights her semi-divine nature as well as her highly influential position in the imperial court. To understand and appreciate the powerful propaganda message encoded on the cameos bearing this kind of image, one must bear in mind Livia's role as the mother of emperor Tiberius. She was important for Tiberius' dynastic claims to power because she was the link between the emperor and his descendants and Augustus, and therefore, her image was eagerly advertised during his reign.[288] It seems that Livia aspired to promote herself too. As Flory observes, cameos like the one in Boston could have been commissioned by the empress herself (cf. chapter 10.11).[289] On the other hand, as shown above, Livia was sometimes promoted alongside Augustus in a divine guise so that her promotion as an empress and wife of the emperor cannot be excluded.

Concerning Livia's identification with Venus reflected on engraved gems, particularly interesting is a series of intaglios and cameos produced in the early 1st century AD presenting a woman nourishing or kissing an eagle (cat. nos 10.727-735, Figures 971-973). The scene is sometimes interpreted as Hebe feeding/kissing Zeus in the guise of an eagle,[290] but in many cases, the bird places one of its talons on a globe indicating that the theme has political significance. The most plausible explanation is that while the kissing scene may indeed illustrate the mythological story of Hebe and Zeus, the other gems present an allegorical scene of Livia in the guise of Venus as mother of the Julio-Claudian family descended from the goddess and feeding the Imperial Eagle – the symbol or embodiment of the Roman Empire.[291] It is noteworthy that the theme sometimes

[278] Vollenweider 1966: 81; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 76.
[279] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 461-462; Weiß 2007, no. 196; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 267.
[280] However, some scholars interpret such busts and heads as Livia in the guise of Juno or Hera, see: Henig 1990, no. 66; Henig Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 527; Kagan and Neverov 2000, no. 17/5.
[281] Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 32; Vollenweider 1966: 12-16.
[282] See a detailed discussion in: Flory 1995: 43-68; Gagetti (forthcoming): 35
[283] See a detailed study of this issue in: Flory 1995: 47-53; Gagetti (forthcoming): 36-37.
[284] Gagetti (forthcoming): 35; Sena Chiesa 2004: 793.
[285] Flory 1995: 46–47; Gagetti (forthcoming): 35–37; Sena Chiesa 2004: 795–796.
[286] Flory 1995: 60 and 62.
[287] From 27 BC, the plant was gradually restricted to the use of Augustus and his own bloodline, see: Flory 1995: 52; Gagetti (forthcoming): 36–37.
[288] See: Wood 2000: 108-124. The image of Livia was used by other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in order to justify their claim to power, see: Sena Chiesa 2004: 797.
[289] Flory 1995: 60.
[290] A series of gems presenting this scene and confirming its popularity at the time has been illustrated by Vollenweider (1966, pl. 6.7-10). Sometimes identification of Hebe is clear when the female figure wears a Phrygian cap like on a cameo in London (inv. no.: 1867,0507.31).
[291] On the other hand, Platz-Horster does not believe the subject to have any political significance (2012, no. 175).

appears on extremely costly materials like the sapphire cameo reworked from a pendant in Cambridge (cat. no. 10.733, Figure 972) the quality of whose engraving makes it clear that the piece was produced in the imperial court workshop.[292] In some instances, there is a cornucopia in the field which perhaps suggests welfare, prosperity and abundance under the reign of the Julio-Claudian family (cat. nos 10.728 and 730-731, Figure 971).[293] Perhaps many of these gems like the ones presenting a laureate portrait of Livia were produced just before or shortly after death of Augustus in AD 14 in order to support Tiberius' claim to the Roman throne. Several cameos and intaglios depicting busts of Livia as Ceres wearing a crown made of ears of corn and poppies with a veil on her head should be interpreted in a similar way (cat. nos 10.736-739, Figure 974-975). Those were certainly cut after the death of Augustus and their function could be the establishment of the empress' image as the new political leader continuing the politics of her husband Augustus and ensuring peace and prosperity.

Among other female characters that were promoted by Octavian and later Augustus Antonia Minor was one of the key figures in the late phase of his reign. In 16 BC, Antonia married the Roman general and consul Nero Claudius Drusus (38-9 BC) who was the stepson of her uncle Augustus, second son of Livia Drusilla (58 BC-AD 29) and brother of future emperor Tiberius (AD 14-37). They had several children, but only three survived: the famous general Germanicus (15 BC-AD 19), Livilla (13 BC-AD 31) and the Roman emperor Claudius (AD 41-54). There is a surprisingly large number of gems presenting her portrait (cat. nos 10.740-756, Figures 976-977). On many of them Antonia's head is decorated with a diadem which may indicate identification with Venus, a common practice among the Julio-Claudian empresses starting from Livia Drusilla. Alternatively, she is represented here as a priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus. In the Jean Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, there is a chalcedony bust presenting Antonia Minor as such with a diadem decorated with a portrait of Augustus and a veil (cat. no. 10.751, Figure 976).[294] Gems like these were created after AD 14, for the successors of Augustus worked hard to demonstrate their connection to him and hence their right to rule. This was especially so in the case of Claudius, son of Antonia Minor. Cameos such as the ones described here were part of the production of commemorative luxury goods at the Roman imperial court.

Construction of a dynasty required from Augustus considerable propaganda efforts and its crucial part was promotion of an heir. Augustus promoted his potential successors using sculpture or coinage.[295] Engraved gems could be used for this purpose too. Astonishing numbers of cameos portraying young members of Julio-Claudian dynasty survive to our times. On the one hand, they could have been created to commemorate important events in their careers and be gifts from the emperor. On the other hand, they could have been given to aristocrats and influential people to ensure their support for the potential successors of Augustus. Another case are intaglios, with portraits of Julio-Claudian princes. These were most likely intended to be delivered to ordinary people to make the princes more recognisable. The illness of Augustus in 23 BC brought the problem of succession to the forefront of politics, hence, since that moment onward one observes a great intensification in the promotion of Julio-Claudian princes in art. Nevertheless, the first steps were taken earlier since the first one appointed as the heir of Augustus was his nephew Marcellus (42-23 BC). He accompanied Augustus in Spain during the Cantabrian Wars and together with Tiberius, Marcellus became *tribunus militum* in 25 BC. The same year he came back to Rome and married Augustus' daughter Julia (39 BC-AD 14). Promotion of Marcellus as the official heir to Augustus is evident in sculpture and coinage and glyptics also delivers some evidence for this propaganda exploit.[296] There is a glass impression after an ancient intaglio presenting the young Marcellus seen from behind with his head turned to the left with the military equipment of the god Mars - shield, spear and sword (cat. no. 10.757, Figure 978). Zwierlein-Diehl suggests that the type of portrait used derives from the Hellenistic tradition where it was primarily used for *apotheosis*. Therefore, it is likely that the gem was cut in 23 BC at the point of Marcellus' death or shortly after, perhaps to commemorate him. Zwierlein-Diehl also believes that the original intaglio could have been engraved by Dioscurides himself on the commission of Augustus.[297] This is the only known and securely attributed gem with the likeness of Marcellus known to us today. It seems that glyptics was employed for propaganda relatively late and for a very special purpose. Maybe if Marcellus had lived longer, there would have been more gems related to him.

It is disputed if after death of Marcellus, Augustus, still seriously ill, designated Agrippa as his successor. This view is based on several facts. After the death of Marcellus, Augustus immediately married his daughter Julia to Agrippa. Moreover, Agrippa was granted a five-year term of administering the eastern half of the Empire with the *imperium* of a proconsul and the same

[292] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 523.
[293] Kagan and Neverov (2000, no. 155/62) suggest these cases to be related to Cleopatra VII, but identification of the female figure with Livia-Venus seems far more convincing.
[294] Spier 1992, no. 432.
[295] Eck 2003: 50; Kiss 1975; Trillmich 1988: 490.
[296] Regarding Marcellus' promotion in sculpture and coinage, see: Kiss 1975: 24-31; Vollenweider 1972-1974: 100.
[297] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 125.

tribunicia potestas granted to Augustus which was a clear show of favour for the general. It is also noteworthy that earlier Augustus had presented one of his sphinx seal to Agrippa and Maecenas so that they could open and issue correspondence on his behalf which was an act of considerable trust put in both of them.[298] Finally, while seriously ill Augustus passed his final signet ring to Agrippa which should be viewed as unquestionable proof of his intention to make him his successor.[299] Apart from this, there is also some evidence in the glyptic material itself for the promotion of Agrippa as Augustus' successor. There are several intaglios and cameos featuring a portrait of Agrippa (cat. nos 10.758-763, Figures 979-981). Among them, the most significant is the double-sided agate cameo in Paris that bears the bust of Agrippa wearing the *paludamentum* and *corona rostrata* on one side and the bust of Julia on the other (cat. no. 10.764, Figure 979a-b). This gem was most likely issued to commemorate their wedding in 23 BC and it is noteworthy that Agrippa is presented with the attribute pointing to his military prowess that he received after the Battle of Naulochus.[300] The same image also appears on coins issued between the years 20 and10 BC recalling the victory at Actium as a common effort of Augustus and Agrippa (Figure 982).[301] There is a great resemblance between the images known from coins and those appearing on gems, thus precise dates for their manufacture cannot be established and perhaps some of them were made as a part of posthumous honours to Agrippa as in the case of Marcellus.[302] Concerning more allegorical depictions that might reflect Agrippa and Julia's relationship, Toso believes that some maritime subjects on gems like Neptune and Amphitrite or tritons and nereids are suitable for promoting the couple in the divine guise.[303] Nevertheless, as Plantzos rightly observes, these motifs became fashionable much earlier and these fashion shifts might have been responsible for the production of these gems rather than political reasons with some exceptions of *Venus Pelagia* and *Venus Epithragia* discussed above (cf. chapter 10.6).[304]

Once Augustus was healed in 23 BC for the next few years, he did not make it very clear to whom he planned to pass the Empire. He was on good terms with Agrippa, but in 17 BC he adopted his two grandsons Gaius and Lucius Casesar (20 BC-AD 4 and 18 BC-AD 2 respectively), sons of Agrippa, whom he raised as his own sons and prepared to be joint-heirs of his emperorship. Thanks to Augustus' protection, the two experienced accelerated careers reaching the office of consuls in AD 1. Both developed successful military careers and were promising politicians. It is evident that Gaius and Lucius Caesar were strongly promoted as heirs to Augustus in official art and propaganda.[305] This also included glyptics and among several Julio-Claudian princes, Gaius and Lucius experienced the most intensive and spectacular promotion through glyptics. First of all, many of their portraits appear on intaglios and cameos (cat. nos 10.764-780, Figures 983-986). It is noteworthy that some of the cameos are masterpieces executed by top quality engravers employed at the imperial court like Epitynchanos (cat. no. 10.769, Figure 984). Sometimes the brothers are depicted in the divine guise as Dioscuri (cat. no. 10.764, Figure 983) and they are also sometimes laureate (cat. nos 10.774-775, Figure 986) or wear the *paludamentum* signifying their military prowess.[306] The laurel wreath under Augustus became a universal symbol of imperial power, thus portraits laureate portraits of Gaius and Lucius might signal their appointment as heirs of the emperor. These series of portraits were probably made to popularise images of the heirs of Augustus and maybe gifted to Roman aristocracy that would support their cause in the case of Augustus' death.

Interestingly, there are a few more gems bearing subjects involving Gaius and Lucius Caesar. While it is doubtful that on the agate intaglio found in France Lucius Caesar is depicted as Diomedes as Moret suggests (cat. no. 10.781, Figure 988), on the carnelian intaglio in Florence the brothers are depicted together as presenting two shields and spears and they are surrounded with symbols of Pontifex (*simpuvium*) and Augurate (*lituus*) and inscription: CL CAESAV[G] (cat. no. 10.782, Figure 989). On this piece Gaius is shown as Pontifex, while Lucius is an augur. The gem transmits a powerful propaganda message since the two depicted figures are *principes iuventutis* – the leaders of the young Roman community and designated heirs of Augustus.[307] The image from the intaglio mirrors that appearing on a series of denarii and aurei minted for Augustus between 2 BC and AD 4 (Figure 990).[308] Another

[298] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 51.3.5-7.
[299] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 53.30.
[300] Barcaro 2008-2009: 224 and 233-235.
[301] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 154-161 (dupondii and ases of Augustus, 20-10 BC), 397, 400, 406-409, 412 and 414 (denarii and aurei of Augustus 13-12 BC).
[302] In a private collection in Rome, there is an exceptional intaglio presenting bust of a male figure wearing a breastplate decorated with *lupa romana* and the twins, typically taken for Agrippa (Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 149). However, the depiction makes an impression of a post-classical sculptural bust copied onto the intaglio with abnormal form of the armour and paludamentum, nor the face and hairstyle are distinctive for Agrippa, neither the style of engraving exhibits ancient spirit.
[303] Toso 2007: 208-211.
[304] Plantzos 1999: 96.
[305] Kiss 1975: 35-65.
[306] In the case of the glass intaglio in the British Museum collection presenting two laureate heads over an altar, these seem to be relatively youthful which practically exclude to take them for Sulla and Pompeius Rufus as suggested by Vollenweider (1972-1974, pl. 34.13). We propose to identify them with Gaius and Lucius Caesar for which point also the type of gem (glass) and style.
[307] See a detailed study of this gem in: Vollenweider 1963-1964; Zazoff 1983: 219; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 131-132.
[308] *RIC* I² Augustus, nos. 206-212.

exceptional piece is a sardonyx intaglio in Vienna that presents Gaius Caesar as *princeps iuventutis* riding a horse to the right (cat. no. 10.783, Figure 991). In this case military prowess and ability to take leadership by Gaius was heralded clearly to prepare the ground for his forthcoming rule as a successor of Augustus.[309] The *princeps* makes a gesture of salutation to the Roman soldiers which is a reference to his popularity in the army. Zwierlein-Diehl suggests that the gem was meant to commemorate Gaius' first military campaign in 8 BC.[310] Less direct references to Gaius and Lucius Caesar are also possible. For instance, on the carnelian intaglio in Munich Victory-Virtus is engraved standing beside a column inscribing a shield decorated with a star, while another one lies against the pillar (cat. no. 10.784, Figure 992). As Weiß points out there it is no coincidence that the goddess inscribes two identical shields and the stars in their centre parts most likely refer to Gaius and Lucius Caesar as the Dioscuri.[311] The comparison between Gaius and Lucius Caesar and the Dioscuri is the subject of another carnelian intaglio housed in Geneva where the brothers are presented as horse riders (cat. no. 10.785, Figure 993).

As one can see, Gaius and Lucius Caesar were the main subjects of Augustus' promotional activities in the late 1st century BC and early 1st century AD. The situation in glyptics generally matches the one in coinage and other branches of art, especially sculpture, proving that gems were a useful means of propaganda. It is noteworthy that apart from the brothers, Augustus also showed favour to other Julio-Claudian princes, although not to the same degree as can be seen from the number of surviving glyptic objects related to those. Among the other Julio-Claudian princes, Drusus Maior (38-9 BC) clearly stands out. There are many intaglios and mainly cameos bearing his portrait in head or bust forms (cat. nos 10.786-800, Figures 994-997) among which there are some examples showing him in a *cuirass* and *paludamentum* – a clearly military context highlighting his military prowess (cat. nos 10.791 and 799, Figure 994) as well as those where he wears a laurel wreath on his head signifying his membership of the imperial family (cat. nos 10.791, 795-796, Figures 995-997). Moreover, it is clear that some of these gems were executed by top quality artists employed in the imperial court workshop like Herophilos, son of Dioscurides who cut the portrait of Drusus Maior now in Vienna and most likely another cameo preserved in Krakow (cat. nos 10.791 and 796, Figures 995 and 997).[312] As rightly observed by Zwierlein-Diehl, not all portrait cameos and intaglios with Drusus Maior's likeness were manufactured while he lived; some may have been cut in posthumous honours to him on the commission of his brother Tiberius.[313] Therefore, the proportion of glyptic production intended for the private use of the imperial family and that intended to deliver images of Augustus' successors to Roman citizens cannot be accurately measured. Although Drusus Maior was never intended to be Augustus' successor, he experienced very special treatment from the emperor due to his outstanding military successes. Since cameos were frequently regarded as very precious and special gifts, some of them might have been Augustus' keepsakes to Drusus Maior, for instance, on the occasion of his election as consul in 9 BC or for the mentioned military merits. On the other hand, others could have commemorated the popular prince and general after his death – the laurel wreath might suggest this as it symbolised the divine nature of the Julio-Claudian family.[314]

Another popular Julio-Claudian prince on engraved gems is Germanicus (cat. nos 10.801-805, Figures 998-999). Some of his portrait gems are dated to the early 1st century AD and they could have been produced due to the considerable popularity of Germanicus in the Roman army as he is often presented wearing a *cuirass* and *paludamentum*. One portrait cameo with his likeness was cut by Epitynchanos, who specialised in these kinds of objects and surely worked in the imperial court workshop (cat. no. 10.803, Figure 999). There are a few more portrait gems that cannot be securely attributed to a specific Julio-Claudian prince, but their existence suggests that they were intended to popularise their images and strengthen the position of the Julio-Claudian family within Roman society.

The early deaths of Lucius Caesar in AD 2 and Gaius in AD 4 forced Augustus to change his dynastic plans and find a new successor. He had chosen Tiberius (r. AD 14-37), son of Livia from her first marriage with Tiberius Claudius Nero (85-33 BC). He enjoyed Augustus' favour from at least c. 12 BC when he married his daughter Julia who became a widow once Agrippa died that year. In 6 BC he shared Augustus' tribune powers, but shortly after he went into retirement and departed to Rhodes. Meanwhile, Gaius and Lucius Caesar became most obvious successors of the emperor, but after their deaths Tiberius was recalled to Rome in AD 4 and was officially adopted by Augustus and appointed his heir. There was a condition that Tiberius would adopt Germanicus as his own heir though, which might explain why the latter was frequently presented on gems issued in the imperial court workshop (cf. above). These political events are perfectly reflected in the glyptic products relating to Tiberius. We know of more than 20 examples of intaglios and cameos featuring his

[309] Zwierlein-Diehl 1973a, no. 515.
[310] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 131.
[311] Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 66.
[312] Others can be less securely attributed to these artists, see: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 717.
[313] Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1035. See also a valuable contribution in: Jucker 1982: 105-106.
[314] Sena Chiesa 2009b: 90-91; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 717.

portrait as a young heir to Augustus that should be dated not earlier than AD 4 and perhaps not later than AD 14 with a few exceptions that were cut just after death of Augustus (cat. nos 10.806-835, Figures 1000a-b-1002). The cameos clearly outnumber intaglios and there are many interesting compositions. Similarly to other Julio-Claudian princes, portrait gems of Tiberius were often cut to emphasise his military prowess and merits to make him an appealing figure for Roman soldiers. Tiberius is frequently depicted wearing a *cuirass* and *paludamentum* (cat. nos 10.809, 824 and 831, Figure 1001), but in some cases he is also presented wearing an *aegis* and with a spear which is a clear allusion to Augustus' *imitatio Alexandri* or a reference to Jupiter as the patron deity of the young prince (cat. no. 10.813 and 834). A special piece is a glass cameo found in Aquileia where Tiberius is presented with an oak wreath on his head (cat. no. 10.806). This symbol refers to his military role too as it was the second highest award in the Roman army. It is noteworthy that many more portrait gems present Tiberius with a laurel wreath on his head than other Julio-Claudian princes, which as Megow suggests was a sign of Augustus' adoption and appointment of him as his successor (cat. nos 10.808, 813-815, 821-822, 831 and 834, Figures 1000 and 1002.[315] As one can see, glyptics was frequently employed to promote Tiberius. This continued after Augustus' death since portraits of Tiberius with a mourning beard are present on intaglios and cameos too and in some cases he is possibly depicted as a priest of Augustus with a veil on his head or as the continuator of his sacral roles (cat. no. 10.828). These objects were produced in order to show the connection between the new emperor and Augustus and to illustrate the continuity of the Julio-Claudian family.[316]

10.11. *Divus Augustus*

Augustus died in AD 14 and almost instantly he was deified. The cult of *Divus Augustus* was venerated for many years after his death. His image was recalled on coins by the future Roman emperors and statues and temples devoted to his figure were erected.[317] Prior to the erection of a separate Temple of Divus Augustus, the main cult place of the dead emperor was the Temple of Mars Ultor in his Forum.[318] The cult of Augustus was one of the key issues of Tiberius' propaganda because, like Augustus, he had to strengthen his position issuing images in various media highlighting his bonds with his predecessor. Livia played a significant role in these propaganda activities too since she served as a link between Augustus and Tiberius.[319] Glyptics was one of the most important channels where the cult of *Divus Augustus* could develop freely mostly because of its private character but also because it offered a very special and luxurious medium suitable for the veneration of the first emperor of Rome. There are several groups of objects that addressed this issue.

One of the most significant is a substantial group of intaglios and cameos presenting posthumous portraits of Augustus usually wearing the *corona radiata* on his head to signify his divine nature or with a laurel wreath symbolising imperial power and his connection to Apollo (cat. nos 10.836-849, Figures 1002-1007). All these gems are of exceptional quality indicating their production in the imperial court workshop and some may be regarded as works of the sons of Dioscurides. Megow observes that sometimes posthumous portraits of Augustus exhibit features of Tiberius which is an important factor not only for dating them to the beginning of the latter's reign, but also for regarding them as pieces created for political reasons.[320] For Tiberius and other Julio-Claudian emperors, who intentionally based their own portraits on the classical type of Augustus in sculpture and glyptics alike, the goal was to show the connection between them and Augustus. Zwierlein-Diehl believes that a new type of Augustus' image was established shortly after his death which became fashionable in glyptics, coinage and sculpture alike. It would fit a more royal attribute as it was the *corona radiata* already in use by the Ptolemies and some of these portraits were manufactured during the reign of the emperor Claudius (AD 41-54).[321] However, in the case of Augustus, the *corona radiata* attribute also indicated his relationship with Apollo-Sol which was already highlighted during his lifetime on gems (cf. chapters 10.5 and 10.6). The *corona radiata* was a clever way indicating that Augustus' within Roman society was as close as possible to that of a king. In his case this royal attribute was related to his role as the re-founder of the city of Rome and the New Romulus but at the same time, it was a symbol of his own divine nature as the star/comet was for *Divus Iulius*.[322]

Totally exceptional artworks were produced too and the famous Cameo Blacas featuring an idealised bust of Augustus seen from behind but with the head in profile to the left is the best example of that (cat. no. 10.845, Figure 1005). Augustus' face is ailing yet ideal and noble

[315] Megow 1987, no. A.43, p. 177.
[316] A very special kind of promotion of Tiberius and his family as well as perhaps other Julio-Claudian princes was a considerable production of *phalerae* depicting the emperor and his children. This particular phenomenon is beyond the chronological framework of this book, but Boschung offers a thorough study of these exceptional pieces (Boschung 1987). They were surely intended to impress and influence high-ranking officers in the Roman army which is related to the growing importance of the military forces in the acceptance or election of emperors.
[317] For coins, see: Trillmich 1988: 490-492.
[318] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 155.
[319] Rose 1997: 22-31; Wood 2000: 108-124.
[320] Megow 1987: 21-22.
[321] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 155-156. See also an important contribution on this matter in: Jucker 1982: 100-103.
[322] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 156.

and has an ageless majesty. On the left shoulder the emperor wears the *aegis* decorated with the Gorgoneion and mask of Phobos – an attribute of Jupiter, the guarantor of imperial power and one of Augustus' divine patrons. Apart from these, the emperor is equipped with a spear and sword-belt – attributes of Mars. He also originally wore a laurel wreath (alluding to Apollo and signifying imperial power) on his head that was replaced with the current setting of jewels in Medieval times. Augustus is depicted on this masterpiece as semi-divine figure in the Hellenistic manner full of pathos as the view from behind points to his apotheosis. He is the re-founder of Rome, descendant of Mars and Romulus blessed by Apollo and protected by Jupiter. This cameo then communicates an important propaganda message that turns into panegyric tones.[323] The same image but on a smaller scale and with wide-open eyes suggesting the intensity of Augustus' gaze, which according to Suetonius greatly impressed his contemporaries, is the subject of another important cameo now kept in New York (cat. no. 10.846, Figure 1006).[324] It is evident that both pieces were produced in the imperial court workshop and Furtwängler even attributed them to Dioscurides, which however is impossible, but one of his sons could have created those cameos.[325] Apart from the stylistic hints there is good reason to believe that both objects were manufactured in the early phase of Tiberius' reign as his portraits in the same type also occur on gems (cf. chapter 10.10).

Another kind of glyptic object related to the cult of *Divus Augustus* is his posthumous heads/busts carved in gemstones or moulded in glass (cat. nos 10.850-853, Figures 1003, 1008-1009). Very few of them have survived.[326] The specimen kept in Paris is particularly interesting due to the globe emerging from behind Augustus' head signifying his domination on land and sea as well as protection from Jupiter (cat. no. 10.852). The surviving heads were possibly mounted into busts made of other materials or were once parts of whole figurines made of precious stones. There are no criteria for deciding where these heads of statuettes were made, but the most plausible place seems Italy and Rome where the imperial court workshop must have been located. Alternatively, the widespread cult of the emperor was more acceptable in the eastern part of the empire, thus workshops active in Alexandria might have participated in the production which seems confirmed by a small head of Augustus in blue glass found in Egypt, now in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria.[327] According to Harden, the use and function of those heads and statuettes remains obscure as they could have been displayed in public or kept private due to political and religious reasons.[328] However, Suetonius may give us some hints as he writes about emperor Caligula and his children as follows:

> *He [Caligula] had wife Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, who bore him nine children. Two of these were taken off when they were still in infancy, and one just as he was reaching the age of boyhood, a charming child, whose statue, in the guise of Cupid, Livia dedicated in the temple of the Capitoline Venus, while Augustus had another placed in his bed chamber and used to kiss it fondly whenever he entered the room.*[329]

Based on this it is very likely that the figurines of Augustus were precious objects used for the cult of his figure by members of the imperial family and prominent Romans related to it. They could have been commissioned and dedicated in temples as well as being kept privately for house cult of the emperor or even distributed by Tiberius and other emperors to promote the cult of Augustus and commemorate him.[330]

Among the exceptional glyptic artworks produced in the last years of Augustus' life or shortly after his death is also the lost Great Cameo of St. Albans. This large three-layered sardonyx cameo presents Augustus who stands to the front grasping a sceptre, up which a serpent is entwined, in his right hand and holding the Palladion on the outstretched left one. He wears a diadem on his head, a *cuirass* with *pteryges* and *paludamentum* as well as his sword of command - *parazonium*. His feet are bare and there is eagle on the side (cat. no. 10.854, Figure 1010). As in the case of many fabulous Roman imperial cameos, this one was not buried but found its way to the Abbey of St. Albans where it was intended to be re-used in a reliquary.[331] It was donated to the abbey by King Aethelred (AD 865-871) and it had been discovered to have been efficacious in childbirth.[332] The cameo was drawn and described by Matthew Paris in the 1250s and thanks to its publication by Henig and Heslop it is known to all today. Even though first taken as Late Antique piece, Henig probably correctly dates it to the aftermath of Augustus' death in AD 14. It is an exceptional artwork proclaiming the deceased emperor much in the Hellenistic way with a diadem on his head, however in an entirely Roman context. He wears a *cuirass* and *paludamentum* and is equipped with the *parazonium* indicating his military prowess and

[323] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 158.
[324] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 1.
[325] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 314-316.
[326] For a detailed analysis of these objects, see: Conticelli, Gennaioli and Paolucci (eds) 2016: 39-53. These heads in precious stones and glass are comparable to other miniature portraits of Augustus executed in other artistic media like ivory, see a discussion in: Zanker 2016, no. 19.
[327] Harden (ed.) 1988: 22.
[328] Harden (ed.) 1988: 22. See also another similar opinion expressed by Gross (2008: 19).
[329] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 7.
[330] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 715.
[331] Zwierlein-Diehl 1998: 85-86.
[332] Henig and Heslop 1986: 148.

authority as emperor of Rome. He holds the Palladion informing us about his role as the new Romulus, re-founder of the city, with the reference to the story of Aeneas, his legendary ancestor. The sceptre and eagle are attributes used by Jupiter, the chief god of the Roman pantheon under whose blessing Augustus ruled and the eagle itself symbolises imperial power. The serpent entwined up the sceptre might be indeed, as Henig proposes, a reference to the Genius,[333] but on the other hand, it might be an incarnation of Apollo, his divine father who inseminated Atia, Augustus' mother, in a dream. All in all, the cameo was transmitting a powerful propaganda message of imperial might embodied in the figure of the first emperor of Rome. Basing only on the preserved drawing and Medieval, brief description alone, it is difficult to date the cameo with precision. It could have been executed in the last years of Augustus' reign and advertised his authority within the inner circle of his followers or, more likely, at the imperial court, though the strong militaristic character of the depiction would make it an attractive gift for a high-ranking officer in the army too. However, the presence of the diadem may suggest a posthumous creation. It would fit well the need of the Tiberian court for the establishment of a connection with his illustrious predecessor considering the fact that Tiberius was also depicted on gems with references to Jupiter (for instance, the *aegis* – cf. chapter 10.10).[334]

Shortly after death of Augustus in AD 14 the Senate established a collegium of priests (*sodales Augustales*) with a *Flamen* and Priestess as the main figures responsible for the cult of the deified emperor. The first Flamen was Germanicus, while the first Priestess became Livia who according to Augustus' will was promoted as *Iulia Augusta*.[335] The involvement of Livia in the cult of Augustus is the best illustrated on several State Cameos presenting her as priestess of *Divus Augustus* (cat. nos 10.855-860, Figures 1011-1015). The empress is usually depicted as veiled which indicates her role as the priestess and with divine references too since she wears the *corona muralis* of Rhea-Cybele, a wreath of ears of corn and poppies belonging to Ceres, the *stephane* of Venus or laurel wreath also alluding to that goddess. She usually holds in her outstretched hand a bust or head of Augustus over a cornucopia or alone with a laurel wreath or *corona radiata* on his head. On the spectacular cameo in Vienna (cat. no. 10.856, Figure 1011), she is represented as seated on a throne with a shield decorated with a lion – another reference to Cybele added in the 16th century (confirming her identification with the goddess already at that time). She wears a himation leaving one of her shoulders bare which identifies her as Venus Genetrix – mother of the Julian family.[336] She is represented in the same guise on another famous large cameo in Boston which is cut in turquoise – the sacred stone of Venus (cat. no. 10.858, Figure 1013).[337] Not only the exceptional workmanship but also unusual materials like turquoise point to the production of such pieces in the imperial court workshop. One of the examples listed in the catalogue (cat. no. 10.855) was found in Rome which also strengthens this hypothesis. Livia perhaps together with her son Tiberius could have been responsible for the production of such masterpieces since the issue promoted on them is not Augustus but Livia herself in order to strengthen her position. In addition, the gems served to prove the continuity of the Julio-Claudian dynasty through her to Tiberius, so that he also benefited from them. It seems likely that gems of this type were used only within the inner circle of the imperial court since only the loyal servants of the first emperor of Rome could accept such far-reaching divine comparisons and strongly promotional activities. The ultimate proof of Tiberius and Livia's advertising actions in glyptics is a cameo in St. Petersburg featuring busts of Augustus with a *corona radiata* on his head and Livia with her head decorated with a laurel wreath facing each other, above whom there is a laureate bust of the young Tiberius (cat. no. 10.859, Figure 1014). This splendid work of early Imperial glyptic art was executed shortly after death of Augustus and transmit a powerful propaganda message of Tiberius being the rightful heir of the divine Augustus through his mother Livia who is also given some divine respect through her wearing of the laurel wreath. Tiberius' head is also laureate completing the connection and semi-divine aspect of the emperorship. On another cameo in Florence there are only Tiberius and Livia presented with their busts set together (*capita iugata*) where the new emperor is crowned with a laurel wreath totally in the manner of Augustus, while Livia is presented with a *stephane* of Venus and the ears of corn and poppy crown of Ceres clearly indicating her role as the mother of the Julio-Claudian family (cat. no. 10.860, Figure 1015). She is represented here as *Livia Augusta* reaching the same status as the emperor which implies again that not only Tiberius but most importantly Livia was responsible for issuing such gems at the time mainly to promote herself and secondarily her son Tiberius.[338]

[333] Henig and Heslop 1986: 150-151.
[334] Henig and Heslop 1986: 149-152.
[335] Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 8.
[336] Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 8.
[337] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 157-158. However, there is much uncertainty as to the original form of the cameo as well as the identification of the male bust, see for example: Gagetti (forthcoming, with more literature); Jeppesen 1993: 168-170.
[338] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 158-159.

Part IV
Summary and conclusions

11. Provenance, provenience, production and distribution of propaganda gems

Having put forward the evidence for my hypothesis about the political significance of engraved gems in the Roman Republic and especially under Augustus, it is now time to present my conclusions. Table 1 shows that 16% of the analysed material, although expected to transmit propaganda messages, in fact should not be linked with political activities. This number mirrors the scale of overinterpretations of specific intaglios and cameos detected and discussed throughout this study. It is by no means a definitive number since many more objects may not be related to propaganda or self-promotion at all. Because it is often difficult to define what propaganda gems are (cf. chapter 5.2), this statistic should be treated only as approximate. 84% of the gems analysed can be linked in one way or another with the politics of the Roman Republic and Augustus and they constitute the basis for the detailed analysis in chapter 12. One of the reasons for creating a large database for the study (cf. Catalogue) was to inquire whether the provenance and provenience of the objects in question provide us with additional information about gem production and distribution and consequently their political use. These aspects are crucial in determining the actual scale of the phenomenon. As has already been mentioned, the absence of any archaeological context in the case of engraved gems is very common and makes studying them extremely difficult.[1] But even if information about a particular object's provenance is available, there are a good number of further limits to our knowledge of its real origins. As well expressed by Boardman: '*No work of art is more portable and likely to be found far from its place of origin. No artist can have been more mobile than the gem engraver, with his drill and a pocket full of pebbles. No other ancient works are so indestructible, and although this means that many are preserved in almost 'mint' condition, it also indicates their suitability for very long periods of use, passed on to heirs or successors in office, or simply as precious objects. Datable contexts are therefore strictly* ante quos non *and many are demonstrably very much later than the probable date of production*.'[2] Despite all this, I still believe that it is absolutely necessary at least to try to reconstruct the context of Roman Republican and Augustan gems studied here in any possible way.[3] This would mean a brief summary of the provenance and provenience information of the objects discussed and the presentation of a few models of how these gems could have been produced and distributed within Roman society.

Examination of gems related to politics in the Roman Republican and Augustan periods		
Number of gems examined in total (2913)	Propaganada and self-presentation	Not propaganda
	2433	480
	84%	16%

Table 1: Examination of gems examined in the study: related to politics in the Roman Republican and Augustan periods and unrelated – general results

Let us start with a few useful definitions. 'Provenance' is here understood as archaeological origin, a findspot of a piece, whereas 'provenience' is the history of ownership of a work of art. In glyptic studies these two things are closely interconnected and while the findspot information is usually unavailable, the provenience may allow us to reconstruct it to some degree. We must at least outline the existing types of an object's 'context' that is, information about its archaeological origins. Various meanings of the term 'context' specifically in relation to ancient jewellery have been discussed by Rudolph.[4] As Hansson proved, his definitions and methods can be successfully applied to studies of engraved gems.[5] Rudolph distinguishes *controlled context*, where full documentation of the actual physical environment in which a certain object has been found exists. *Controlled context* is used when all the archaeological data about the object is available and its findspot as well as circumstances are known so

[1] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: X. Moreover, if one adds to this the problem of representativness of gems in local finds that largely depends on the fact that some countries develop well-established traditions for recording archaeological finds (France, Germany, the UK, the Netherlands), whereas other ones started to do so only recently (Spain, Italy, Greece), the images gets blurred and the results cannot reflect the reality.

[2] Boardman 2001: 16.

[3] Sagiv 2018: 21-22. Very few scholars investigate provenance information of gems, however, Hansson used some methods to bring interesting results (2005) and they were inspirational for my own analysis.

[4] Rudolph 1996.

[5] Hansson 2005: 43.

Provenance reconstruction					
Number of all gems examined (2423)	Reliable provenance	Provenance (said to have been found)	Provenance (purchased in)	Provenance (based on provenience analysis)	No provenance information avaliable
Total	172	90	55	928	1188
Total%	7%	4%	2%	38%	49%

Table 2: Provenance reconstruction of gems related to politics in the Roman Republican and Augustan periods – general results

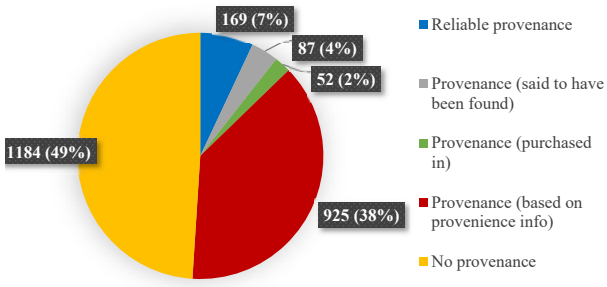


Chart 1: Provenance reconstruction – general results

that its provenance is complete. This is very rare for gems, but some examples can be given and they provide interesting information.

For instance, cat. no. 10.133 engraved with a youthful Pan riding a Capricorn and fishing with a rod was found in 1990 on the school courtyard of the St. George Public School, Jesuits Street 14 in Augsburg.[6] Dozens of gems that might be related to propaganda activities were recorded in France and among them are several bearing a portrait of Octavian alone or accompanied with additional symbolism (cat. nos 9.285-286, 350, 435-436, 467, 473-474 and 758) as well as other subjects suitable for Octavian/Augustus' promotional practices (cat. nos 9.667-668, 1028, 1055, 1111 and 10.110-114, 400, 458-459, 568, 585-586, 624-627, 651, 689).[7] The same applies to a few gems of the same kind recovered in Vindonissa (cat. nos 9.1054 and 10.496),[8] Velsen (cat. nos 9.471, 562 and 564)[9] and Bavaria (cat. nos 9.788).[10] More controversial are the gems found or reported to have come from specific locations like the Aquileia glyptic centre or several regions of Roman military activities like Carnuntum, Xanten or Nijmegen. In such cases, the information on the objects' provenance is less certain but it is still very probable that specific gems were originally found in those places or at least in the neighbourhood. Map 1 illustrates all the places where it was possible to determine exact or nearly exact findspots with the most reliable provenance information available and consequently, Maps 5, 9, 14, 18, 21, 25, 29, 35, 39, 42, 44, 46 and 49 show the same for individual political factions and historical figures.

Although small in number (only 7% of all gems analysed in the study – cf. Table 2, Chart 1), these objects communicate very important information regarding target groups for Roman Republican and especially Octavian/Augustus' propaganda gems. Roman Republican and Augustan gems relating to political issues can be found in German museums located close to the Roman *limes*. This supports the idea that some of them were aimed at soldiers and it is noteworthy that almost all are related to Octavian/Augustus' propaganda actions.[11] Among them, the most significant are the gems found in Xanten and the surrounding area.[12] There are two specimens featuring subjects possibly related to Julius Caesar but the vast majority present images that one can link to Octavian/Augustus' propaganda actions.[13] These objects make one aware that gems were particularly durable works of art that remained long in use. The Roman military camp was founded in Xanten in 15 BC so the specimens related to Octavian/Augustus are all likely to have been used by soldiers supporting him whereas those possibly related to Julius Caesar might have been used by his veterans or passed on to the next generation of soldiers.

Similarly, Carnuntum yielded a few gems relating to Octavian/Augustus' propaganda (cat. nos 9.287, 362-363) which possibly stayed in use even more than 50 years after their production.[14] These gems show the

[6] Platz-Horster 2012, no. 27.
[7] Check context information of individual objects out in Guiraud 1988 and 2008.
[8] Gonzenbach 1952, nos. 37 and 40.
[9] Bosman 1994, no. 40; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1980, nos. 1 and 31.
[10] Platz-Horster 2018, nos. 3 and 8-9.
[11] For instance: Cologne (Römisch-Germanisches Museum) – cat. nos. 9.314, 653, 713, 1016 and 10.840; Cologne (Kunstgewerbemuseum) – cat. no. 9.940; Cologne (Archibishop Diözesanmuseum) – cat. no. 10.745; Mainz (Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum) - cat. no. 9.110; Trier (Rheinischen Landesmuseum) - cat. nos. 9.222 and 10.587; Auerberg - cat. no. 9.788; Bonn (Rheinischen Landesmuseum) - cat. nos. 6.205, 8.24.
[12] Platz-Horster 1987, 1994 and 2009.
[13] Subjects possibly related to Julius Caesar – cat. nos. 8.144 and 164; Subjects related to Octavian/Augustus – cat. nos. 9.194, 452, 590, 598, 645, 697, 986 and 10.172, 287, 339 and 808.
[14] The Roman military camp in Carnuntum was founded during emperor Claudius' reign around AD 50. See a study of gems found

popularity of such specimens among Roman soldiers who could have been one of the main target groups for propaganda gems.

Nijmegen is recognised the oldest city of the Netherlands since already in the late 1st century BC it housed a Roman military camp founded by Augustus that later transformed itself into a city.[15] Inhabited for centuries, from the 17th century Nijmegen has yielded intaglios of all kinds including Roman Republican and Augustan ones. There were many notable collectors, whose local purchases and archaeological discoveries delivered material enlarging their cabinets of antiquities (Johannes Smetius, Johan in de Betouw (1732-1820), D.H.J. van Schevichaven (1790-1831), P.Ch.G. Guyot and G.M. Kam (1836-1922). The latter was actively excavating in Nijmegen and surroundings. As a result, the collection of engraved gems kept in the *G.M. Kam Museum* in Nijmegen represents mostly the material found locally.[16] Therefore, the gems relating to political propaganda from this museum collection are further proof of their intensive use by Roman soldiers and the vast majority of them are related to Octavian/ Augustus.[17]

In conclusion, given the fact that most of the listed locations are within Roman military zones, mainly forts and camps along the *limes* but also places where the Roman army was stationed to keep order in a province, it is tempting to suggest that gems of this kind were primarily distributed among soldiers and they travelled to those locations with them. Noteworthy is the fact that with a few exceptions all the objects with *controlled context* I was able to collect come from the western part of the Roman Empire, but this is most likely due to the considerable discrepancy between the intaglios and cameos published in Western Europe and Asia Minor as well as the Near East. The intensive archaeological activity alongside the *limes* and generally speaking within Roman military zones surely contributes to the predominance of material originating from these areas rather than civil ones as well.

Another class of material suggesting similar conclusions and supplementing the lack of original gemstone or glass intaglios found in the eastern Mediterranean are sealings occasionally found across the territories controlled by the Romans in the 1st century BC and early 1st century AD (cat. nos 6.145 and 196-197, 8.20 and 220, 9.246, 542-545, 1156, 1230, 1270-1273, 1298 and 1343, 10.49-53 – the locations are: Cyrene, Zeugma and Artashat, cf. Map 1). These are more likely to have been used by clerks in provinces (mostly the eastern ones) which is another target group of propaganda gems. It has been consistently suggested throughout the book that using a seal with the image of an influential Roman political leader was beneficial to both the local governor as he transferred the authority of his patron onto himself as well as to the propagandist who was guaranteed the loyalty of his supporter in a province and he became more recognisable thanks to this (cf. also a summary discussion to this issue in chapter 13.6). Finally, the sealings collected here makes one aware that propaganda gems still reached eastern provinces and were very useful there, even if they do not survive in very large quantities.

The second type of context distinguished by Rudolph is the *generic context*, where it can be established more or less beyond doubt that an object was found at a specific site or region. Analysing available archival material as well as all the information about objects' provenance included in the collections catalogue as well as other sources it was possible to suggestfindspots for propaganda gems. Basically, in my research I focused on two types of information given in these sources. The first is provenance information based on the places indicated by collectors, scholars and others as 'said to have been found' in specific locations. Map 2 shows the results of this study. It is noteworthy that it is partially consistent with the results of reliable provenance (cf. Map 1 for general results and Maps 6, 10, 15, 19, 22, 26, 30, 32, 36, 40, 47 and 50 for individual political factions or historical figures), especially as far as the *limes* areas are concerned, but it adds considerable amounts of material as possibly originating from Italy (especially Rome, Central Italy and Campania) plus much less in the East Mediterranean region. Naturally, there are severe limitations because, for instance, the relatively high presence of sites from Dalmatia and Greece result from the fact that Sir Arthur Evans, who excavated in this region, was among the more consciencious collectors who left information on gems' findspots, although Nardelli argues that there were active gem engravers or even workshops in Tilurium (Dalmatia province).[18] All in all, this kind of provenance information adds 4% to the number of propaganda gems with potentially reconstructed provenance (cf. Table 2 and Chart 1).

The second type is the information is 'purchased in', usually in a specific place, which is less reliable because the location given is essentially not a findspot, but it is still possible to mirror it or at least one assumes that the findspot was not far away from the market place indicated. Map 3 shows Rome to be the only major place of purchases of propaganda gems among the 16th-19th century collectors, but interestingly other locations like Perugia or Chiusi are reported too and

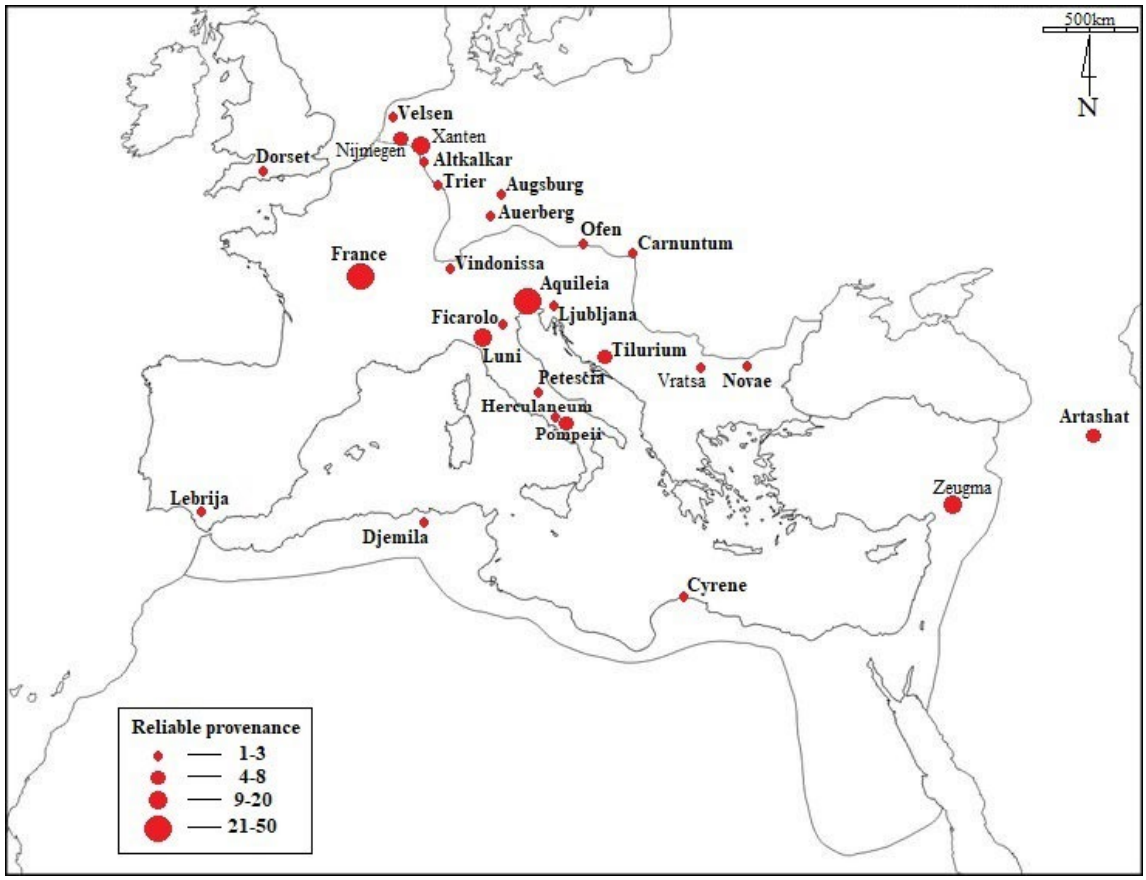
there - Dembski 2005.

[15] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986: XVIII.

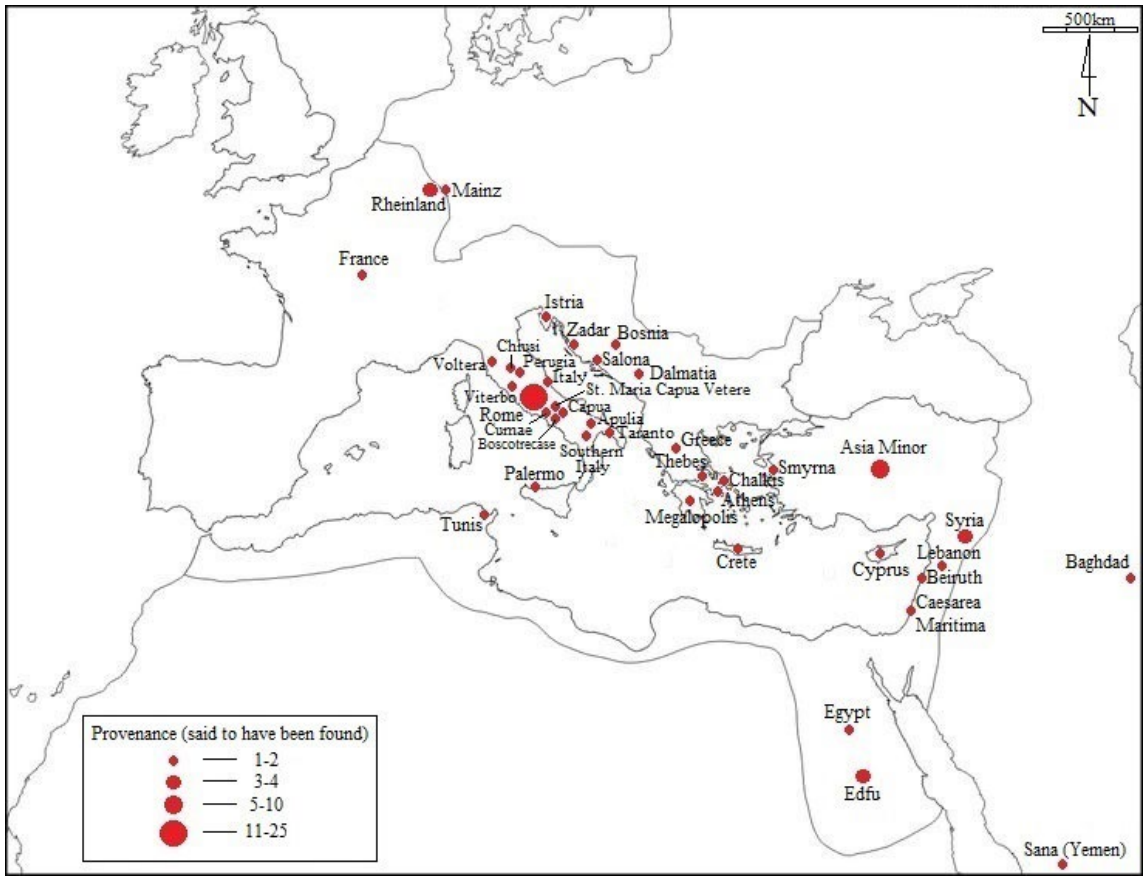
[16] Check out a detailed history in: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986: IX-XIV.

[17] See some gems related to earlier periods: cat. nos. 6.211 and 312, 7.44, 8.81 and 127 and especially a series related to Octavian/ Augustus: cat. nos. 9.380, 428, 447, 936, 1004, 1097, 1190 and 10.507.

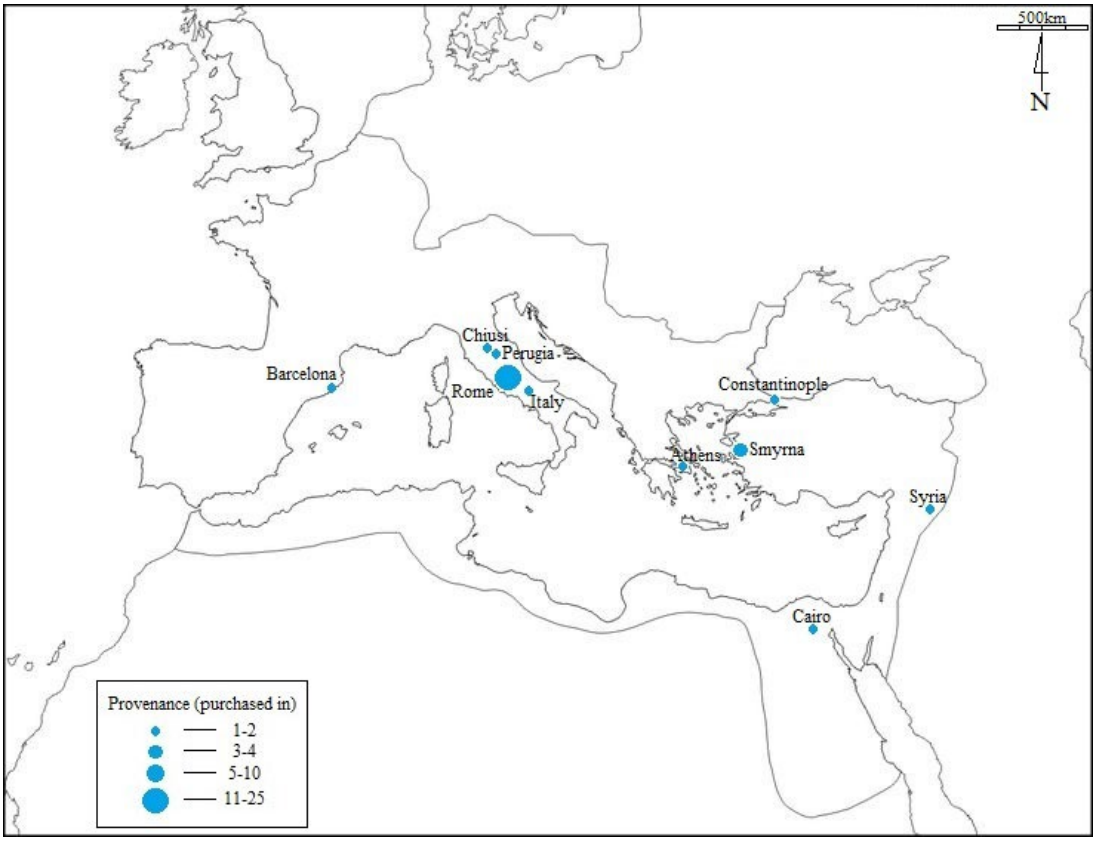
[18] Nardelli 2011b.



Map 1: Reliable provenance - general results



Map 2: Provenance (said to have been found) - general results



Map 3: Provenance (purchased in) - general results

so they are included in gems with 'said to have been found' provenance information (compare Maps 2-3; see also Maps 7, 11, 16, 23, 27, 33, 37 and 51 which illustrate 'purchased in' provenance information for individual political factions and historical figures). Noteworthy is the low number of gems reported to have been acquired by collectors in the eastern Mediterranean with one except for Smyrna (Izmir). If reliable, this provenance information adds another 2% to the total number of propaganda gems with provenance information (cf. Table 2 and Chart 1). Of course, one should keep in mind that the results presented here are just hypothetical and should not be treated as certain. It is impossible to verify information like 'said to have been found' or 'purchased in' recorded usually in the 18th or 19th century with any other method today. One does not know to what extent the information recorded by 18th and 19th century collectors and scholars is trustworthy. Surely some agents of the art market fabricated provenance information entirely in order to sell their objects for better prices or to prove modern fakes to be genuine ancient pieces. Nevertheless, unless one finds evidence to the contrary, one should not simply dismiss the information given. In the case of some collectors and scholars like Paul Arndt (1865-1937), one feels more secure because of his distinctions between gems 'said to have been found' and those 'purchased in' testifies to his awareness of the importance of provenance information for archaeology. Moreover, Arndt admits some of his gems to have been purchased not in popular markets like Rome, but also less famous ones in Berlin, Brussels or Barcelona. Such cases are not rare and therefore, I decided to show the results of either provenance 'said to have been found' and 'purchased in' because their number are not significant enough to distort the whole image, whereas their input is supportive of the claim that most of the propaganda gems were created in Rome or generally speaking Central Italy and Italy where one expects the greatest concentrations of such material due to the biggest markets for such objects. In other words, the results support analyses based on other kinds of evidence.

To the category of *controlled context* belong also many objects in the collections of local archaeological museums which are held to originate from the region in question, even if further information on find circumstances is lacking. One assumes that these objects have been locally found and presented to the museum. Much more risky is determining the histories of the big and small collections of engraved gems scattered across Europe, the Near East and the USA. Drawing on their histories and especially those of their benefactors it is sometimes possible to make suggestions concerning propaganda gems' provenance but only if some general patterns are to be observed. This means that usually one can deduce which places were particularly popular among the collectors of

gems through the centuries. Even though based on less objective grounds, investigations on this level may tell us something about glyptic centres and local workshops existing in the Roman Republic and under Augustus and consequently help to assess the scale of gems' use for political purposes. Because the study of engraved gems is closely interconnected with the history of collecting, it is necessary to start from Italy since many collections now in local museums can reveal a lot of important information and then expand to collections created outside the Italian Peninsula which, nevertheless, exhibit strong connections to the main Italian glyptic centres. Below, I briefly (because of lack of space) discuss almost all museum and individual collections of engraved gems which might deliver some provenance information and which are present in the catalogue part of this book arranged either geographically or historically and summarise this investigation with possible conclusions on potential provenance information.

To start with Italy, Roman Republican gems are traditionally divided into etruscanising and hellenising groups. This is due to the continuation of older, archaic traditions and the gem production centres are usually limited to North-Central Italy and Southern Italy combined with Sicily (cf. chapter 2.1).[19] While this division is still useful in some respects, more recent research has proved that there seem to be three main areas where gems were produced on a major scale: Northern Italy with Aquileia as the main centre, Central Italy (Latium) with Rome as a centre and Southern Italy where the Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum could have been the most successful workshops and Tarentum could have been of some importance too.[20] One of the most important collections for the study of Roman gems in general and the material used in this study specifically is obviously that held by the Museo Archeologico di Aquileia. It is very likely that a glyptic centre operated in this area since the establishment of the Roman colony there (181 BC) or even earlier and the first engravers migrated to this area from Southern Italy.[21] Sena Chiesa published a substantial selection of nearly 1,600 pieces in 1966.[22] These gems were mostly not found during controlled archaeological excavations, nevertheless, they all come from the area of Aquileia according to the museum records and the history of donations.[23] Furthermore, Sena Chiesa and Tassinari found out that a good number of gems kept now in the local museums in Altino, Como, Concordia Sagittaria, La Spezia, Oderzo and Este in all probability come from Aquileia.[24] The collections from Udine and Trieste originate from the Aquileia glyptic centre as well which is confirmed both by earlier and more recent studies.[25] Almost 100 intaglios and cameos now in Vienna come from Aquileia too due to the Habsburg excavations conducted at the site in the 19th century.[26] Perhaps a substantial portion of gems kept in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale and Museo Correr in Venice also come from Aquileia.[27] The same seems to be true of the gems from the Museo dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Pavia, but in this case local products might also belong to the cabinet.[28] Much closer to the Aquileian products is the glyptic material housed in the Musei Civici in Padua.[29] The scale of production of gems in Aquileia is incomparably greater than at any other certain single find spot and there is some evidence that glyptic products were exported out of the north-eastern region of Italy.[30] Most of the gems found in Luni are likely to have originated from Aquileia or might be local products.[31] Much more complex is the provenience of the gems housed in Verona, but part of the cabinet at least might originate from Aquileia.[32] Similarly, the gems from the Museo Civico di Ferrara are likely to have come from Aquileia, but it cannot be excluded that they were purchased in Rome.[33] Even more complex is the provenience of gems kept in the Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna because the vast majority of the objects were donated by powerful collectors buying glyptic objects in various locations. Consequently some of their material could come from Aquileia, but there is also evidence for some material being produced locally.[34] Concerning a large assemblage of intaglios and cameos in Torino, according to provenience information no reliable conclusions can be drawn as to the objects' provenance due to the high number of contributing private collectors who were purchasing gems all around the Europe and the Middle East.[35] However, sometimes positive results might be

[19] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 212-299; Richter 1971: 11-13 and 17-18.
[20] Hansson 2005: 41-45; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 99-196; Tassinari 2008: 261-270; Zazoff 1983: 261-268; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144-146. Even though Tassinari does not find sufficient objective evidence for placing a workshop in Rome, she points out that such an idea comes to mind quite straightforwardly (2008: 255).
[21] Sena Chiesa 1966: 13-18 and 2009a: 18; Tassinari 2008: 261-263 (with full bibliography); Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144.
[22] Sena Chiesa 1966.
[23] Sena Chiesa 1966: 1-2.
[24] Tassinari 2009: 262; Zazoff 1983: 262.
[25] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: 91; Sena Chiesa 1966: 2; Tassinari 2008: 262; Zazoff 1983: 261-262. Regarding the gems in Udine, these were presented to the museum by private collectors like Luigi Torrelazzi or Francesco di Toppo, whose material, however, can more or less securely traced to Aquileia, see: Tomaselli 1993: 19. See also the article by Napolitano who proved that from technical, stylistic and iconographic points of view many gems from Udine originate from Aquileia (1950). Similarly, the collection of gems in Trieste was created through donations of private collectors like Salvatore Zannini, but their material is very likely to originate from Aquileia, see: Ciliberto and Giovannini 2008: 29-31.
[26] Ciliberto and Giovannini 2008: 33-50; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144.
[27] Nardelli 2011/2012: 35.
[28] Tomaselli *et al.* 1987: 19-25.
[29] Agostini, Bidoli and Lavarone (eds) 2004: 13.
[30] Henig 2007: 10-11.
[31] Sena Chiesa 1978: 13-46; Zazoff 1983: 261-262.
[32] Sena Chiesa, Magni and Tassinari 2009: 1-4.
[33] Agostini 1984: 11-14.
[34] Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987: 22-24; Tassinari 2008: 259.
[35] Bollati and Messina 2009: 9-14.

obtained thanks to a scrupulous analysis of transactions at the art market. A good example of this is the most illustrious Polish dealer and collector of intaglios and cameos – Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński.[36] It has been recently suggested that perhaps about 140 gems from the Schmidt-Ciążyński collection may originate from Aquileia since the collector is attested as buying his pieces specifically there and in the neighbourhood (Venice, Treviso), plus the archaeological, stylistic and technical observations point to the same conclusion.[37] Finally, it is noteworthy that one encounters products of the Aquileian glyptic industry in Slovenia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Austria, Magdalensberg, Switzerland, Germany, Gaul, The Low Countries, Britannia and even distant eastern territories like Greece, Egypt, Gandhara and Kerala.[38]

Going down to the south, one encounters a hugely important collection of gems housed in the Museo degli Argenti and Museo Archeologico in Florence. Even though owned by eminent families like the Medici in the past, as far as extracting provenance information is concerned, little can be obtained other than several Roman State Cameos , which most likely originated from Rome. The collection's more average gems may have been produced in Aquileia, according to Zazoff. It seems that the collections from Florence display a dichotomy because Tuscany is located between northern and central Italy, therefore, the products of both the Aquileian and Roman workshops are found together there.[39] The vast cabinet of gems housed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia was originally presented to this institution by Mariano Guardabassi (1823-1880). According to the surviving archival materials it can be stated that the collector acquired most of his objects locally in Perugia and Umbria as well as in Rome.[40] Analysing the structure of the collection, the increasing number of gems possibly having some political significance is noticeable and many of these have been included in my study database.

Rome was certainly the next major if not the biggest glyptic centre in Italy.[41] There is sufficient epigraphic evidence that gem engravers worked in the capital city of the Roman Empire and a plausible location for their workshops is Via Sacra.[42] Naturally during Augustus' reign the imperial court workshop headed by Dioscurides and producing State Cameos for the use of the emperor and his circle was active in Rome. Zwierlein-Diehl believes that single workshops could operate in Rome and they specialised in specific kinds of gems, like the small biconvex chrome chalcedony intaglios.[43] This might be true since these gems specifically are very often engraved with subjects deriving from sculpture and there was no better place to seek inspiration for the gem cutters than Rome at the time. Moreover, archaeological finds of some caches of glass gems suggest that Rome was a plausible location for their production.[44] Maaskant-Kleibrink is certainly right to point out that due to a simple manufacturing process glass gems could be produced almost anywhere,[45] but one should bear in mind that Rome was the place with the biggest market for both regular hardstone and glass intaglios in Italy so the high demand surely resulted in a high supply e.g. numerous individual workshops perhaps organised in a sort of a guild as if in the Hellenistic East.[46] In addition to that, it is unlikely that the best gem engravers known from their signed masterpieces worked elsewhere than Rome even though sometimes their products are found in other locations like Solon's signed nicolo featuring Theseus excavated in Pompeii (cat. no. 9.844, Figure 610). Gems were highly portable objects and as one could see earlier, they travelled far with their owners, therefore, the archaeological findspots of gems say more about their users than their producers (cf. above).[47]

It is disappointing how few museum collections from Rome are published.[48] A sort of exception are the Musei Capitolini and the recently published Santarelli cabinet, but only just a few Roman gems possess provenance information suggesting their origins in Rome, while the vast majority comes from the art market and were purchased only recently.[49] Similarly, the celebrated Sangiorgi collection although created in Rome much

[36] For the most recent biography of Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński and study of the collection, see: Gołyźniak 2017.
[37] Gołyźniak 2017: 46-47.
[38] Henig 2007: 10-11; Tassinari 2008: 262.
[39] Zazoff 1983: 265. See also history of the Medici collection as well as provenience information concerning other glyptics objects housed in Florence: Gennaioli 2007: 41-94; Tondo and Vanni 1990: 8-32.
[40] Vitellozzi 2010: 35-44.
[41] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144.
[42] Lapatin 2015: 246-247; Vollenweider 1966: 74-75, note 60.
[43] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144. See also a detailed study of Platz Horster devoted to this particular gem class (2010).
[44] Gliozzo *et al.* 2011. Henig published a cache of 66 defective glass gems that he thinks date to the Second Triumvirate and were found in the eastern Mediterranean (1975: 2), but the truth is that no provenance information on them is available and considering several gems to be related to Octavian/Augustus' propaganda practices, it seems more likely that they origin from Italy (Rome?), see: Henig 1975: 81-83.
[45] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 100.
[46] Hansson 2005: 118; Plantzos 1999: 40.
[47] Hansson 2005: 117-119.
[48] According to my inquiry, the following museums in Rome hold collections of engraved gems: Baths of Diocletian Museum (Righetti 1957-1959), Villa Giulia Museum, Palazzo Braschi Museum, Museo Nazionale Romano (a selection of gems from this museum was published by Righetti (1955a)), Musei Sacro e Profano (Righetti 1955b). Selected portrait gems from individual institutions were published by Vollenweider (1972-1974). Apart from these, Bibliotheca Vaticana and Vatican Coin Cabinet also possess cabinets of engraved gems among which Vollenweider published portrait gems (1972-1974) and Righetti a selection of the most valuable pieces (1954-1956).
[49] Molinari *et al.* 1990; Gallottini *et al.* 2012: 19-20. The vast majority of Roman gems in the Santarelli collection was bought from other private collectors and in Florence.

earlier offers an array of objects with a very diverse provenance.[50] It is probably the best illustration of how limited is one's capacity in reconstructing gems' provenance through analysis of their history and provenience.

The last major area in Italy where some glyptic production centres possibly existed are the Campanian cities (Pompeii and Herculaneum) and Southern Italy.[51] Regarding the former, there is sufficient archaeological and epigraphical evidence to claim that gems were cut in Pompeii (Casa di *Pinarius Cerialis*) and Herculaneum (Casa 'del Gemmario'), and glass gems could have been manufactured in an industry close to Naples.[52] The gems found during the long-lasting excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum are now preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples and most of them have certain provenance information.[53] They are accompanied there by outstanding cameos that however most likely originate from Rome, but through the Medici and Farnese collections were deposited there.[54] Furthermore, a specific Romano-Campanian style is noticeable pointing to strong relationships between these workshops and the ones located in Central Italy. It is noticeable not only in Roman Republican glyptics, but also in coinage.[55] It is by all means possible that other glyptic centres were located further south, for instance in Tarentum where there was an ancient tradition of goldsmiths and gem engravers' workshops, but Roman Republican gems have been found in Brundisium, Bari, Cumae, Paestum, and Lecce as well.[56] Regarding Bari, the collection housed in the Museo Archeologico of that city consists of the objects purchased from local collectors or reported during local excavations, but some pieces come from Taranto as well.[57] A sort of confirmation of the independence of the region in general is its distinctive Hellenistic-Roman style.[58] Finally, several independent goldsmith and gem workshops probably operated in Sicily from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BC since the island is known as a location of those already in the Classical period if not earlier.[59] The most plausible locations are Palermo and Syracuse.[60]

Because gems were vigorously traded since the 15th century or even earlier, but especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, the objects now preserved in the European and the USA museums are usually based on the cabinets created by popes, emperors and royal families as well as private collectors and a surprisingly large amounts of gems related to Roman propaganda is assumed to have been purchased in specific locations, notably Rome.[61] Rome seems to be an inexhaustible source for collectors of gems over the centuries up to the 70s or 80s of the 19th century because as Count Tyszkiewicz writes in his memoirs, before Rome became the capital city of the united Italy, its gem market was well supplied with intaglios and cameos found in the local vineyards, gardens, fields and pastures just outside the contemporary city. When Rome developed and started to expand to the long-abandoned territories, this supply almost ceased which forced Tyszkiewicz to develop close relations with numerous dealers importing gems from the Near East.[62] As already stated, gems with more or less reliably stated provenance information in larger collections formed in preceding centuries also belong to the category of *generic context*, as such information can generally no longer be verified, and additional documentation is now lacking. Of course, one should be aware that although such information is surprisingly common it is not always credible. Rome as a major gem trade centre from the Renaissance times successfully absorbed material found in other parts of Italy for sure, however, one presumes that its impact was the most considerable regarding the Latium region because there were many other gem trade centres in Italy like Naples, Florence, Venice, Genoa, Torino and Milan. Today, it is often difficult to judge whether one should believe the provenance information from those days or not, but sometimes one can control this situation with positive results, especially if object's provenance stays in consistency with a more general picture and similar objects have the same provenance is confirmed from other sources. Besides, if there is no other data available, sometimes one must trust in this as there is no other logical way to proceed.

Over the centuries several public institutions in Germany created significant collections of gems usually thanks to the purchases or donations of large

[50] Wagner and Boardman 2017.
[51] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 97-98.
[52] Tassinari 2008: 266-268; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144-145. For individual workshops, see: Tassinari 2008: 268-269 (Pompeii) and 269-270 (Herculaneum) with more literature. It is disputable if some of the finds in Pompeii and Herculaneum were not ancient collections of gems, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144-145.
[53] Pannuti 1983 and 1994.
[54] Pannuti 1983 and 1994.
[55] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 108-109; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 104-107.
[56] Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 27-29; Hansson 2005: 54 and 112; Zazoff 1983: 267; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 107.
[57] Tamma 1991: 3-4.
[58] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 108-109; Zwierlein-Diehl 207: 97-98 and 107.
[59] Boardman 2001: 191. Some gem cutters like Heius are attested to work in Sicily and as far as it may be judged from Cicero's orations made during the corruption and extortion trial of Gaius Verres, the island was something of a centre for luxury crafts among which the engraving of gemstones should definitely be counted.
[60] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 213; Giuliano and Micheli 1989: 27-31; Tassinari 2008: 252-253; Zazoff 1983: 267.
[61] See the most recent evaluation of this issue in: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 264-279.
[62] Tyszkiewicz 1898: 43-44.

private assemblages or the gradual accumulation of the material by local dynasts of dukes, princes and members of the nobility. The huge cabinet belonging now to the *Staatliche Münzsammlung* in Munich has a complex history reaching the 16th century and there were many donators and contributors, most notably the Dukes of Bavaria.[63] For instance, in 1704 the Elector of the Palatinate, Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg (1658-1716) purchased an important collection of mostly Roman imperial gems created by Johannes Smetius (1590-1661) in Nijmegen.[64] How many Smetius' gems were locally recovered remains unknown, alas. One of the most important and representative collections is that formed by Paul Arndt (1865-1937), an assistant first to Heinrich Brunn and then to Adolf Furtwängler.[65] He was primarily known as a collector of ancient sculptures, a large number of which are now kept in the Glyptothek of Munich, as well as in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen. His superb collection of ancient gems has since 1956 been a part of the *Staatliche Münzsammlung* cabinet in Munich. It consisted of around 1,100 intaglios, 1,200 glass gems and 100 finger rings which Arndt amassed mostly through purchases made while in Rome, but some were also acquired in Athens and other locations.[66] It can be said that his collection is representative of the glyptic production of the Roman Republic, a fact confirmed by my statistics (cf. chapter 12). The stylistic groups one distinguishes among them are consistent with the material known from the Stosch, Bergau or Dressel collections (see below), all of which were created from objects acquired in Rome, therefore, it is likely that the Arndt collection of Roman Republican and Augustan gems reflects the sort of gems produced or at least utilised in antiquity in the capital city of the Roman Empire.[67] Following this logic, the substantial number of glass gems preserved now in Munich would suggest that the workshops producing them were located in Rome as well.

The next highly important collection that might shed some light on Rome as a glyptic production centre or at least the biggest market for engraved gems from the 3rd century BC to the early 1st century AD is that in the *Antikensammlung* in Berlin. Its history is as ancient as the Munich one and its origins are related to the Dukes of Brandenburg. The first inventory of the Brandenburg gems was created in 1604 and since then, a good number of successful collectors and various individuals sold or donated new objects. However, the most important acquisition was made in 1764 by the Prussian King Frederic II the Great who purchased *en bloc* the collection formed by Philipp von Stosch (1691-1757).[68] Stosch was an instrumental figure in the 18th century gem trade and antiquarianism and he resided first in Rome and later in Florence.[69] The vast network of his contacts resulted in his accumulation of a collection numbering 3,444 objects. Stosch bought intaglios and cameos from various sources, mostly in private transactions, but a good portion of his Roman Republican and Augustan gems may have been bought specifically in Rome and Florence, thus, many of his intaglios and glass gems may originate from Latium and Tuscany. It is noteworthy that other collections deposited in the *Antikensammlung* in Berlin like those of Eduard Gerhards (1795-1867), Theodor Panofka (1800-1858), Jacob Salomon Bartholdy (1779-1825) and Emil von Vollard (1795-1878) were also created almost exclusively in Rome.[70] Another highly important assemblage of gems, which are now in the *Antikensammlung* in Berlin, was created by a German archaeologist and epigraphist, Heinrich Dressel (1845-1920). His collection includes both gemstone and glass gems as well as a few cameos.[71] According to Weiß, most of the Dressel's gems were collected or purchased in Rome,[72] and Zwierlein-Diehl rightly notices that this collection is representative of glyptic production in Rome especially where the Roman Republican and Augustan periods are concerned.[73]

Another prominent German collector of engraved gems was Friedrich Julius Rudolf Bergau (1836-1905).[74] He created an enormous cabinet that numbered even c. 7,800 objects, mostly glass gems (to be more precise, c. 800 gemstone intaglios and c. 7,000 glass gems). Only a tiny part of this assemblage survived as a donation of the daughter of the collector to the *Germanishen Nationalmuseum* in Nürnberg and a substantial part of 1,898 glass gems (unpublished) is now in the *Antikensammlung* of the Institute of Archaeology, Erlangen University, while other parts were dispersed already in the end of the 19th century to the *Antikensammlung* in Berlin, *Münzsammlung* in Munich (through the hands of Paul Arndt), the Institute of Archaeology, Göttingen University and *Martin-von-Wagner Museum* in Würzburg,[75] but mostly shortly after Bergau's death when auctioned by his wife.[76]

[63] *AGDS* I.1: 10-11.
[64] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986: V and IX-XIII; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 272-273.
[65] On the figure of Paul Arndt, see: Hansson (forthcoming); Zazoff and Zazoff 1983: 212–218 and 230-235.
[66] *AGDS* I.1: 11. Concerning other locations, these are always indicated in individual entries in the Munich catalogues of engraved gems and they are very rare (AGDS I.1-3). The documentation of Arndt's collection of gems is owned by the Institute of Classical Archaeology of the University of Erlangen.
[67] See a similar opinion on this matter in: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144.
[68] *AGDS* II: 9. See also the history of cameos from Berlin in: Platz-Horster 2012: 11-28.
[69] On Philipp von Stosch, see: Hansson 2014 (with earlier literature); Zazoff and Zazoff 1983: 3-67; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 274-275.
[70] Platz-Horster 2012: 22-24; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 278.
[71] Weiß 2007.
[72] Weiß 2007: 69-70. For a general picture of the gem trade in Rome in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century, see: Weiß 2007: 65-69.
[73] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144.
[74] Weiß 1996.
[75] Weiß 1996: 11-12.
[76] Weiß 1996: 22-23.

Bergau's collection is considered to have been another representative assemblage of Roman Republican and Augustan gems originating from Rome since the collector purchased his objects almost exclusively in Rome.[77] The astonishing number of glass gems amassed by Bergau suggests their huge availability there and maybe workshops producing this kind of glyptic material were located in Rome or Latium in general.

Many other German public institutions and museums hold considerable collections of gems which are also sometimes based on the cabinets created by outstanding individuals mostly in the 19th century in Rome. The *Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum* in Braunschweig possesses a collection of engraved gems among which there are many Roman Republican and Augustan pieces. Nevertheless, the formation of the assemblage started during the reign of Duke Charles I in the 18th century and was based on a gradual accumulation of the material and apart from a few exceptions, no information on provenance is available.[78] Regarding the collection of the Institute of Archaeology, Göttingen University, a part of it consists of the material from the Bergau collection discussed above (200 glass gems, Roman?) and there is no information whatsoever available as to the provenance of the rest.[79] As to the gems housed in Kassel, they have been collected since the very early 18th century by the dukes of Hesse. Some of them like the Landgraf Charles collected gems during their *grand tours* when accompanied by a dealer of antiquities, Antonio Capello. In this particular case, the Landgraf made most of his purchases in Venice which is why there are so many magical gems in Kassel today because they were imported to the city from the east Mediterranean. As for Roman Republican and Augustan gems, nothing more precise than 'from Italy' can be established about their provenance and the vast majority of the objects was stolen in 1813 during the Napoleonic campaign.[80] Another prominent collection of gems is preserved in the *August Kestner Museum* in Hannover.[81] The vast majority of gems in the cabinet in Hannover come from the collection formed by August Kestner (1777-1853), a notable diplomat, art collector and co-founder of the *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* that later became known as the *German Archaeological Institute*, during his 36-year-long stay in Rome.[82] It is supposed that Kestner gems were purchased mostly in Rome and perhaps originate from the city and the Latium area as well as from Naples, even though the valuable notices on their provenance are now generally lost.[83] A few specimens come from the Alexandros Rhusopulos collection which was formed in Athens. Therefore, the Hannover collection should be (with some reserve, of course) regarded alongside the Bergau, Dressel, Panofka and perhaps to some degree also the Stosch ones as the most representative cabinets for the material dated to the Roman Republican and Augustan times and consequently for the gems relating to politics. This is also confirmed by the structure of the collection and the numerous groups of gemstone intaglios as well as glass gems cut in comparable styles, in the latter case also often moulded from the same matrixes. Another major German collection of gems is located in the *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* in Hamburg.[84] The material comes mostly from Dr Johanes Jantzen who bought his gems generally in Southern Germany and Switzerland.[85] The last major collection of gems in Germany is housed in the *GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst* in Leipzig but very few objects have any provenance information recorded.[86]

Individual institutions do possess single gems for which provenance information is usually unavailable[87] and bigger accumulations also exist as decoration of religious objects which lack provenance information.[88] Among the private collections created by single individuals, Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) purchased some of his Roman intaglios through his contacts in Italy.[89] Another considerable collection of nearly 800 gems was created by Helmut Hansmann (1924-1996). It is now preserved in the *Staatliche Antikensammlungen* in Munich, however, no information on the objects' provenance is available.[90] Similarly, another anonymous German private collection has no provenance indicated, however, judging by the purchases' sources it might be deduced that the gems come from Southern Germany and Switzerland.[91]

One of the largest and the most significant collection of gems is housed in the *Kunsthistoriches Museum* in Vienna.[92] Its history extends back to the 14th century but it was in the 16th century when individual

[77] Weiß 1996: 16-17; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144 and 278.
[78] *AGDS* III Braunschweig: 3-4.
[79] *AGDS* III Göttingen: 65; Weiß 1996: 22-23.
[80] *AGDS* III Kassel: 179-181.
[81] *AGDS* IV Hannover.
[82] *AGDS* IV Hannover: 3.
[83] *AGDS* IV Hannover: 5-6; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 278.
[84] *AGDS* IV Hamburg.
[85] *AGDS* IV Hamburg: 345.
[86] Lang and Cain 2015.
[87] Heidelberg (Institute of Archaeology) - Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 431; Stuttgart (Württembergisches Landesmuseum) - Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 123.2 and 4; Weimar (Goethe collection) - Femmel and Heres 1977.
[88] For instance, the Dreikönigenschrein from the Cathedral in Cologne is decorated with an array of gems including Roman Republican and Augustan ones that might transfer some political messages, see: cat. nos. 7.81, 8.68, 9.754, 837, 935, 1000, 10.249 and 633. Another example of a similar situation is the Schrein der hl. Elisabeth in Marburg, see: cat. no. 10.255.
[89] Femmel and Heres 1977: 7-67.
[90] Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010. Dr Carina Weiß kindly informed me that a full catalogue of the Helmut Hansmann collection of engraved gems is scheduled for publication in the next few years.
[91] Martin and Höhne 2005: 2.
[92] Eichler and Kris 1927 (cameos); Oberleitner 1985 (mostly cameos); Zwierlein-Diehl 1973a, 1979, 1991 (intaglios) and 2008 (cameos).

nobleman and Habsburg emperors, notably Rudolf II (1576-1612) and Matthias (1612-1619), started to form their own *Kunstkammern*. They ultimately combined to form one cabinet owned by the Habsburg emperors in Vienna.[93] The considerable means invested in art collecting by the imperial family enabled them to purchase or obtain in other ways such masterpieces as the *Gemma Augustea*. However, as mentioned above, the Habsburgs also controlled the North-Eastern Italy area where archaeological excavations were conducted, for instance in Aquileia (cf. above).[94] Therefore, a small portion of nearly 2,800 ancient pieces in total today housed in Vienna come from that territory. The other parts were donated by various collectors, among whom the most significant was Franz von Timoni (donation in 1865).[95] As a result, a number of objects have no provenance information whatsoever and only single specimens are recorded as having been purchased in Rome, but also other markets like Paris, Vienna, Alexandria etc. No definitive and general conclusions as to the objects' provenance can be drawn.

In Switzerland there are three institutions housing major collections of engraved gems: *Musée d'Art et d'Histoire* in Geneva, *University Museum* in Bern and *Historical Museum* in Basel. Regarding Geneva and Roman Republican and Augustan gems, almost all examples were donated by an engineer and prominent art collector Walther Fol (1832-1890). He was educated in Geneva and Paris, but he spent most of his life in Rome where he worked and acquired his gems.[96] The constitution of the Roman Republican and Augustan glyptic collection in Geneva (with a high number of glass gems of both, relatively good and bad quality) is strikingly close to that known from the collections preserved in Hannover, Berlin or Munich (cf. above). In all these cases the number of gems relating to Roman politics (portraits and symbolic gems) is high.[97] It is not a coincidence since all of them are based on the collection created by single individuals who spent most of their lives in Rome which means that the Fol collection could be representative for what was produced or at least utilised in Rome in the Roman Republican and Augustan periods. Another donor of some Roman Republican and Augustan gems to the *Musée d'Art et d'Histoire* in Geneva was François Duval (1776-1854), however, in his case, nothing certain can be said about the provenance of his purchases.[98]

The collection now housed in Bern is based on the Leo Merz (1869-1952) cabinet. Although the Swiss collector took part in auctions of notable collections (including many of the Fürstenberg gems), a little provenance information can be extracted only in the case of single specimens.[99] As to the gems from Basel, no more information about their provenance is available apart from that provided by Vollenweider in her book on Roman portrait gems.[100]

Concerning France, single finds of gems have already been mentioned as they reveal tremendously important data on their usage by Roman soldiers outside Italy. The French royal collection of intaglios and cameos, which is now housed in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, belongs to the most ancient ones. Its formation started in the 14th century and the considerable financial means of the French kings allowed them to obtain many Roman Republican and Augustan masterpieces, especially where cameos are concerned.[101] Nevertheless, because most of the objects entered the cabinet relatively early, little provenance information is available today. In the 19th and 20th century the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* was offered several important collections which had more provenance information to offer.[102] One of them was that of Honoré Théodoric Paul Joseph d'Albert, duc de Luynes (1802-1867) donated in 1862 including 373 intaglios and cameos originating from various places, but regarding Roman Republican and Augustan gems, these were mostly purchased in Italy (Rome and southern Italy to be more precise).[103] In 1899 Jean-Oscar Pauvert de la Chapelle (1832-1908) who from 1852 onwards resided in Rome presented his very selective collection of 167 intaglios and cameos, many originating from superb collections (Martinetti, Tyszkiewcz). There are many intriguing portrait and other political gems in his assemblage that in all likelihood were found in Rome or central and southern Italy in a broader sense.[104] Another contributor was Henri Louis Boisgelin (1897-1985) who inherited the collection of Alexandre de Boisgelin and partially that of Louis De Clercq (1836-1901) who both amassed their specimens during their activities in the eastern Mediterranean.[105] A substantial part of the De Clercq cabinet is now preserved in the

[93] For instance, the collection of nearly 2,000 gems formed by Ulrich, Graf von Montfort zu Tettnag (d. 1574), later owned by the Archduke Ferdinand II (1529-1595) and kept in Ambras Castle was transferred to Vienna on the command of emperor Joseph II (1765-1790) in 1784, see: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973a: 9-11; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 270-271.

[94] Zwierlein-Diehl 1973a: 14.

[95] Zwierlein-Diehl 1973a: 11. For a detailed history of the Vienna gem cabinet, see: Eichler and Kris 1927: 3-22 and especially Bernhard-Wahler contribution to Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 28-38.

[96] Vollenweider 1967: 9-10 and 1979: XIII-XV.

[97] Vollenweider 1979: XV-XXI.

[98] Vollenweider 1967: 10.

[99] Vollenweider 1984; Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003: 11-12.

[100] See: cat. nos. 9.1363 and 10.82.

[101] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 269-270. For a detailed history of the French royal collection of gems, see: Babelon 1897: CXII-CLXXIX.

[102] For a detailed history of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* collection of gems in the 18th and 19th century, see: Avisseau-Broustet 1996.

[103] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995: 16; https://gallica.bnf.fr/html/und/objets/collection-honore-dalbert-duc-de-luynes-1862 [retrieved on 22 January 2019].

[104] Babelon 1899; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995: 16; http://comitehistoire.bnf.fr/dictionnaire-fonds/pauvert-chapelle [retrieved on 22 January 2019].

[105] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995: 16; http://comitehistoire.bnf.fr/dictionnaire-fonds/boisgelin [retrieved on 22 January 2019].

Louvre Museum in Paris.[106] Even though only rarely is more specific provenance information available, the fact that their collections were formed mostly in Syria allows us to have at least some insight into the material from this part of the ancient world. Finally, Henri Seyrig (1895-1973), a French archaeologist, numismatist, and historian of antiquities, delivered his collection to the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris in 1972-1973.[107] He was general director of antiquities of Syria and Lebanon and from his appointment in 1929 he was a director of the French Institute of Archaeology of Beirut for more than twenty years. During his flourishing career, he managed to purchase many interesting intaglios not only from Syria and Lebanon, but also Egypt.

Concerning other significant collections of gems in France, in 1904 the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Tours accepted the Signol collection of engraved gems. Because the majority of its documentation is lost, very little can be established regarding the objects' provenance, however, there is a chance that a substantial number were purchased in Rome and at auctions in Paris.[108] Noteworthy is also the Alfred Danicourt collection from Pèronne, however, no provenance information on the material it includes is available.[109]

As Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink states in the introduction to her study of the gems once in the *Royal Coin Cabinet in The Hague* (today in Leiden), in the 17th and 18th century gem cabinets sprang up in the larger cities of the Low Countries. However, the most considerable one was created by King William I (1772-1843) in The Hague. The basis of his collection were the intaglios and cameos held by the House of Orange to which the king added those purchased from such notable collectors as Thoms, Jacob de Wilde, Hemsterhuis, De Smeth, Van Hoorn van Vlooswijck, Crassier, Hultman, Lupus and Dorrow among others. Furthermore, he sent Colonel J.E. Humbert to Italy and North Africa to collect gems for him and the same task was also entrusted to Colonel Rottiers.[110] Maaskant-Kleibrink made it clear that any reasonable conclusions as to the provenance of most of the gems from the former The Hague collection cannot be drawn because of the available documentation is too scanty.[111] If one tries to learn something from the more well-known collections, one usually fails. The Jacob de Wilde purchases of gems are unrecorded and their provenance is not stated anywhere.[112] However, the Thoms collection was considerable in number (c. 1,100 pieces) and probably consisted of gems mostly purchased in Italy since on the contractors' list are Cardinal Massimi, 'Chevalier Oddam', Sabbatini and Borioni. A conclusion Maaskant-Kleibrink proposes is that a large proportion of The Hague gems must have come from the Thoms assemblage.[113] Given Thoms' sellers list and analysing the structure of the Roman Republican and Augustan intaglios published by Maaskant-Kleibrink, it is tempting to suggest that a substantial proportion of the material comes from Central Italy and perhaps from Rome and Florence to be more precise. Concerning the Frans Hemsterhuis collection, it proved to consist almost exclusively of fakes.[114] Nothing certain can be established about the De Smeth and the Van Hoorn van Vlooswijck collections and their provenance.[115] Regarding the Crassier, Hultman, Lupus, Dorrow, Colonel J.E. Humbert and Colonel Rottiers gem collections, nothing certain can be said about their provenance.[116]

Unfortunately, little can be said about the provenance of those gems housed in the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in Leiden, which were not previously in The Hague, since they remain unpublished. However, over recent years a substantial number of them have been made accessible online and the provenance information is being constantly updated which augurs well for the future.[117] Similarly, Roman Republican and Augustan gems from the *Musée du Cinquantenaire* in Brussels remain unpublished except for a few portrait gems published by Vollenweider.[118]

In Denmark, two collections of engraved gems are known to include Roman Republican and Augustan gems. The one housed in the *National Museum* in Copenhagen remains unpublished, but several portrait gems are known from Vollenweider's publications, unfortunately with no provenance information.[119] A much larger (more than 2,000 objects) assemblage was created by the prominent sculptor and collector Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768-1844). It is now kept in the *Thorvaldsen Museum* in Copenhagen. He collected his intaglios and cameos in Rome during his many stays (1797-1819, 1820-1838 and 1841-1842).[120] According to Fossing, although no detailed documentation survived,

[106] De Ridder 1911.
[107] Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995: 16.
[108] Musée des beaux-arts de Tours (ed.) 1997: 6.
[109] https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems/danicourt/default.htm [retrieved on 22 January 2019].
[110] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 11-12; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 272-273.
[111] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 12-13.
[112] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 15-21.
[113] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 32.
[114] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 34-39.
[115] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 40-45.
[116] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 46-49.
[117] A selection of objects from this museum is available online, see: https://www.rmo.nl/en/collection/ [retrieved on 23 January 2019].
[118] Cat. nos. 8.14 and 9.129, 190-191, 252, 400, 1256 and 1336. The objects from this museum are not accessible online see: http://www.carmentis.be/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&moduleFunction=highlight&lang=fr [retrieved on 23 January 2019].
[119] Cat. nos. 6.146, 238 and 9.43. Ittai Gradel kindly informed me that he works on a publication of Roman Augustan and Imperial cameos from the National Museum in Copenhagen, but the expected date of this publication is unknown.
[120] Fossing 1929: 13; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 277.

it is clear that Thorvaldsen started to collect gems early but the vast majority of his gems was purchased between 1820 and 1838 and the sculptor was well supplied with gems from the ongoing excavations taking place in Rome and Etruria.[121] Being an artist often taking inspiration for his own works from gems, Thorvaldsen should be much appreciated for his connoisseurship because very few objects in his cabinet turned out to be modern fakes.[122] Another advantage of Thorvaldsen's gem collection is that its founder did not dismiss fragmented and chipped gemstones or unfinished glass gems.[123] For this reason, his assemblage adds much value into the research on gem provenance as well as production and distribution processes. Thorvaldsen's assemblage along with a few German ones as well as that created by Walther Fol should be recognised as representative of what was produced in the Roman Republican and Augustan times in Rome, Latium and Etruria in a broader sense.

In England, great cabinets of engraved gems started to be formed already in the 17th century. Among the early English collectors were Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales (1594-1612), King Charles I (1600-1649), who inherited the collection of the Prince of Wales and Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel (1586-1646).[124] Henry Stuart's cabinet was composed of the gems originally belonging to Abraham van Goorle (1549-1608) who published one of the very first catalogues of engraved gems in 1601. The collection did not survive as all the gems except for one intaglio now in the Wiltshire Heritage Museum in Devizes were either dispersed or destroyed during the Whitehall fire in 1698, but it was fortunately documented as wax impressions by Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) and now preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[125] None of the gems comprising this assortment can have their original provenance reconstructed. The Arundel gems were bought in Italy from the Gonzaga Dukes of Mantua and together with a collection of Viscount Duncannon, Lord Bessborough, they formed the basis for the celebrated Marlborough cabinet created by George Spencer, fourth Duke of Marlborough (1739-1817) at Blenheim Palace who added to them many of his own acquisitions made in Italy and elsewhere.[126] The Marlborough collection comprised c. 800 pieces in total before its dispersal in 1899.[127] Due to the collection's complex history and the number of sources the gems came from, frequently changing hands, very little can be said about their original provenance. Most likely the Roman Republican and Augustan objects originally fromm the Arundel collection and perhaps Lord Bessborough's cabinet may provenance from Italy as may do some other, individual pieces, however, even those are not certain since Lord Arundel's devoted agent Revd William Petty bought gems for him while travelling in Greece and Asia Minor.[128] The exemplary Marlborough and Henry Stuart's collections were followed in the 18th century by the assemblages of many men of nobility like William Cavendish, second Duke of Devonshire (1672-1729), whose collection is now preserved in Chatsworth, Philip Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773) or Sir Richard Worsley (1751-1805).[129] There is no place here to describe the whole rich English gem collecting phenomenon, therefore, I will focus mainly on the assemblages that survive to our times in several major English museums and those represented in the catalogue of this study.[130]

Regarding the *British Museum*, it preserves the largest collection of ancient engraved gems in the UK (more than 4,000 pieces). Within it, there is a good number of Roman Republican and Augustan gems. There were many donors of those during the museum's long history. The founder of the institution, Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753) possessed many gems which formed the basis for the original collection, however, very few specimens turned out to be ancient and even those have no provenance information available.[131] The next important contributor (1772) was Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803) who acquired most of his gems in Rome and especially Etruria.[132] Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (1730-1799) bequeathed some 80 gems to the *British Museum* but none of them has a traceable provenance, alas.[133] Charles Townley (1737-1805) was another important donor of gems (1814) but nothing is known about their origins.[134] Richard Payne Knight (1751-1824) also donated gems to the museum, mostly cameos. He collected them alongside bronze sculpture and coins during his *grand tour* which included not only Italy, but also many more locations. According

[121] Fossing 1929: 13-16.
[122] Fossing 1929: 16-17.
[123] Fossing 1929: 17.
[124] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 273. The British Royal Collection does not include any gem related to Roman political and social affairs, see: Boardman and Aschengreen Piacenti 2008.
[125] Henig 2008.
[126] Boardman *et al.* 2009: XI-XII; Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XIII-XIV.
[127] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XV-XVI; For a complete history of the Marlborough gems, see: Boardman *et al.* 2009: 1-28 and 205-209.
[128] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XIII and XVI.
[129] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XV-XVI; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 276. Concerning Sir Richard Worsley, he is a perfect example of why provenance studies of engraved gems might be misleading. Even though some of his gems certainly come from notable collections like those of the Dukes of Mantua or Anton Maria Zanetti, his collection contains a high proportion of modern gems given fictious provenances to make them more credible, see: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, p. XVIII. A new publication of that cabinet is under preparation by Claudia Wagner, John Boardman and Diana Scarisbrick at the Beazley Archive in Oxford (2019).
[130] For a detailed history of British gem collecting, see: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XIII-XXIII; Spier 2001: 20-23.
[131] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XIV; Walters 1926: X.
[132] Rudoe 1996; Walters 1926: X.
[133] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XIX; Walters 1926: X.
[134] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XVI; Walters 1926: X.

to his detailed catalogue and notes, it is possible to deduce that many of his best purchases (including some Augustan cameos) were made through the agent James Byres who resided in Rome and Florence where he obtained gems from the Cardinal Albani, Strozz, Borghese and Medici-Ricardi cabinets. As a result, one is unable to determine where individual pieces come from, but there is a possibility that some originate from Italy (Rome and Florence).[135] In 1865 and 1872 the *British Museum* acquired two collections formed by Alessandro Castellani (1823-1884). This Italian jeweller and collector with an international reputation used engraved gems, notably Etruscan scarabs and their imitations in his own etruscanising jewellery designs. He collected primarily in Rome but having a wide network of contacts including many international collectors and dealers, he was able to purchase objects originating from other sources too. Nevertheless, Rome and Etruria are the most likely areas supplying gems for Castellani.[136] In 1867 the *British Museum* enriched its gem collection with the specimens obtained from Louis, Duke of Blacas (1815-1866). As an antiquarian he continued the family tradition in this business and enlarged the family collection considerably. Even though there is some evidence that he and his father bought gems in Italy, such a provenance cannot be attributed to any object in any meaningful way.[137] The most important collection from our perspective is that originally formed by Henry Howard, fourth Earl of Carlisle (1694-1758). His cabinet of gems was presented to the *British Museum* between 1889 and 1891 by his descendants. It is noteworthy that the collector purchased his objects mainly in Italy and many come from notable cabinets like that of Cardinal Ottoboni.[138]

Like many museums with a long history, Ashm*olean Museum's* collection of Roman Republican and Augustan gems reflects the passions of individual benefactors.[139] Individual objects like the 'Felix Gem' exhibit an impressive provenience reaching down to the 15th century.[140] Nevertheless, only rarely can one deduce something from the history of the collections deposited. The cabinets presented by The Queen's College and The Bodleian Library yield no provenance information. In contrast, it seems that the gems given to Ashm*olean Museum* by John Henry Parker (1806-1884) were all purchased in Rome where he used to spend many winters.[141] One of the most significant contributions to Ashm*olean Museum* collection was due to Sir Arthur Evans (1851-1941). A substantial proportion of his Roman gems were purchased in the Balkans, Dalmatia and Greece where he was travelling and excavating. He also visited the Caucasus and Crimea but these places were less likely to supply him with Roman Republican and Augustan gems.[142] Another significant contributor was Revd Greville John Chester (1830-1892). He used to travel across the Mediterranean, especially the eastern part of it, where he bought his gems.[143] One of the most important donations from our perspective was made by Charles Drury Edward Fortnum (1846-1899). He presented 828 finger rings in total and a good portion of his bequest were Roman rings with gems. Among those, many are Roman Republican and Augustan works either in gemstone or glass. It is noteworthy that the collector purchased his objects while in Rome (supplied by Castellani and Dressel among others) or Como.[144] Therefore, it is very likely that the majority of his finger rings originate from Italy.[145] One more important contributor to Oxford's holdings of gems was Captain E.G. Spencer-Churchill (1876-1964), however, none of them have more or less secure provenance information.[146]

As to the *Fitzwilliam Museum* in Cambridge and Roman Republican and Augustan gems housed there, there are so many different donors that one cannot deduce anything sensible as to the gems' original provenance. Many objects frequently changed hands and they came to the museum without any original provenance information. The most important donors like William Martin Leake (1777-1860), Joseph Mayer of Liverpool (1803-1886), Bram Hertz (1794-1865) or James Carnegie, ninth Earl of Southesk (1827-1905) entered the gem market in the 19th century when most of the trading was organised at auctions amassing a variety of mixed material, usually unprovenanced.[147] As a result, only individual pieces might shed some light on the propaganda gems' production and distribution. It is noteworthy that Revd Samuel Savage Lewis (1836-1892), a librarian at the Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, acquired his gems while travelling in Italy, Greece and the Near East but also at the markets in Smyrna, Naples, Paris and elsewhere.[148] His assemblage is now preserved in Cambridge and several pieces are mentioned in this book. Unfortunately, none of them can be securely shown to have originated from a specific location.

[135] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XVIII; Walters 1926: X.
[136] Gołyźniak 2017: 42; Walters 1926: XI; Weber Soros and Walker 2004.
[137] Walters 1926: XI.
[138] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XV-XVI; Walters 1926: XI-XII; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 276.
[139] For a detailed history of the collection, see: Henig and MacGregor 2004: 5-12.
[140] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 5-8.
[141] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 9.
[142] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 9-10; Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XX.
[143] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 10.
[144] Weiß 2007: 69.
[145] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 10-11.
[146] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 11.
[147] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XIX-XX. However, see Lord Carnegie's gem collection catalogue where some information on the gems' provenance is available (Carnegie and Carnegie 1908: VII as well as individual entries).
[148] Henig 1975: 1; Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XX.

Lord Algernon Percy, first Earl of Beverley (1750-1830) was the founder of an outstanding collection of intaglios and cameos which is now housed at the Alnwick Castle and referenced as the *Beverley Gems*. The collection contains some Roman Republican intaglios and many Augustan masterpieces that can be provenanced down to the illustrious and ancient Grimani collection created in Venice which could suggest that they were found in Italy.[149] Apart from this little can be obtained regarding the original provenance of these pieces. Finally, the *Royal Albert Museum* in Exeter preserves a collection numbering c. 100 cylinder seals, engraved gems and amulets. They were donated mostly by Lt. Col. Leopold Agar Denys Montague (1861-1941) and Dr Norman Lace Corkill (1898-1966). Seven Roman gems were excavated at Exeter, the others (including those used in this study) have a vague provenance indicated, mostly the Near East and the Mediterranean basin.[150] Finally, the recently republished private complete *Content Family Collection* of cameos includes some Roman Republican and Augustan pieces the provenance of which is sometimes provided and, if reliable, it suggests that propaganda gems were distributed among high-ranking officers as well as the governors of Roman provinces.[151]

In Russia the tradition of gem collecting starts in 1721 when Peter the Great (1682-1725) purchased several small cabinets in the Netherlands in order to equip his Kunstkammer which was the basis for the *State Hermitage Museum* collection.[152] However, it was Catherine the Great (1762-1796) whose passion for engraved gems was so great that she inspired many others to follow her example not only in Russia but also in Europe. The Empress managed to purchase an astonishing number of foreign cabinets (Natter, de Breteuil, Byres, Slade, Mengs, a part of the Lord Beverley collection, Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orléans, the Duke of Saint-Morys and J.B. Casanova).[153] Even though some parts of Catherine the Great's collection can be traced as originating from Rome and Italy in a broader sense (Medici and Orisini cameos) in fact very little can be said about the gems' original provenance.[154] In the 19th century the *State Hermitage Museum* enriched itself with the assemblages of J.B. Mallia, D. Tatishchev, L. Perovsky, A. Lebedev, V. Miatlev and Yu. Lemme among others. In that century also archaeological excavations in the Crimea and Caucasus regions yielded many fascinating gem finds from burials and kurgans, however, mostly Greek gems were found at that time rather than Roman Republican and Augustan ones. After the October Revolution in 1918 the Russian State nationalised almost all private collections. This resulted in the celebrated cabinets of the Shuvalovs, Yusupovs, Strogonovs, Nelidovs and the Polovtsevs entering the *Hermitage*. Even in more recent times private collections are donated there like the one created by the mineralogist G. Lemlein in 1964.[155] All in all, the *State Hermitage Museum* in St. Petersburg houses one of the greatest collections of gems in the world. Nevertheless, only a small section of it is published.[156] Due to its complex history as well as the fact that the majority of gems were purchased from the market, little information on the original provenance of the objects can be obtained. Another interesting collection of engraved gems containing Roman Republican and Augustan material is housed in the *Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts* in Moscow. According to Finogenova, except for a few objects found in the Northern Black Sea regions (mostly Greek gems), the objects' provenance is unknown.[157]

A highly valuable collection of engraved gems is preserved in the *National Museum* in Krakow. It includes more than 260 specimens dated to the Roman Republican and Augustan periods which offer a good overview of nearly all types of propaganda gems. The intaglios and cameos were almost all donated to the museum in 1886 by Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński (1818-1889), a prominent dealer and collector of works of art. He traded across the whole of Europe but notably in St. Petersburg, Paris and London.[158] The structure of the collection and a careful reconstruction of the gems' provenience confirm that Schmidt-Ciążyński purchased most of his objects at auctions and through direct purchases from other collectors. However, as has been already suggested, there is evidence of him acquiring intaglios and cameos in Aquileia and its neighbourhood (cf. above). Moreover, his numerous travels and longer stays in Italy, especially in Rome, but also, Naples, Genoa, Torino, Florence, even running the antiquities shop in Venice, have recently been positively confirmed. Therefore, on the list of his sellers, one finds the names of antiquaries and dealers residing mostly in Rome like Briganti, Capranesi, Castellani, Civilotti or Tyszkiewicz as well as other Italian cities (Berini, Biondelli, Boncompagni, Chiesa, Colomb, Conti, Fabriv, Foratti, Galiardi, Lambranzi, Lanti, Marsigli, Polini, Richetti, Rusca, Sartorelli and Zanetti).[159] As a result, one wonders if actually many of the Roman Republican and Augustan intaglios and cameos from this highly-respected cabinet originally come from Italy.

[149] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XVIII; Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a.
[150] Middleton 1998: IX-XVII.
[151] For general information on the Content cameos collection, see: Henig and Molesworth 2018.
[152] Neverov 1971: 55-56 and 1976: 8.
[153] Kagan and Neverov 2000: 10-36; Neverov 1971: 55-56; 1976: 8.
[154] Kagan and Neverov 2000: 35.
[155] Neverov Neverov 1971: 55-56; 1976: 8-9.
[156] Kagan and Neverov 2000; Neverov 1971; 1976.
[157] Finogenova 1993: 62-64.
[158] Gołyźniak 2017: 31-87.
[159] Gołyźniak 2017: 40-43.

Before one departs to the USA, a short commentary should be given on the European and Near Eastern museums holding smaller collections of gems. An assemblage of intaglios is housed in the *Coin Cabinet of the National Museum* in Athens however very few of them date to the Roman Republican and Augustan periods. As to their provenance, nothing more can be said except for the fact that there is a good probability that some of them were brought to the museum by various collectors, especially Konstantinos Karapanos (1840-1914) from the whole of Greece.[160] Still, it is interesting to notice that Octavian/Augustus' propaganda gems are the most representative among them (cf. cat. nos 6.82, 8.34, 9.96, 563, 591 and 1099). It is noteworthy that several more gems listed in my database are likely to originate from Athens (cf. cat. nos 6.95, 9.773, 1194, 1366, 10.3 and 171). It is debatable whether gem engravers conducted their workshops in Roman Republican and Augustan times in Athens or elsewhere in Greece.[161] However, especially in the case of Octavian/Augustus these specimens are more likely to testify to how popular his propaganda gems were becoming across the empire with soldiers fighting in his favour or that they were exported outside Italy (where they were most likely produced in Rome and Latium area?), but not in great quantities.

A similar pattern can be observed regarding gems recovered from the Dalmatia region. Nardelli hypothesises that those found on many sites in Dalmatia, but mainly in Tilurium were not manufactured in Rome or at least that the glyptic centre was powerful enough to influence local gem ateliers which she believes might have existed in the region, especially in Tilurium.[162] According to my database, this is very likely because Octavian/Augustus' propaganda gems dominate there too (cf. cat. nos 9.448, 1082-1084 and 1235). If one adds the specimens purchased by Evans in Dalmatia, the number increases (cf. cat. nos 8.80, 9.67, 10.150 and 559). Naturally, one always should keep in mind that gem engravers were very mobile, thus, some of the pieces might be local works executed by travelling artists. Nevertheless, the 'propaganda gems' one finds in the collections of other Balkan countries (*Hungarian National Museum* in Budapest, *Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine* in Bucharest and *National Archaeological Museum* in Sofia) exclusively relate to Octavian/Augustus (cf. cat. nos 9.745, 874, 919, 963, 974, 990-992, 1003, 10.32, 581 and 618). The histories of these cabinets suggest that their formation usually involved gems found in various circumstances (if there is any provenance information provided at all): at archaeological excavations, by local people who presented them to the museums and even more serious collectors who were usually locals and they did not participate in the international gem trade much if at all.[163] Some local workshops producing intaglios and cameos are attested in the Balkan Peninsula, however, they operated in the Roman Imperial periods. In conclusion, the very few 'propaganda gems' from the Balkans are most likely imports rather than local products and they seem to have been manufactured in Rome or Italy in general.

A single cameo, possibly presenting a bust of Antonia Minor, from the Cathedral Treasury in Prague has no provenance information available (cf. cat. no. 10.750). However, another location where the situation is similar to that observed in the Balkan Peninsula is Sardinia. One finds there several gems relating to Octavian/Augustus' propaganda (cat. nos 9.566 and 765, 10.465, 519 and 567) which is another indicator that such pieces travelled with their owners – Roman legionaries - though the island's inhabitants always were loyal to the *gens* Iulia too.[164] Does this mean that such gems now preserved in the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale* in Cagliari were originally manufactured in Rome?

Concerning Spain, major collections represented in the catalogue part of the book are those held by the *Museo Arqueologico Nacional* in Madrid and *Universitat de València*. As to the former, its history reflects many benefactors among whom the most important seems to be King Carlos III (1759-1788) because he controlled Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples and therefore some gems could have plausibly originated from the Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum as well as from Southern Italy in general.[165] Nevertheless, there is usually no provenance available. A similar situation occurs in the case of the gems from Valencia. Interestingly though, among the 'propaganda gems' represented in those cabinets, those related to Octavian/Augustus clearly prevail but there is one example of an intaglio possibly showing Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey. If one adds to them the cameo probably showing Julius Caesar and Venus, which is said to have been found in Tarragona,[166] one symbolic intaglio linked to Caesar as well and intaglios presenting Sextus or Gnaeus Pompey published by López de la Orden (cf. cat. nos 6.23, 8.67, 146, 162 and 234, 9.11-12, 383, 763, 934, 1024, 1107 and 1119 and 10.608), it becomes clear that, though scanty, this evidence suggests that gems with some political significance were exported or came to Spain alongside the moving Roman armies rather than being produced there (cf. discussion on the Pompeians' presence in

[160] Karapanou 1913. However, many gems may origin from completely different areas, see: Tassinari 2008: 299.
[161] Tassinari 2008: 298-300.
[162] Nardelli 2007; 2011a: 25-27; 2011b; 2011/2012.
[163] Dimitrova-Miličeva 1981: 5-6; Gesztelyi 2000: 5-9; Gramatpol 1974: 6-8.
[164] Cicu 2009: 341.
[165] Casal Garcia 1990: 55-60.
[166] Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 69.

Spain and gems related to them in chapter 9.1.3 and the Julius Caesar cameo in chapter 8.2.8).

As for Portugal, not a single 'propaganda gem' is likely to originate from there, at least according to my survey and the publications of Cravinho.[167] The outstanding *Calouste Gulbenkian* collection now preserved in Lisbon was created simply through art market purchases and even though it contains a good selection of Octavian/ Augustan propaganda pieces, their original provenance cannot be established.[168]

Regarding Asia Minor and the Near East, the largest and most ancient glyptic industry was very active in Alexandria and smaller workshops surely operated in such cities as Sardis or Pergamon as well as in Syria and Palestine and the royal courts of the Ptolemies and Mithridates VI Eupator.[169] Over the period spanning from the 3rd century BC to the early 1st century AD, Hellenistic and local glyptics dominated on these territories, therefore, it is not surprising that Roman gems related to propaganda are scarce not only among recorded finds of gems but also collections originating from this part of the Mediterranean basin. Except for single objects, which could have been carried there by Roman soldiers, for instance, those loyal to Marcus Iunius Brutus and Quintus Cassius Longinus (cf. Maps 32 and 34) or gifted to local authorities like the glass cameo presenting a laureated head of Augustus found in Smyrna (Izmir) (cat. no. 10.70), there is no clear sign of production of specific types of Roman 'propaganda gems' on those territories (cat. nos 6.145, 7.6, 9.617, 913, 1275 and 10.105). Moreover, even the number of glyptic products relating to Mark Antony seems insignificant if compared to his main opponent Octavian (cf. chapter 12 and Maps 39-41). One reason for this might be a lack of interest in this kind of art on Antony's part or a total domination of Cleopatra in promotional practices during the Civil War which concentrated on her own person (cf. chapters 9.3.2.1-9.3.2.9). Another reason is that very little glyptic material has been published from Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and other countries of the eastern Mediterranean and even published collections which are usually the private ones have virtually no information as to the objects' provenance.[170] Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to observe that regarding the first attempts of the Romans in the application of gems for self-promotion (e.g. portrait gems), the earliest ones were crafted by Greek engravers in the eastern Mediterranean during their numerous military campaigns (cf. chapter 6.2.1). Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar alike had some of their portrait gems cut in the East (cf. chapters 8.1.5 and 8.2.4 respectively). Although the gems themselves are not specifically notable for their propaganda applications in the East, as mentioned above, sealings recovered from Hellenistic and later archives deliver some evidence for that phenomenon (cf. above).

There are many institutions in the USA holding collections of engraved gems that include objects important for this book. The *Metropolitan Museum of Art* in New York preserves a good number of both masterpieces and average works of glyptic art. There were many benefactors who contributed to it, primarily Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832-1904) whose collection was formed mainly in Cyprus.[171] Charles William King (1818-1888) author of several books on engraved gems collected them passionately mainly in Rome where he used to spend winters adding to these some he acquired at the London art market.[172] His collection was presented in 1881 by John Taylor Johnston.[173] Unfortunately, apart from these two examples, provenance information of the objects presented by other donors like Julien Gréau, J. Pierpont Morgan, Helen Miller Gould, Benjamin Altman, Richard B. Seager, Milton Weil and especially William Geadney Beatty cannot be verified by the careers of those figures or in any other way. Therefore, if any provenance information is given, one must either accept it as it stands or reject it. It is noteworthy that the prosperous museum itself purchased single gems from the art market: many outstanding objects from celebrated collections like the Wyndham Cook, Marlborough, Story-Maskylene, Southesk and Evans collections which have already been discussed above.[174]

The *Museum of Fine Arts* in Boston keeps another outstanding collection of engraved gems of which many specimens have been included in this study. There is no single catalogue of Boston gems and like the *Metropolitan Museum of Art* in New York, the institution was an active purchaser of antiquities since its inception but especially since 1885 when its curators and agents like Edward Robinson (1858-1931) or Edward Perry Warren (1860-1928) sought out the best works of ancient art including intaglios and cameos. The latter amassed a considerable collection of those in his residence at the Lewes House, East Sussex in England which were studied first by John Beazley and recently republished by Boardman.[175] The outstanding *Lewes House* collection of gems was created by Warren through purchases made from multiple resources, thus, their original provenance (if provided at all) cannot be successfully verified.[176] In addition to this, some objects held by

[167] Cravinho 2017 (with more literature on Portugal gem collections).
[168] Spier 2001: 19-26.
[169] Plantzos 1999: 63-64 and 111-112; Tassinari 2008: 263-266 and 279-286.
[170] This is the case of the following: Hamburger 1968; Konuk and Arslan 2000; Middleton 2001; Wagner and Boardman 2003.
[171] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XX; Richter 1956: IX.
[172] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: XIX.
[173] Richter 1956: IX.
[174] Richter 1956: IX.
[175] Beazley 1920; Boardman (ed.) 2002.
[176] Boardman (ed.) 2002: 3.

the *Museum of Fine Arts* in Boston entered it through collaborative excavations with the Harvard University as well as its own archaeological expeditions.

Over the past fifty years the *J. Paul Getty Museum* in Malibu has proved particularly successful in obtaining and purchasing engraved gems. A substantial part of its assemblage comes from relatively recent private donations.[177] Since these represent a new, contemporary wave of gem collecting, unfortunately the provenance of their purchases cannot be verified in any reasonable way so that one must either believe what is said or reject the provenance information provided. Nevertheless, some general observations on the Roman Republican and Augustan material published by Spier reveals that even though many Getty's objects are said to have been found in Tunisia, they were originally manufactured in Italy.[178]

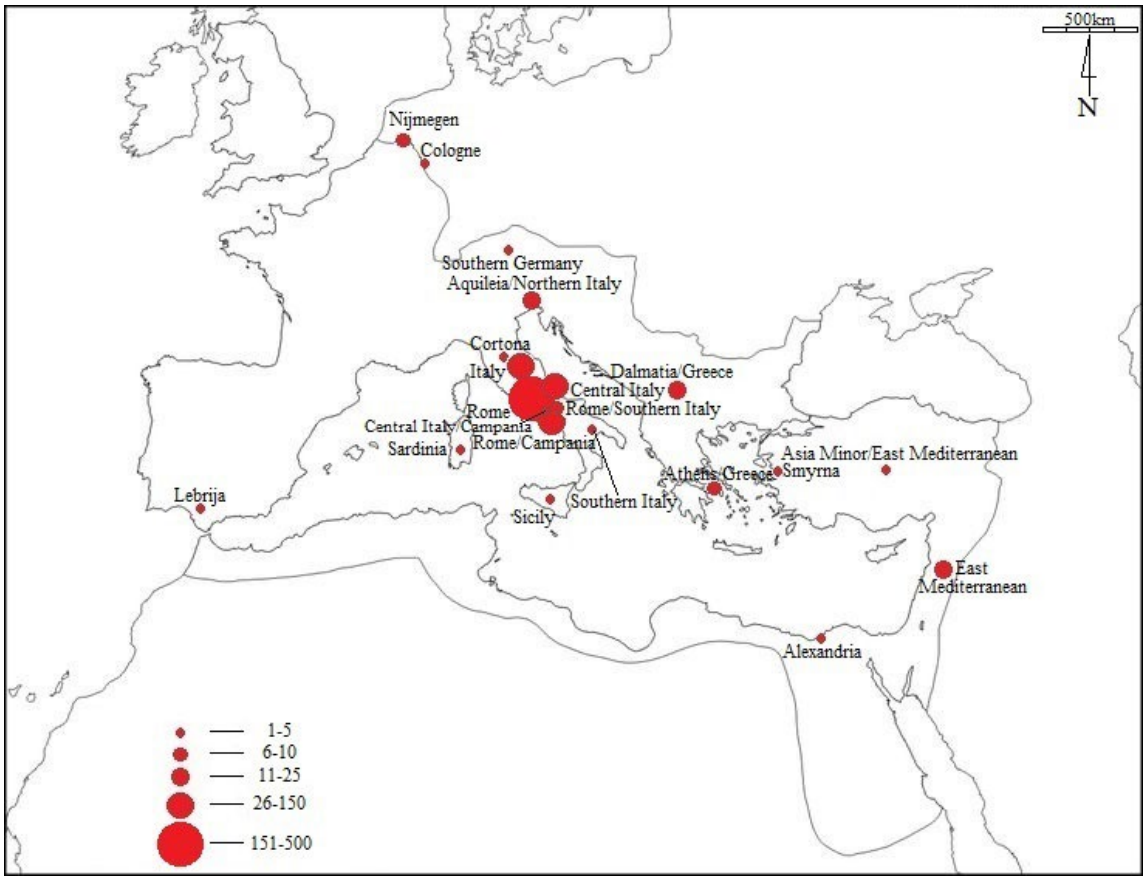
An exception among the American museums holding collections of engraved gems is the *University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* in Philadelphia. This is because the core of its assemblage is over 3,400 gems donated by Maxwell Sommerville (1829-1904). However, this huge cabinet includes all possible glyptic works including gems purchased in Asia and Oceania acquired by the collector during his numerous travels around the world.[179] The ancient pieces number 357 objects among which Roman Republican and Augustan works are the most numerous (unfortunately excluding cameos which remain unpublished). Considered unusually well-travelled even for a collector of antiquities and works of arts, it is difficult to verify the credibility of most of Sommerville's items, however, it can be fairly securely said that most of them come from Italy. Sommerville visited Rome several times in his life and travelled throughout Italy which makes this supposition more likely.[180]

Finally, single objects have been used from the following American institutions: *Walters Art Museum* in Baltimore, *Indiana University Art Museum* in Bloomington,[181] *Bowdoin College* in Brunswick, Maine, *Museum of Art* in Cleveland, *Oriental Institute* in Chicago, *Art Museum, Princeton University* in Princeton,[182] New Jersey and *The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art* in Kansas City. With a few exceptions, none of the specimens from those institutions have any provenance information that is verifiable. In addition to these, I used 50 gems that remain in private collections in Europe and the USA and I was unable to find out their provenance information either. I also used 58 gems which have been published but they remain lost since then, thus their provenance information could not be verified.[183]

A thorough analysis of the histories of all the collections listed above as well as the history of gem collecting in general, made it possible to reconstruct the provenance of 38% of the propaganda gems discussed in the book (cf. Table 2 and Chart 1). Furthermore, I was able to distinguish several areas where intaglios and cameos relating to Roman Republican and Augustan politics could have been found or at least purchased. Map 4 illustrates them. The unquestionable leader is Rome where the greatest number of collectors are reported to have bought their gems. Rome was definitely the location of the most major market for engraved gems for centuries due to its own inexhaustible resources until the unification of Italy in 1870s as reported by Count Tyszkiewicz when the fashion for collecting gems ceased due to various reasons, mainly the increasing number of contemporary forgeries and other risks.[184] As already mentioned, it certainly absorbed a lot of material originating from other parts of Italy and probably even beyond, but its own resources cannot be simply denied or ignored. Rome was the place where the many groups of propaganda gemswould have been most relevant. It was a political centre and there was nowhere better for gems transmitting political messages or being used for political purposes. Rome since the medieval times was full of noblemen eager to invest in luxury products like intaglios and cameos and to use them for their own promotion. Cheap glass gems were possibly utilised there too to a large degree among ordinary people. Gems were private objects and their political use required their owners to be politically active. Rome was certainly a place where considerable numbers of people were engaged in politics and thus wanted to manifest their views by using gems on finger rings. It should be pointed out that the results presented here are consistent with archaeological observations concerning the stylistic, material and formal aspects of the gems in the 3rd-1st centuries BC and especially the late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD.[185]

Apart from Rome itself, it is noteworthy that many collectors supplied themselves with gems from the close neighbourhood of Rome, that is, Central Italy. The region of Campania is also well represented but it is often difficult to pinpoint a region, thus Italy in general also occupies a high position on the list. Because of Sir Arthur Evans' meticulous notes, it is possible to

[177] See a full list in: Spier 1992: VII.
[178] Spier 1992: 77.
[179] Berges 2002: 12.
[180] Berges 2002: 70.
[181] Said to have been bought in various places like Athens, Istanbul, Cairo or Switzerland, see: Berry 1968, preface.
[182] Forbes makes it clear that proveniences indicated on the card museum she worked on are doubtful, see: Forbes 1981: XX-XXI.
[183] Cf. provenance information provided in the catalogue part of the study and individual entries in each chronological category.
[184] Tyszkiewicz 1898: 43-44.
[185] Hansson 2005: 41-45; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 99-196; Tassinari 2008: 261-270; Zazoff 1983: 261-268; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 144-146.



Map 4: Provenance (based on provenience analysis) - general results

suggest that propaganda gems came from Dalmatia and Greece, but their numbers are not considerable. Similarly, not many propaganda gems can be traced as originating from the eastern Mediterranean which might be partially due to the already mentioned lack of published material and provenance information.

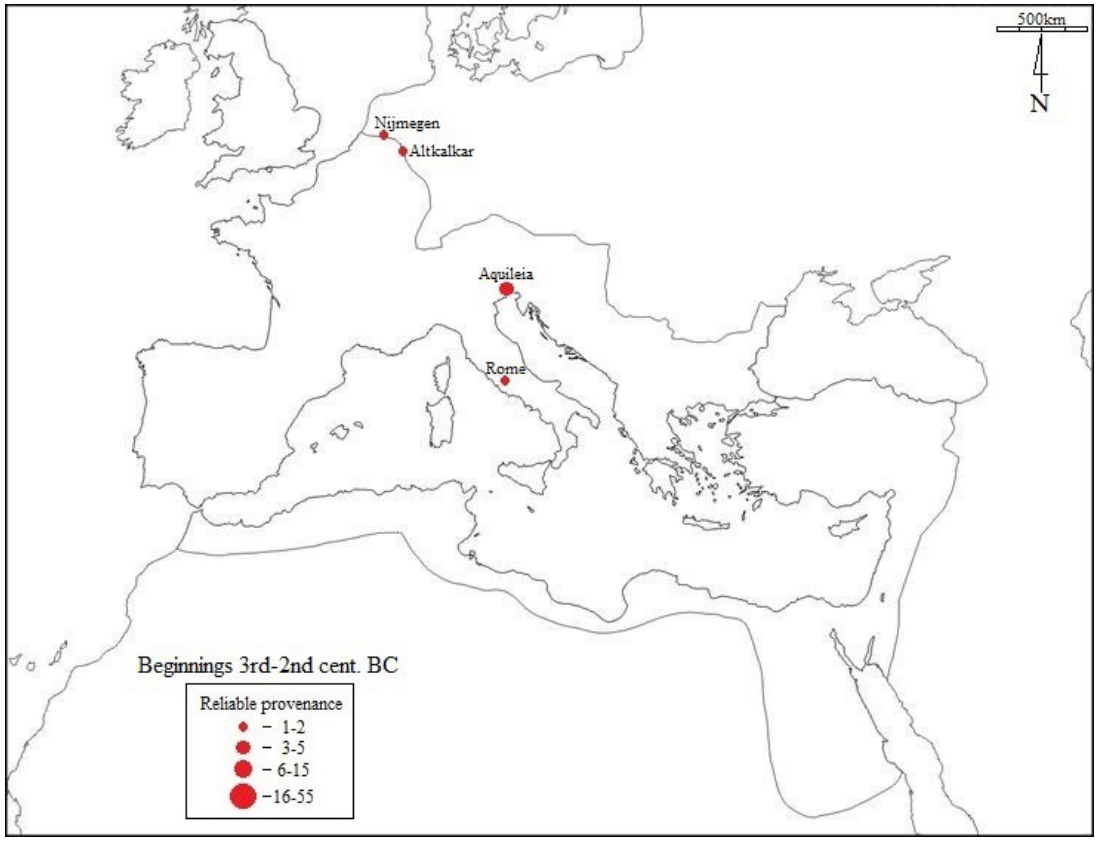
The last of Rudolph's types of contexts is *no context*, where no information whatsoever exists on provenance and find circumstances and these cannot be obtained from any kind of archival or material analyses. This is the most frequent case for engraved gems (49% - cf. Table 2 and Chart 1) and might affect the results of my investigations. Without context, it is often impossible to determine an object's function or its owner and chronology. Therefore, as in any other archaeological studies, that of glyptics seems highly speculative, but researchers have managed to collect enough data (cf. 'state of research' - chapter 2.1) for us to verify some hypothesises about gem occurrences and findspots. Besides, those circumstances encourage us to attempt to take into account the results of provenance reconstructions discussed above. Otherwise, one ends up questioning everything because even the 7% of gems which have reliable provenance also have their own problems and uncertainties.

All in all, a general conclusion might be drawn that the vast majority of gems relating to politics one way or another was utilised and even maybe produced in Central Italy, which is here understood as a combination of Latium, Campania and Tuscany. No definitive distinction between specific workshops is possible giving the speculative character of the data. It is noteworthy that the results of my provenance reconstruction based on provenience analysis are generally consistent with other data obtained. Rome and Italy in general are the most frequent locations reported by collectors in various archival sources for the discovery or purchase of propaganda gems (cf. Maps 2-3). At first glance Rome and Italy are not the prime locations for gems with *controlled context* (cf. Map 1), but the Campanian cities yield some evidence as do several other places. Interestingly, in all four types of context reconstruction methods, Aquileia appears on the map, but it never contributes with huge amounts of gems one could interpret as propagandistic. Even though the centre is reported to have produced several thousand intaglios throughout its history, Roman Republican and Augustan portrait gems, which are the most relevant for political use, are scarce and they are likely to be imports rather than local products (cf. cat. nos: 6.63-64, 158, 212, 234 7.31, 65, 78, 8.60, 160, 190, 9.68). Among them, the most numerous are those related to Octavian/Augustus (9.164, 288, 313, 401-402,

588, 681, 764, 876-882, 906, 938, 975, 982, 1026, 10.36, 67-69, 101, 165-168, 344, 376, 395, 457, 494, 563-564, 621, 643-648 and 806) which proves his direct input or that his encouragement of the production of propaganda gems was particularly efficient and influential since one encounters intaglios and cameos popularising him not only in Aquileia, but also in Sardinia as well as Dalmatia (cf. above).

To conclude, all four methods of provenance reconstruction applied in this study together suggest more or less the same situation and hence, the last based on the provenience analysis, although speculative, should not be straightforwardly rejected. A general picture is that Rome and Central Italy were the areas where gems relating to politics were produced or at least utilised to the greatest degree, whereas neighbouring provinces like Sardinia, Northern and Southern Italy or Dalmatia were under their strong influence, thus, the next considerable concentrations of propaganda gems occur there. Consequently, propaganda gems were transferred to places further from Rome thanks to Roman soldiers who were their keen users and travelled with them either to the Rheinland, France, Greece, Asia Minor, the eastern Mediterranean or even North Africa.

Going into detail, the analyses carried out above suggest that in the period spanning the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, gems relating to self-promotion and propaganda were mostly used in Central Italy, but some were also utilised or produced in the eastern Mediterranean (cf. Maps 5-8). This supports the conclusions drawn before about the Romans' first use of glyptics for self-promotion in the eastern Mediterranean where prominent Roman generals who penetrated and conquered these regions used the services of Greek gem engravers (cf. chapter 6.2). At the same time, the local production of gems transferring individual or state propaganda messages yielded many products in Italy (cf. chapter 6.3). In the early 1st century BC the number of gems one might relate to politics is not large but even so some trends might be observed. For instance, only in the case of Sulla are several gems likely to have been produced or used in the eastern Mediterranean which is possibly due to his engagement in the Roman conquest and military activities in this region, yet the majority of gems relating to him come from Rome and other parts of Italy (Maps 9-12). As for Marius, the scanty information one has suggests that the propaganda gems relating to him were utilised in Rome and surrounding areas (Map 13). The same applies to other, less significant, politicians who promoted themselves mainly through portraits and family symbols (Maps 14-17). The reconstructed provenance matches the actual political situation since the rivalry between Sulla and Marius took place mainly in Rome and similarly other politicians were engaged in various political activities in the capital as well.



Map 5: Beginnings (3rd-2nd cent. BC) - Reliable provenance

There is a change during the rivalry between Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar. Only a few gems can be placed on the map but even those deliver interesting information. In the case of Pompey, one observes some of them to have been possibly found in the eastern Mediterranean, including Syria which became subject to Roman governance thanks to Pompey's activities in this area. Still, Rome and Central Italy dominate among the gems possibly related to him with their provenance reconstructed (Maps 18-20). Interestingly, one intaglio with his portrait was found in Xanten which shows that propaganda gems remained in use even dozens of years after Pompey's death. Regarding Julius Caesar, the vast majority of his propaganda gems are likely to have been used in Rome and Central Italy, but there is one interesting object said to have been recovered in Egypt (Maps 21-24, cat. no. 8.123). This exceptional portrait attributed to Caesar could have been executed only in the East because it would be probably have been unacceptable in Rome due to its strong indications that Caesar was seeking sole power, therefore, the information that Cairo was its origin makes it a very interesting piece perhaps indeed cut for Caesar during his stay in Egypt. Concerning gems produced for other statesmen and members of the nobility a trend from the previous period is continued since Rome and Central Italy deliver similar evidence (Maps 25-28).

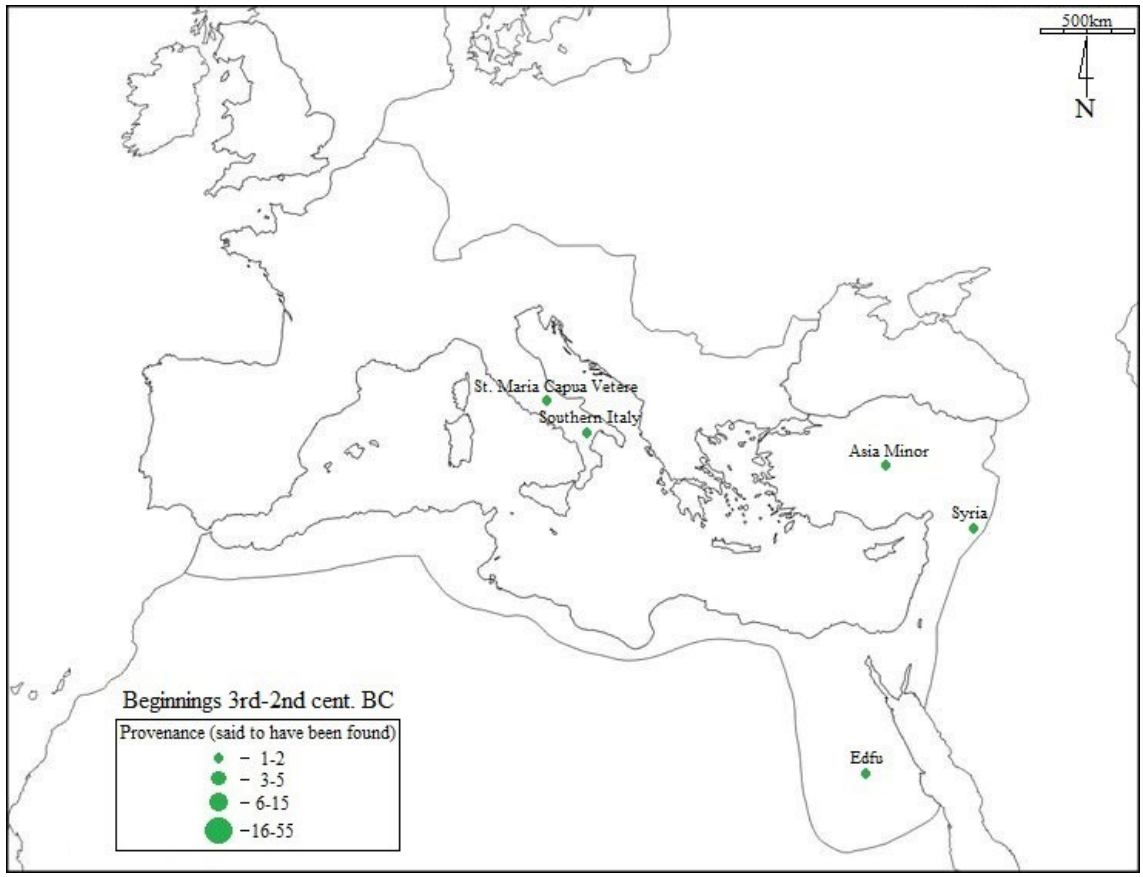
As for the Pompeian faction, not much can be said except for some vague traces of their activities in Spain reflected on a gem found in Lebrija, but a few more are housed in Spanish museums which may be evidence for Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey or their followers using gem engravers' services as early as when they were themselves resident in Spain. Furthermore, several of their gems are likely to have originated from Southern Italy which would have corresponded to Sextus' taking refuge in nearby Sicily (Maps 29-31). In the case of the Republicans, single objects might come from Athens or Greece as well as from Asia Minor and Lebanon which corresponds with the political activities of Marcus Iunius Brutus and Quintus Cassius Longinus in those areas. When they came back to Italy to fight the Caesarians, many of their supporters used gems with their images to show allegiance to their faction and as a result most of their propaganda gems would have originated from Italy (Maps 32-34).

As it will be shown in chapter 12, Octavian was the one who invested the most in propaganda on gems and this is well represented on the maps illustrating possible provenances. One observes a great concentration of the material in question in Rome and Central Italy, but supposedly because of Octavian's army movements as well as his far-reaching contacts, his propaganda gems were scattered across the whole Roman Empire, although there is a clear discrepancy between those found in its western rather than the eastern part (Maps 35-38). This might be due to the fact that in the 30s Mark Antony ruled in the eastern Mediterranean. Even though he does not seem to have matched Octavian in his propaganda efforts applied to glyptic art, still, several intaglios and cameos relating to him are likely to have originated from Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean (Maps 39-41). There are only a few gems one might link to Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and except for a sealing attributed to him from Artashat (Armenia), the gems connected with him come from Rome (Maps 42-43). In the case of other Roman contemporary politicians, the trend from the previous periods continues which means that most of the gems related to their promotional practices originate from Rome and Central Italy (Maps 44-45). The same applies to women; however, it must be remembered that in this case it is difficult to judge to what degree female portrait and other propaganda gems are indeed related to politics and rather than being merely personal adornment. In any case, the biggest concentrations of such material occur in Rome and Central Italy and because Octavian promoted his sister Octavia and his wife Livia in glyptics quite early on, one supposes that this situation results from this process rather than any other possibly private initiative (Maps 46-48).

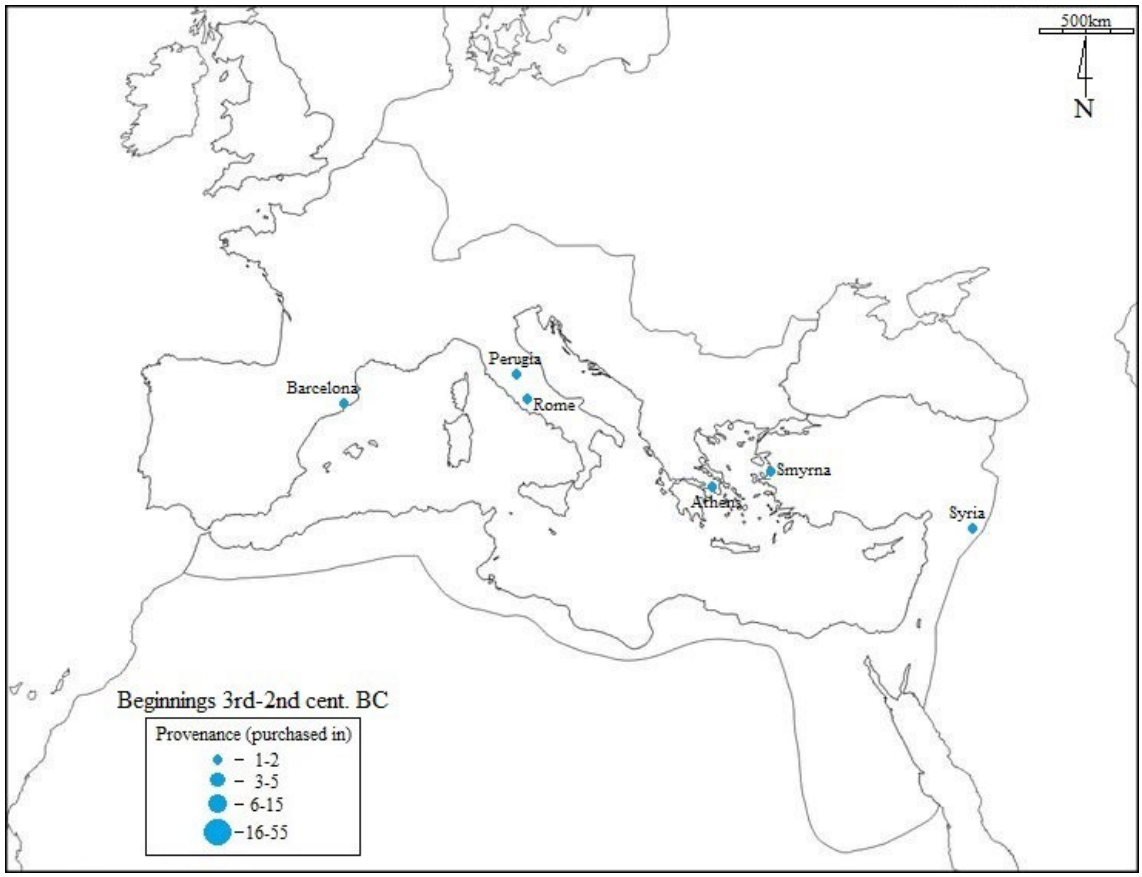
Finally, in the case of Augustus one basically observes the same patterns as those known from Octavian's activities. Rome dominates with Central Italy second and a good number of gems are said to have been found in military zones within the whole Roman Empire. The only two differences are the following: the scale of the whole phenomenon seems a bit smaller than before and one can now clearly point to locations in the eastern Mediterranean (Smyrna, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt) where propaganda gems relating to the first emperor of Rome have been found or are said to have been found. This mirrors not only the propagation of the imperial cult to which glyptic products certainly contributed, but also the increasing importance of glyptics as a propaganda medium in the promotion of Augustus' successors and especially his political and cultural programme as well as the Roman lifestyle in general. More and more people were adopting the Roman way of life and the imperial inner circle as well as local elites in Roman provinces were certainly beneficiaries of products created by the imperial court workshop. These were further replicated and used by ordinary people, usually in cheaper materials. The result was a far-reaching unification of glyptic production under Augustus and great success in his political agenda.

Some of the final remarks in this chapter concern propaganda gem production and distribution.[186] The

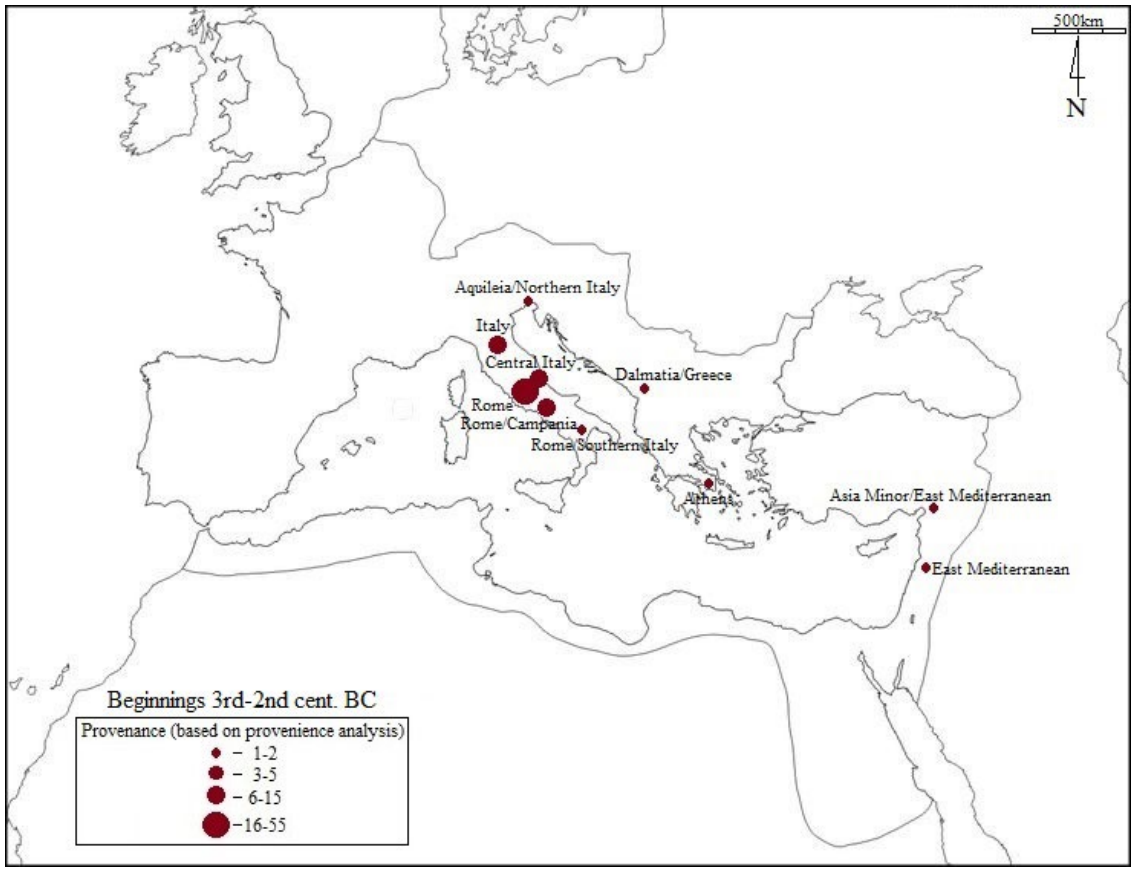
[186] For a more general sociological overview of the problem of art production, artists and their patrons in ancient Rome, see: Cornell,



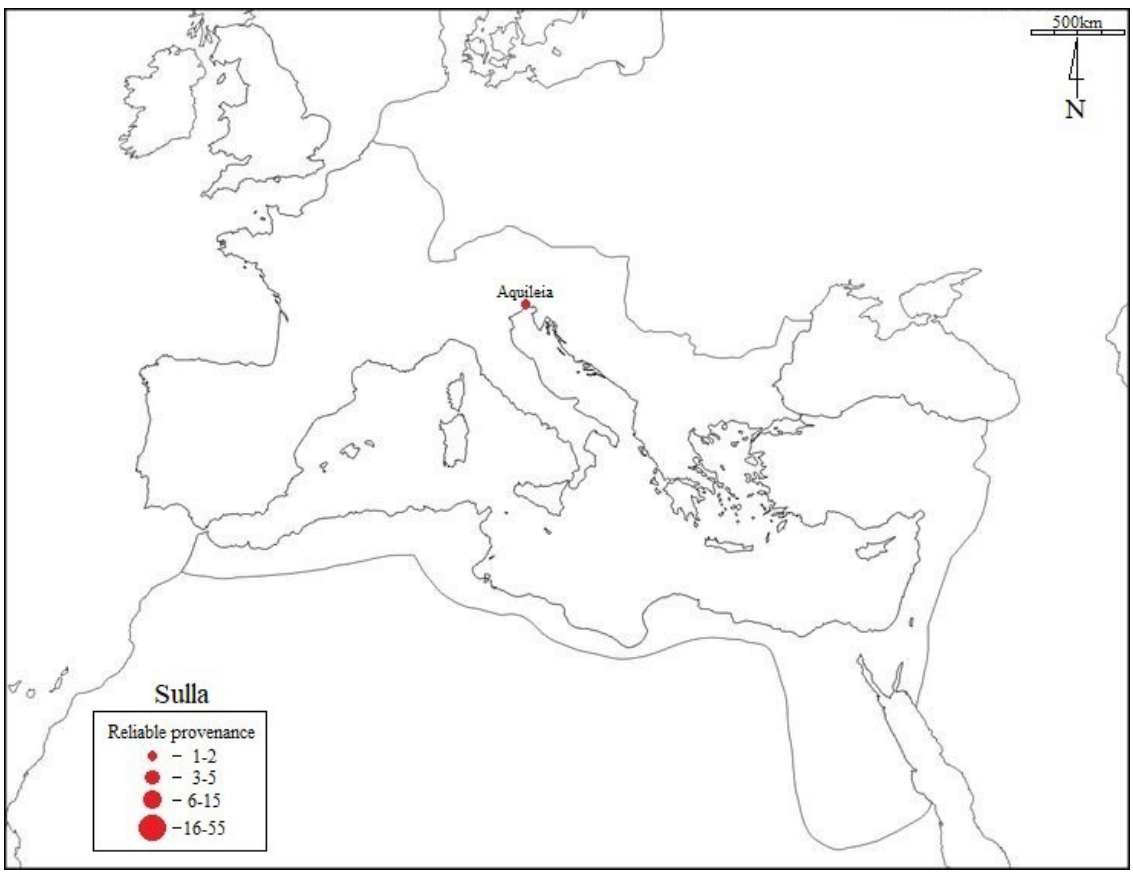
Map 6: Beginnings (3rd-2nd cent. BC) - Provenance (said to have been found)



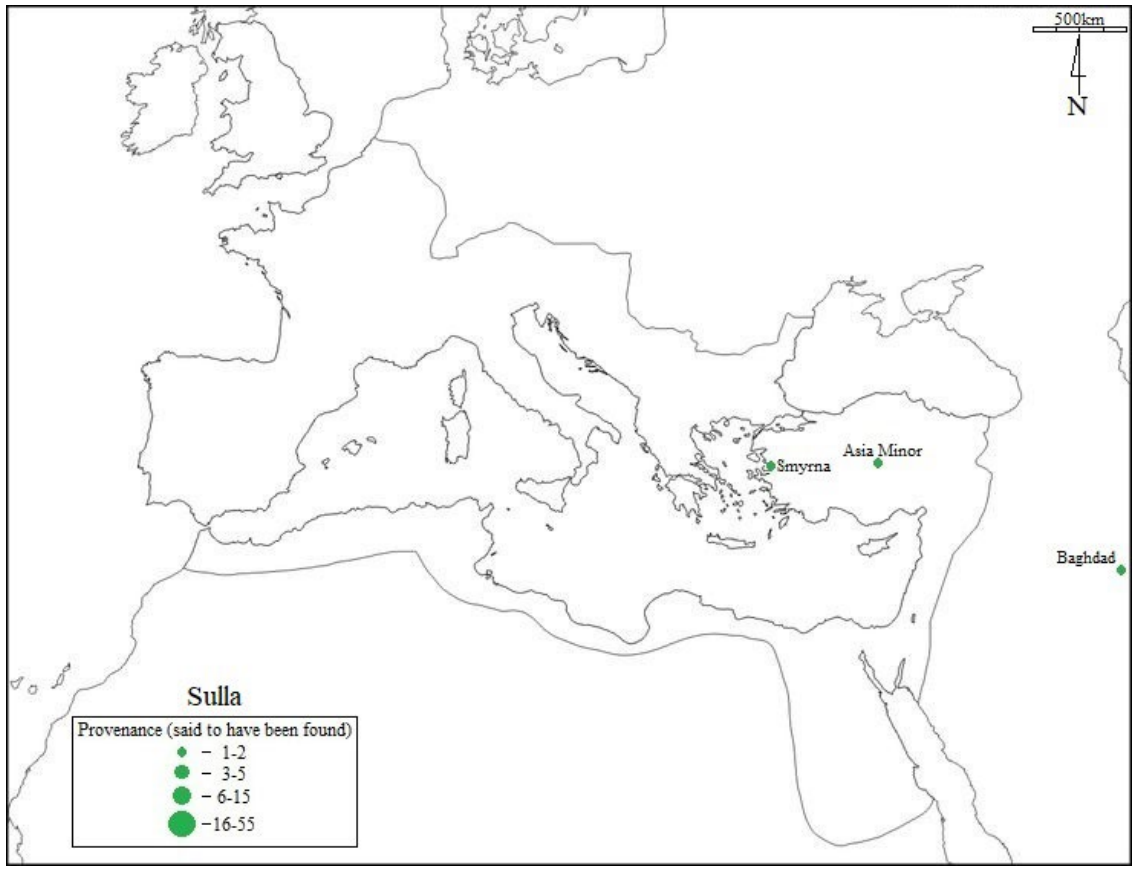
Map 7: Beginnings (3rd-2nd cent. BC) - Provenance (purchased in)



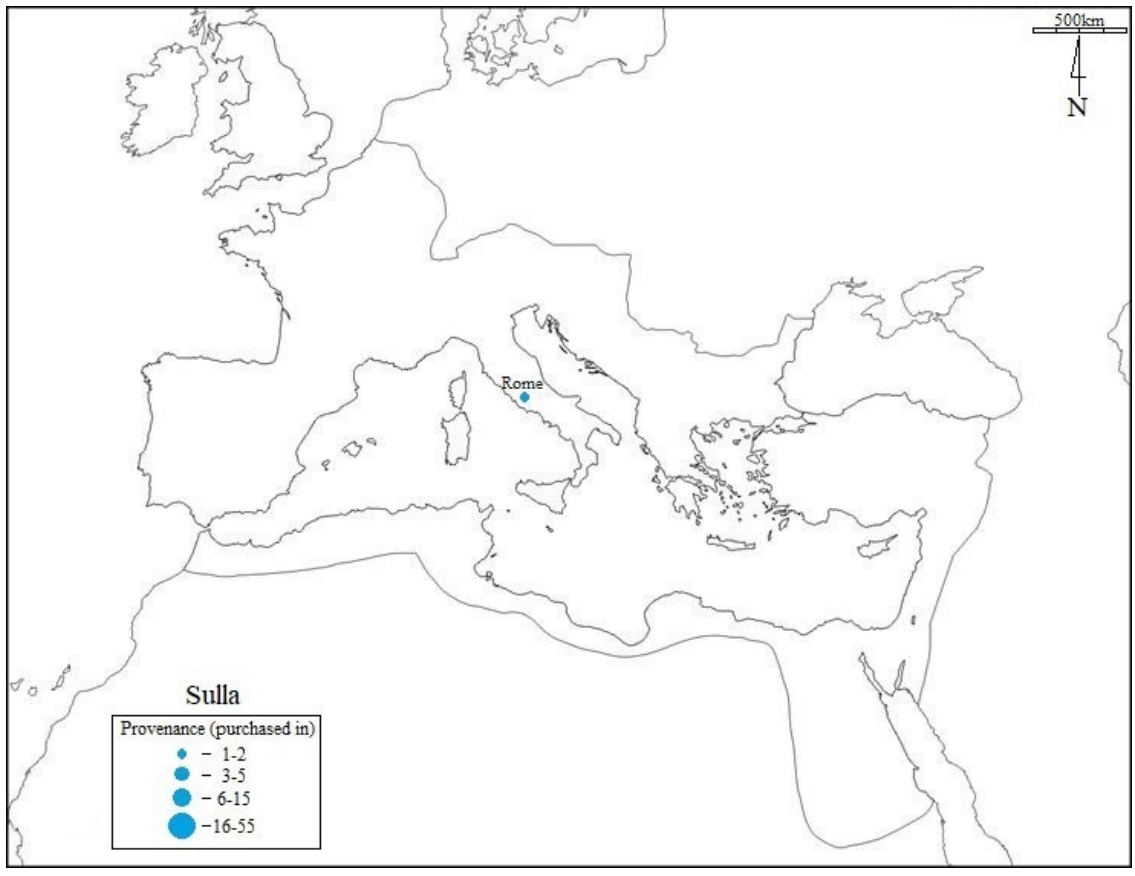
Map 8: Beginnings (3rd-2nd cent. BC) - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



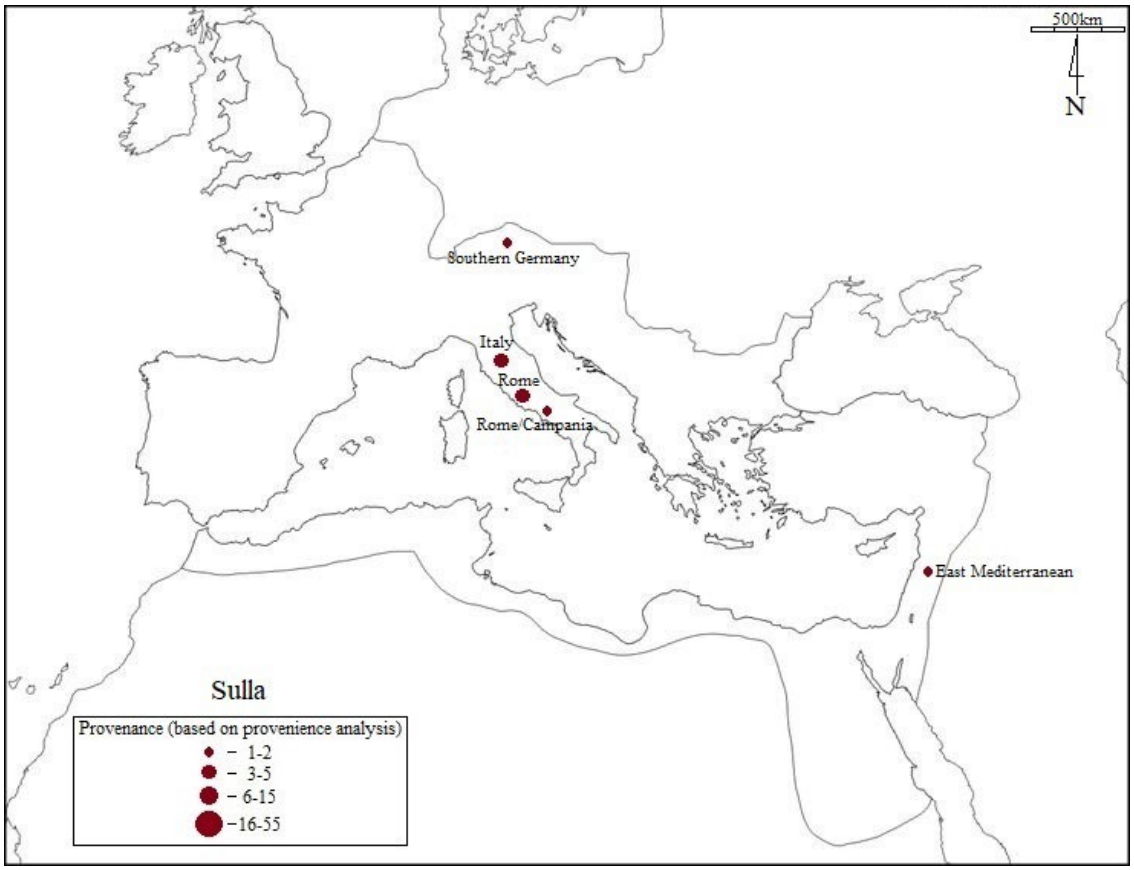
Map 9: Sulla - Reliable provenance



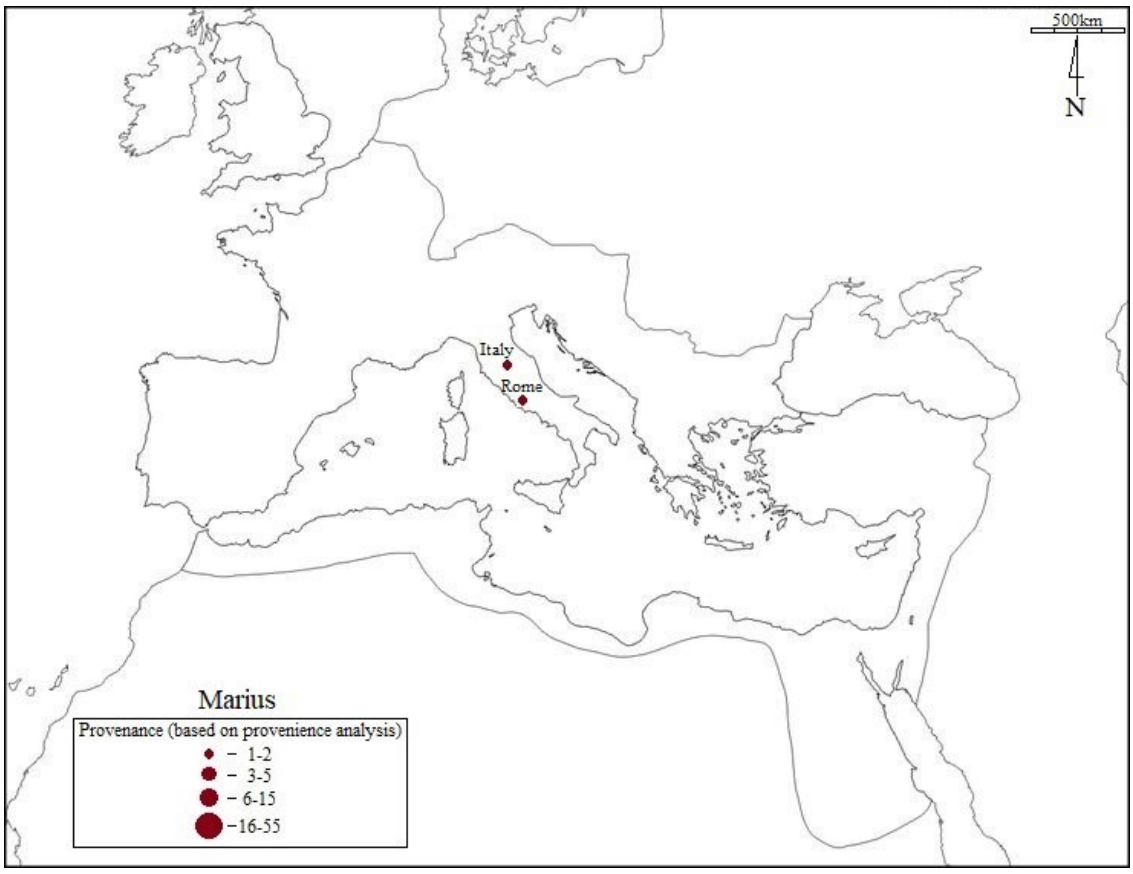
Map 10: Sulla - Provenance (said to have been found)



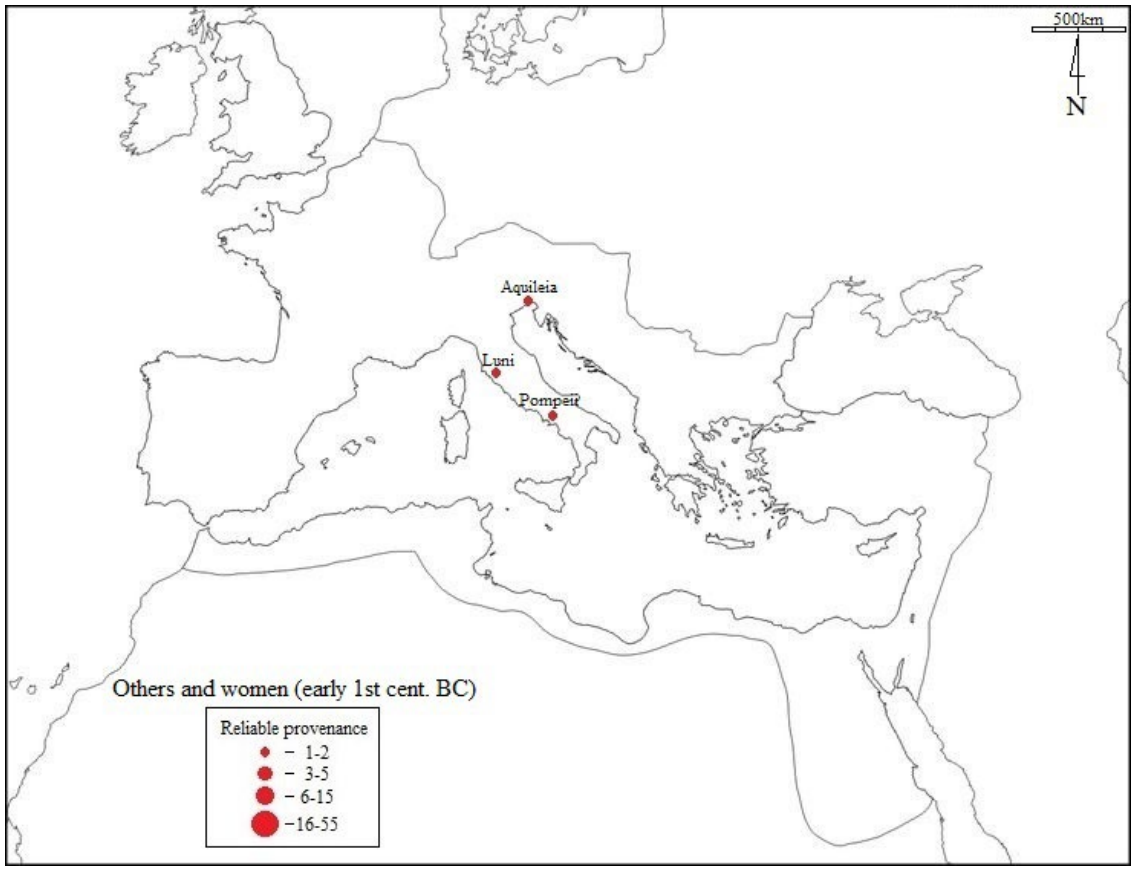
Map 11: Sulla - Provenance (purchased in)



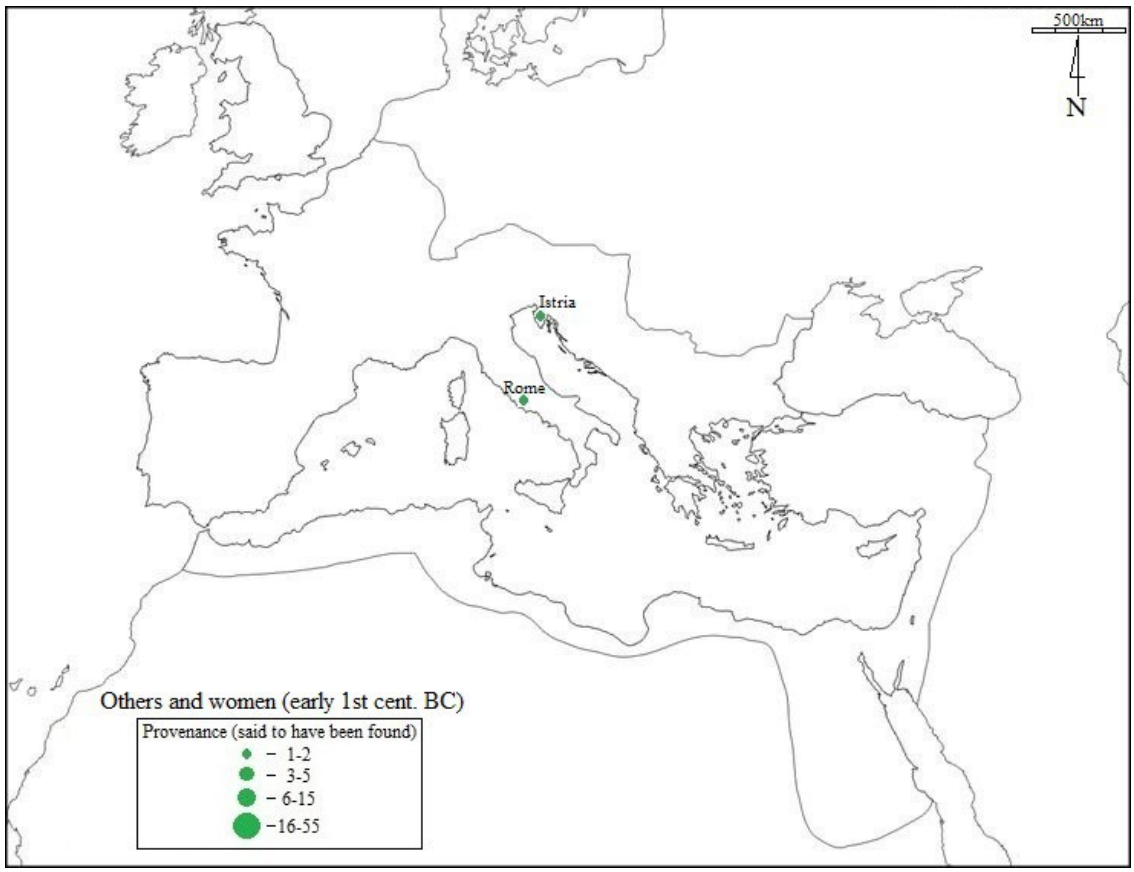
Map 12: Sulla - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



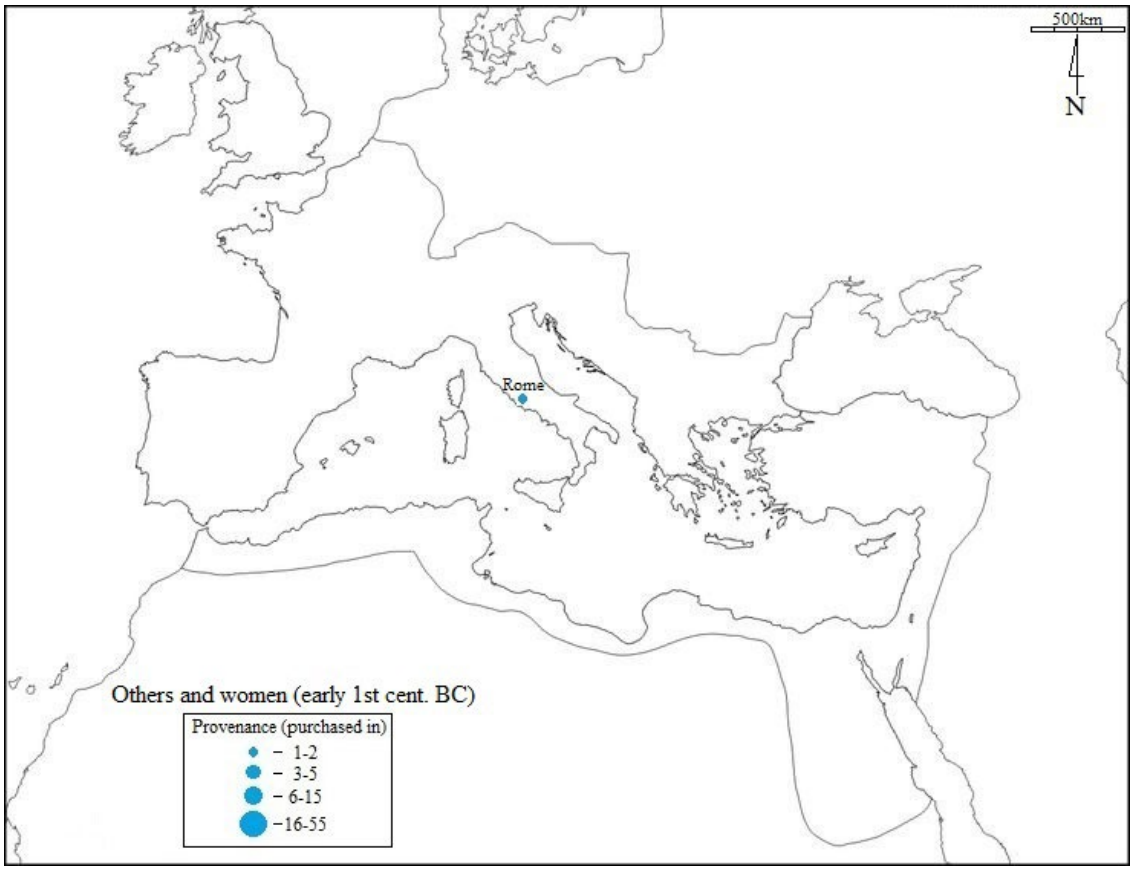
Map 13: Marius - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



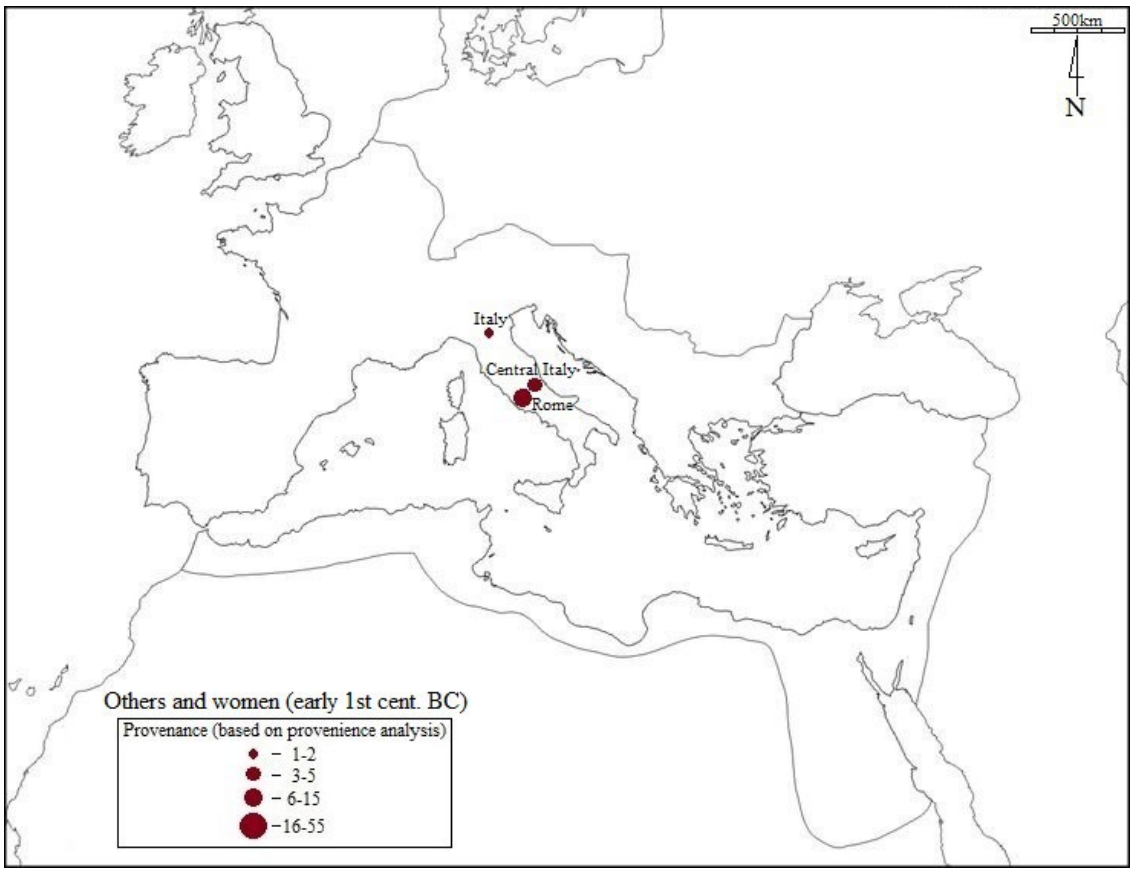
Map 14: Others and women (early 1st century BC) – Reliable provenance



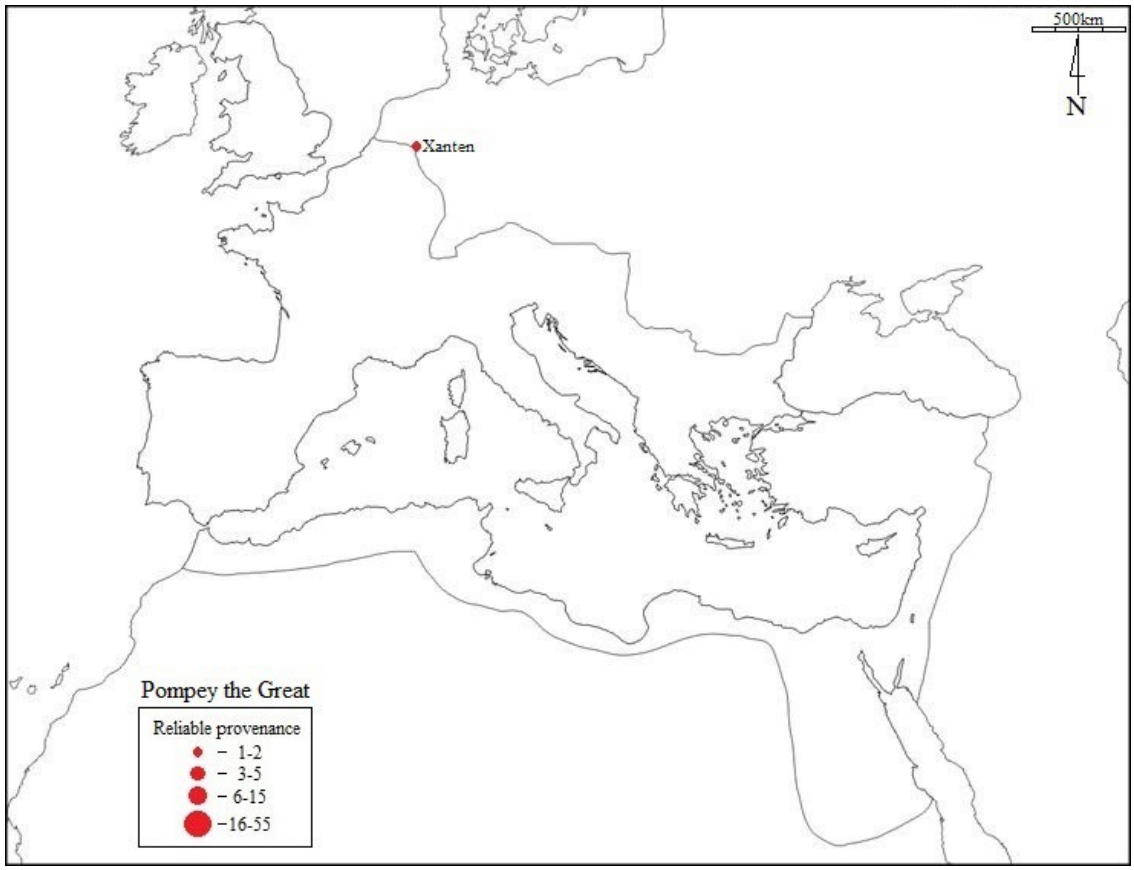
Map 15: Others and women (early 1st cent. BC) - Provenance (said to have been found)



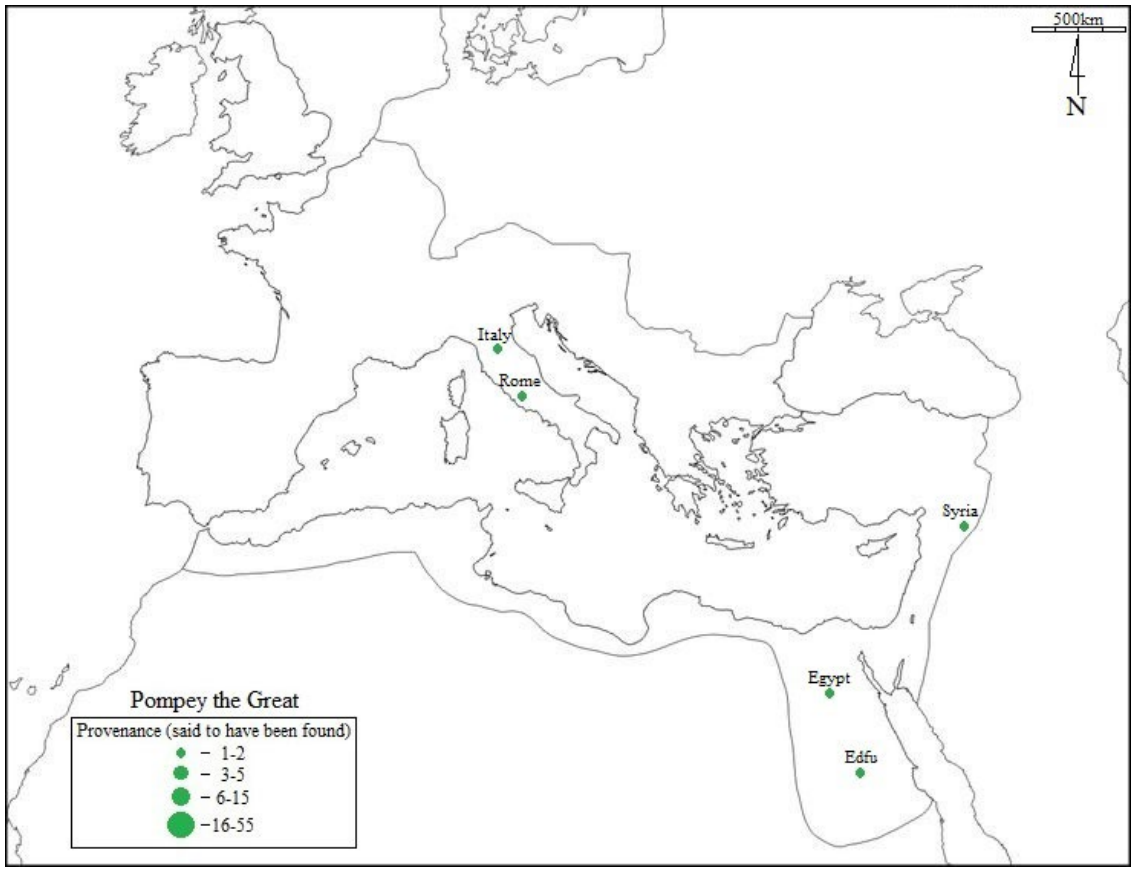
Map 16: Others and women (early 1st cent. BC) - Provenance (purchased in)



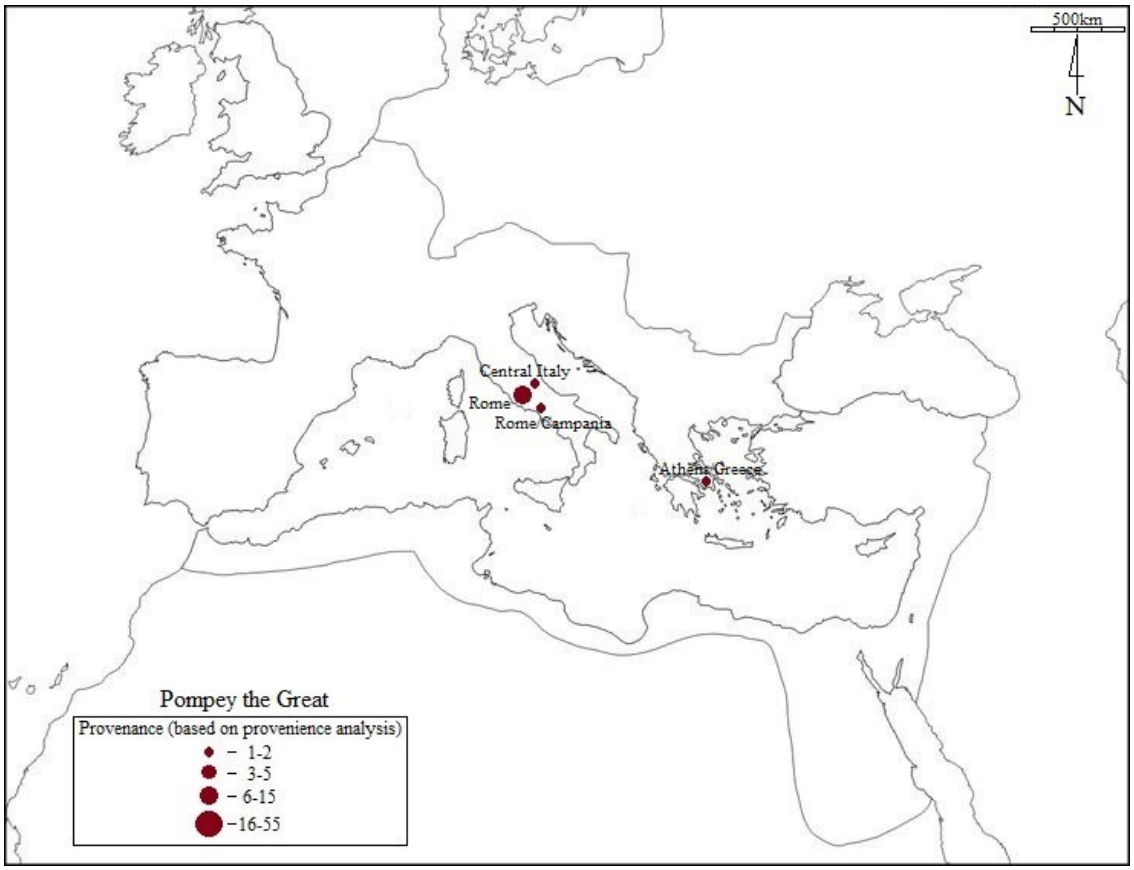
Map 17: Others and women (early 1st cent. BC) - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



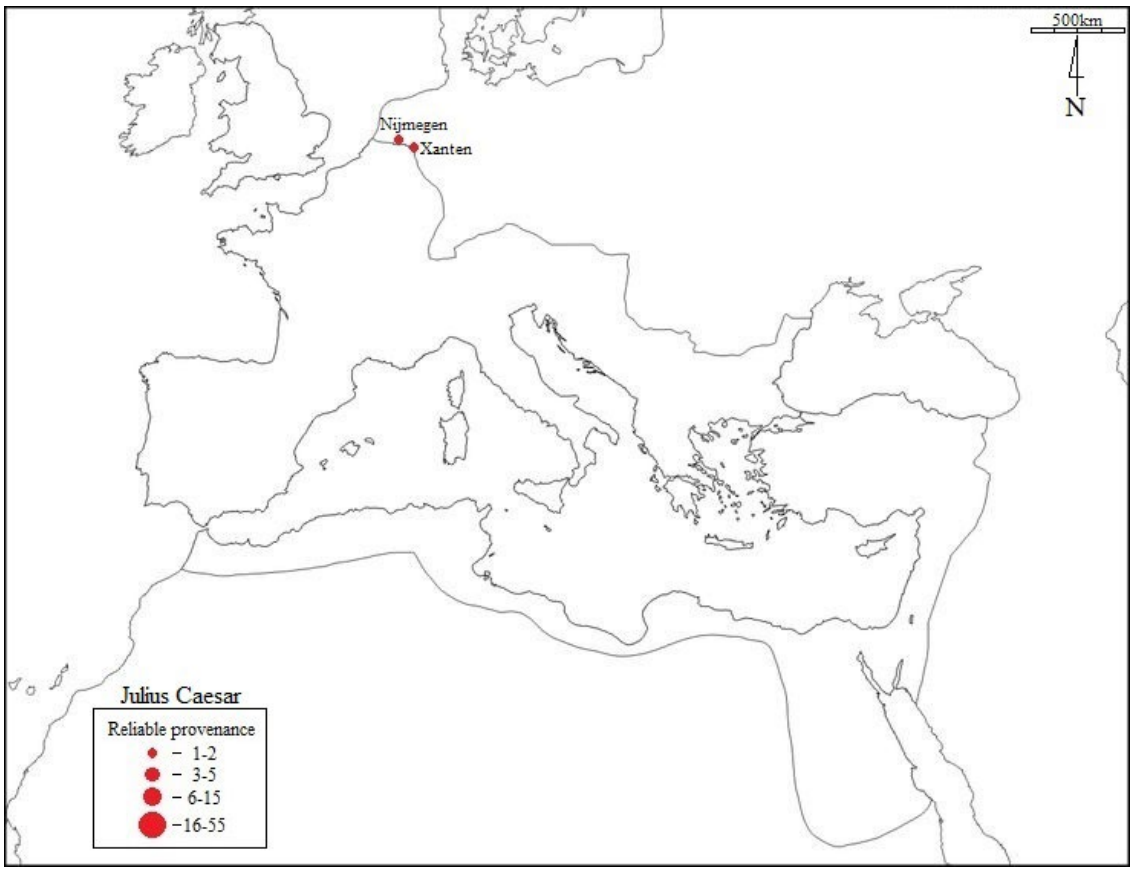
Map 18: Pompey the Great - Reliable Provenance



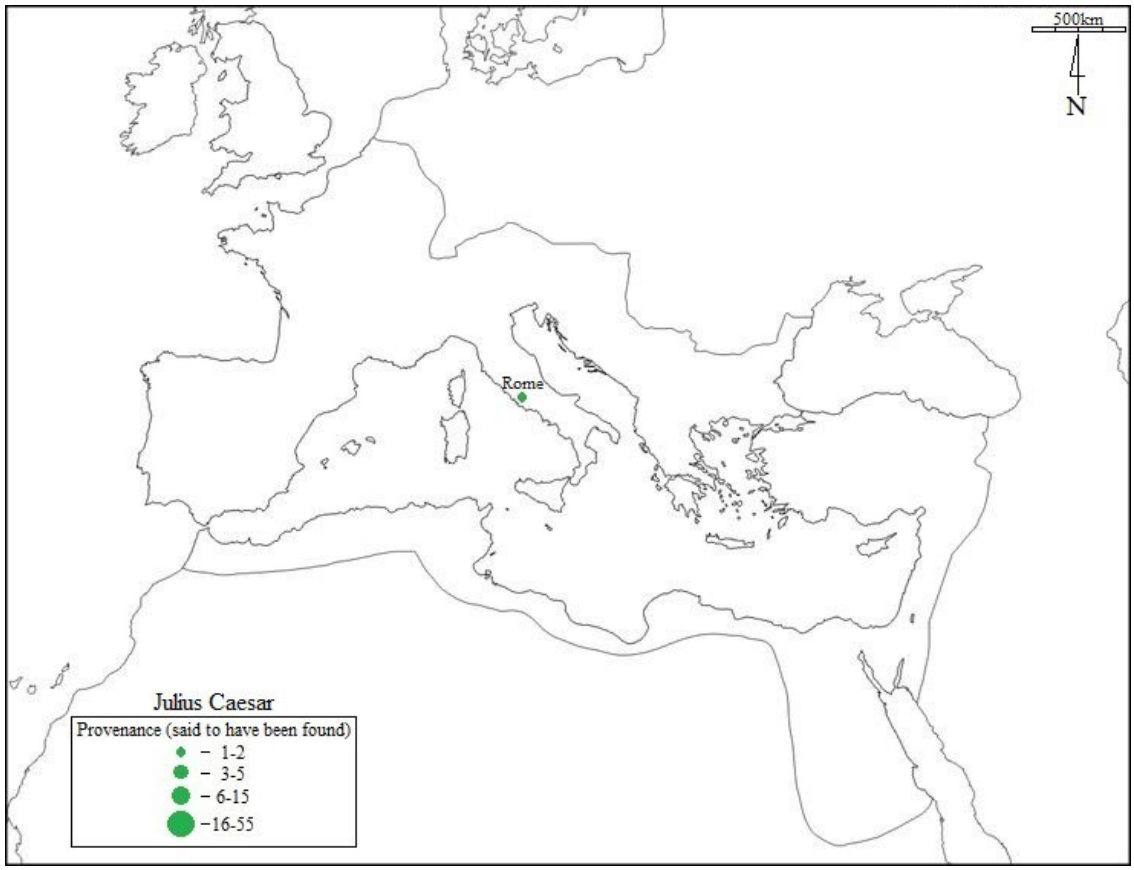
Map 19: Pompey the Great - Provenance (said to have been found)



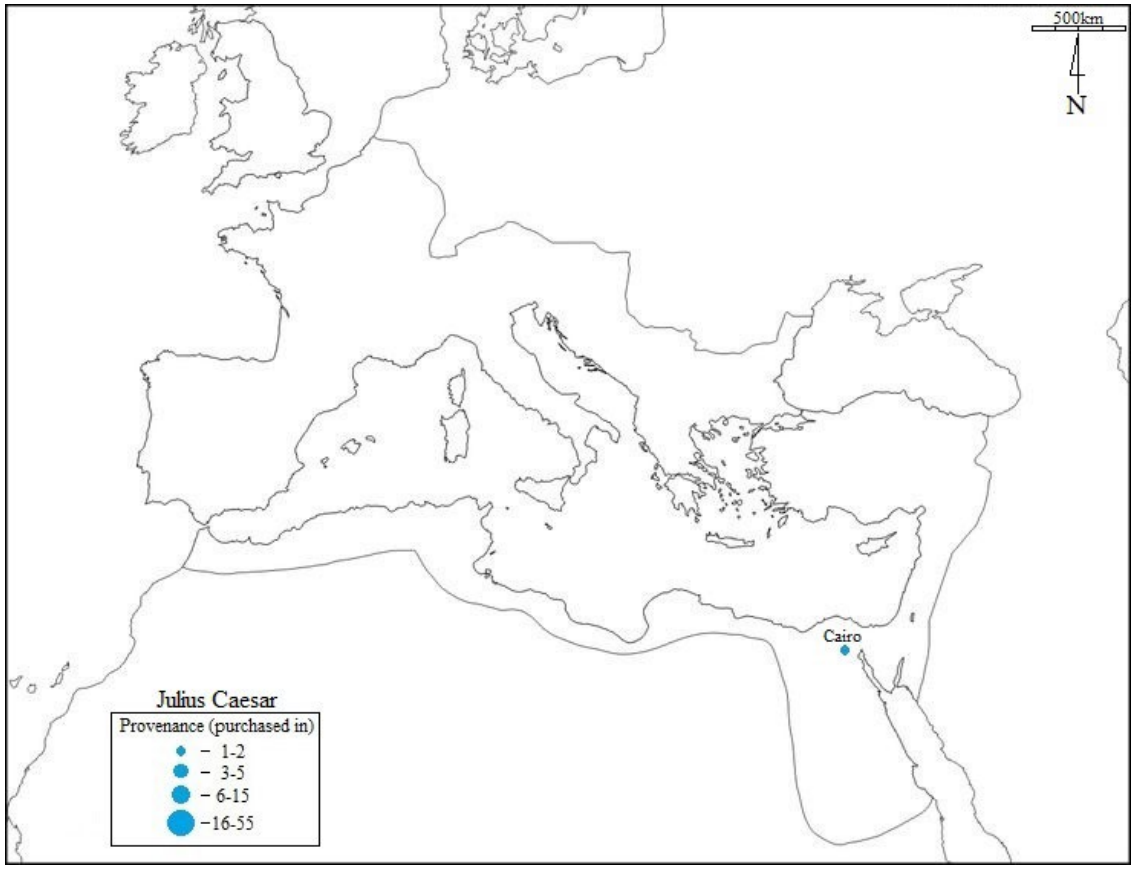
Map 20: Pompey the Great - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



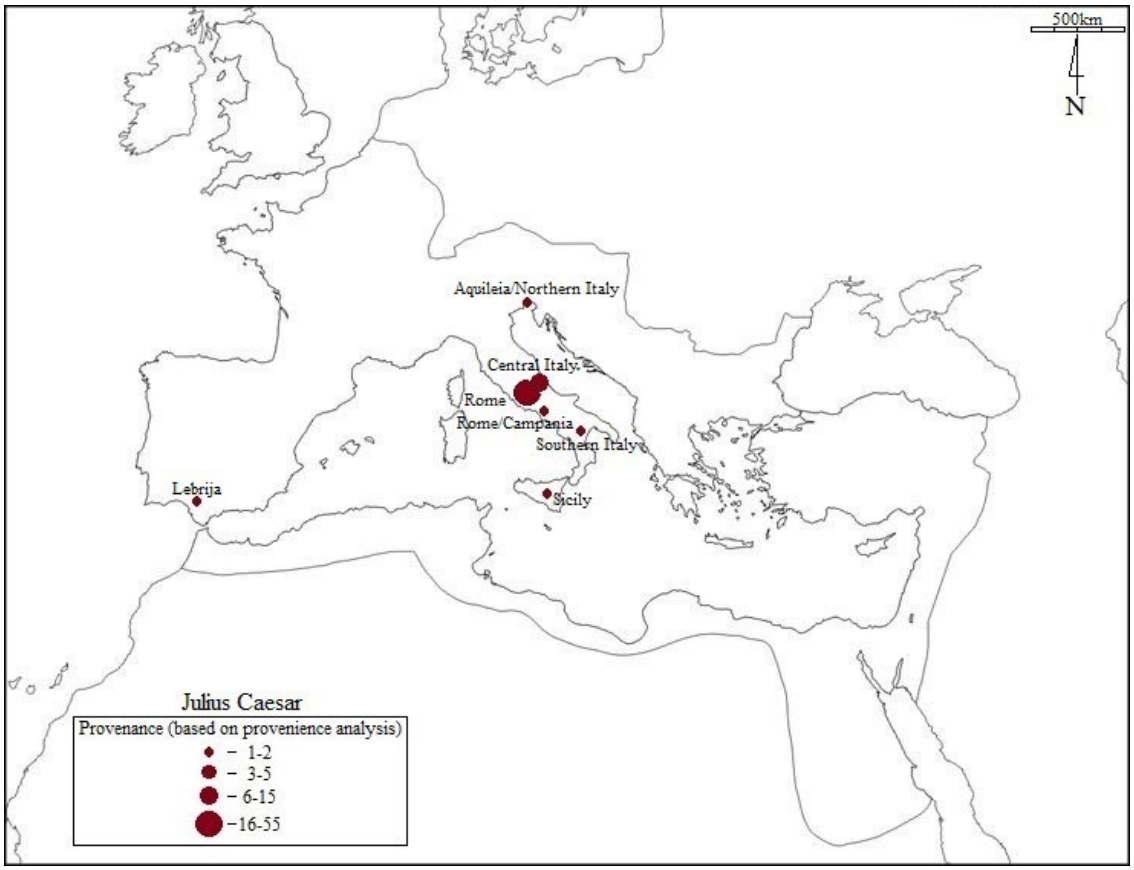
Map 21: Julius Caesar - Reliable provenance



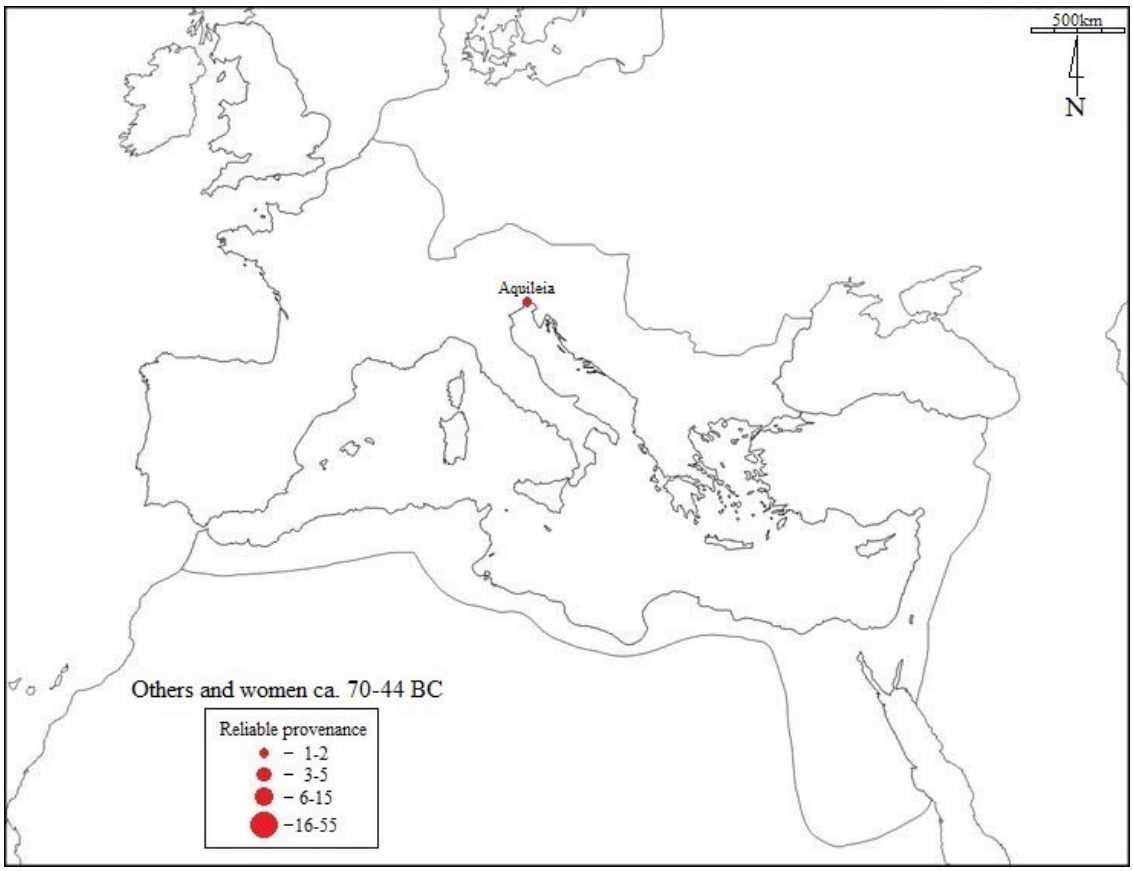
Map 22: Julius Caesar - Provenance (said to have been found)



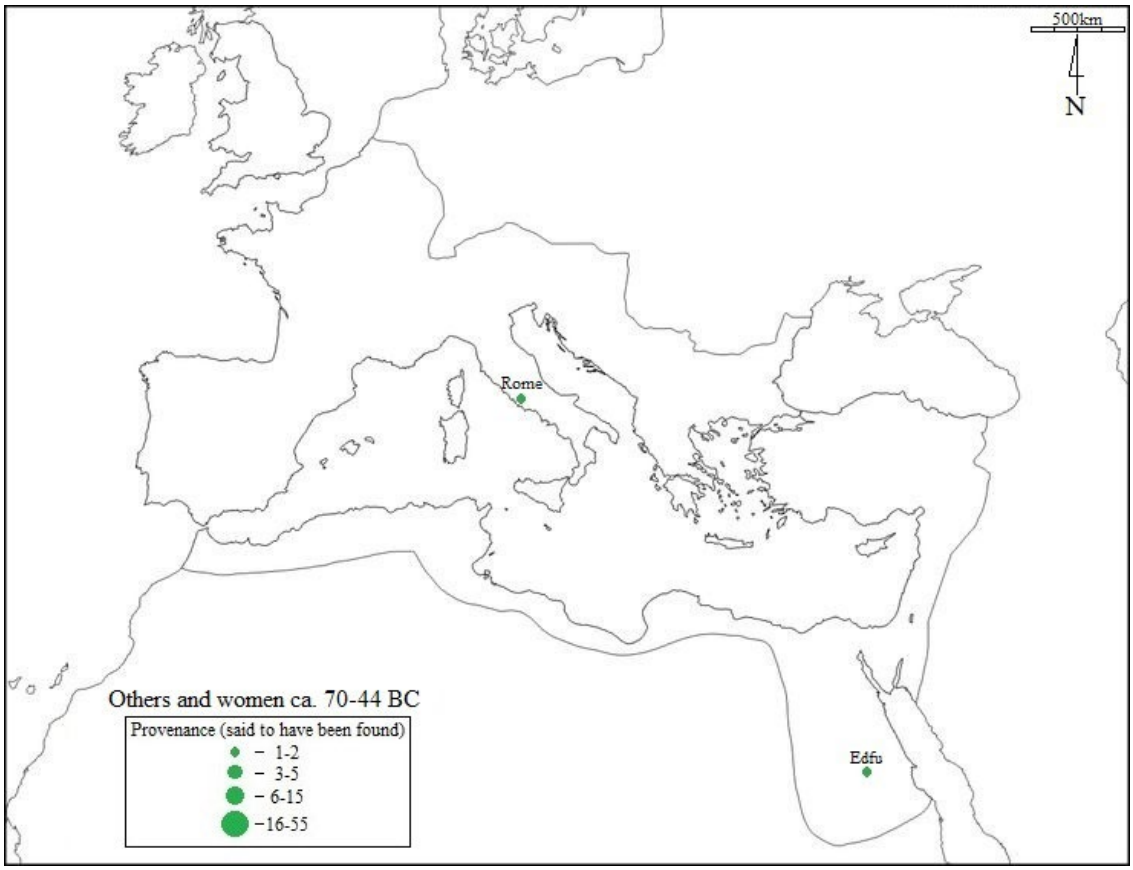
Map 23: Julius Caesar – Provenance (purchased in)



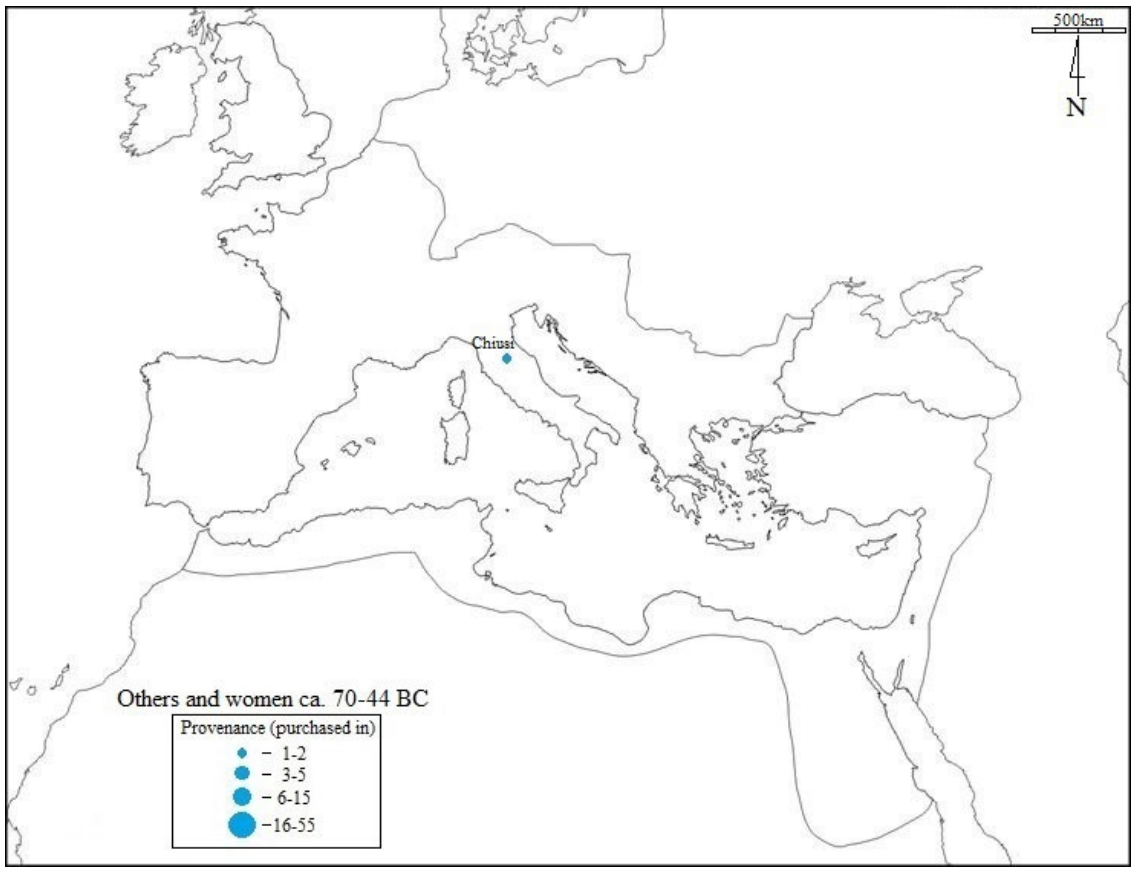
Map 24: Julius Caesar - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



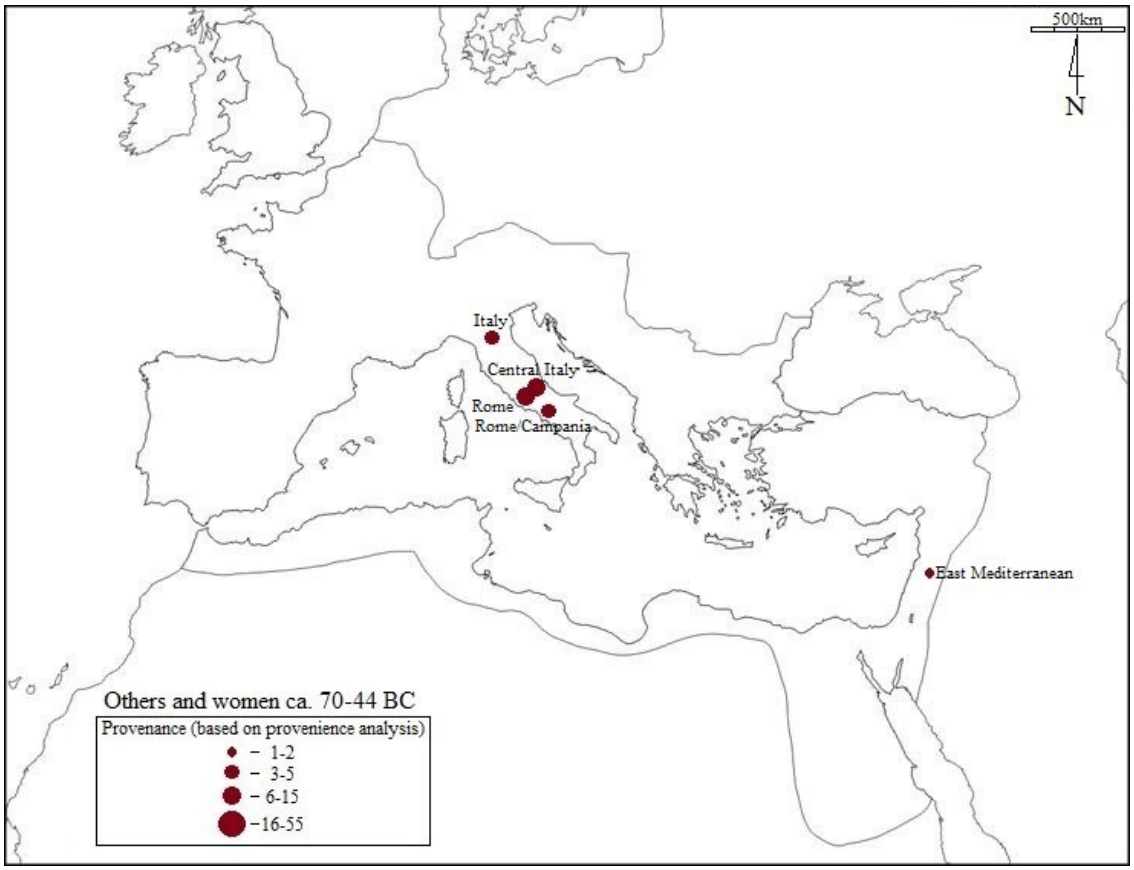
Map 25: Others and women ca. 70-44 BC - Reliable provenance



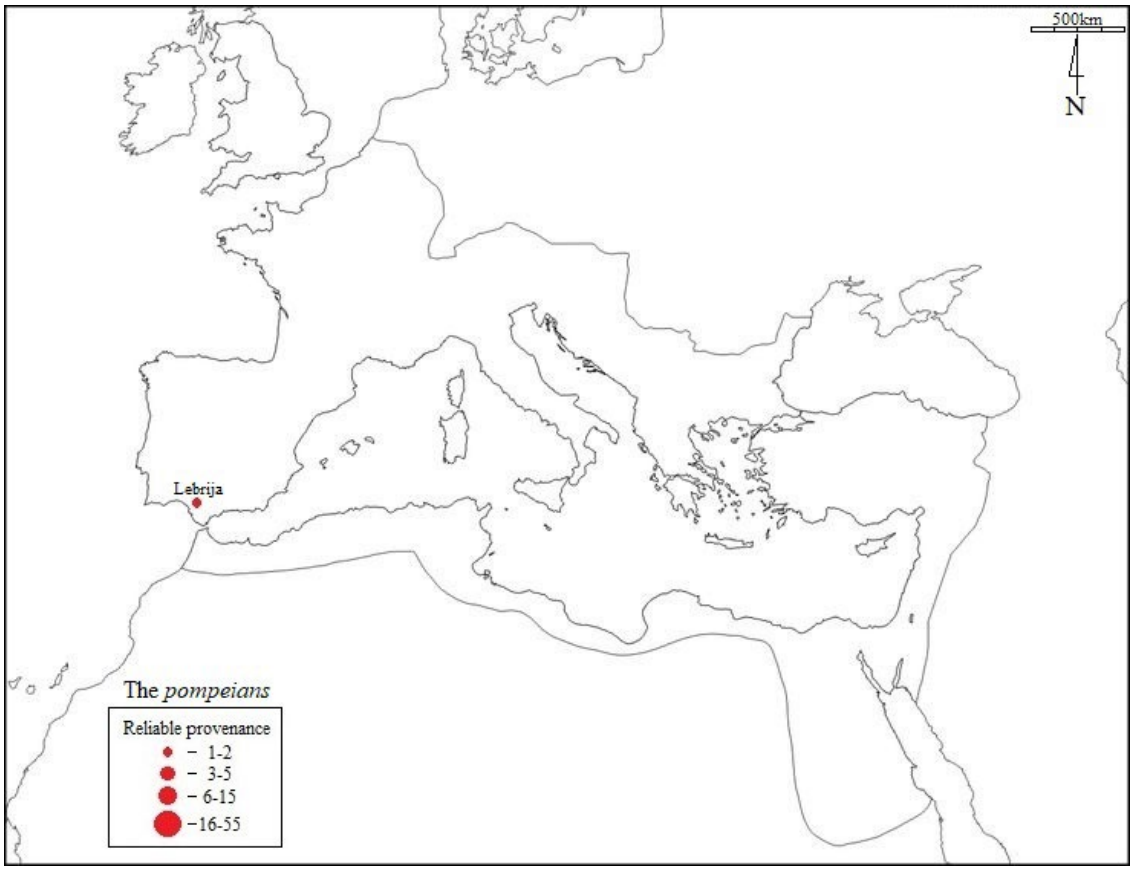
Map 26: Others and women ca. 70-44 BC - Provenance (said to have been found)



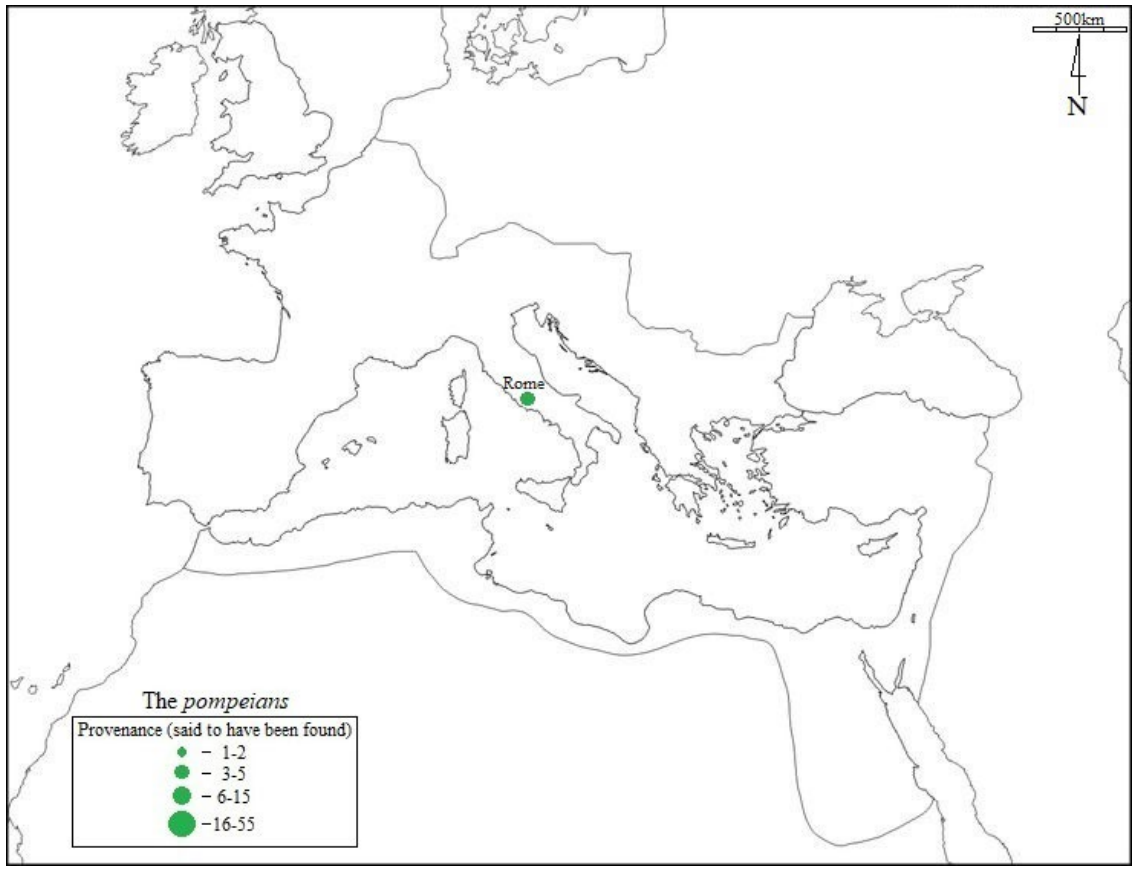
Map 27: Others and women ca. 70-44 BC - Provenance (purchased in)



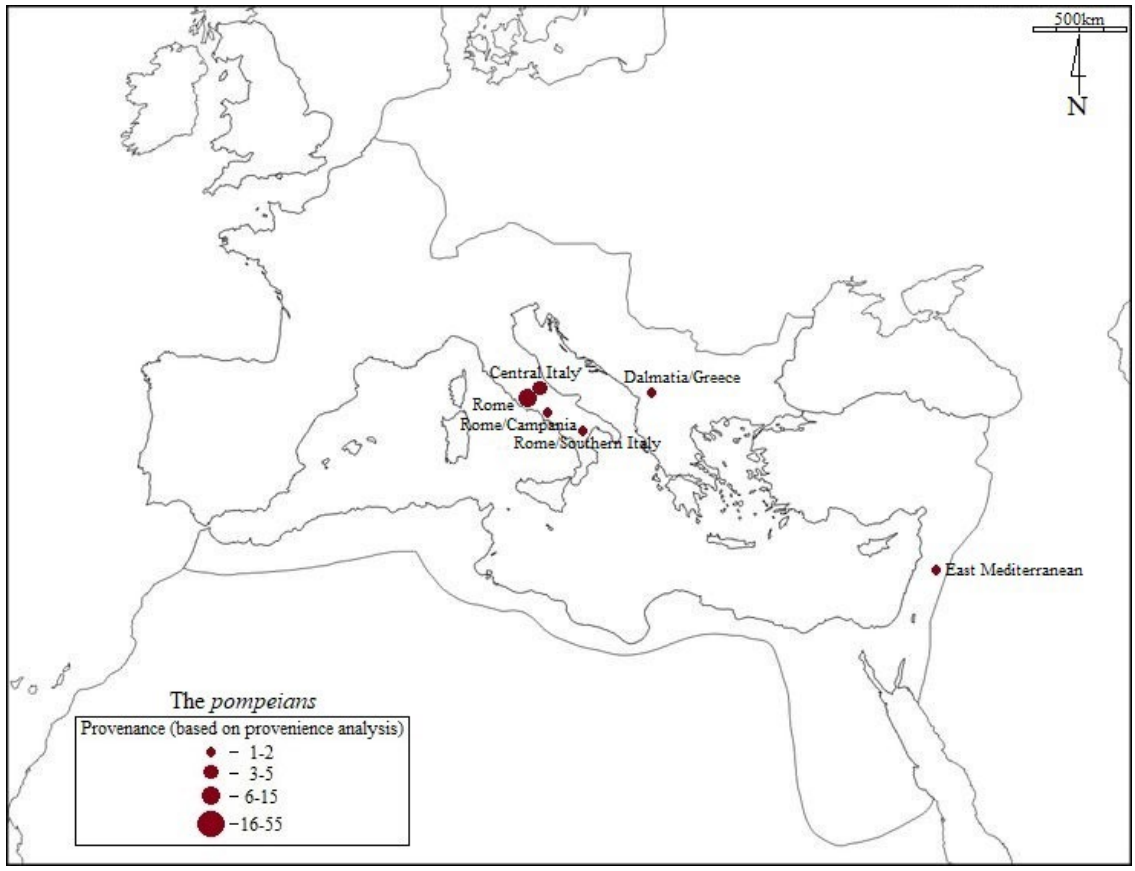
Map 28: Others and women ca. 70-44 BC - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



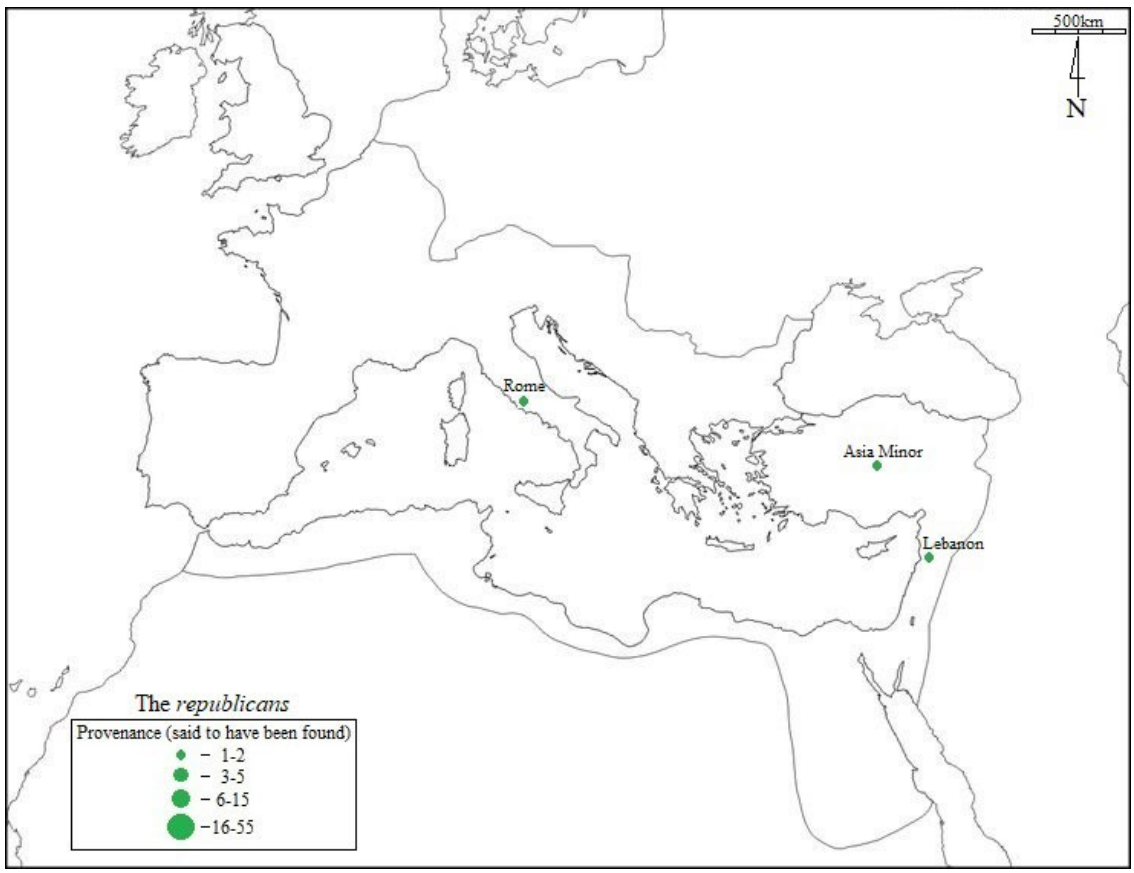
Map 29: The *pompeians* - Reliable provenance



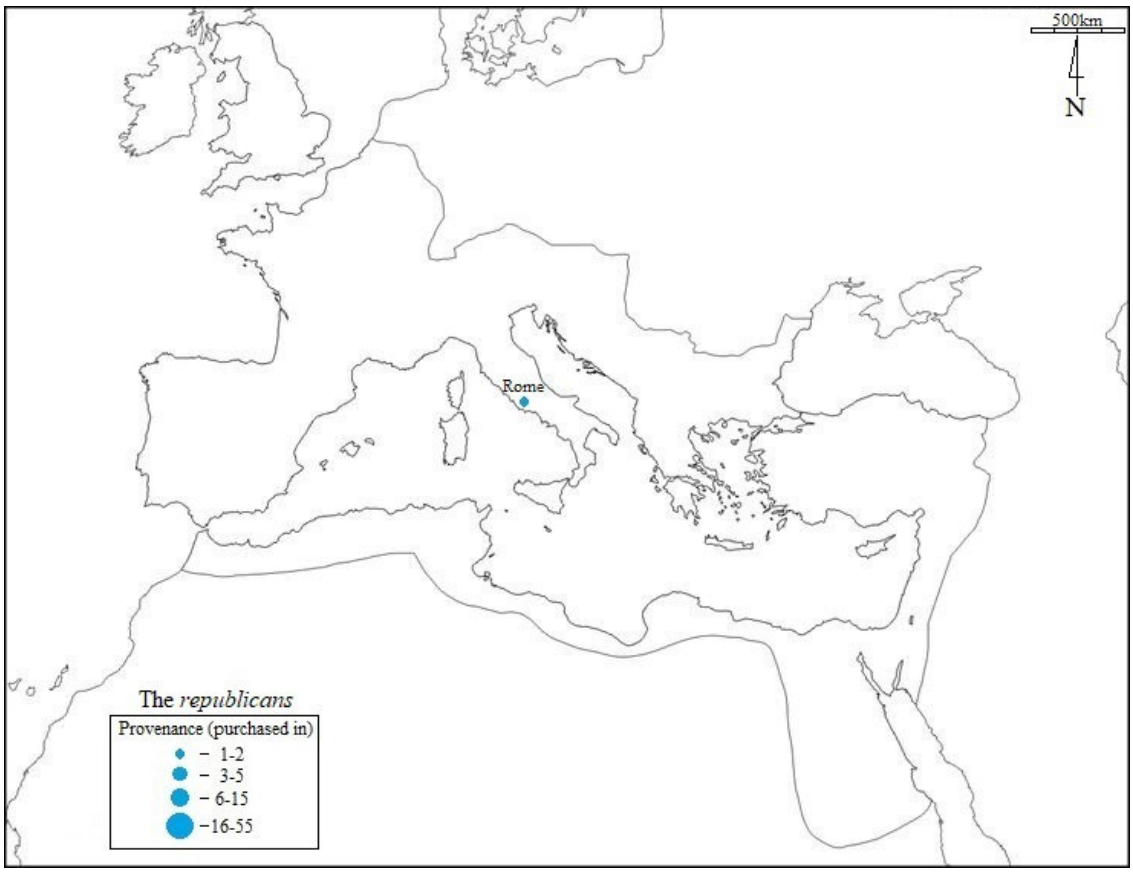
Map 30: The *pompeians* - Provenance (said to have been found)



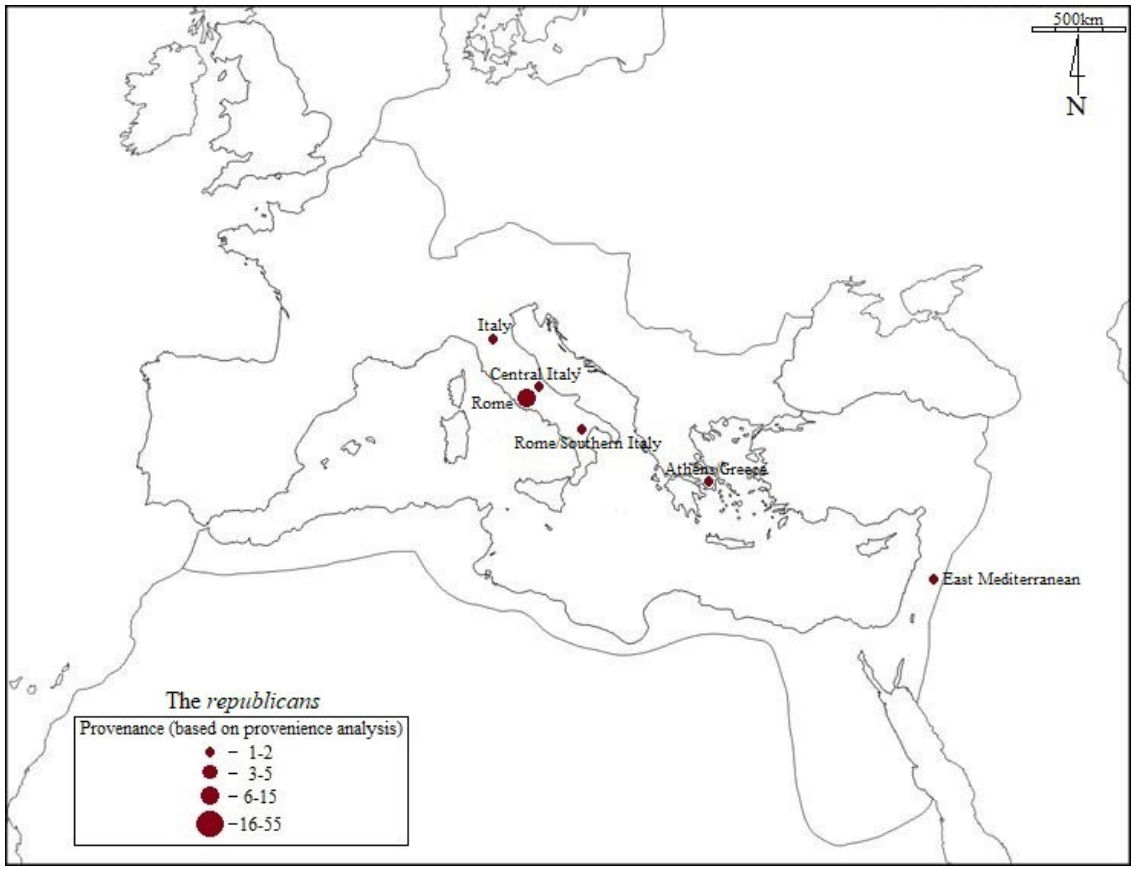
Map 31: The *pompeians* - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



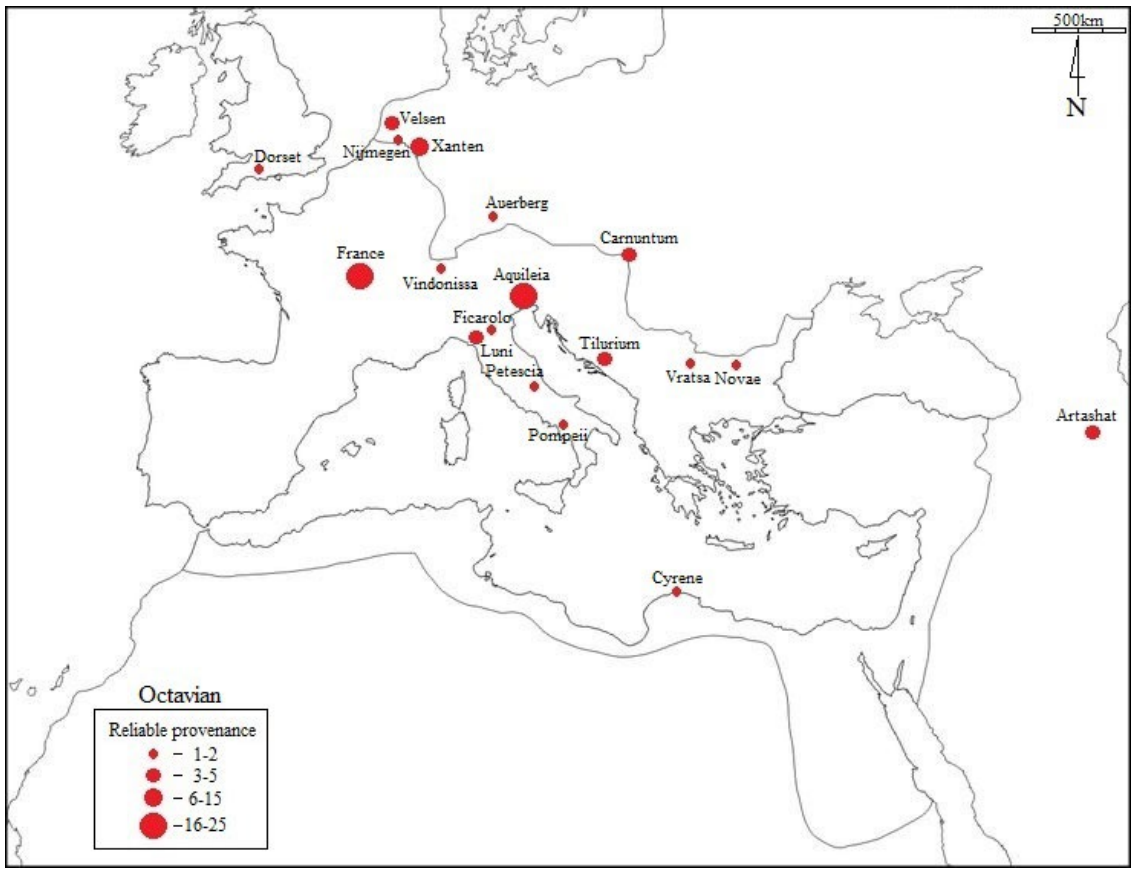
Map 32: The republicans - Provenance (said to have been found)



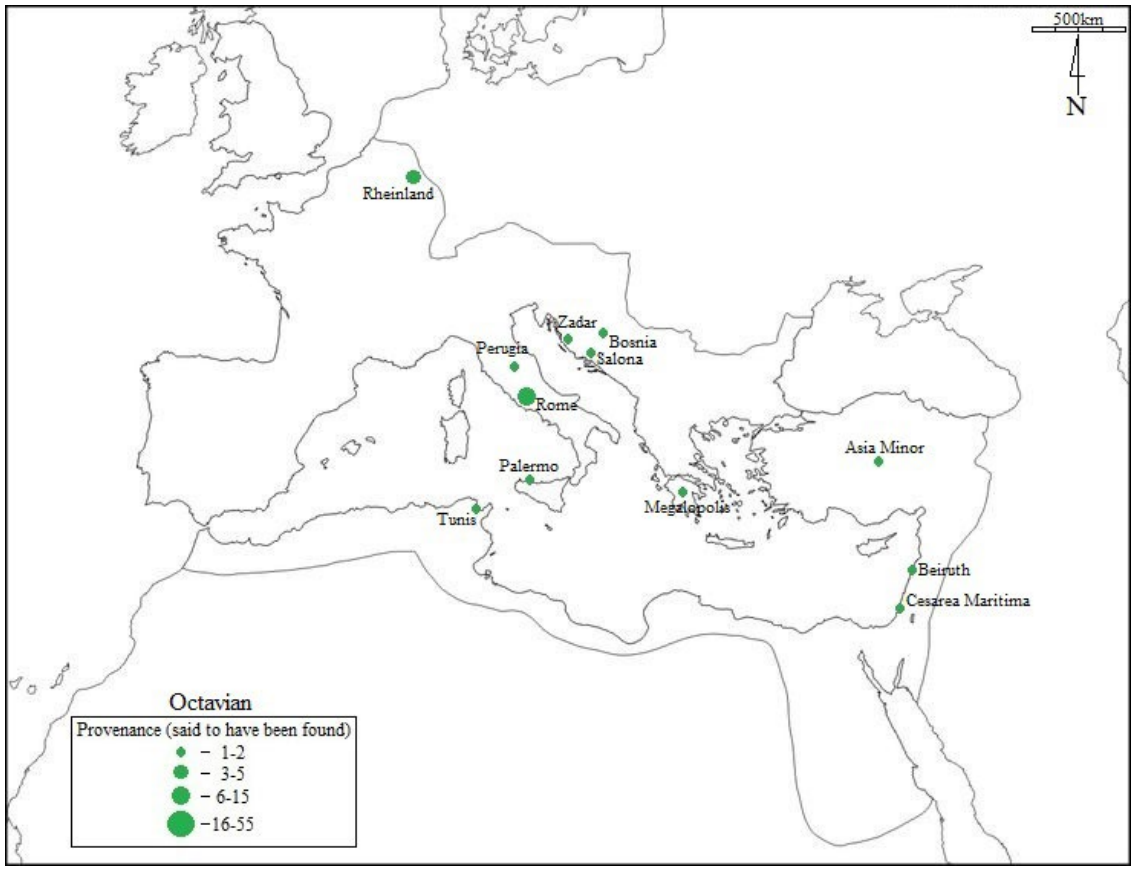
Map 33: The republicans - Provenance (purchased in)



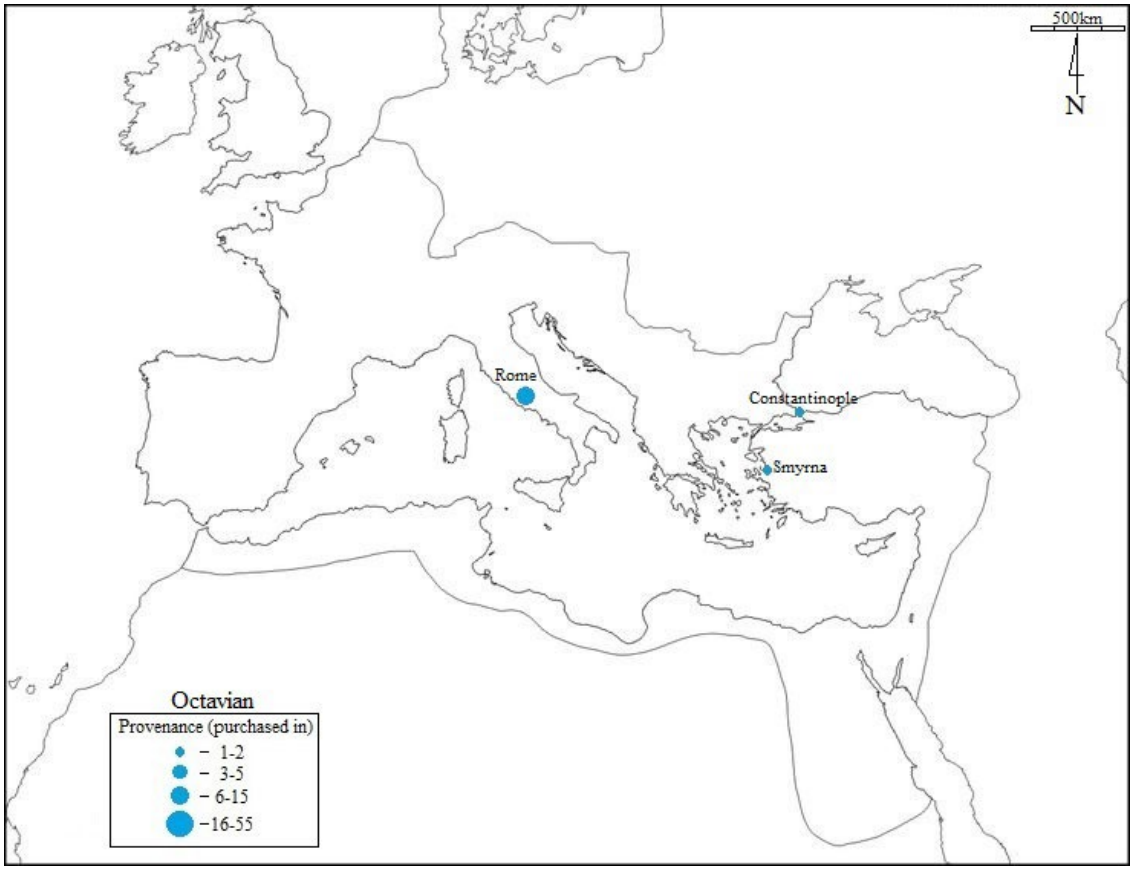
Map 34: The republicans - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



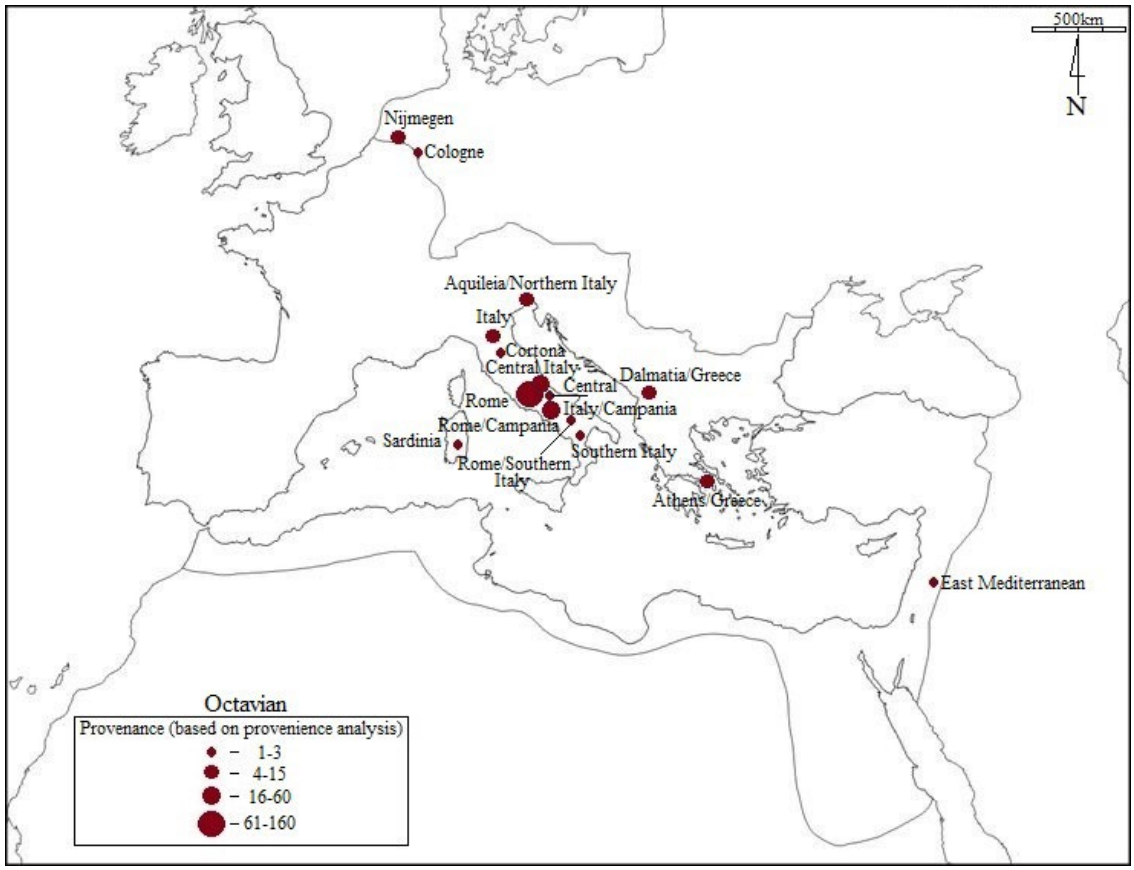
Map 35: Octavian - Reliable provenance



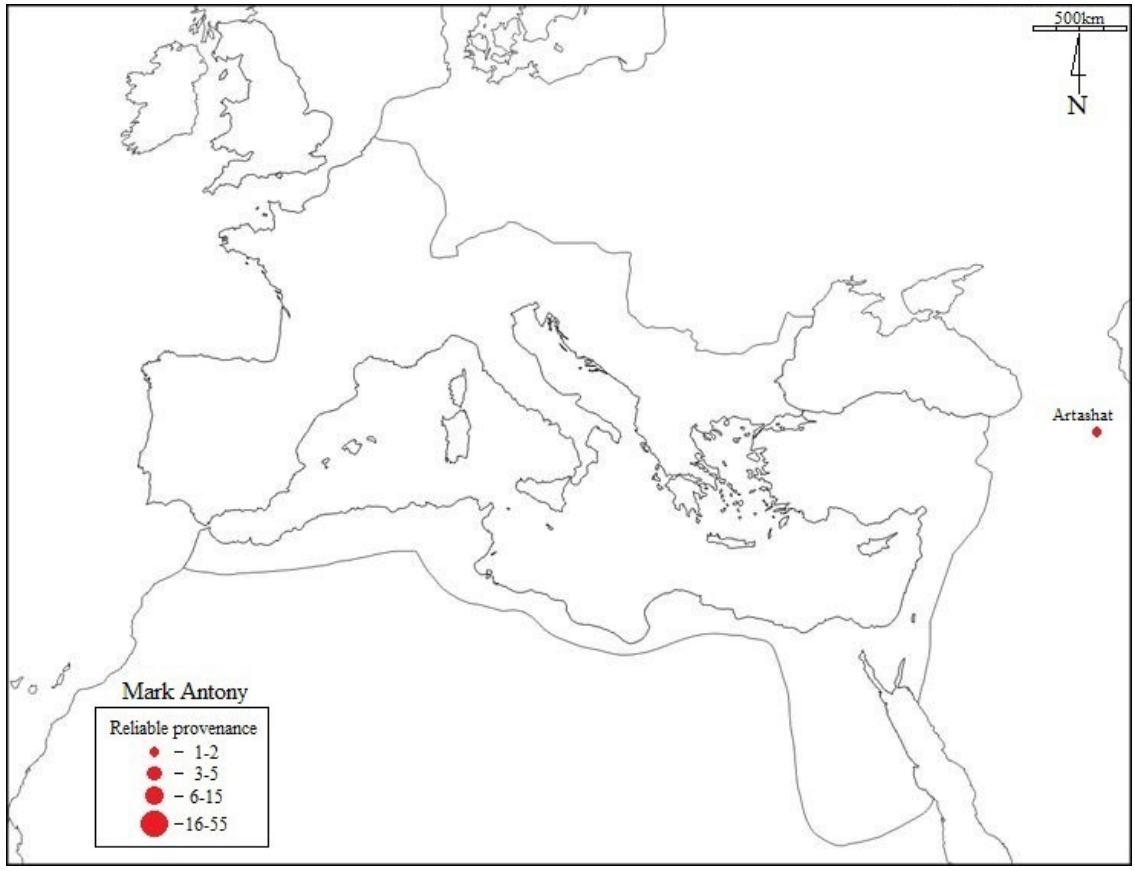
Map 36: Octavian - Provenance (said to have been found)



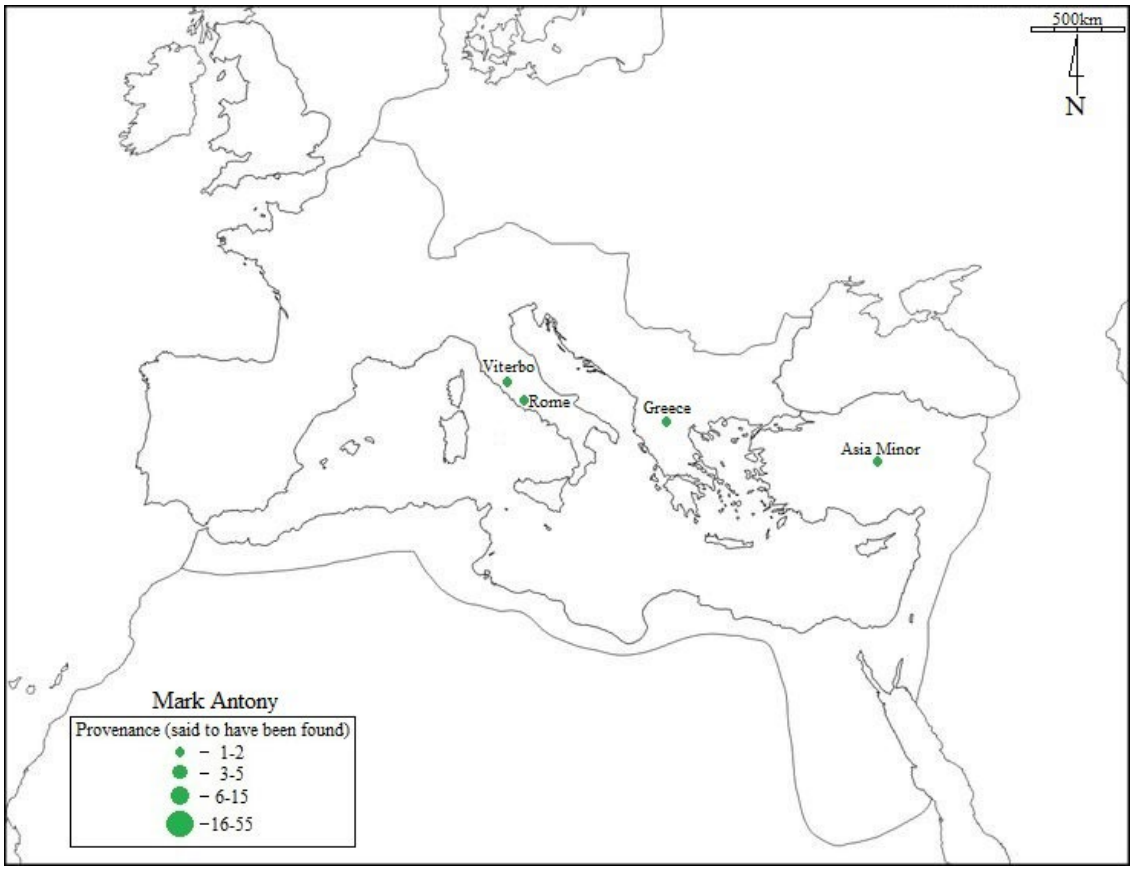
Map 37: Octavian - Provenance (purchased in)



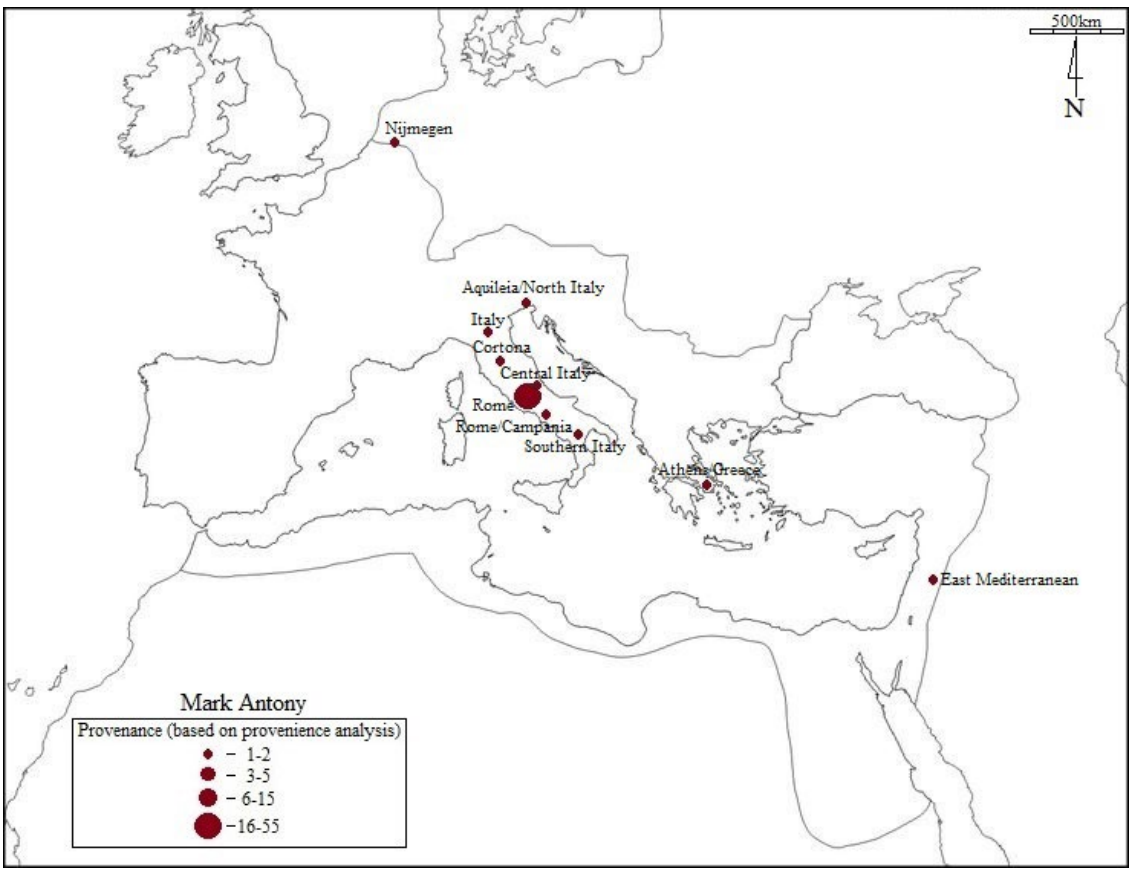
Map 38: Octavian - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



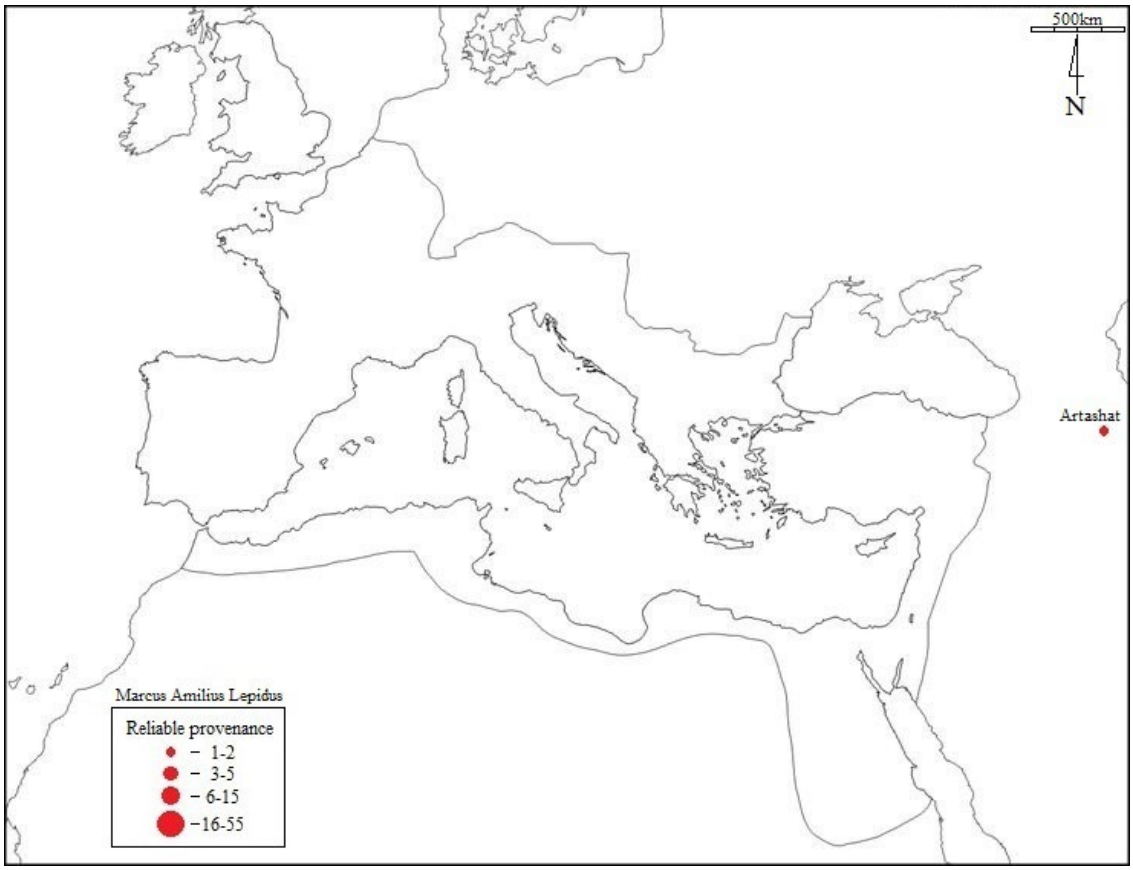
Map 39: Mark Antony - Reliable provenance



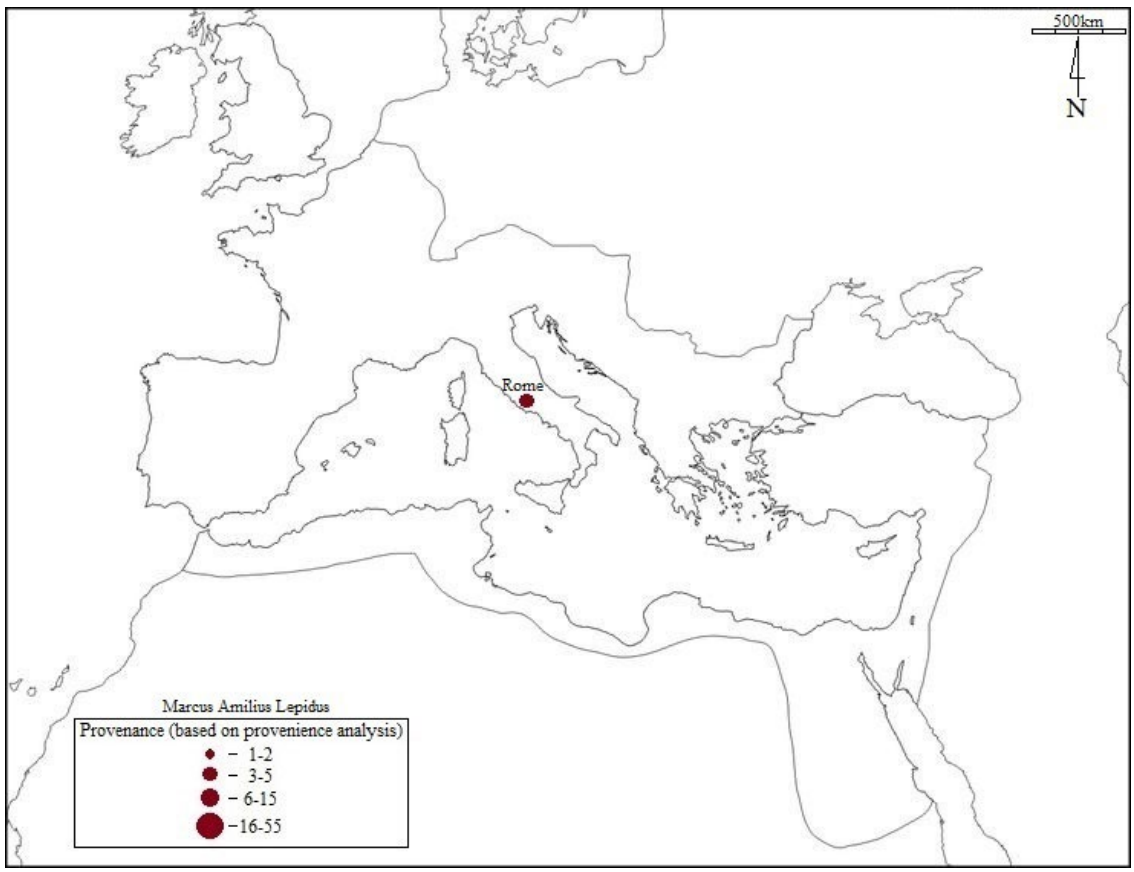
Map 40: Mark Antony - Provenance (said to have been found)



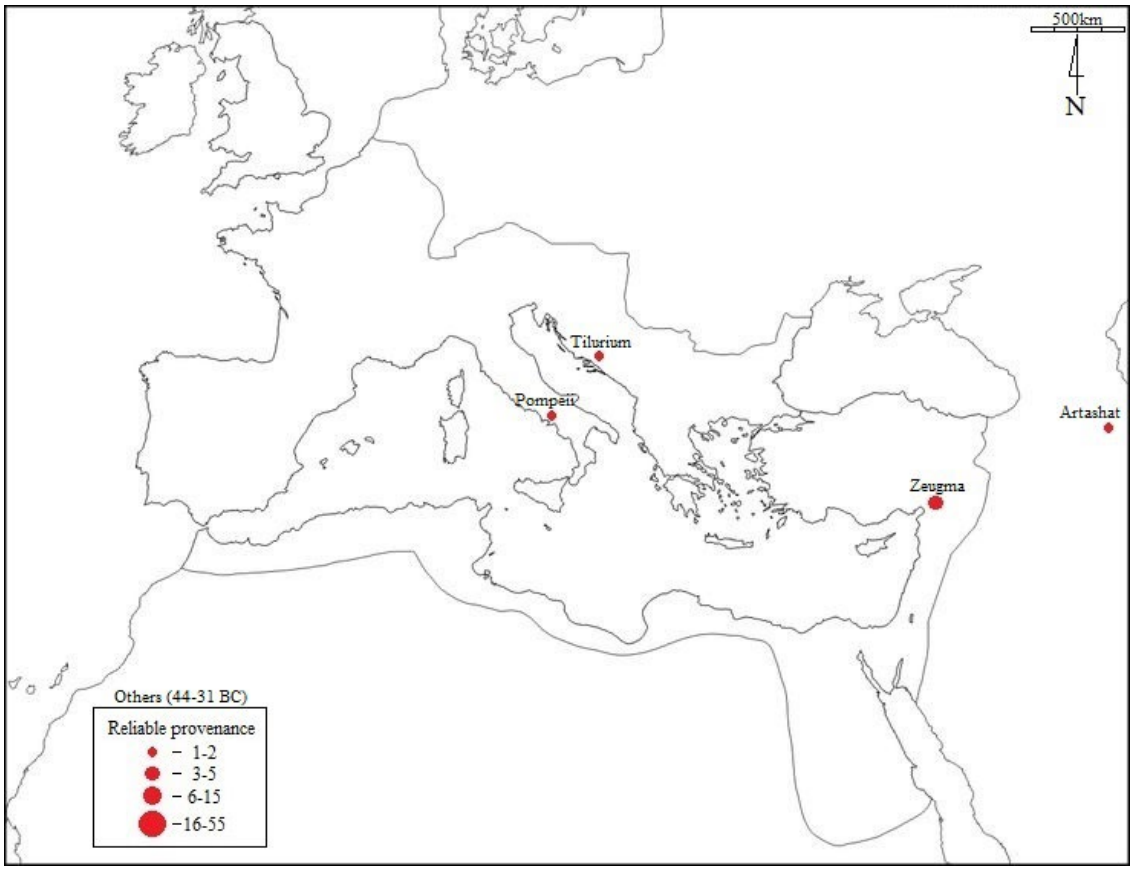
Map 41: Mark Antony - Provenance (based on provenience analysis



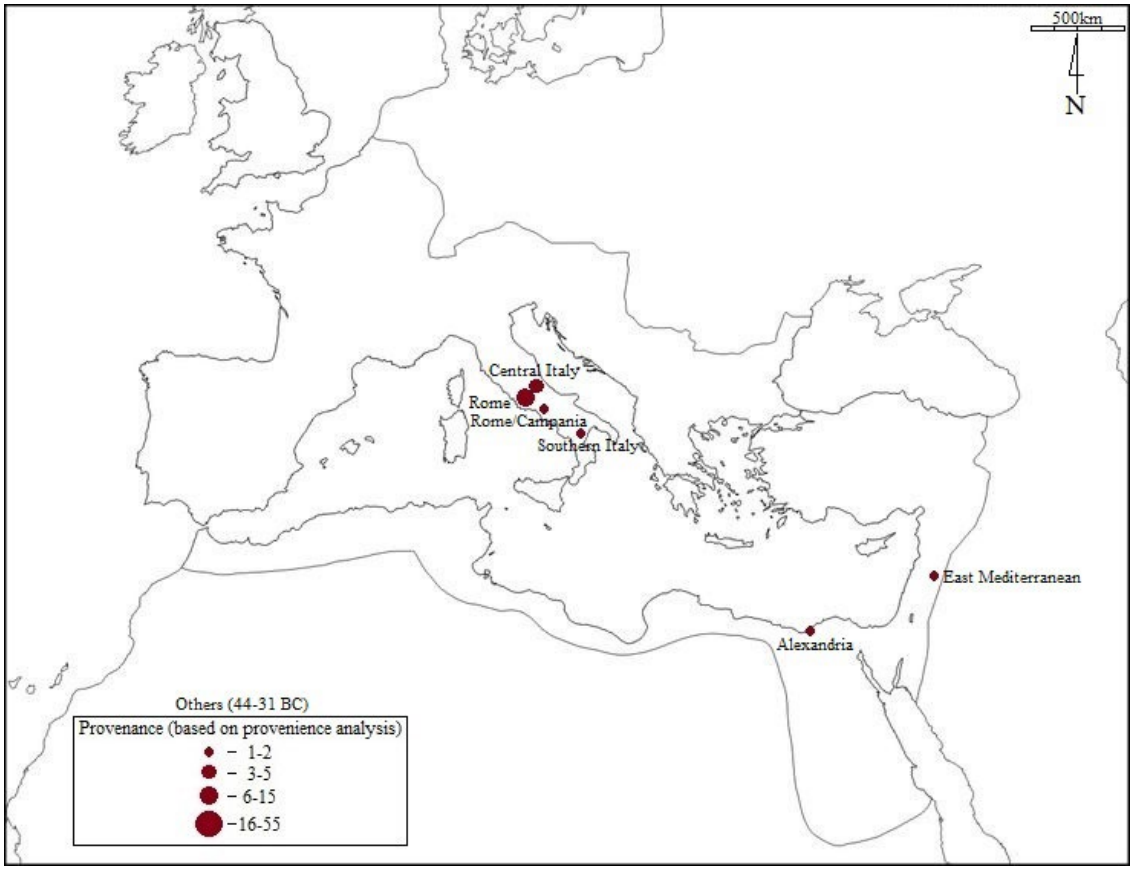
Map 42: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus - Reliable provenance



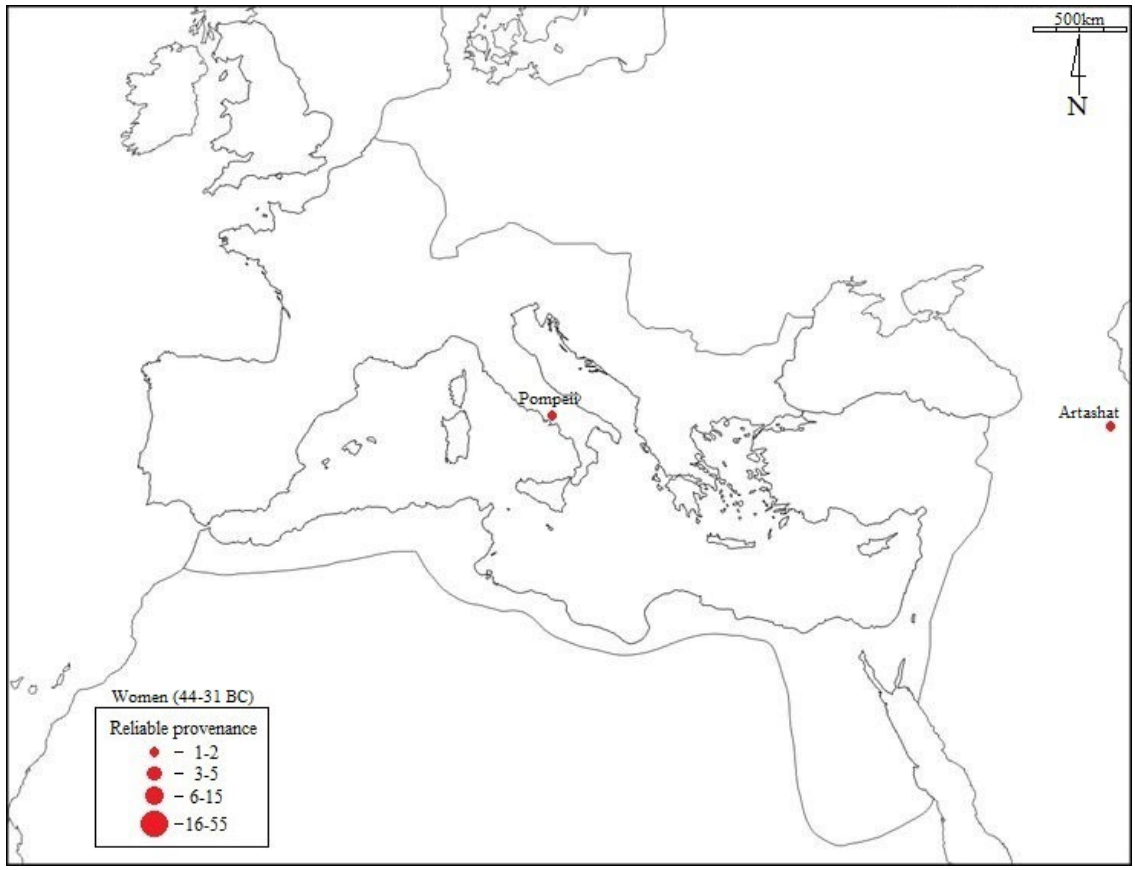
Map 43: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



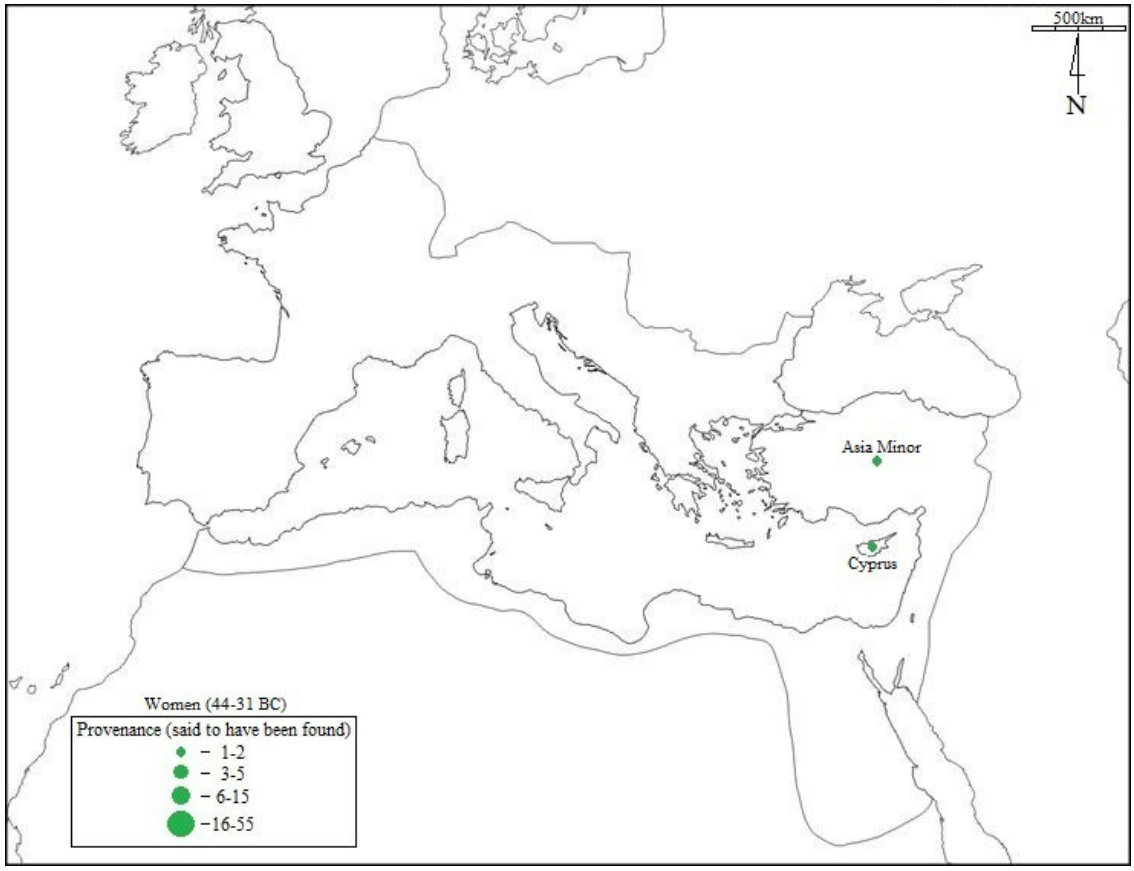
Map 44: Others (44-31 BC) - Reliable provenance



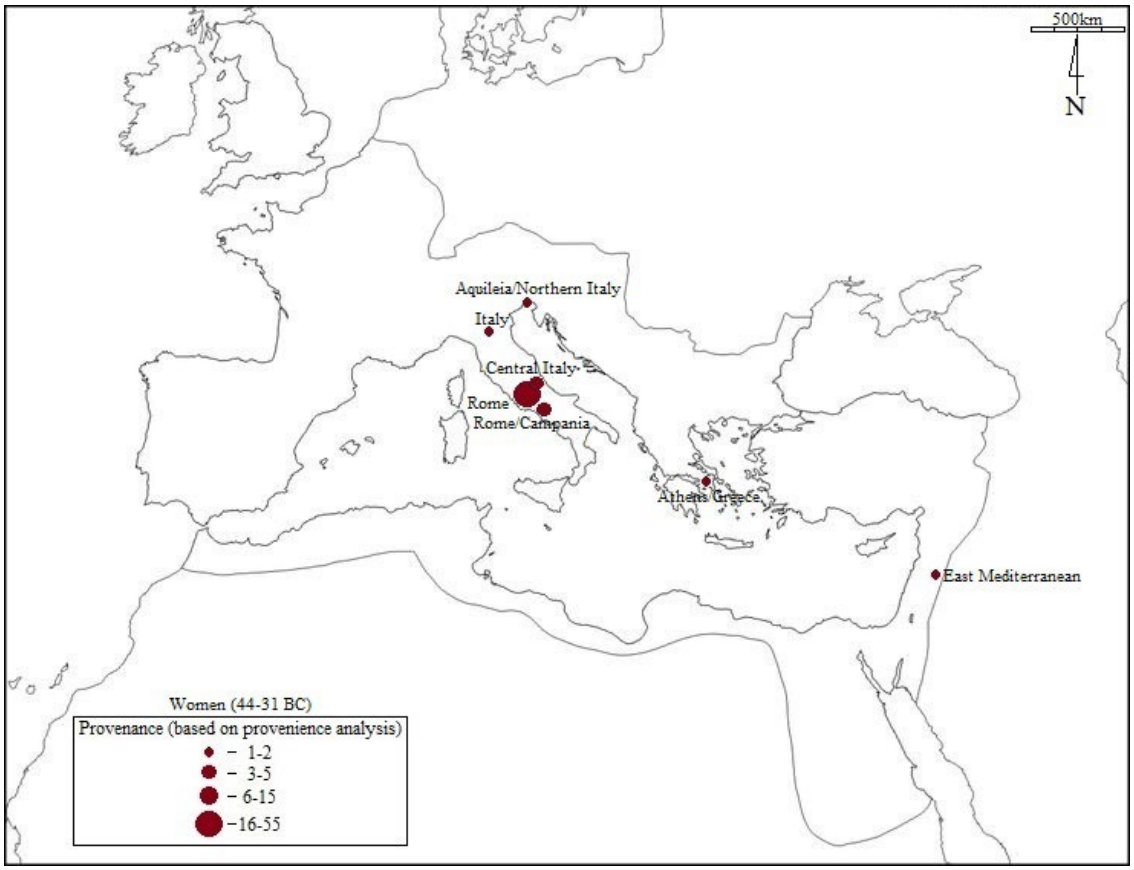
Map 45: Others (44-31 BC) - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



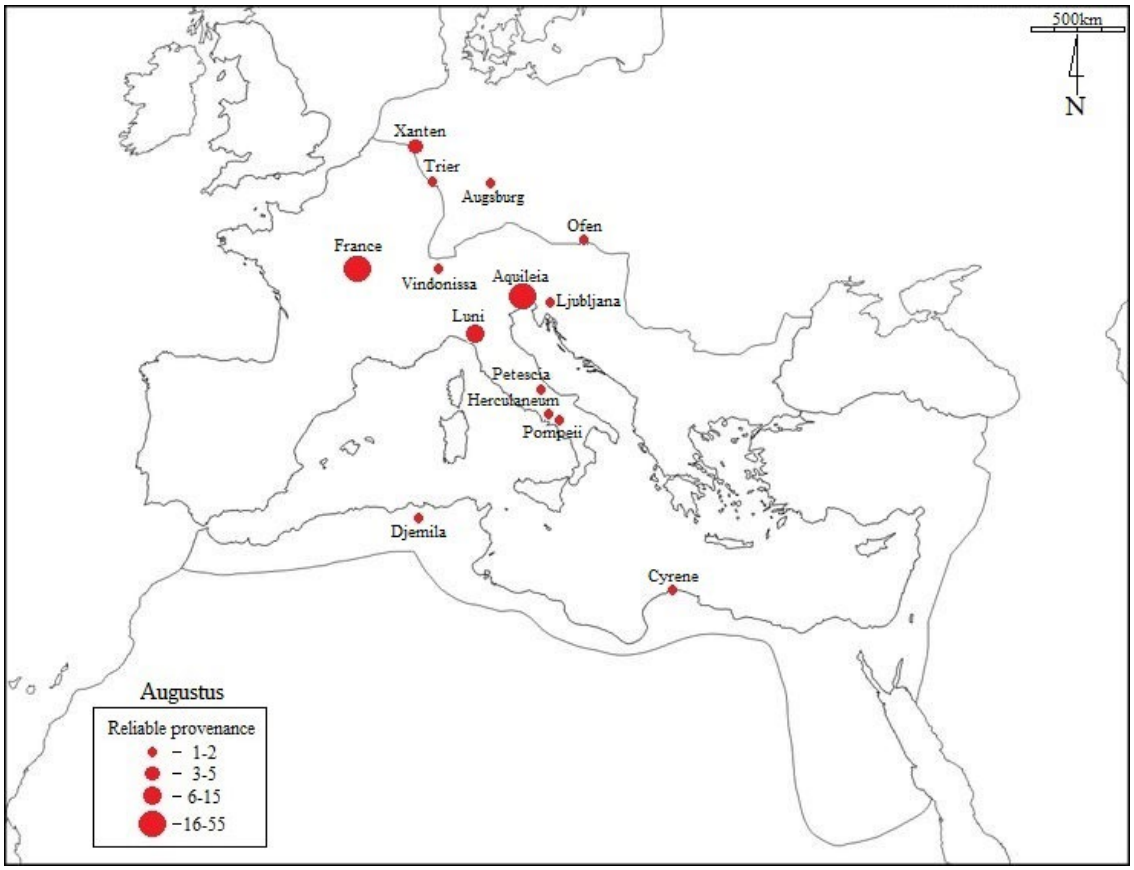
Map 46: Women (44-31 BC) - Reliable provenance



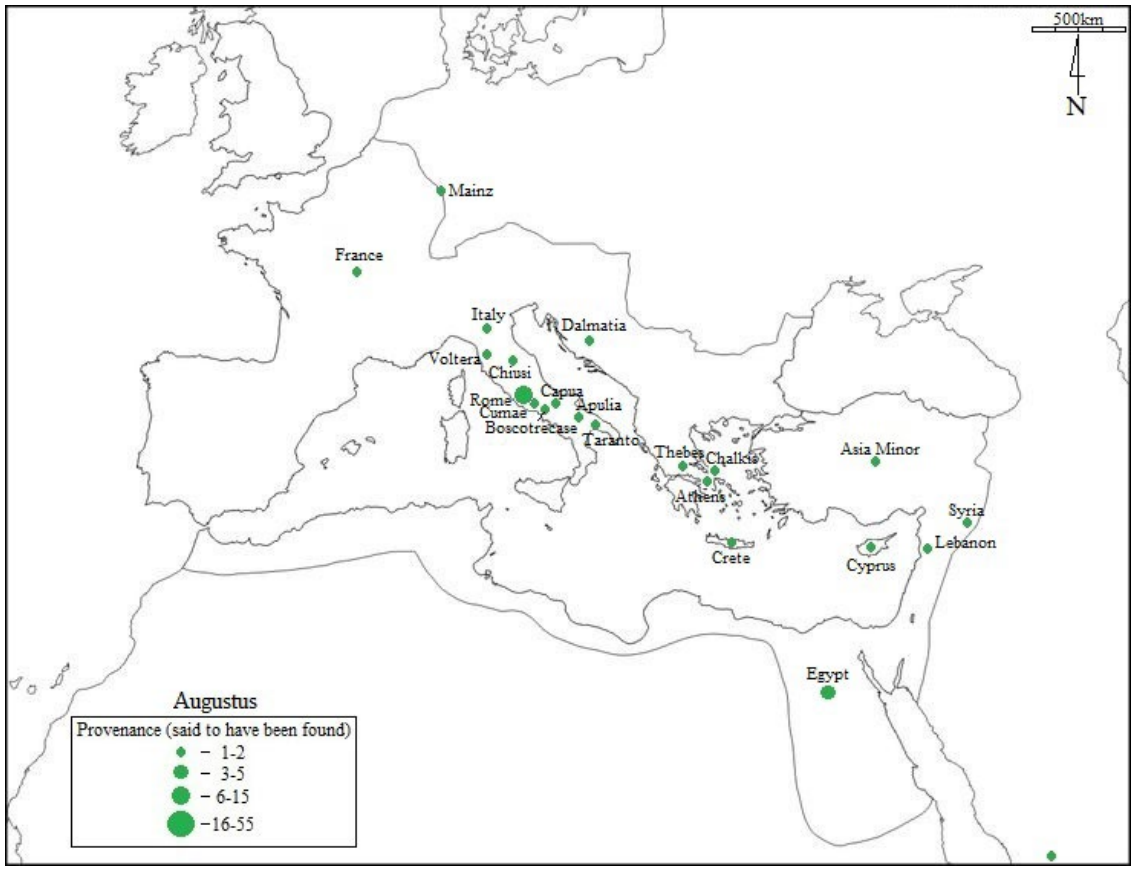
Map 47: Women (44-31 BC) - Provenance (said to have been found)



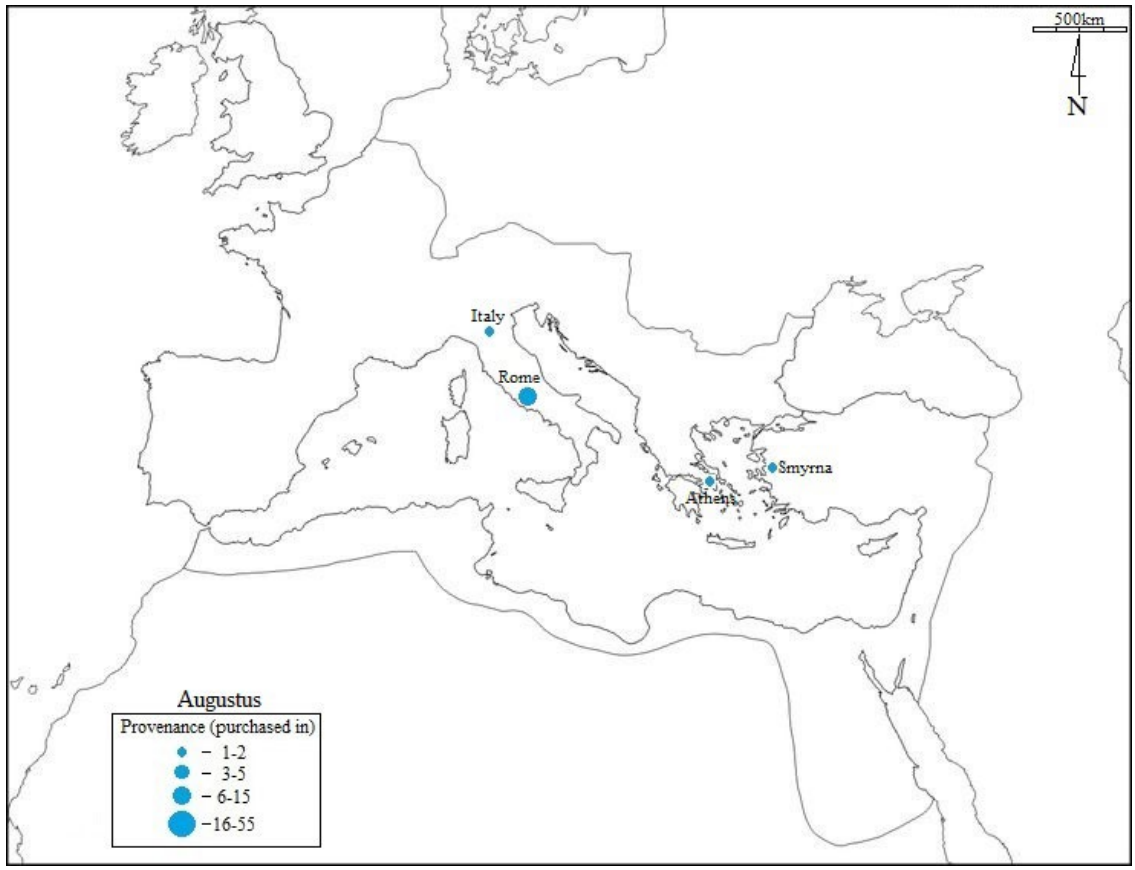
Map 48: Women (44-31 BC) - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)



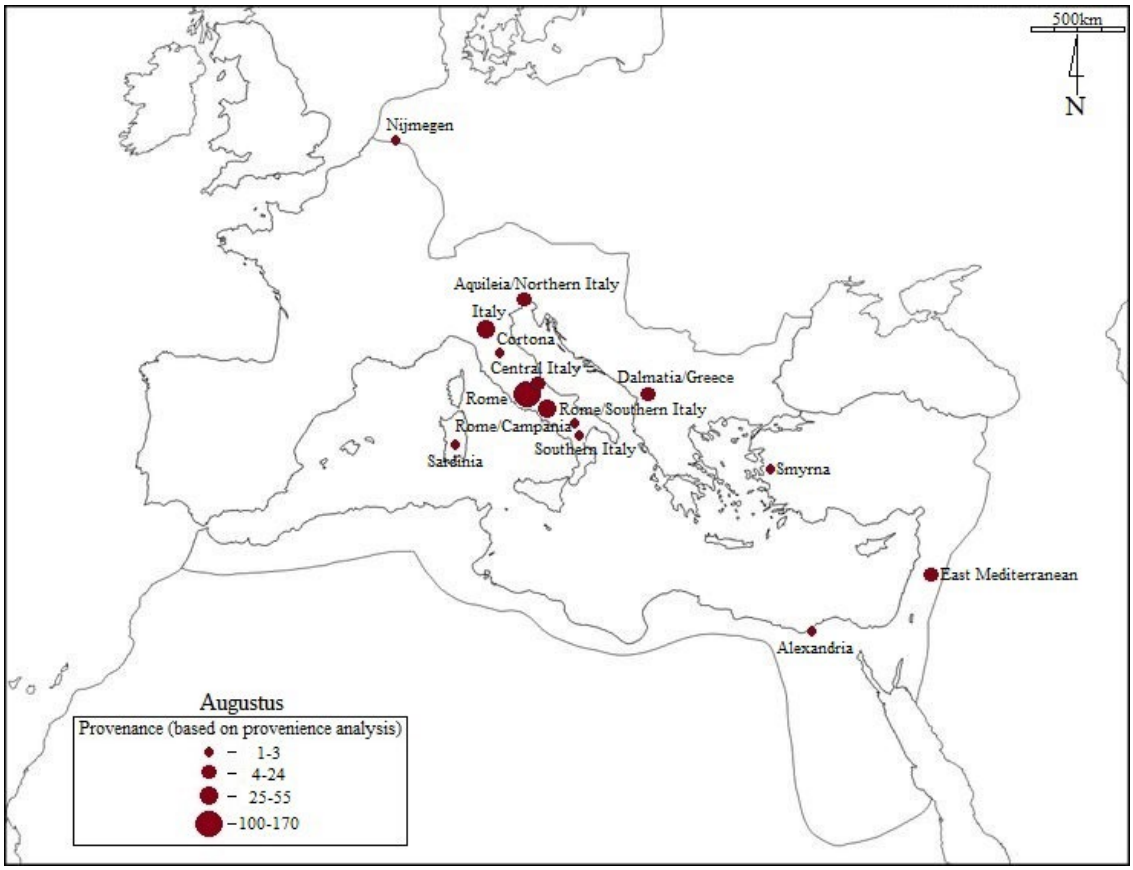
Map 49: Augustus - Reliable provenance



Map 50: Augustus - Provenance (said to have been found)



Map 51: Augustus - Provenance (purchased in)



Map 52: Augustus - Provenance (based on provenience analysis)

evidence presented in the third part of the book clearly indicates that Roman political leaders invested considerable financial resources in their patronage of gem engravers. This phenomenon evolved over time. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC one observes Roman generals and statesmen infiltrating the eastern Mediterranean and imitating Hellenistic kings in the employment of gem engravers to cut mainly portrait intaglios and cameos for them (cf. chapter 6.2.2). Such transactions were mutually beneficial as discussed in chapter 13.3. This trend continued in the early 1st century BC when some Greek masters transferred their businesses to Rome in order to work for new clients like Sulla, Marius and many other noblemen (cf. chapters 7.1.2 and 7.4.1). At the same time gem engravers were employed not only to produce luxury goods for their patrons, but they also started to cut their private seals transmitting powerful propaganda communications as confirmed by ancient literary sources (cf. chapters 7.1.1 and 10.3). The patronage of Roman political leaders over gem engravers accelerated and expanded considerably during the rivalry first between Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar (cf. chapters 8.1.3-8.1.4 and 8.2.2 and 8.2.3) and then in the period of the post-Caesarian and Liberators' Civil Wars (44-31 BC) (cf. chapters 9.1.1-9.1.2, 9.2.1, 9.3.1.2-9.3.1.3, 9.3.2.1-9.3.2.2). The final phase of this process took place in the times of Augustus since the first emperor of Rome successfully organised the imperial court workshop led by Dioscurides and his sons who produced not only his personal seals, but also a good number of masterpieces as well as more utilitarian works that helped the emperor to introduce a new ideology and political system based on a sole rule and establish a dynasty with strongly promoted young successors (cf. especially chapters 10.2-10.3 and 10.9-10.11). To conclude, Roman political leaders and most importantly Augustus treated glyptics as one of the media which enabled them to control the iconography of their portraits and other subjects relating to their accomplishments and successes. This is consistent with, for instance, Gross' observations on Hellenistic portraiture in glyptics which also confirm that portrait types of specific qualities were issued under the patronage of the rulers.[187] However, it remains disputable to what extent Roman political leaders were responsible for the production of other classes of propaganda gems. It seems unlikely that they controlled a significant proportion of glyptic production at the time or major centres like Aquileia (which is probably the best case showing that such industries operated totally independently) even though in the case of Octavian/Augustus, the number of gems

Crawfod and North 1987 (with further literature).

[187] Gross 2008: 123-125.

which plausibly transmitted his propaganda messages is high. It is more likely that they used the services of the few most prominent gem cutters (for instance Dioscurides and his sons in the case of Augustus) and either by issuing their commissions, acting as examples followed by their supporters or in other ways, they strongly influenced the market and production of gems especially in Rome and Central Italy as evidenced also by provenance research (cf. above). One may only surmise whether they instructed gem engravers not in their direct employment to cut intaglios and cameos with subjects suitable for their propaganda efforts. Perhaps they did to some degree given the fact that so many glass gems can be linked to various propaganda activities. Glass gems were particularly useful for propagandists since they were cheap to produce and still transmitted their communications successfully to the recipients.[188] However, these could be produced entirely independently in response to a propaganda campaign conducted through other media as well and this will be explained below.

The evidence presented in the third part of the study reveals that the main political leaders were followed by their less prominent counterparts (chapters 6.3, 7.4, 8.3 and 9.4). It is certain that gem engravers worked on private commissions of the Roman nobility primarily producing portrait intaglios for them, but gems reflecting family allegiances were also popular (cf. also remarks in chapters 13.5 and 13.8). Noteworthy is the example of the engraver Heius who in my and Boardman's opinion is more likely to have been a freedman employed by the Heius family rather than by Julius Caesar. His employment confirms that the Roman elites were engaged in glyptic art (cf. chapter 8.2.2). A similar case might be Gnaeus, although he could have been employed at the Numidian court of Juba II as well. It is tempting to suggest that a good number of followers of the Roman statesmen were engaged in the production of propaganda gems too. One easily imagines a follower of Julius Caesar or Sextus Pompey wishing to have a portrait of his leader engraved upon his personal ring in order to manifest his allegiance to his faction and his loyalty (cf. chapter 13.6). This is the next reason why it is so difficult to assess to what extent Roman political leaders were responsible for the production of gems relating to their propaganda activities. They could have stimulated and encouraged such production either by their own example, donations of gems being products of artists controlled by them which were inspirational for others or simply by making suggestions and influencing their followers

Finally, production and use of engraved gems by top Roman politicians had a considerable influence on the market. By their actions they created trends and fashions for specific kinds of gems like the ones bearing their portraits or symbolic ones as in the case of Sulla, Julius Caesar and Octavian/Augustus (cf. chapters 7.1.6, 8.2.9, 9.3.1.9 and 10.8). In such cases the promotion of general ideas or a well-designed ideology and political programme addressing the basic needs of ordinary people like peace and prosperity in the midst of civil war could be particularly successful. One observes similar mechanisms in coinage, sculpture or relief so that when the audience was bombarded with the same messages it started to believe in them and replicate them on its own. The trends introduced by politicians became fashionable especially at times when political consciousness and the engagement of ordinary people was at such a high level as in the Late Roman Republic and under Augustus, so that the propaganda machinery started to be self-driving.[189] In other words, at least in cases of the three above-mentioned Roman political leaders, the glyptic material presented in the third part of the book supports a view that gem engravers could have themselves produced gems similar to those promoted by them because these were highly-desired and sellable products. This is confirmed by Pliny the Elder who informs us that the example of Pompey the Great's presentation of Mithridates VI's dactyliotheca during the triumph in 61 BC resulted in a 'gem mania' in Rome. Another confirmation of this trend comes from the recently studied small but exceptional collection of bronze rings set with glass gems, some of which clearly relate to political affairs enabling us to identify their possessor as a legionary supporting Octavian.[190] It makes it clear that ordinary citizens and legionaries participated in the 'gem craze' of the 1st century BC, which was stimulated by political and propagandistic subjects appearing so frequently on gems those days. The considerable engagement of all the social strata in politics resulted in the production of luxury goods and their imitations that were given political sense. This contributed to the widespread use of propagandistic communications regardless of the efforts of the propagandists themselves. This means that gems largely contributed to the spread of official propaganda even if most of them were produced by independent workshops rather than on the commissions of the propagandists. Furthermore, the material gathered in the study also indicates that political actions that were not primarily concerned with glyptics but with other branches of art ultimately had an impact on this art form too. A good example of that is the installation of Myron's heifers on the Palatine Hill by Augustus which was the subject of a very specific propagandistic action (also promoted on coinage) that ended up with a surprising (perhaps to Augustus himself too) popularity of this subject in glyptics (cf. chapter 10.8). All these

[188] Wagner 2019: 40.

[189] See Zanker's valuable commentary on this matter (1988: 265-266).

[190] Gradel (forthcoming).

reasons resulted in the considerable production of glass gems – cheap replicas that were mass produced at the time and they often transmitted propaganda messages.[191] However, one is unable to determine if their production was somehow controlled by political leaders or not. The evidence presented in this book suggest a combination of two: the key political figures certainly stimulated and encouraged their production but because of the high demand for such gems among the people, single workshops could easily produce them to meet that demand making a good business too.

Of course, there were many motivations for cutting engraved gems in the Republican and Augustan periods like sealing, expressions of religious beliefs, philosophical views, collecting, personal adornment, magic, but the three main models of production discussed above are the ones most likely to have related to politics.[192]

Regarding the target groups of Roman engraved gems, it is useful to consider a classification proposed by Zazoff. For the times of Augustus, he divides glyptic products into three main categories: 1. Aristocratic glyptics - portrait gems as well as those featuring classical subjects and those copied from statues and other media; 2. Popular glyptics – including propaganda gems and those bearing subjects related to the private sphere; 3. Universal glyptics ('Reichsglyptik') – the mass production of gems bearing the most popular subjects including those suitable for legionaries, personal amulets and magical gems.[193] According to Zazoff, propaganda gems fall into the second class, which is an oversimplification. The research presented in this book demonstrates that gems relating to political and social activities reached all strata of the Roman society.

The works of top artists active between the 3rd century BC and the early 1st century AD were usually commissioned by political leaders (as far as the Romans are concerned) because they could afford to use such luxurious and expensive services. The masterpieces - portraits as well as panegyric gems and State Cameos cut for Augustus by numerous artists employed in his imperial court workshop - were limited in use and displayed to very few, possibly in the imperial palaces.[194] This group included the emperor, members of his family as well as members of his inner circle – the closest followers. The number of portraits of Augustus' successors supports a view that some groups of gems were distributed to powerful aristocrats in Rome and beyond in order to ensure a smooth succession. Moreover, some of the best pieces were surely sent either to the provinces (local authorities) and abroad to the client kingdoms and rulers of the lands neighbouring with the Roman Empire as diplomatic gifts to impress them and to seek their favour.[195] In this instance, engraved gems certainly played a similar role to the silver or gold medallions discovered on territories that were not under direct Roman control but sustained close relationships. A good example of that are the Celtic tribes living in south-eastern Britain in the second half of the 1st century BC. In the tombs of their aristocracy silver or gold medallions depicting Augustus are sometimes found.[196] Henig observes that the very few gems predating the conquest of Britannia in AD 43 might have come there as diplomatic gifts or they were carried there by Roman soldiers and settlers to whom they were handed down by their predecessors.[197] Some good pieces may have been gifted to high-ranking generals in the army because such expensive gifts surely created a long-lasting bond between a donor and a recipient. Even though the majority of political affairs took place in Rome itself, it was important to sustain and cultivate good relationships with the local elites in the provinces, especially those in the eastern Mediterranean where glyptic art was widely appreciated for centuries.[198] Therefore, one observes propaganda gems being found on those territories as well as being used for sealing purposes there. Gems transmitting political messages or those which could have been used in any other way relating to politics were surely sent to the provinces to strengthen bonds with local governors. The mechanism would have been similar to that of diplomatic gifts. It was a mutually beneficial situation when a propagandist was assured of the loyalty and support of local elites, whereas their members strengthened their position by showing their connection with a powerful Roman politician or the emperor Augustus (cf. also chapter 13.6).[199]

Gems produced on the commissions or under the instruction and influence of Roman politicians were probably distributed to their followers for instance during triumphs and other celebrations since gems played a very important role in integration propaganda.[200] The careful analysis of propaganda gems' iconography reveals that many subjects included references to military units or victories making the gems suitable for Roman legionaries. This group probably included the

[191] Yarrow 2017: 87.
[192] Casagrade-Kim 2018: 105; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 6-20.
[193] Zazoff 1983: 329.
[194] Gross 2008: 19.
[195] For a discussion on similar applications of engraved gems but in the Hellenistic period, see: Gross 2008: 15-16. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that such a phenomenon developed considerably later in the 2nd and 3rd century AD and especially if the *superiores barbari* territories are concerned.
[196] See, for instance a silver medallion with a portrait of Augustus discovered in in the Lexden Tumulus in Colchester: Foster 1986: 90-92.
[197] Henig 2007, nos. 410, 467 and app. 48.
[198] On the appreciation of engraved gems in antiquity, see: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: X-XII; Plantzos 1999: 105-108.
[199] See a thorough discussion of this matter in: Zanker 1988: 316-323.
[200] Vollenweider 1955: 100-101.

most important recipients of propaganda gems in the times of continuous civil war. This is also supported by the data obtained from the provenance analysis which reveals some concentrations of intaglios relating to political and social activities in military zones (cf. above) and some gems in the recently studied small collection of bronze rings set with glass gems bear subjects relating to Octavian's propaganda.[201] Some particular cases, like an intaglio featuring the head of Pompey the Great found in Xanten (cat. no. 8.24), clearly demonstrate that a bond created between a propagandist and his follower, given material expression as an intaglio set in a personal ring, was remarkably durable since it probably passed down frojm generation to generation. Finally, mass products were delivered to the people of Rome and ordinary citizens in Italy and perhaps beyond.[202] The quantity of glass gems transmitting political agendas is vast and these casual and cheap products could not impress with their beauty and level of craft since they were moulded from matrixes. Nevertheless, they fulfil the very basic role of propaganda – they successfully delivered the messages sent out by propagandists. They were products enabling the poorer strata of Roman society to participate in political and social life and to express their affinities with specific factions in a similar way to the richer strata using more expensive hardstone intaglios.[203]

[201] Gradel (forthcoming).
[202] Guiraud 1996: 128.
[203] Gradel (forthcoming); Wagner 2019: 40; Yarrow 2018: 35.

12. Statistics

The results of provenance reconstruction discussed in the previous chapter, although based on very hypothetical grounds, suggest some possible trends in the production and distribution of gems presumably relating to politics in the Roman Republican and Augustan periods. The possible methods of production and distribution have been discussed too, therefore, in this chapter some basic statistics are presented to show further evidence for the conclusions I have already proposed as well as those that will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter (13).

The first general conclusion is that the production of gems relating in one way or another to politics and social activities increased considerably over time (cf. Chart 2). Even though production of those in the period called henceforth 'Beginnings' seems to have taken place on a fairly large scale, it should be excluded from general statistical analysis because it covers a disproportionally long period of time (two centuries) in comparison to the other periods and most importantly because even though there is some evidence for the political use of gems in the 3rd and 2nd century BC, most of the examples discussed in the study are hypothetical and problematical. Giving them a political and social interpretation is only one option among many (for the specific reasons, cf. chapters 5.2 and 6), whereas from the early 1st century BC there are more certain grounds for claiming that gems were an integral part of self-advertisement and propaganda mechanisms.

Concerning some further general observations, Chart 10 shows that the most important category of propaganda gems were those relating to personal branding and self-promotion as well as the induction and manifestation of loyalty and support. The next significant category is formed by objects illustrating religious, divine and mythological references made by individual politicians to gods and other supernatural figures they venerated the most. Gems bearing various combinations of symbols reflecting complex political programmes were also abundantly produced, especially by Octavian/Augustus. Furthermore, the commemoration of important events, especially military victories, was another popular promotional issue for which intaglios and cameos were employed. References to family legends, promotion of one's *origo* and the use of heritage were subjects less frequently addressed and while the first were popular primarily in the early phases (to be rediscovered by Augustus), the latter were popular mostly in the period between 44 and 27 BC. As for other categories, the products of gem engravers directly employed by Roman politicians seem never to have reached a large audience likewise production of luxury vessels, State Cameos etc. Their meaning and the level to which they were appreciated are not well reflected in their quantity, but in their quality which cannot be properly measured by statistical methods. This issue was widely discussed in the relevant chapters (cf. 7.1.2, 8.1.3, 8.2.2, 9.1.2, 9.2.1, 9.3.1.2, 9.3.2.2, 10.2 and 10.9). Finally, some proposed categories such as 'promotion of faction' are extremely problematic due to features they share with portrait gems and objects from other categories, therefore, only a few specimens clearly focusing on this propagandistic activity could be distinguished.

Even though including data from the earliest period in the overall statistics is problematic, it is worth analysing some basic trends for potential political applications of gems in the 3rd and 2nd century BC. Chart 11 illustrates which areas of promotional practices seem to have been most popular at this time. It is clear that the auto-representative function of intaglios was the most successful and important (42% of all analysed gems dated to this period) and it is suggested that this was the main reason why gems became such a common and powerful propaganda channel later in the 1st century BC. The commemoration of military victories and exhibition of physical prowess were also qualities that users of intaglios desired to exhibit among their peers. Personal branding was another very important area (34%) mostly because it offered social distinction to those who had their portraits cut by distinguished artists who sometimes signed their works (cf. cat. nos: 6.78 and 86-87) and because it was possible to make oneself more recognisable through the distribution of such products as special gifts that created a durable bond between emitters and receivers. Even though patronage of Roman prominent figures over gem engravers seems insignificant (1%), its very appearance is of major importance. This is related to Roman generals infiltrating the eastern Mediterranean where they occasionally used the services of Greek gem cutters. It is interesting to observe that a substantial proportion of gems related to promotion of family and oneself through *origo* (23%). As discussed in chapter 6.3.1, family symbols and scenes related to family legends appear mostly on gems dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC which correlates well with observations on the occurrence of this phenomenon in Roman Republican coinage and art in general too (cf. also remarks in chapter 13.8).

The first more or less identifiable moment when gems became political tools was the early 1st century BC. This is confirmed not only by the archaeological material, but also by the literary sources presented and analysed

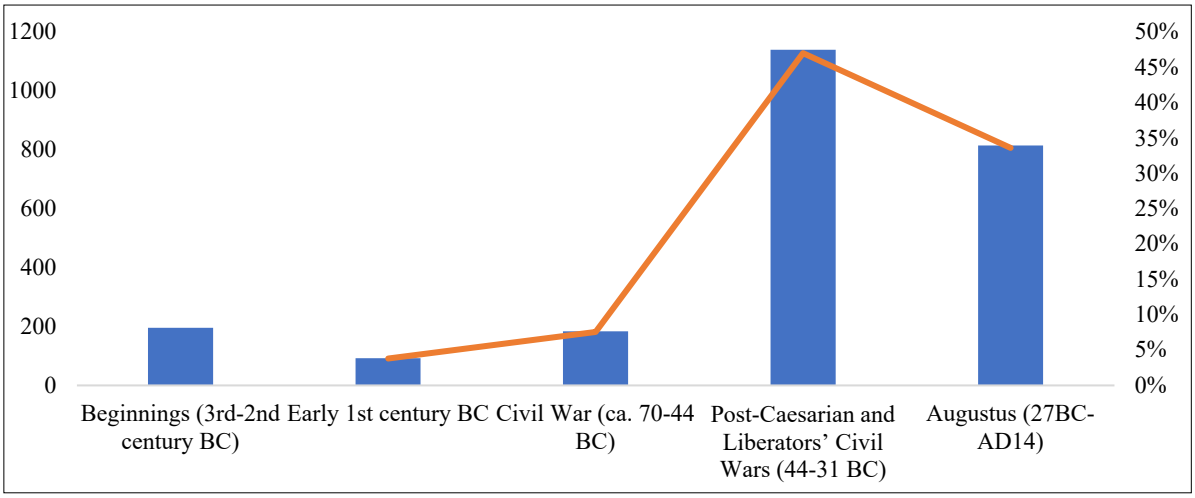


Chart 2: Propaganda gems by chronology

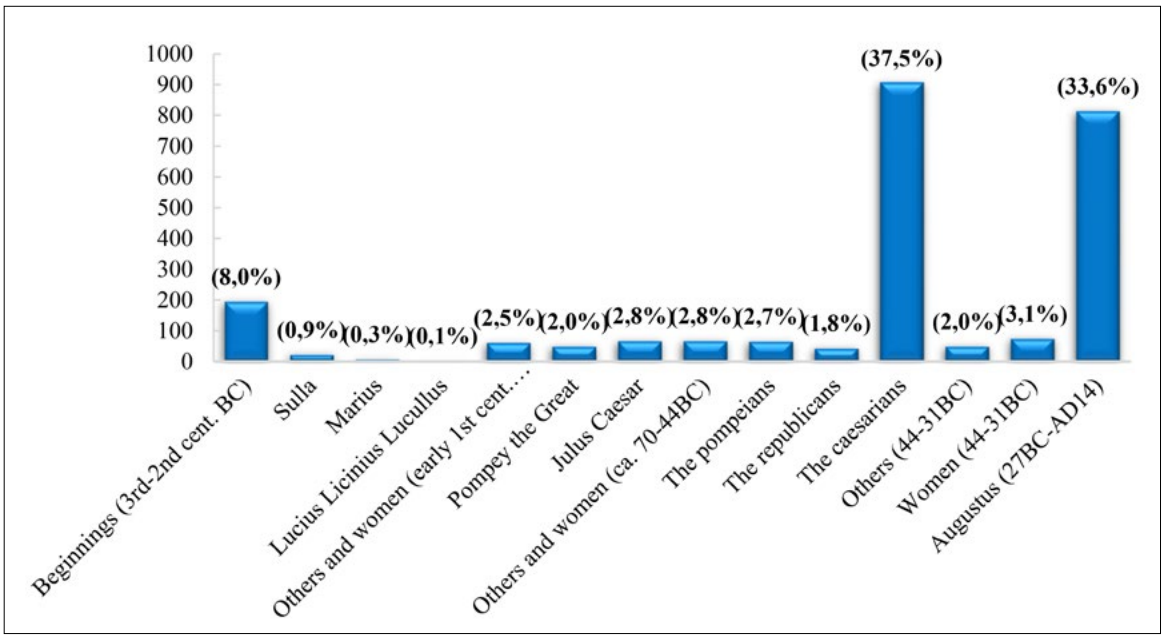


Chart 3: Propaganda gems by individual factions and politicians – general results

in chapter 7 of this book. As compared to later times, the activities of Sulla, Marius and their contemporaries are insignificant which means that glyptics was still a very personal medium which affected a few people rather than the masses (cf. Chart 2). Among the political leaders active those days, Sulla dominates whereas the activities of Marius or Lucius Licinius Lucullus are marginal (cf. Charts 3-4). Sulla is the only figure with whom one may link specific phenomena such as the appearance of symbolic gems probably reflecting the success and popularity of his political programme (cf. chapter 7.1.6). Moreover, it can reasonably suggested that his devotion to the cults of Venus, Apollo and other deities had some impact on his followers since there is an increase of gems bearing representations of these deities during his political domination (cf. chapter 7.1.5). Because Sulla frequently travelled to the eastern Mediterranean, one supposes that he contacted some Greek gem engravers there and this might have sparked his personal taste for luxury works of art such as engraved gems. In consequence, it is probable that the dictator employed the artist named Protarchos to cut intaglios and especially cameos for him (cf. chapter 7.1.2 and Charts 9, 12 and 13). There was certainly some production of Sulla's portrait gems and maybe of those which commemorated his political and military successes, however, they are difficult to identify and hence, the scale of their production cannot be properly measured.

Regarding other political applications of intaglios and cameos one observes a considerable variety, which means that many single figures used to issue propaganda gems and the most popular way of doing

this was production of portrait intaglios and objects aimed at self-promotion (cf. Charts 10, 12 and 16). Even though there is evidence that Marius and Lucius Licinius Lucullus engaged gems in politics during their triumphs or diplomatic missions and perhaps through collecting (cf. chapters 7.2.1 and 7.3.1), the only measurable output of propaganda gems related to them are their portrait intaglios (which are in some cases very problematic due to uncertain identification and even authenticity, cf. chapters 7.2.2 and 7.3.2 and Charts 4, 12 and 14-15). Concerning less significant political figures, the first observation to make is that they attempted to promote themselves through gems using especially portrait intaglios (cf. Chart 16). The second observation is that there is a clear continuation in the promotion of family and oneself by putting images related to family legends and myths on personal gems. Finally, it might be suggested that a few used intaglios bearing configurations of symbols reflecting their own political views or qualities which they wanted to exhibit (cf. Chart 16).

There is a noticeable increase in the production of engraved gems that one may link with politics in the next chronological period that primarily concerns the rivalry between Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar (c. 70-44 BC). The number of such objects almost doubled in comparison to the previous period (cf. Chart 2). Furthermore, there is a clear superiority both in the number and quality of the products related to Julius Caesar rather than Pompey (cf. Charts 3 and 5). As to the structure of the main categories of gems used by all political factions, hardstone intaglios prevail over glass gems (cf. Charts 7-8). Of the few cameos known from this period, all relate either to Pompey or Caesar with the latter being slightly predominant (cf. Chart 9). This probably results from the fact that both politicians were active in the eastern Mediterranean where they could have had their portrait cameos cut by Greek artists. Specifically, Pompey is more successful than Caesar as far as the employment of gem engravers is concerned (cf. Chart 17), however, it must be highlighted that the results presented in this book are based on scanty evidence (cf. chapters 8.1.3 and 8.2.2) so that in other circumstances one does not really know what the results would be. Pompey seems more successful as far as religious, divine and mythological references displayed on intaglios and cameos are concerned, but in any other general category distinguished, Julius Caesar dominates (cf. Chart 17).

In the case of Pompey and Caesar, the high percentage of gems (mainly portraits) one may connect with personal branding and induction and manifestation of loyalty and support (35% for Caesar and 24% for Pompey) is on the one hand due to the increasing investments in this kind of promotional practice, but on the other hand, the progressive engagement of their numerous supporters in the political affairs as well as mutual antipathy between the these two key figures resulting in overall need for marking and display one's political affiliation (cf. Charts 18-19). Engraved gems were probably the best tools for such a task. There are noticeable differences too, namely, whereas Pompey focused more on the religious and mythological aspects of his propaganda movements in glyptics (45% - Chart 19), Caesar's main themes were his military successes and prowess (22% - Chart 17). Moreover, Caesar used to make references to Venus as his divine ancestress (5% - Chart 17) which could not be countered by Pompey as he had no distinguished family story to relate. Furthermore, there is a clear reflection of Caesar's universal political programme aimed at the establishment of *ordo rerum* and displayed by a wide range of symbolic gems. Finally, some traces in investing in luxury objects as State Cameos probably illustrates his fascination for Hellenistic kingship and desire for sole rule (16% and 2% respectively – Chart 17). The latter two issues may result from the considerable financial advantage Caesar had over Pompey especially after taking over the public treasury which allowed him to invest in sophisticated channels of propaganda among which engraved gems should certainly be numbered.

Concerning statesmen contemporary with Pompey and Caesar, their attempts to promote themselves promotion through gems was usually limited to issuing portrait gems (52% - Chart 20) but there is still a considerable production of intaglios making references to family legends and myths (30% - Chart 20). Even though based on more speculative grounds, again, this phenomenon can be compared to the activities of Roman moneyers who frequently used to promote their families and themselves by putting similar reference on the coins the production of which they were responsible for. Next, there is some evidence for patronage over gem engravers (12% - Chart 20) which is a good indicator for the growing market for this art form and the influx of Greek cutters from the eastern Mediterranean to Rome. Finally, single objects testify that not only political leaders but also their less successful counterparts engaged in the commemoration of some private successes through glyptics (6% - Chart 20).

The most complex situation occurs in the period between the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BC and the establishment of Octavian's sole rule after the victory at Actium in 31 BC.[1] The production of

[1] While the year 31 BC and the Battle of Actium are traditionally considered a landmark in Roman history, it should be taken into account that gems commemorating this success of Octavian were produced in the aftermath of this event, most of them until at least 27 BC, but some were created even later (for instance the Actium Cameo in Vienna, see: chapter 10.5). Technically then, the statistics of this

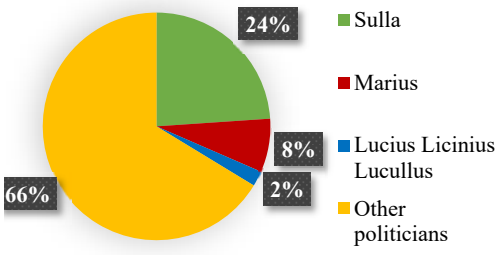


Chart 4: Propaganda gems affiliations – early 1st century BC

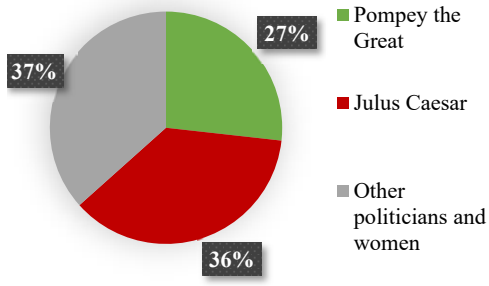
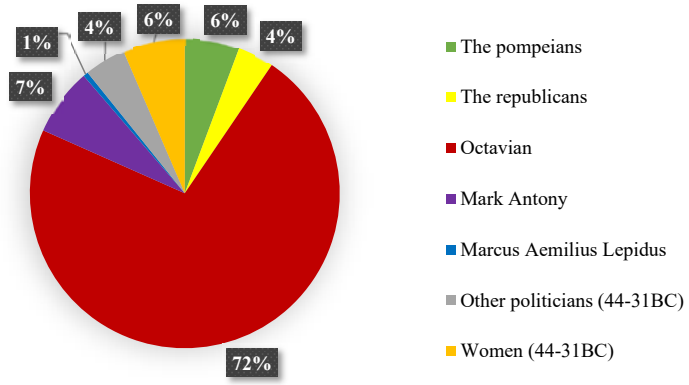


Chart 5: Propaganda gems affiliations – Civil War (c. 70-44 BC)

Chart 6: Propaganda gems affiliations (Post-Caesarian and Liberators' Civil Wars (44-27 BC)



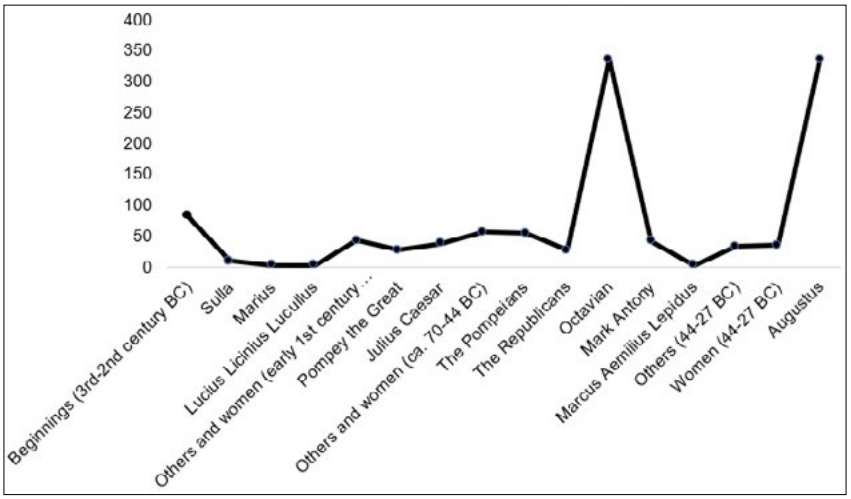


Chart 7: Propaganda gems – gemstone intaglios production in time

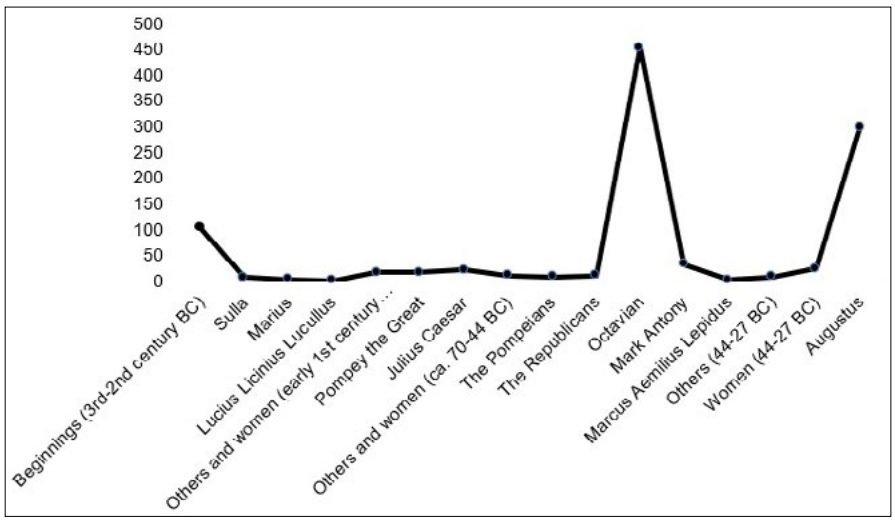


Chart 8: Propaganda gems – glass intaglios production in time

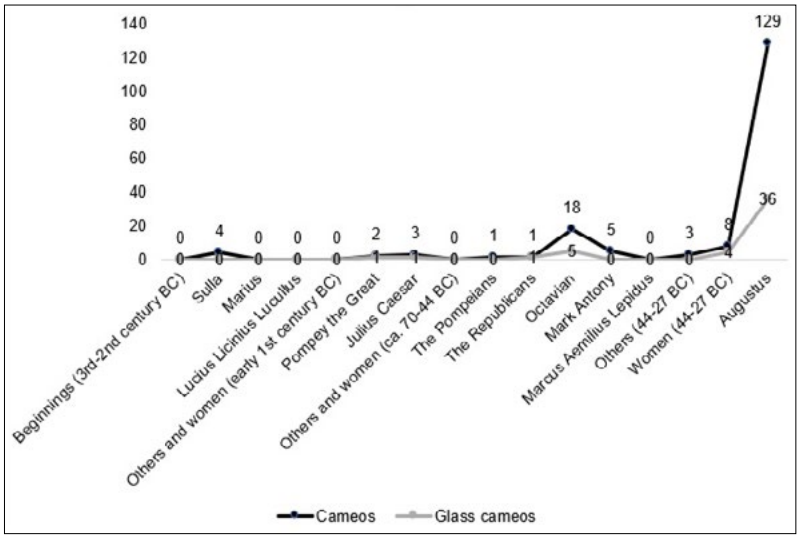


Chart 9: Propaganda gems – cameos and glass cameos production in time

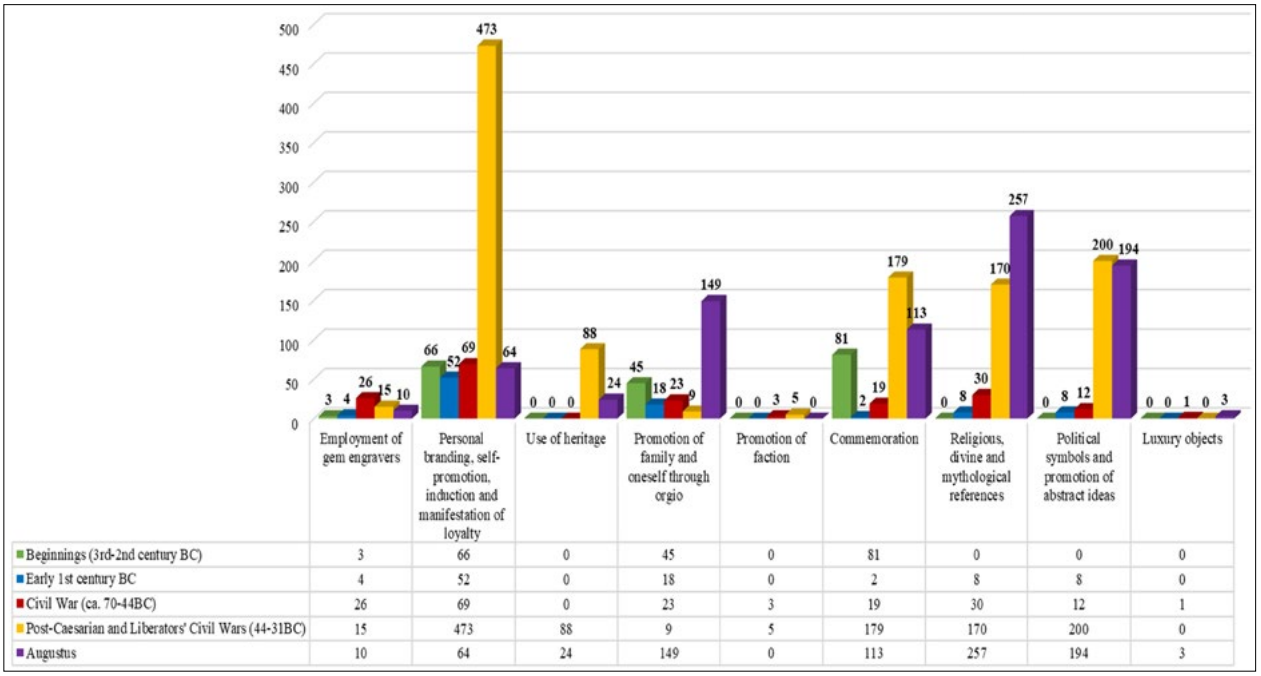


Chart 10: Propaganda gems by general classes and chronology

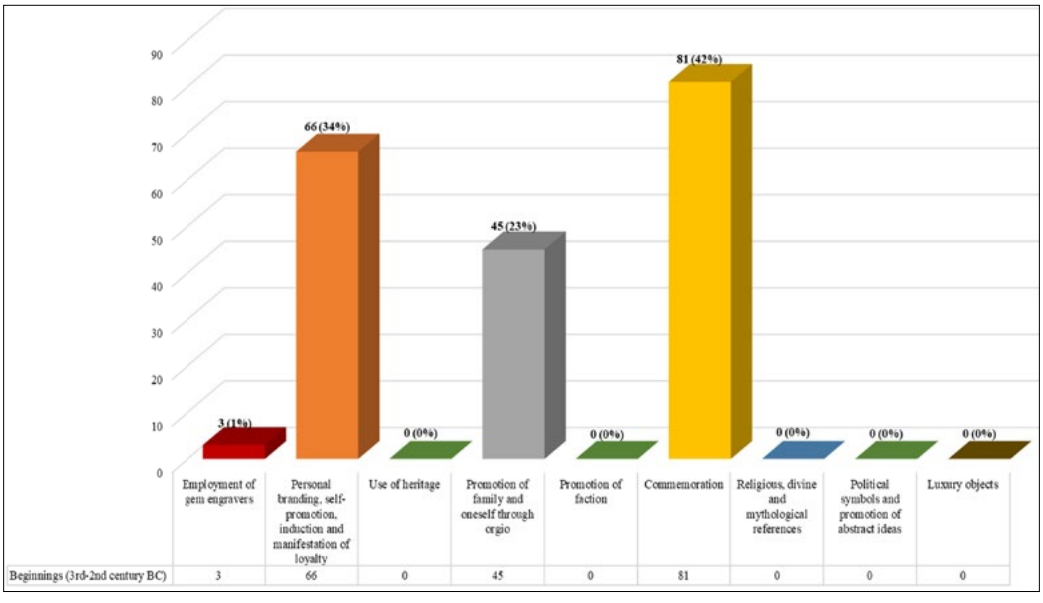


Chart 11: Propaganda gems by general classes – Beginnings (3rd-2nd century BC)

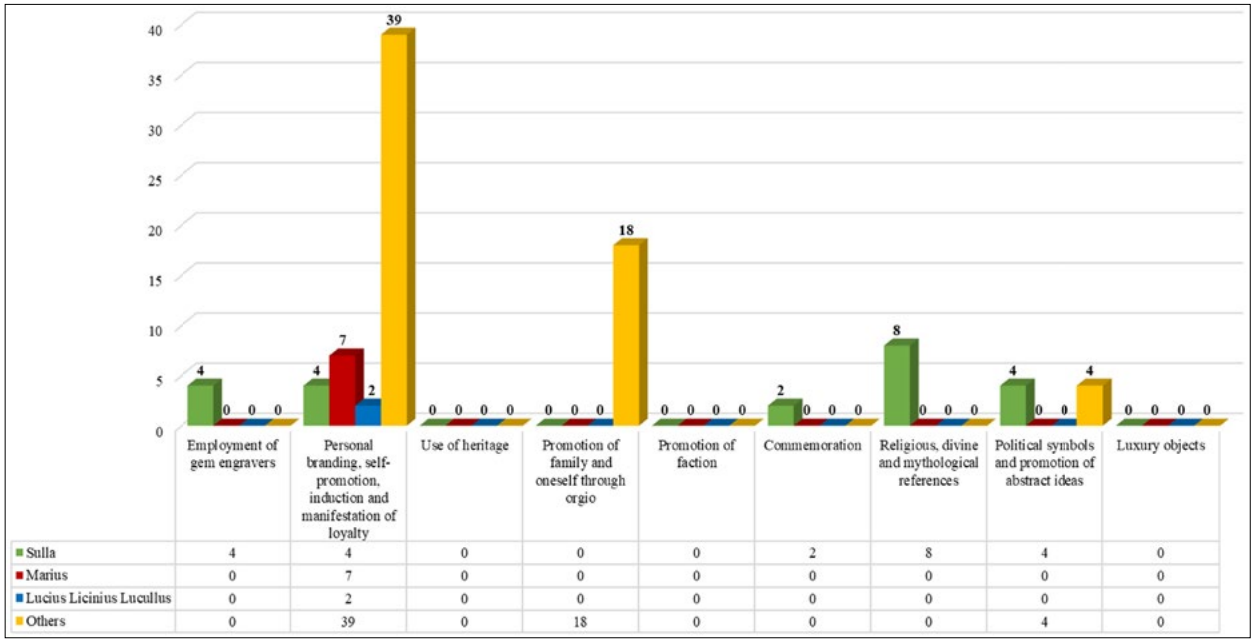
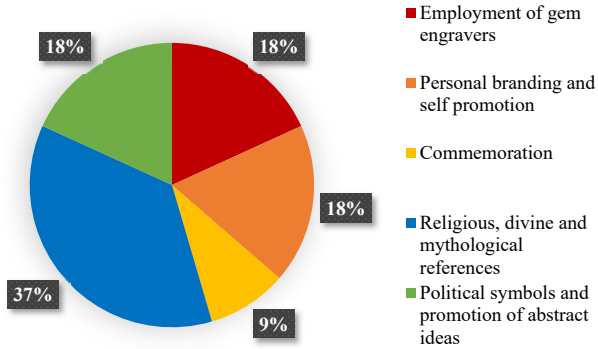


Chart 12: Propaganda gems by general classes (early 1st century BC)

Chart 13: Propaganda gems by general classes (Sulla)



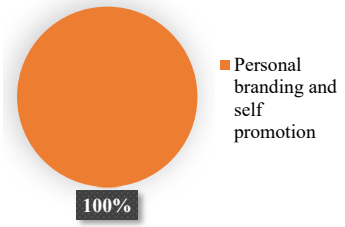


Chart 14: Propaganda gems by general classes (Marius)

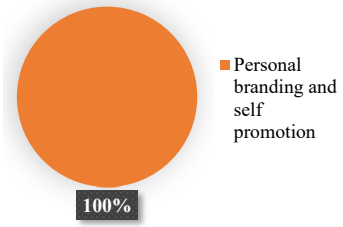


Chart 15: Propaganda gems by general classes (Lucius Licinius Lucullus)

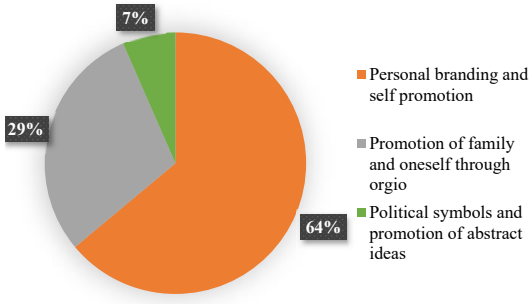
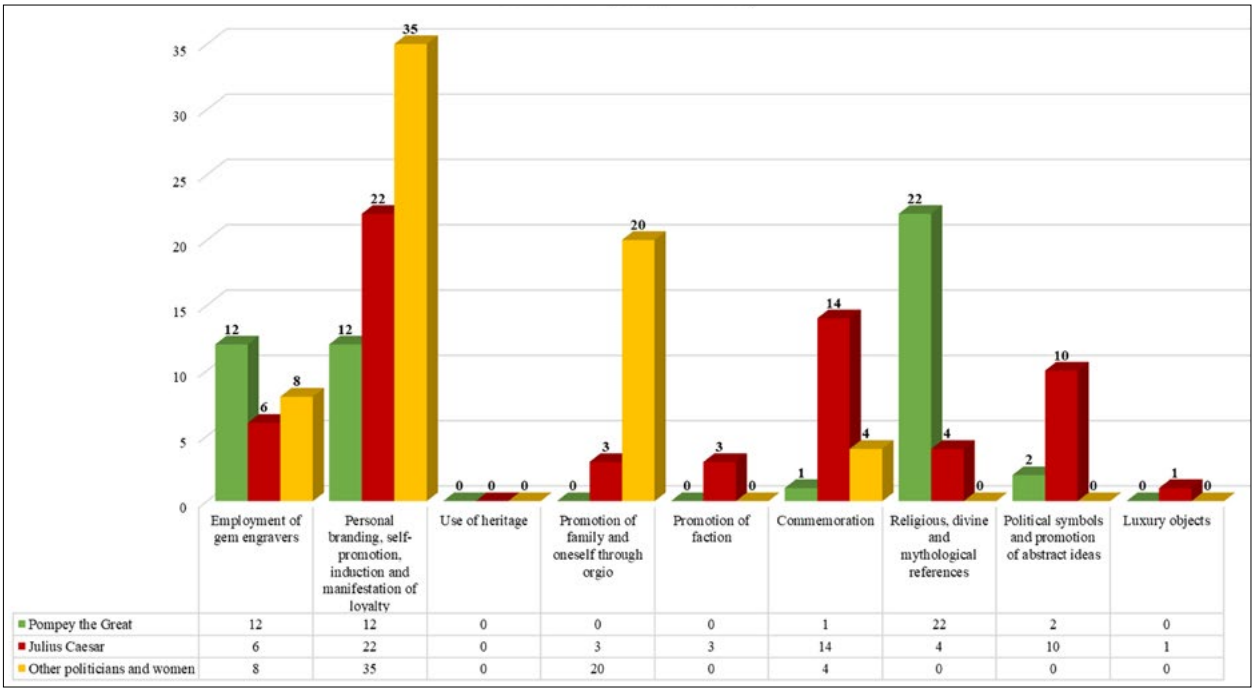


Chart 16: Propaganda gems by general classes (other politicians)



	Employment of gem engravers	Personal branding, self-promotion, induction and manifestation of loyalty	Use of heritage	Promotion of family and oneself through orgio	Promotion of faction	Commemoration	Religious, divine and mythological references	Political symbols and promotion of abstract ideas	Luxury objects
Pompey the Great	12	12	0	0	0	1	22	2	0
Julius Caesar	6	22	0	3	3	14	4	10	1
Other politicians and women	8	35	0	20	0	4	0	0	0

Chart 17: Propaganda gems by general classes (Civil War c. 70-44 BC)

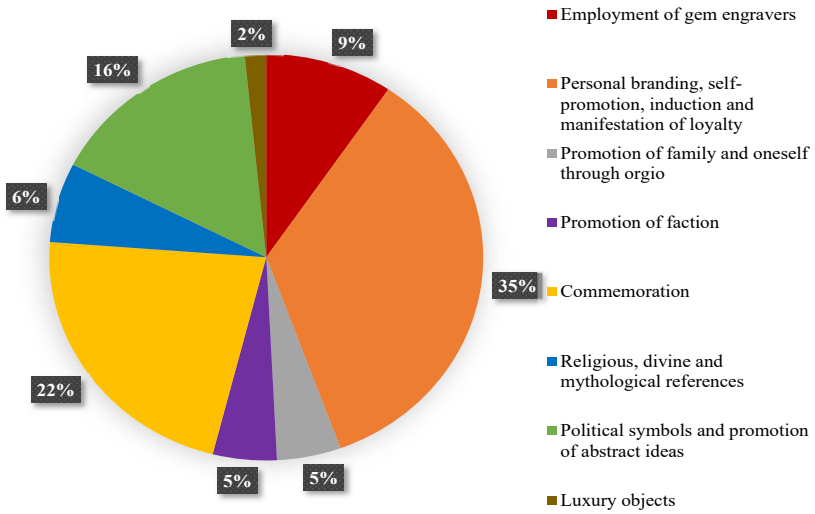


Chart 18: Propaganda gems by general classes (Julius Caesar)

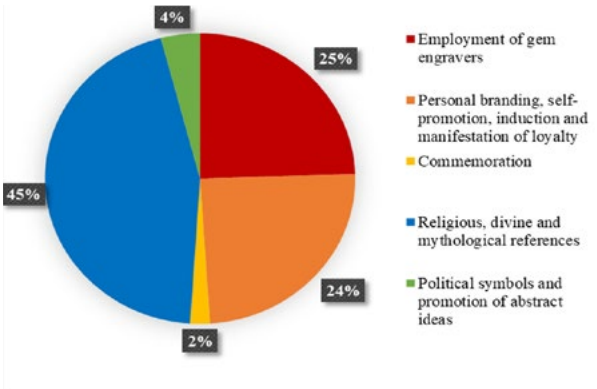


Chart 19: Propaganda gems by general classes (Pompey the Great)

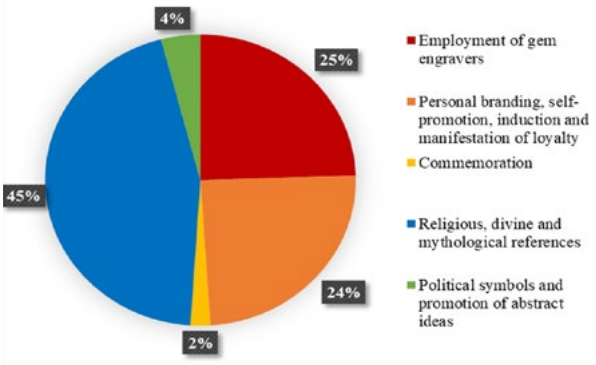


Chart 20: Propaganda gems by general classes (other politicians and women)

gems possibly relating to politics soared and similar results have not been reached since (cf. Chart 2). People's commitment to politics and social activities reached its peak and the high number of competing factions contributed to the extremely high number of propaganda gems produced in those days (cf. Chart 6), however, it must be stated that this production was almost all due to a single figure – Octavian. As Chart 3 illustrates, his employment of glyptics for political purposes was the most significant in the period covered by the research and Chart 6 shows that he was responsible for astonishing 72% of the propaganda gems produced from 44 BC to 27 BC in total. Chart 21 displays the immense discrepancy between Octavian and his peers in nearly all the thematic classes distinguished. Furthermore, Octavian's considerable production was the only moment when the production of cheap glass gems advertising a political agenda dominated over gemstone intaglios (cf. Charts 7-8) and one observes the first meaningful application of cameos (either regular and glass ones) for political purposes as well (cf. Chart 9). This situation may be due to various reasons. First of all, Octavian was clearly the most keen user of glyptics for political purposes in general because his propaganda covered every art form. Secondly, the high number of propaganda gems connected with him suggests good access to organised workshops and a good number of individual artists producing intaglios and cameos. As discussed in the previous chapter, there is some evidence for claiming that such workshops were located in Rome and Central Italy, and perhaps Campanian cities were of some importance too. It is noteworthy that the results of the research carried out for this book confirm this and politics seems to be one of the main reasons why there is such an increase in gem production in the second half of the 1st century BC in general. It is tempting to suggest that since Octavian resided for most of the time in Italy and more specifically Rome controlling the western part of the Roman Empire, he had a good access to workshops producing gems in Italy and he stimulated their work, especially where cheap glass intaglios and cameos are concerned. None of his peers had such influence and for a comparison, while there are 54 gemstone intaglios and one cameo in total that one may perhaps relate to the faction of the Pompeians, only 8 glass gems are likely to be linked with their promotional activities (cf. Charts 7-8). Similarly, the Republicans get 27 gemstone intaglios and one cameo and 12 glass gems, while Mark Antony has a ratio of 42 gemstone intaglios and 5 cameos to 32 glass gems (cf. Chart 9). Sextus Pompey certainly had limited access to Italy and therefore, he probably based his production on the local engravers available in Sicily. Similarly, the Republicans probably used the services of local gem engravers in Asia Minor and the East Mediterranean, though when they come back to Italy, the production of gems for their followers might have considerably increased. Regarding Mark Antony, it is impossible to say how many gems relating to him were produced when he was still in Italy and which part of the whole production was created in Alexandria. If one adds to this a possibility that supporters of each faction probably also engaged in the production of propaganda gems commissioning, for instance, intaglios bearing portraits of their patrons, the result is a considerable puzzle and no definitive locations for gem workshops can be established. Nevertheless, some general observations can be made and as suggested above, based on the fact that there is such significant production of gems probably relating to Octavian's politics, it seems they were produced mainly in Rome and Central Italy and the workshops of glass gems are likely to have been located in this area rather than, for instance in Sicily, as there is a shortage of propaganda gems produced by Sextus Pompey who controlled Sicily at the time.

The outstanding efforts of Octavian in terms of propaganda reflected on gems are best illustrated by Chart 21. The products relating to him and his politics are well represented in all categories distinguished. Noteworthy is the large number of intaglios bearing his portrait (either alone or in combination with rich symbolism) which indicates his efforts to became more recognisable among the people of Rome as well as the integration of the followers of Julius Caesar into his faction. This is also confirmed by the high number of gems relating to the issue called here 'use of heritage'. The display of a strong connection with his predecessor was one of the key-points of Octavian's propaganda in general reflected not only in glyptics but also other media (cf. chapters 13.5-13.7 and Chart 24). Similarly to Julius Caesar, Octavian used the widest range of possible themes suitable for intaglios and cameos including the promotion of his divine ancestors - Venus and Caesar (cf. Chart 24). Gems proved particularly helpful in spreading the news of Octavian's greatest victory at Actium, but other successes were also well celebrated in glyptics (19% - Chart 24). He also made numerous allusions and references to his divine patrons (14%) but most importantly, nearly a quarter of all the gems that can be linked to his politics are those reflecting his political programme in the form of symbolic constellations (Chart 24). This substantial share proves that either directly or indirectly Octavian influenced the contemporary glyptic production in general.

Concerning the Pompeians, it is clear that their propaganda efforts in terms of glyptics were limited when compared to Octavian. They mainly focused on personal branding and a good portion of the material one relates to this faction could have been manufactured in a single

specific period of time also include gems produced between 31-27 BC as a part of the celebrations of the Battle of Actium for which exact dates cannot be properly established.

well-organised workshop (cf. chapters 9.1.2 and 9.1.3 and Charts 21-22). It is noteworthy that like Octavian, Sextus was quite successful in his use of heritage by the application of the legend of his father elevated to divine status (6% - cf. Chart 22). There are vague indicators that the Pompeians' political programme was reflected on gems too, but its scale was marginal and probably not very successful (5% - cf. Chart 22).

As for the Republicans, they probably used the services of gem engravers (2% - cf. Chart 23), but the majority of gems one links to them are those related to personal branding, self-promotion, induction and manifestation of loyalty (89% - cf. Chart 23). Interestingly, even though the Republicans remained active only for 2 years after Julius Caesar's death, the number of gems related to them is relatively high. This is most likely not due to their own input, but to their followers who commissioned such a large number of gems with the heads of Marcus Iunius Brutus and Quintus Cassius Longinus. This is indicated by the fact that the probable origin of these gems one would is Italy rather than Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean (cf. Maps 32-34). What is more, themes other than portraits are insignificant (cf. Chart 23). This shows how rapidly glyptics reacted to the ongoing political changes but on the other hand, it makes one aware that without firm and unambiguous evidence for the politicians' own engagement in the production of propaganda gems (the lack of information on their personal seals or on their possible employment of gem engravers), the archaeological material itself might be misleading and does not by itself confirm their direct input.

Regarding Mark Antony, his employment of gem engravers is certainly due to the favourable conditions provided by Alexandria and the Ptolemaic court of Cleopatra VII which was supportive of glyptic art for centuries. Hence, so many products of Sostratos can be linked with this politician (8% - Chart 25). The number of portrait gems is comparable to that commemorating Antony's successes (27% and 25% respectively – Chart 25), but there is a frequent use of his family legend and deriving his ancestry from Anton and Heracles (18% - Chart 25). The gems addressing religious and divine references are the effects of Antony's late identification with *Neos Dionysus* (13%) to which one adds 4% of symbolic intaglios (cf. Chart 25).

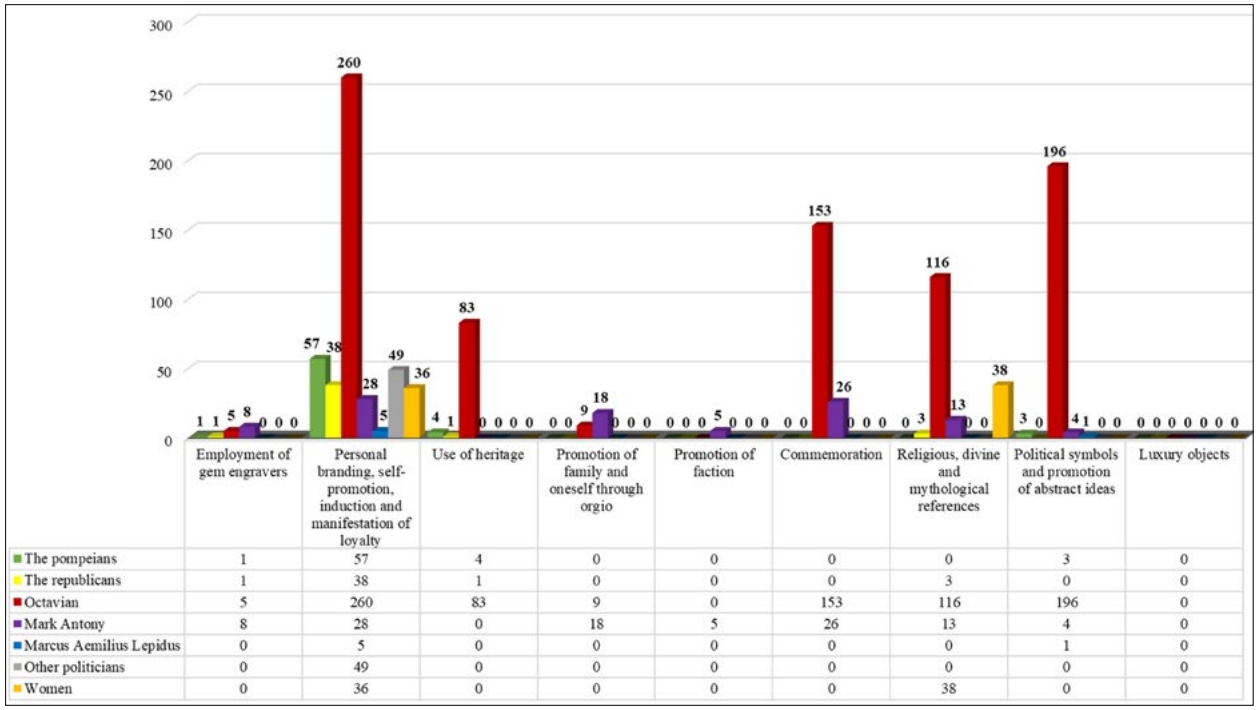
The third triumvir – Marcus Aemilius Lepidus – is linked with an insignificant number of gems among which portraits clearly dominate (cf. Charts 21 and 26). The less significant politicians were not as successful in their promotional practices in glyptics as before and the only category they contribute is personal branding and self-promotion (cf. Charts 21 and 27). Women constitute a new and distinctive group but the gems bearing their images, either human or deified, are highly problematic (cf. Charts 21 and 28). This is because of considerable problems with their identifications which can only rarely be unquestionably determined. Still, it seems that the vast majority belong to the figures related to Octavian and in fact, they should be accounted for his promotional practices rather than being independent. The only exception might be Cleopatra VII, but in her case, the evidence is too scanty for us to draw any meaningful conclusions (cf. the discussion in chapter 9.5).

In 27 BC Octavian became Augustus, the first emperor of Rome, which opened a completely new chapter in the production of gems relating to politics. The first thing to notice is that the production of such objects remained at almost the same level during the reign of Augustus as compared to the period of time when he was contending for sole rule (cf. Charts 2-3). The new circumstances still required considerable effort and investment and glyptics was no exception, but there is a marked decline in the production of glass intaglios (cf. Charts 7-8). Instead, one observes an unprecedented number of cameos, mainly made of hardstone, but the glass ones also saw a considerable increase (cf. Chart 9). We can conclude that with the establishment of Augustus' sole rule there was a significant increase in the quality of propaganda gems.

Furthermore, one observes a shift in thematic trends as well. While portrait gems and those relating to the promotion of a bond with Julius Caesar previously dominated (cf. above), now promotion of family, commemoration, religious, divine and mythological references as well as symbolic gems reflecting the political and cultural programme of Augustus are the most significant (cf. Charts 10 and 29). This is because glyptics mirrors the basic changes in Augustus' ideology. The uniformity of Roman society was one of the most important issues now and so was the firm establishment of the secular and more importantly the divine rights of the emperor to rule Rome. Finally, it was tremendously important to secure the succession, therefore, the promotion of Julio-Claudian family members became an important issue as well (cf. discussions in chapters 10.6-8, 10.10, 13.8, 13.11-12).

At the same time, there was continuity in the of employment of gem engravers. In fact, there is enough archaeological and literary evidence for the claim that Augustus organised an imperial court workshop lead by Dioscurides and his sons (cf. chapter 10.2). Since only a tiny proportion of their works are signed, the statistics cannot reflect their actual input into the production of propaganda gems (just 1% - Chart 29). Nevertheless, it is very possible that the considerable increase of cameos is mostly an effect of the activity of this workshop (cf. Chart 9). Dioscurides, his sons and their co-workers must also have been responsible for a substantial proportion of Augustus' portrait gems, the ones promoting members of Julio-Claudian family, the State

Cameos commemorating Augustus' successes, as well as those comparing and identifying him with deities, and luxurious vessels, which were never manufactured before (cf. Chart 29). Glyptics like any other branch of art was suitable for transferring Augustus' ideology in the best, most luxurious way possible, therefore, it was much in use even after the political rivalry in Rome that ceased in about 31-27 BC.



	Employment of gem engravers	Personal branding, self-promotion, induction and manifestation of loyalty	Use of heritage	Promotion of family and oneself through orgio	Promotion of faction	Commemoration	Religious, divine and mythological references	Political symbols and promotion of abstract ideas	Luxury objects
The pompeians	1	57	4	0	0	0	0	3	0
The republicans	1	38	1	0	0	0	3	0	0
Octavian	5	260	83	9	0	153	116	196	0
Mark Antony	8	28	0	18	5	26	13	4	0
Marcus Aemilius Lepidus	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Other politicians	0	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Women	0	36	0	0	0	0	38	0	0

Chart 21: Propaganda gems by general classes (Post-Caesarian and Liberators' Civil Wars (44-27 BC)

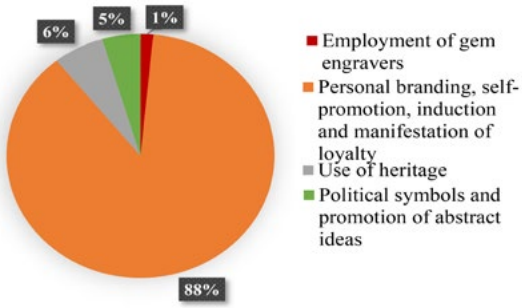


Chart 22: Propaganda gems by general classes (The Pompeians)

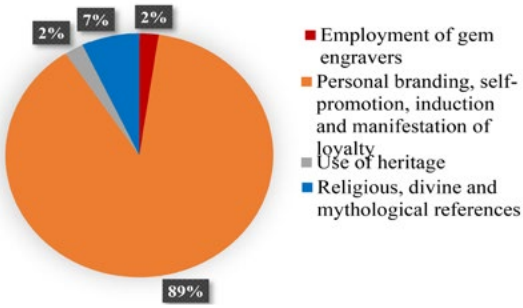


Chart 23: Propaganda gems by general classes (The Republicans)

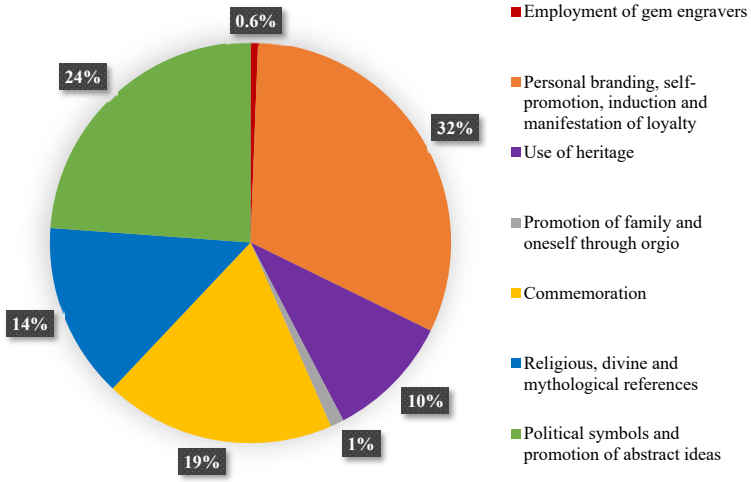


Chart 24: Propaganda gems by general classes (Octavian)

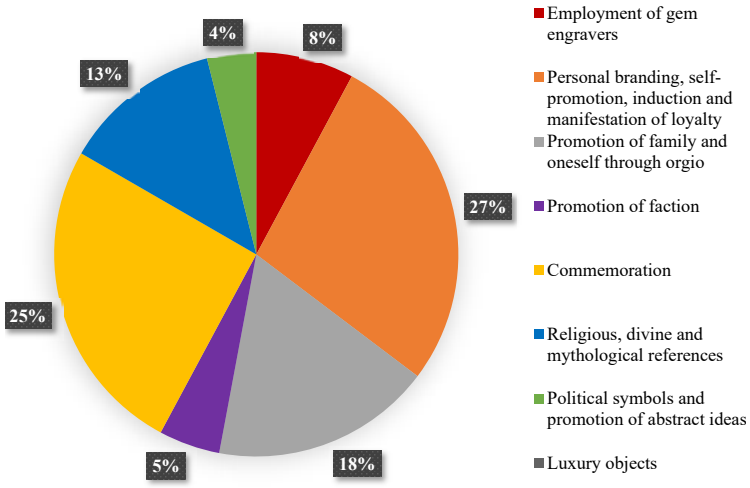


Chart 25: Propaganda gems by general classes (Mark Antony)

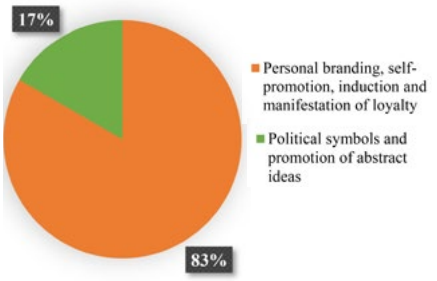


Chart 26: Propaganda gems by general classes
(Marcus Aemilius Lepidus)



Chart 27: Propaganda gems by general classes
(other politicians – 44-27 BC)

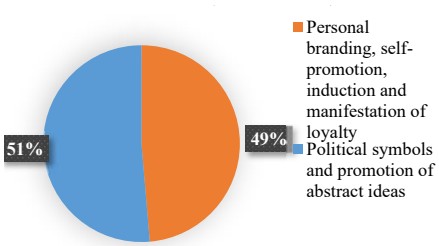


Chart 28: Propaganda gems by general classes (women – 44-27 BC)

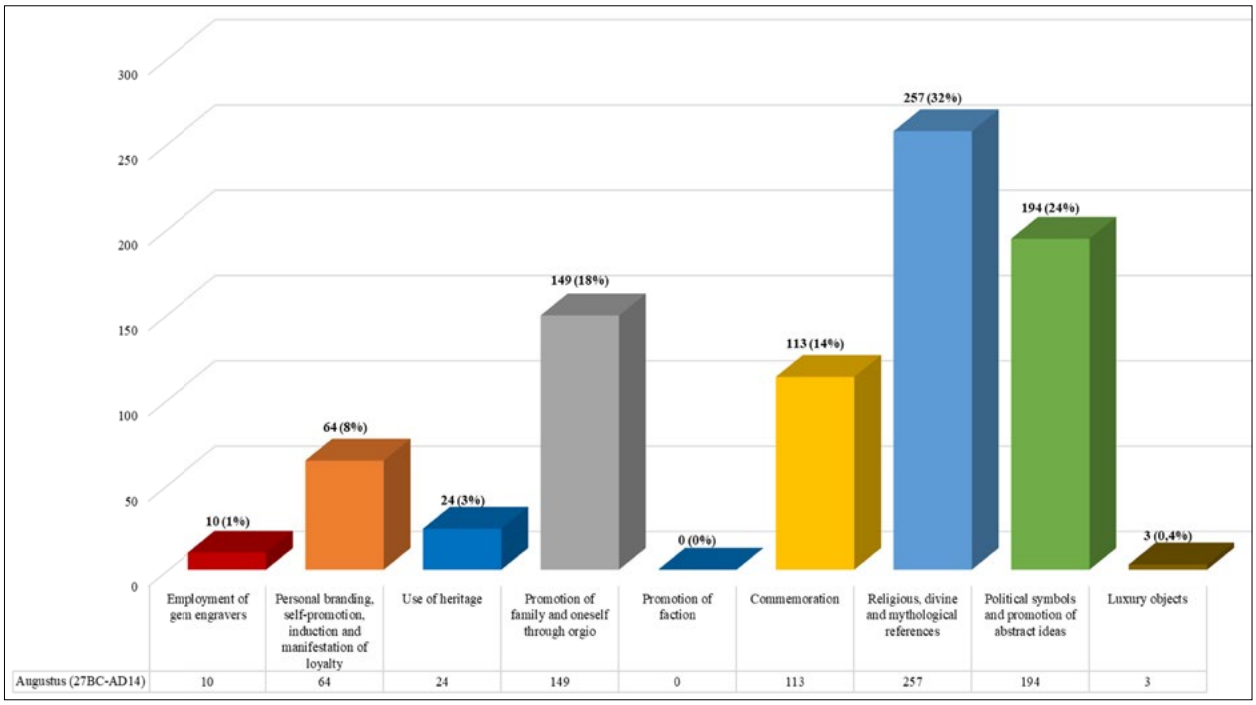


Chart 29: Propaganda gems by general classes (Augustus 27BC-AD14)

13. Summary and conclusions: the significance of engraved gems in Roman self-presentation and propaganda

Despite scepticism articulated by some scholars regarding the creation of an overall view of Roman art and therefore, Roman propaganda, there are a number of activities that should undoubtedly be described as propagandistic when applied to Roman art.[1] In this section I would like to draw conclusions as to the areas in which engraved gems played a significant or supplementary role in Roman propaganda. Even though many propaganda activities are reflected in varied media, it is clear that some were exclusively performed using engraved gems which gave the gems a very special cultural and political significance. There are also areas where gems were merely supplementary to coins or sculpture, therefore, a comparison between gems and other categories of Roman art is made throughout the whole book and especially here. Although the book primarily deals with engraved gems, it is essential to make such comparisons because some mechanisms were universal to all branches of Roman art and identifying these helps to prove gems' usefulness for propaganda activities. Finally, according to the evidence presented in the third part of the book, there are also areas in which intaglios and cameos are traditionally considered as propaganda, but in fact it is highly difficult to prove that they had any propagandistic value at all. It is my intention to present the conclusions as a sort of content clamp interconnected with chapter 5.1 where I suggested some areas where gems were anticipated to play major or minor roles in Roman propaganda.

One of the most important conclusions of this book is that the use of engraved gems for political and social purposes evolved over time. It has been explained in chapter 6 that intaglios became an attractive means of propaganda and self-advertisement because of their natural capacity for self-presentation as well as highlighting social status. In the 3rd and 2nd century BC gems were markers of identity not only as private seals but most importantly due to their encapsulation of ideas, virtues and other self-oriented issues that were very private but were publicly expressed with their help. This combined with other applications of intaglios and cameos observed first by the Roman conquerors of the East and then employed for their personal use raised their social status considerably so that in the early 1st century BC the private seals of the political leaders in Rome are always described by ancient writers as transmitting powerful propaganda messages (cf. chapter 7). This evolution is similar to the one observed in regard to rings and their status within Roman society. It is noticeable that there was an increase in the value of the material the rings were made from, from iron through bronze and silver down to gold in the period of the 3rd to 1st centuries BC.[2] It is not a coincidence that the higher the status of the ring in Roman culture, the more important was the image engraved upon a gem set into it. It could even be suggested that because of the increasingly important gem images, the status of the rings themselves was raised as exceptional messages and designs required better settings.[3] It seems then that gems were predestined to be a means of propaganda and, as has been consistently suggested in this study, their evolutionary usefulness for propaganda purposes is, to some degree, comparable with that of coins, especially until the mid-1st century BC (cf. chapters 6-8).[4] From then, many categories of intaglios and cameos are supplementary to other branches of Roman art and craftsmanship (including coinage), but some very specific objects (for instance the State Cameos) start to be created around 44 BC and they offer completely new areas for propaganda and self-presentation for Roman political leaders to explore (cf. chapters 9-10). Ultimately, under Augustus, engraved gems became a vital part of the emperor's propaganda machinery fitting particularly well to the new imperial policy and being helpful in giving the imperial court a highly distinctive social status as well as promoting successors to the throne and the imperial family itself alongside the values and ideas connected to them.

13.1. Use of gems in triumphs

Engraved gems played a significant role in triumphs, as stated by ancient authors. Already Ptolemy II exhibited gems, vessels made of precious stones and other objects incrusted with them in his famous procession in honour of Dionysus in the early 3rd century BC.[5] Regarding Rome, Marius took the risk and paraded with

[1] While for instance Hannestad even calls all Roman art propaganda (1988: 9) and Fulińska remarks that many other authors regard Augustan art as propaganda and Augustan propaganda as art (2017: 62), usually scholars are more cautious like Zanker, who says that it was the new cultural programme introduced by Augustus which required a new visual language that is often called propaganda (1988: 12-13) or Hölscher, who notices that one cannot create a holistic image of Roman art (2011: 11), but states that the idea and content are always supreme over the style and technique which allows us to draw the conclusion that art served politics well (2011: 50) and consequently, because of that there is such a unity in Roman art in the times of Augustus (2011: 77-79).

[2] Fourlas 1971: 76-77; Hawley 2007.

[3] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 215.

[4] Fourlas 1971: 82; Henig 1994.

[5] Lapatin 2015: 117.

a gold ring probably inset with an engraved gem during his triumph which was in his case counterproductive (cf. chapter 7.2.1). As Pliny the Elder informs us, a vast collection of gems was displayed by Pompey the Great during his third triumph in 61 BC.[6] Even though Pliny criticises Pompey for ostentatiously parading with precious stones, as discussed in chapter 8.1.1, this was probably the general's intention.[7] Pompey was the first to introduce a general taste for pearls and precious stones to Rome which is confirmed by the relatively high number of gems featuring his own portrait made either on his own commission or those of his followers (cf. chapter 8.1.5). The most important thing, however, about Pompey's gem display during his triumph is that the cups like the gems were consecrated in the Temple of Jupiter. As discussed, this precedent had powerful propaganda resonance since it was a manifestation of Pompey's *pietas erga deos*. Pompey as a propagandist did not keep his treasures only for himself, but he made them public objects, at least in the eyes of ordinary people. He fulfilled his duty towards Rome and showed his *pietas erga patriam* that way too. Furthermore, he appeared as a mediator between the people and the gods. Besides, it is noteworthy that as Pliny states, this circumstance soon brought gems into private use and intaglios as well as the *murrhine* vessels were soon in great demand.[8] Everyone wanted to be like Pompey with access to these popular objects which is an excellent illustration of the success of his propaganda. Although, I have found very little direct proof for Pompey distributing gems to the spectators during the triumph, it cannot be excluded that a special issue was created to commemorate this event (cf. chapter 8.1.1).[9] In any case, even the exhibition of gems must have been impressive since Pliny recorded this event in his book as a milestone for the mass production of engraved gems in Rome.[10] Unfortunately, there is no direct testimony for the use of gems during other triumphs until imperial times. It is assumed that after Pompey, other politicians exhibited them just like any other *spolia* of war, works of art and precious objects. Perhaps Julius Caesar, who as Pliny states, followed the example of Pompey and offered his *dactyliothecae* to the Temple of Venus Genetrix, first exhibited them, for instance in 46 BC, during his triumph. Noteworthy is the fact that Marcellus dedicated his cabinet of engraved gems to the Temple of Apollo Palatine which could be somehow related to Augustus' triple triumph in 29 BC. In the Imperial era, gems were abundantly used during triumphs up to the 3rd century AD. In AD 71 they made the triumph of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian over Judea exceptionally colourful and appealing and the same was the case when Aurelian celebrated his victory over Palmyra in the 3rd century AD.[11]

13.2. Collecting

As discussed in chapters 6.2.3, 8.1.2, 8.2.1, 8.3.1, 9.3.2.1 and 10.1, engraved gems constituted a part of the art collecting phenomenon in antiquity. Some scholars suppose that collectors of intaglios and cameos were active in Rome already in the 2nd century BC,[12] but as proved above, the most prominent Romans used to collect engraved gems in considerable quantities only in the 1st century BC. The first was said to have been Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, praetor in 56 BC and Sulla's stepson.[13] He was a proquestor in Syria between 65 and 61 BC where he might have accessed a number of Hellenistic gems.[14] Pompey the Great once visited the East and conquered much of it becoming a keen collector of engraved gems mostly due to his acquisition of the *dactyliotheca* of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus (cf. chapter 8.1.2).[15] As one can see, the tradition of collecting gems had been borrowed by the Romans from the Greeks (cf. chapter 6.2.3).[16] Similarly to the Greeks, the Romans deposited single objects as well as whole assemblages in the temples. Livia was said to have offered the so-called ring of Polycrates to the Temple of Concord (cf. chapter 10.1),[17] while Pompey the Great offered his collection in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill (cf. chapter 8.1.2).[18] Julius Caesar followed his example and dedicated his six *dactyliothecae* in the Temple of Venus Genetrix (cf. chapter 8.2.1)[19] and Marcellus, Caesar's nephew, consecrated his cabinet of engraved gems in the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill, which perhaps was a deliberate action linked to his promotion as the future successor of Augustus (cf. chapter 10.1).[20] Such acts were powerful and deliberate propaganda actions.[21] The propagandist did not keep his treasures only for himself, but he made them public objects, at least in the eyes of ordinary people. Moreover, by doing this he appeared as a connector between them and the gods. An offering made of such valuable objects was an important act for the good of everyone. Of course, today one may only guess that, but making a deposit of gems in a temple probably did not mean the collection would not be untouched anymore. Its founder might have used it once there was

[6] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.6.
[7] See also a valuable commentary and similar conclusions in: Isager 1991: 212-229.
[8] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.7.
[9] Such a possibility has been proposed by Vollenweider (1955: 103). See also: Kopij 2017: 255.
[10] Casagrade-Kim 2018: 104.
[11] Casagrade-Kim 2018: 102-103.
[12] Tees 1993: 29.
[13] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.5.
[14] Lapatin 2015: 117-118; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 108-109.
[15] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.11. About Mithridates' collection, see: Appian, *Mithridatica*, 115.
[16] Möbius 1964: 14; Plantzos 1999: 9; Vollenweider 1966: 53.
[17] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.8; Lapatin 2015: 110; Planztos 1999: 108.
[18] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.11.
[19] Suetonius *Julius Caesar*, 47.
[20] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.11-12.
[21] Zazoff 1983: 329.

a need, especially a military threat from barbarians. An example from outside the chronological framework of this book is Marcus Aurelius, who auctioned off furnishings from the imperial palaces, jewels, *murrhine* vessels and other things to raise funds for his military campaign in AD 168[22]

It has been proved that some collectors were very much into their collectibles and focused not only on the objects' value but studied them like Juba II and Maecenas.[23] Juba II was believed to have written a manuscript on engraved gems. There seems to be enough evidence to claim that the King of Mauretania was an explorer and geographer who used to compile his knowledge in writing and Pliny the Elder mentions him as one of the authors he quoted while writing his *Historia Naturalis* book 37 devoted to gemstones.[24] The fact that a ruler or any other highly born belonged to a learned society might have brought positive associations with his figure. His authority must have risen especially among the elites, hence, collecting and studying were noble practices useful for propagandists. Besides, by doing this, Juba II tried to imitate imperial court practices where the best glyptic artworks (like the *Gemma Augustea*) were treasured (cf. chapters 6.2.3 and 8.3.1).

Another question concerns the production of gems for collecting purposes (cf. chapter 11).[25] There seem to be no arguments contradicting the claim that some cameos and intaglios were crafted for specific collectors, perhaps even on their commissions that may have been related to the commemoration of special events such as the celebration of a military victory, political pact, triumph and so forth. Glass gems are especially appealing for such a theory. Furtwängler claimed that glass gems were not produced for collecting purposes.[26] A contradictory view has been presented by Maderna-Lauter and Ritter.[27] It seems evident that not a high number, but still, some ancient glass intaglios and cameos repeat the subjects or sometimes even copy the very famous gems, notably those signed by illustrious engravers.[28] Perhaps then, collectors wanted to possess a piece due to its subject, artistic virtuosity, signature or any other reason, but they could not afford to commission it in a workshop of a famous engraver. Therefore, they bought copies in cheap glass. However, whole series of glass gems bearing the same subjects as the hardstone ones relating to the social and political affairs were manufactured for collectors too. This is evident from the recently studied small but exceptional collection of bronze rings set with glass gems, some of which clearly related to political affairs enabling us to identify their possessor as a legionary supporting Octavian. From this one learns that not only statesmen and aristocracy but even ordinary citizens and legionaries participated in the 'gem craze' of the 1st century BC. Moreover, this precious evidence makes it clear that gems carved in hardstones or moulded in glass with subjects identified in this book as propagandistic were attractive to everyone at the time, even legionaries, and the connection of their subject-matter with political affairs was one of the main reasons for their production. In other words, the considerable engagement of all social strata in politics resulted in the production of luxury goods and their imitations that were given political sense contributing to the spread of propagandistic communications (according to my research the most evident seems those emitted by Octavian/Augustus, cf. chapter 12) irrespective of the efforts of the propagandists themselves. This means that gems largely contributed to the spread of official propaganda even if most of them were produced by independent workshops. Furthermore, they confirm that propaganda campaigns carried out by top statesmen like Sextus Pompey or Octavian/Augustus were successful since their followers spontaneously replicated the messages encoded on them.

Regarding collections belonging to the most prominent Roman politicians, one wonders what propagandistic value they might have had. If they were not displayed publicly and kept in the treasuries, their impact on people as a whole was negligible. However, gems were luxury goods and if more than the best cameos and intaglios were indeed in the possession of the imperial family or any other wealthy people, they probably indirectly impressed many by the mere fact of their existence and directly only a highly selective group of people like the main generals, advisors and friends who could see and appreciate them in the imperial palaces.[29] Simple possession of such objects added much value and authority to the propagandist and furthermore sharing and exchanging them with the people from the inner circle could be regarded as an extraordinary honour and thus was a powerful propaganda action. On the other hand, the most prominent cabinets of gems were consecrated in the temples which affected many people as they were displayed in public places.

13.3. Employment of gem engravers

Employment of gem engravers by leading Roman politicians is well attested both in the archaeological material that survives to the present as well as the

[22] Historia Augusta, *Marcus*, 17.4-5.
[23] Macrobius 2.4; Boardman 1968: 23 and 27; Lapatin 2015: 109.
[24] Plantzos 1999: 10; Thoresen 2017: 163.
[25] Casagrade-Kim 2018: 105; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 442; Möbius 1964: 14.
[26] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 220.
[27] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 442; Ritter 1995: 101.
[28] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 365.
[29] Gross 2008: 19.

ancient literary sources.[30] Both have been carefully studied and discussed in this book. Even though the careers of individual artists have been more or less accurately reconstructed first, by Stosch, then by Furtwängler and most importantly by Vollenweider, Zwierlein-Diehl and Plantzos,[31] here, I focused more on their potential relationships with their patrons – specific historical figures like Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar or Augustus. While there is a lot of discussion on individual cases in many chapters (cf. 6.2.2, 7.1.2, 8.1.3, 8.2.2, 9.1.2, 9.2.1, 9.3.1.2, 9.3.2.2 and 10.2), the ultimate conclusion is that the employment of a distinguished artist by a Roman politician was a serious and always beneficial act of propaganda.[32] It was beneficial for the artist to be under the patronage of an illustrious politician as such a situation considerably boosted his career and ensured new commissions.[33] Secondly, a politician also benefited enormously for his patronage over the art of gem engraving made him exceptional in the eyes of his peers and worth following by his supporters. The tradition of political patronage over gem engravers was transplanted by the first Roman conquerors of the East from Hellenistic prototypes by the 2nd century BC (cf. chapter 6.2.2).

Moreover, as in the case of Sextus Pompey (cf. chapter 9.1.2) and especially Augustus (cf. chapter 10.2), the organisation of a workshop producing gems which transmitted official political messages helped to popularise specific ideas among the common people. As argued in chapter 11, there are proofs for the existence of a quite a number of gem workshops, the biggest ones possibly concentrated in Italy, but the smaller and mobile ones were scattered across the whole empire, nevertheless, there is little direct evidence for linking them with specific political figures. Using statistical analysis (cf. chapter 12), it can be only suggested that the person who controlled Rome and more broadly Italy may have influenced the production of engraved gems in the 1st century BC. This agrees with our main observations on Augustan glyptics which is clearly based on some universal issues promoted by the *princeps* and therefore, it presents a model as unified as other branches of Roman art. This view is based on the Crocian theory of history of art – art and artists were always influenced or even shaped by political and social impulses and events. This means that often artists were commissioned to execute works of art and while they chose subjects and operated within their particular styles, they must have expressed the idea someone else (politician, ruler, commissioner) told them to express.[34] This seems very true in the times of Augustus, but interestingly, the first signs of it in glyptics are noticeable as early as the early 1st century BC when Sulla told an anonymous gem engraver to prepare his first private seal featuring the defeat of Jugurtha. However, it remains an unsolved issue to what degree the political leaders of Rome directly influenced the production of common gems having possibly some political references because many of them, especially those bearing configurations of political symbols could have been inspired by coinage, architecture, sculpture and so on. It remains difficult if not impossible to assess the politicians' input into the creation of universal glyptic trends, but even if not directly inspired, gems of the 1st century BC are definitely heavily influenced by current political affairs.

13.4. Seals

There are few objects that can tell us more about personal relationships between the propagandists and their supporters and followers than the official seals of Roman Republican political leaders. First of all, intaglios used as seals often confirmed and illustrated someone's authority as in the case of Tiberius Gracchus who sealed the doors of the Temple of Saturn with his personal signet ring in order to be sure that money does not come in and out without his permission,[35] or Pompey the Great who by putting his seal on the swords of his soldiers prevented their further quarrels (cf. chapter 8.1.4).[36] In chapter 5.1.4, I have shown that engraved gems functioning as seals were also used to communicate political manifestos for thousands of years. In many respects their employment in the Roman world is similar to that of the Greeks. Greek poleis and their rulers used official or state seals already in the Classical period.[37] They were often state symbols representing the office itself and indicated the authority of the position they represented.[38] In the Hellenistic period, seals were officially passed by rulers to their successors which can be classified as a propagandistic act of transfer of authority. For instance, Alexander the Great gave his personal ring to Perdikkas.[39] Similarly, Augustus while seriously ill gave his ring to Agrippa,[40] and Tiberius was about to grant his successor his ring, but ultimately hesitated to do that (cf. chapter 10.3).[41] The case of young Lucius Scipio mentioned here many times clearly illustrates how serious the Romans were about their signet rings

[30] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4. See also a commentary to this issue in: Plantzos 1999: 9-11.
[31] Furtwängler 1900; Plantzos 1999; Stosch 1724; Vollenweider 1966; Zwierlein-Diehl and 1988, 1990 and 2007.
[32] Platt 2006: 243-244. See also the opinion of Lapatin on the significance of signed gems in antiquity and in the course of the 1st century BC, the Romans tended to increase the number of rings they were using (2015: 116 and 122).
[33] Platt 2006: 233-234.
[34] Binachi Bandinelli 1988: 151-152.
[35] Plutarch, *Life of Tiberius Gracchus*, 10.6.
[36] Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 10.7.
[37] Boardman 2001: 448.
[38] Plantzos 1999: 21.
[39] Plantzos 1999: 22.
[40] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 53.30.
[41] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 73.2.

(cf. chapter 6.3.1). I have presented ample evidence for the most prominent Roman politicians designing their official seals so that they manifested their political messages (cf. chapters 7.1.1, 8.1.4, 8.2.3, 9.3.1.3 and 10.3). But the most important conclusion is that seals, due to their strictly private character could be bolder with propaganda messages than any other medium of propaganda. It is noteworthy that portraits of living persons appear on gems much earlier than on coins and there is a whole array of subjects one might think unsuitable to be openly propagated in the public sphere with the use of sculpture, architecture or coinage, but they were successfully promoted in glyptics.[42]

Apart from this, it should be kept in mind that a traditional and obvious message transmitted by a person in possession of a meaningful seal would be that he holds a public office or enjoys specific privileges due to his exceptional position within society. The material of the seal stone and its setting type definitely mattered and if worn in public, fully visible on a finger as a personal adornment, the message encoded to the image engraved upon it would be even more powerful. It is not a coincidence that Augustus' final seal was cut by the best gem engraver of the time – Dioscurides - and one supposes the other personal seals communicated in the literary sources were products of the top artists too. Furthermore, the message encoded would still be transmitted even if the gem device had ceased to be used for sealing purposes because the symbolic function or value of the object itself would have remained unaffected. This important point separates engraved gems from other types of personal jewellery, such as earrings or necklaces or unengraved rings.[43] What is more, according to the presented evidence, it is clear that the symbolic value of engraved gems was rapidly growing as time passed so that in the last third of the 1st century BC, this function probably dominated over the utilitarian one. For this reason, not only outstanding State Cameos, but even regular intaglios were successful in promoting Augustus' ideology and cultural programme.

One more observation on gems functioning as seals are finds of sealings bearing portraits of Roman politicians across the Mediterranean basin. There must have been some seals that enabled clerks and authorities in the Roman provinces to act on the behalf of a ruler or patron. There was no better method to confirm such a transfer than using a seal since it was considered the only reliable sign of authorisation and identification.[44] Pliny informs us about a situation during the Civil War, when Augustus allowed Maecenas and Agrippa to use one of his official seals bearing a sphinx in his absence.[45] For the Hellenistic period, there are known vast collections of sealings found in the archives; their analysis suggests that seals engraved with portraits of rulers were used by officials and clerks acting in their name.[46] I believe the same phenomenon occurred within the Roman Republic and Empire, but seals with portraits could be also used to raise the authority of a local governor. For him, having a portrait of an important Roman politician or general on his seal could be beneficial since his people would see that he was connected with a powerful individual in Rome. Such situations were mutually beneficial because the propagandist was reassured about the loyalty of his supporter and his image was being spread across the Mediterranean basin and beyond, while his supporter in a province benefited from the authority of his patron.

13.5. Personal branding and self-promotion

It has been repeatedly highlighted throughout the study that engraved gems, and especially cameos testified to the exceptional social status of their possessors. As Pliny states, they gave *auctoritas maxima* and because of that, many politicians vigorously promoted themselves by putting their own images on intaglios and cameos.[47] Although it was not highly recommended, it is evident that by the end of the 1st century BC many Romans carried more than just one finger ring probably in order to increase the impact they made on their peers.[48] The portrait gems seem to be particularly popular. According to the research on this kind of gem produced in the Roman Republic and under Augustus presented in the third part of the book, the answer to the question of whether or not engraved gems were engaged in personal branding and self-presentation activities is positive. As Henig states, one did not depict the portrait of an ancestor, or a philosopher or a god by chance.[49] Portraits whether official or private did not just appear randomly, but they meant something, usually self-glorification, popularisation of a politician (by dissemination of his image), transfer of authority (if the person depicted was an ancestor of the gem's sitter) and, most importantly, a relationship with the patron. It seems natural to use one's own portrait for a seal as a sort of signature but in fact the employment of portraits in Roman glyptics is a vastly complex phenomenon.[50] According to the study conducted here, it can be fairly stated that portrait gems from the Roman

[42] Henig also notices this fundamental difference (2007: 61) and regarding Hellenistic portrait gems, Plantzos observes that their images are less official than those known from coins (1999: 62-63) which is true for Roman Republican and Augustan portrait gems too.
[43] Hansson 2005: 127; Lang 2012: 102-105.
[44] Platt 2006: 234.
[45] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.4.
[46] Plantzos 1999: 22.
[47] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.23 and 85. See also commentary to this issue in: Sena Chiesa 2009: 83-85.
[48] Lapatin 2015: 116; Plantzos 1999: 112.
[49] Henig 1994: 152 and 157.
[50] Lapatin 2015: 113-114; Plantzos 1999: 19; Tosos 2007: 16; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 13.

Republican and Augustan periods in many instances functioned very much like coins, sculpture and other branches of Roman art in terms of propaganda and their propagandistic value is comparable.

First of all, in the Roman Republic just wearing a ring inlaid with an engraved gem was considered as evidence of power and high social status.[51] As Henig writes, the signet-gem was the only mark of distinction a Roman could use and parading with other luxurious adornments was excessive and open to criticism.[52] Due to this fact, the gradual introduction of exceptional self-portraits by Roman generals and conquerors of the East must be viewed as an increase of the value of these objects (only exceptional individuals could afford the pieces created by the best artists available) which were meant to make even greater impression on the viewers – most likely their peers. A quick comparison between the portrait gems described in chapter 6.2.1 (Hellenistic tradition) and 6.3.2 (Italic-Roman tradition) makes one instantly aware that the idea of employment portrait gems for propaganda and self-presentation originates from the East. It is a generally accepted view that the Romans imitated Hellenistic rulers in their use of gems with portraits for personal propaganda.[53] As Plantzos observes, the majority of portraits from Hellenistic gems are less official than those on coins and the same can be said about their early Roman equivalents.[54] Since intaglios and cameos were regarded as strictly private objects, there were fewer official limitations regarding self-images. Therefore, portraits of living figures could be put on gems much earlier than on coins, for example (cf. chapter 6.2.1).[55] Their ideological and emotional import if used as seals was completely different than that of coins because they were markers of personal identity which uniquely allow their owners to engage in the act of replication itself.[56] Another observation is that many more gems with portraits of Romans are accompanied by various symbols unlike their Hellenistic counterparts.[57] Therefore, they might have played an even more significant role in terms of propaganda and especially in personal branding activities.[58]

The use of portrait gems for personal branding starts already in the late 3rd-early 2nd centuries BC and is one of the first propaganda actions to be observed on engraved gems (cf. chapter 6.2.1). In many cases the emphasis of such early glyptic portraits was not to praise the physical appearance of an individual portrayed, but rather his character as well as his ability to employ a talented artist since so many examples are signed. The gemstones selected for their production are also exceptional if compared to general trends of Roman Republican glyptics. Portraits of this period frequently demonstrate a combination of realistic and idealized modes of representation. The goal, in such instances, was not necessarily verism but rather the presentation of recognisable images often addressing issues of power and dignity. In the course of time, continuity had been added to these value as, for instance, in the case of Sextus Pompey (cf. chapter 9.1.2) and Octavian (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1 and 9.3.1.4) which was in accordance with the natural development of Roman propaganda in general. Portrait gems constitute the bulk of the material on which the investigations on propaganda on gems carried out in this study are based, since they are so abundant. This is primarily due to the central place portraiture occupies in Roman art which meant the image of a portrayed person was disseminated amongst his contemporaries and descendants.[59] Furthermore, my research confirms that personal branding in glyptics functioned on three levels. Portraits of political leaders dominate the production of portrait gems at the time and that production culminates in the times of Octavian/Augustus' political activity (cf. chapters 7.1.3, 7.2.2, 7.3.2, 8.1.5, 8.2.4, 9.1.3, 9.2.2, 9.3.1.4, 9.3.2.3, 9.3.3.1 and 10.4). It is noteworthy that images of the leading politicians of the Roman Republic and Augustan eras are often accompanied on gems with symbols pointing to their offices, titles, military victories or divine patrons. These examples have been carefully analysed and discussed as to their potential propagandistic value and they seem to be indeed purposed for personal branding (cf. chapters 7.2.2, 7.3.2, 9.2.2 and 9.3.1.4). Moreover, some portraits and sets of symbols copy images known from coins which clearly testifies to their use in propaganda actions. Among the politicians, Octavian was the most successful as far as both variety of the portrait gems types employed (particularly numerous are those with accompanying symbolism) as well as their number (cf. chapter 12). The gems combining his portrait and sets of symbols however almost disappear when he became Augustus because, having no political rivals anymore after the Battle of Actium, he concentrated on the popularisation of his own image only.

It is clear that portrait gems were distributed among the main politicians' followers in order to create personal bonds between a patron and his clients. These gems were also intended to popularise the image of a specific politician in very much the same

[51] Lang 2012: 102-105; Lapatin 2015: 116; Plantzos 1999: 109-112; Sagiv 2018: 15; Sena Chiesa 2009: 83-85; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 15-16.
[52] Henig 1994: 158.
[53] Gesztelyi 1982: 193-195; Lang 2012: 107; Plantzos 1999: 42 and 92-97; Rush 2012: 163-166; Vollenweider 1955; 1966: 17-22; 1972-1974: 48-50.
[54] Plantzos 1999: 62-63.
[55] Henig 1994: 155.
[56] Platt 2006: 239.
[57] Plantzos 1999: 62-63.
[58] Guiraud 1996: 121-124.
[59] Henig 1994: 157. The best illustration of criticism of the ostentatious use of jewellery, in fact a gold signet-gem, is the triumph of Marius, see: chapter 7.2.1.

way as coins. It is possible that a large number were commissioned by the supporters themselves who wished to manifest their loyalty and allegiance to their leader too (cf. chapter 13.6). As it is shown in the third part of the study, portraits of the main players of the Roman political scene like Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar, Sextus Pompey, Mark Antony and Octavian are abundant and often cut repetitively (even mass-produced in glass from matrixes). Their numbers were probably significant enough to have had at least some impact on public opinion (cf. chapter 12). These numbers are obviously inferior to coins, but not to sculpture.[60] The comparison of glyptic material with sculptural turns out to be particularly interesting where portraits of Julio-Claudian princes on intaglios and cameos are concerned. There are many analogies in terms of compositions, iconography, attributes used and so on. It should be concluded that exceptional portrait gems were most likely produced in the imperial court workshop and distributed within the inner circle of Augustus' house and beyond (especially to high-ranking officers in the army as suggested by the fact that many young Julio-Claudian princes are depicted as military commanders wearing cuirass and *paludamentum*) to guarantee support for the future successors. Some of them could have served as gifts for the emperor's favourites (cf. chapter 10.10).

The leaders were followed by their less influential counterparts who wished at least to have their own likenesses cut upon their personal rings to raise their social status (cf. chapters 7.4.1, 8.3.2 and 9.4). Some of the gems bearing less popular politicians might be just private portraits made for personal adornment or sealing.[61] There are also exceptions like the portraits of Juba II appearing on several intaglios which testify to his personal interest in glyptic art and were not necessarily intended for self-promotion. The importance of those individual, private portrait gems lies in the fact that so many figures commissioned them which clearly shows that Romans were seriously interested in this art form. That interest probably encouraged political leaders like Octavian to invest energy and financial means into the production of propaganda gems on a massive scale as they could be expected to find an audience.

Finally, female portraits were gradually introduced from c. the mid-1st century BC (cf. chapters 8.3.2 and 9.5), but they became significant in number and quality only under Augustus (cf. chapter 10.10). It must be noted that the propagandistic potential and value of Roman female portrait gems are extremely difficult to judge because ordinary women based their own portraits on images of leading figures like Livia or Octavia. As a result it is hard to deduce which of them were produced for ladies from Augustus' court and which are private portraits usually meant for personal adornment.[62] Concerning the female members of the Julio-Claudian family, their images on gems appear relatively often due to the role they had in Augustus' political programme. The first emperor tended to be instrumental as far as it goes to his sister and this is well illustrated in the glyptic material analysed in this study. For example, intaglios presenting heads of Octavia and Mark Antony facing each other were primarily meant to commemorate their marriage which, in fact, was sealing a political pact between Octavian and Mark Antony (cf. chapter 9.3.2.6). Also, Octavia is paired with Octavian as the goddess Diana as a demonstration of the foundations for his dynastic plans (cf. chapter 9.3.1.2). The portraits of Livia, Octavia, Julia or Antonia Minor were presumably cut on gemstones because of the intense promotion of the imperial family as a dynasty by Augustus and female figures were embodiments of the Roman virtues or sometimes even elevated to divine status as in the case of Livia. Livia after her adoption into the *gens* Iulia by Augustus at the time of his death was a strong link between him and the future emperor Tiberius. She was presented as the mother of the Julian-Claudian dynasty in very much the same way as Venus was the divine mother of the *gens* to secure continuation of the dynasty created by Augustus (cf. chapter 10.10).

It must be noted that explanations other than personal branding and promotion in terms of portrait gems are possible as well. Some portrait gems could be simply treated as seals or cut for personal adornment, and thus have little to do with propaganda. Besides, there is evidence that at least Sextus Pompey and Octavian tried to stimulate public opinion with posthumous portrait gems of their predecessors (cf. chapters 9.1.3 and 9.3.1.1 respectively) but this issue will be fully addressed in chapter 13.7. Furthermore, the followers of political leaders could have commissioned gems with their portraits in a manifestation of loyalty and support, which shall be discussed below (cf. chapter 13.6) and finally, the popularity of the main politicians could be so powerful that ordinary gem engravers simply cut their images on their products to meet the current demand of the market and sell more products, especially during the fierce rivalry in the time of the Civil War.

In conclusion, personal branding is one of the most common and successful propagandistic activities performed with the use of engraved gems as is also the case with other branches of Roman art. It is mainly agitation propaganda, but some actions can be regarded as a form of integration propaganda too. As has been

[60] For instance, according to Hannestad, today, there are known ca. 250 surviving portraits of Augustus in the round (1988: 47).
[61] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 143-144.
[62] Guiraud 1996: 122-123.

said, portrait gems are of key importance for this study of propaganda on gems because of their great number, accessibility (glass gems) and the fact that these objects are the easiest to ascribe to specific propagandists. Of course, there are a number of limitations, but generally, one can identify a propagandist by comparison with coins and sculptures and hence to state which group was being targeted with a specific object. This is much more problematic in the case of other propagandistic actions performed through gems. Personal branding is also concerned with self-presentation. The latter should be understood here as an action by which gem's owner promotes himself by putting an image upon a gem so that it captures his best qualities, values, ideology, religious and political beliefs.[63] To my mind, this aspect is very clearly noticeable in the 3rd and 2nd centuries while later it mingled with other aspects of propaganda such as the commemoration of important events and military victories as well as divine and mythological references (cf. chapters 6.1 and 6.3). Actually, most of the later used propaganda practices derive from self-advertisement or self-presentation. According to the evidence presented here, detection of those actions on later gems as well as their correct interpretation are highly problematical. Most of them concern the use of family symbols on gems (cf. chapters 6.3.1, 7.4.2 and 8.3.3) and the promotion of Roman generals, consuls, imperators and dictators on intaglios (cf. chapter 6.3.3).

13.6. Induction and manifestation of loyalty and support

The evidence presented in the third part of the book clearly demonstrates that engraved gems were used both to induce and manifest loyalty and support among the clients of the Roman political leaders.[64] As to the portrait gems, one imagines that some of the high number of gems presenting Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar, Sextus Pompey, Marcus Iunius Brutus, Mark Antony and Octavian/Augustus were distributed by those politicians to their clients (soldiers, followers, supporters etc.) in order to gain their support and bind them with the use of precious objects that would be kept for a long time as a reminder of the occasion and person from whom it was gifted. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905-959), seal rings bearing portraits of the emperor were presented as imperial gifts to the people of Cherson during the Constantinian period. On this basis Spier argues that many engraved gems featuring imperial portraits in Late Antiquity were distributed among the people as well as gifted to officers in the army and sent abroad as diplomatic gifts.[65] Even though there is no equivalent confirmation in ancient literary sources for earlier times and in respect to Rome, it is probable that this mechanism indeed occurred in the Late Roman Republic and under Augustus. There is much evidence for gems being diplomatic gifts and objects clearly manifesting royal favour in Hellenistic times.[66] Regarding Augustus, some scholars believe that he sent intaglios and cameos to the client kings outside the Roman Empire.[67] This seems to be confirmed by finds of gems with Augustus' portraits outside the borders of the Roman Empire. Such objects could be later used by local dynasts, dignitaries or aristocracy to strengthen their own position and for Rome itself, these gifts guaranteed good relationships with neighbouring countries which was in accordance with Augustus' general policy aimed at ensuring international security for the empire. Summing up, engraved gems, especially those bearing portraits of political leaders, were likely produced on the commissions of those leaders. Even mass produced glass gems, for instance the series featuring Octavian's head combined with various symbols, although difficult to judge in these terms since their production might be an effect of some general trends of the market too (cf. chapter 11) do in fact adhere to his political programme which suggests that Octavian supervised their production. It would be difficult for several individual producers to reach such uniformity.

On the other hand, there is some evidence suggesting that clients commissioned intaglios and cameos which they themselves used or gifted to their patrons as a sign of their loyalty and support. This was mutually beneficial for propagandist and recipient; the clients expected to receive specific privileges, but the propagandist also benefited since his image was made more recognisable among people without him expending much effort. For every Roman political leader of the 1st century BC one can point to at least several portrait gems where his likeness is accompanied with an inscription indicating the name of the gem's owner. They illustrate that people wanted to unambiguously manifest that they are supporters of a specific political figure. Cassius Dio even suggests that Octavian's and Mark Antony's veterans used specific types of rings and gems for sealing which is the best testimony to the use of gems in integration propaganda.[68] Only recently studied by Gradel, a small assortment of bronze rings set with glass intaglios proves that some of the followers even collected gems bearing subjects related to their patrons.[69]

[63] Like well-stated by Torelli 2002: 102.

[64] Engraved gems are often considered to be perfect illustrations of a friendship (Lapatin 2015: 114; Platt 2006: 244; Rush 2012: 143; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 16-17), then being illustrations of political allegiances is somehow self-explanatory (*RRC*: 727-728).

[65] Spier 2007: 20 (especially note 34 for the passage from Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De Administrando Imperio*).

[66] Gross 2008: 13-15; Plantzos 1999: 111; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, p. 16 who notices that many gems with portraits of Ptolemies are found outside Egypt on the territories controlled by them.

[67] See for instance: Braund 1984.

[68] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 48.12.2

[69] Gradel (forthcoming).

The research presented in this book deals primarily with three types of gems: intaglio ringstones, glass gems and cameos. Each kind was produced to reach a different audience and therefore, manifestation of loyalty and support could have worked at different levels depending on a given object's characteristics.[70] For instance, it is suggested by Pollini that the *Gemma Augustea* could have been a gift to Augustus from one of his clients.[71] The same applies to portraits of imperial family members who might have been gifted precious cameos and works in the round (including cameo-vessels) on particular occasions from their followers or members of the imperial court in the hope of being privileged afterwards.[72] Furthermore, the application of gems, especially those with portraits of prominent Roman politicians, in terms of manifestation of loyalty and support should be concerned at supraregional level. One imagines that in the provinces local governors could seek ways of strengthening their position and authority. A portrait of an important Roman politician worn upon a private ring sends a message that he is related to a powerful individual in the capital, and therefore, his authority ought not to be questioned. Such a situation was also beneficial for the propagandist himself (whether he was Sextus Pompey, Mark Antony, Octavian or any other statesman) since his image was spread far and wide without him expending much effort. A slightly different kind of a problem is how far the romanisation of provinces might be reflected on engraved gems. Wearing specific kinds of intaglios and cameos could be related to the wearer's identification with a new, Roman culture, usually regarded as superior to the local one. By doing this, people used to manifest their political allegiances as well as expressing their political views in general. They became more engaged in political life which was crucial if they wanted to retain the status they had before the Roman conquest.[73]

The problem of romanisation of provinces might be indeed underestimated. It is possible that Roman politicians wanted to establish connections by sending gems with their portraits or other devices related to them to provincial authorities inducing and expecting loyalty this way and making Roman culture appealing to new members of the Roman Empire.[74] Henig hypothesises that the cameo bearing a jugate portrait of Julius Caesar and possibly Venus which is said to be from Tarraco in Spain could have belonged to a member of the city elite since Tarragona was proclaimed a Roman colony by Caesar in 45 BC.[75] The possessor would have manifested his bond with Caesar and his new Roman way of life at the same time. Manifestation of political affinity could be also expressed by following the general framework offered by official art. Mythological parallels between the propagandist and his audience are noticeable on engraved gems and using the same or at least similar symbolism for decorations, gravestones and personal seals (for example: Capricorn and sphinx in the times of Augustus' reign, cf. chapter 10.8) might have been a part of this phenomenon.[76] As Zanker observes, allegiance was closely related to fashion based on official art that could be then limitlessly spread thanks to the use of cheap materials available for everyone (in the case of gems this was glass).[77] Such uniformity of forms and propagandistic transmission combined with mass production (presumably centralised) was a product of Augustus' propaganda. As Zanker points out, even though one sometimes cannot tell whether this was due to the general rules of the market or to deliberate actions induced by a propagandist, the results were positive for the first emperor of Rome since his propaganda messages widely circulated within society accustoming it to the new political order.[78] Augustus' propaganda actions concerning gems seem to have been successful also because there were kings imitating his actions at their own courts. A good example of that is Juba II, at whose court gems were possibly engraved just as at the Augustus' and the style and quality of Juba's gems are comparable to the products of Augustan classicism.

Finally, in ancient literary sources one finds information about certain persons who wore rings with portraits of Cassius and Brutus and because of that they were condemned to capital punishment when the triumvirs defeated those opponents.[79] This clearly shows how serious the Romans were when it comes to the manifestation of political allegiances and sympathies. Moreover, wearing portraits of Augustus after his death upon a ring was considered sacrilege and was punished by the emperor Tiberius.[80] All these examples clearly show that engraved gems were powerful propaganda tools and played a very important role in the establishment of intimate connections between a propagandist and the owners of the gems produced under his encouragement that could not have been done with the use of any other kind of art. Besides, they could be very useful in the control of people's movement during the Civil War as probably rings with specific devices (most likely portraits) would have allowed individuals to pass safely through territory controlled by their patron or thanks to them one could

[70] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 451.
[71] Pollini 1993.
[72] Sena Chiesa 2009b: 86.
[73] Badian 2000; Brunt 1976; Sena Chiesa 2009: 93; Tassinari 2008: 275.
[74] Marshman 2015: 80.
[75] Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 69.
[76] Zanker 1988: 62. Regarding gravestones applying official symbolism, see: Zanker 2000: 87-88. Another example related to everyday life of the Romans strongly influenced by official art comes from Arretine tera-cotta bowls, see: Łuszczewska 2002.
[77] Zanker 1988: 265-266.
[78] Zanker 1988: 266-267.
[79] Lapatin 2015: 114; Plantzos 1999: 111.
[80] Lapatin 2015: 114-115.

enter the zone because one demonstrated to belong to the same faction at the entrance or during a control.[81]

13.7. Use of heritage

Intaglios and cameos were highly valuable objects and thus, they often remained long in use for a long time, passed from one generation to another.[82] Gems were often treated as family heirlooms and it was considered a great honour to have a portrait of a distinguished ancestor on a seal.[83] As Valerius Maximus informs us, young Lucius Scipio disgraced himself by coming to an election in a soiled toga and therefore his relatives removed the ring with the head of his father Scipio Africanus from his hand.[84] This symbolic action in fact destroyed his early political career. In turn, Cicero rebuked Lentulus Sura for being implicated in the Catilinarian conspiracy when he ought to have been restrained by the portrait of his illustrious ancestor Cornelius Lentulus, engraved on his seal.[85] Carrying a family ring upon a finger was in fact a transfer of authority from a previous generations to a new head of the family. These two examples show how important gems were and that they played a great propagandistic role as markers of distinction and special honours received.[86] This tradition was ancient and practiced already in the 3rd century BC if not earlier by the Etruscans and Italic tribes.[87] It must have been important for the Romans since Octavian/Augustus first used the seal of Julius Caesar and then two identical gems bearing a sphinx device as his official seals that he inherited from his mother as a family heirloom (cf. chapter 9.3.1.3). Those sphinxes were further given to Augustus' advisors Maecenas and Agrippa, an act which legitimised their capacity to execute law and set deals on behalf of the emperor.[88] Finally, it is perhaps not a coincidence that Julius Caesar, once he had reached Egypt and been presented with the personal possessions of Pompey the Great, decided to take his ring for himself.[89] He prevented it being delivered back to Sextus Pompey and further used as he was aware of the great value of such an object as a means of propaganda. Regarding Sextus Pompey, another ancient author mentions him throwing his ring into the sea so that it would get into the hands of his opponents.[90] This also testifies to a great value of intaglios as a means of propaganda.

Engraved gems make it possible to transfer authority, which was regarded as a sort of heritage too, in a more artistic way, by the use of symbolism and devices associated with a great predecessor. In this respect, two Roman political leaders stand out. The first one is Sextus Pompey who used the authority of his father in order to gain attention and support. It is tempting to suggest that he could have issued propaganda gems documenting his connection with his father or even that he might have stimulated creation of his legend by commissioning gems presenting Pompey the Great's portrait and commemorating his father's victories very much in the same spirit as in his coinage (cf. chapter 9.1.3).[91] Another example is Octavian who clearly highlighted in the iconography of his 'propaganda gems' that he was a descendant of Julius Caesar by the use of such symbols like the ring of adoption or *sidus Iulium* (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1) as well as by using the seal of Julius Caesar as his own (cf. chapter 9.3.1.3). A similar process is observable on coins which also frequently bear images of the two, an authority and his successor combined with symbols related to the first.[92] Such actions were aimed to legitimise power in the hands of those young political leaders. Furthermore, by issuing posthumous portrait gems of their predecessors, both Sextus Pompey and Octavian tried to increase the authority they inherited by using additional symbolism highlighting the divine nature of their predecessors (dolphin and trident pointing to Pompey's relationship with Neptune and *sidus Iulium* as a symbol of the divine nature of Julius Caesar). Finally, one more option was to use the same patron deity as the predecessor like Neptune in the case of Sextus Pompey and Venus in the case of Octavian (cf. chapters 9.1.6 and 9.3.1.8 respectively). All these actions described here certainly helped to unite followers of Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar around them so that they became new political leaders of two opposing factions. A continuation of this practice took place after Augustus' death when Livia was vigorously promoted as the mother of Julio-Claudian family and link between the future emperor Tiberius and Augustus (cf. chapters 10.10-11).

13.8. Promotion of family and oneself through *origo*

Regarding the promotion of family and oneself through *origo*, there is insufficient evidence to say with much certainty that engraved gems played a significant role in

[81] Bonner 1908: 400.
[82] A good example of the very long-term use of some gems are several Hellenistic intaglios found in Britain, see: Henig 2007: 8. See also commentaries to this issue in: Gagetti 2001: 136-137; Plantzos 1999: 22; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 10-11
[83] Henig 1994: 152. Interestingly Rush even thinks that some portrait gems were destined to be funerary objects created specifically to put them into the grave of a deceased person as a sort of commemoration (2012: 64-66).
[84] Valerius Maximus, III, 5.
[85] Cicero, *Catiline.*, III, 5.10.
[86] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 304.
[87] Hansson 2005: 139.
[88] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 53.30; Plantzos 1999: 22.
[89] Lapatin 2015: 114.
[90] Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 2.18.
[91] Kopij argues that many portraits of Pompey the Great appearing not only on gems, but also in sculpture, might have been created only after his death on the command of Sextus Pompey (2017: 229-234 and 257-261).
[92] Examples of that are denarii and aurei of Octavian (*RRC*, nos. 490/2, 534/2 and 540/2) and Sextus Pompey (*RRC*, 483/2, 511/1 and 511/3a).

this matter. Although there are a good number of motifs occurring on gems that could plausibly have been used for family propaganda, many of them are ambiguous and because of the lack of specific information as to the context in which they were used, it is difficult to judge their propagandistic value properly. For instance, many mythological subjects on gems (usually those related to the Trojan cycle) might have been related to an identification of people with their local homeland rather than being used for self-promotion as has been shown by the example of Ulysses while, for instance, in coinage the advertisement efforts are more clear (cf. chapter 7.4.2).[93] Cadmus, Heracles and many other Greek heroes were related to a specific place because they were believed to be founders of many Italian cities, as observed by Furtwängler more than a hundred years ago.[94] The same applies to the single representations of various animals the appearance of which on intaglios has multiple explanations, yet, in both cases, the political explanation should be treated as optional as the study in the third part of the book proves (cf. chapters 6.3.1, 7.4.2 and 8.3.3).

Gems are more problematic in this area of propaganda than other branches of Roman art and craftsmanship, especially if compared to coins.[95] It is difficult to demonstrate that symbols related one way or another to family propaganda merely on the basis that they were used as such on coins or that they occur in the same sense on engraved gems. Analysis of numerous cases presented in the third part of the book shows that neither iconography, nor inscriptions confirm that directly and unambiguously. This is certainly due to considerable abbreviations and simplifications applied in the case of gems. They are usually cut only with symbols, while coins have legends and images on the second side often explaining with whom the emblem should be linked.[96] Moreover, in the case of coins it is sometimes possible to deduce the moneyer's intentions from other variants of the same story or myth presented on the coins of his predecessors. Besides, there are sometimes considerable differences in coins' and gems' devices and sometimes intaglios and coins seem to use different symbolism. A good illustration of that is the *gens* Marcia and the *horologium* emblem discussed in chapter 6.3.1. The case of Minucii Augurii shows that the same concept did not have to be approached in exactly the same way and images may differ in detail (cf. chapter 6.3.1). Yet, according to the analysis presented here, it is striking that where family symbols appear on gems, the timing is correlated with that deduced from Roman Republican coinage (starting from the c. last third of the 2nd century BC and ceasing around the mid-1st century BC). Naturally, it cannot be entirely excluded that many more gems than those collected by me here were used as family seals or objects by which people manifested their allegiance to a specific family. However, the basic problem is the lack of sufficient context. Many symbols could have been considered as reserved for specific families and recognised as such when they appeared upon rings carried by certain people. Possibly in Rome most of the people were aware which symbol was used by *gens* Metella, Cassia etc. but this knowledge, with a few exceptions, has not been recorded in the ancient literary sources. As a result, today one is in a great because there are just objects – gems, while the context so obvious for ancient people does not survive. Sometimes, like in the case of the triskeles and *gentes* Marcella and Lentela or Pegasus and *gens* Titia, some sort of context may be deduced from a combined analysis of gems and coins, but this is very rare. The number of alternative meanings for various motifs that could be regarded as family emblems is considerable which makes their identification even more challenging. Taking all of this into account, the conclusion should be that indeed, gems were employed for the promotion of Roman noble families' *origo* however, it is impossible to establish the scale of that phenomenon.

My investigations yielded many case studies from which some tentative conclusions can be drawn. The opposite is true where promotion through *origo* is concerned. As evidenced from the material gathered in the third part of the book, some Roman politicians like Sextus Pompey and Octavian used to highlight their parentage from Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar on gems successfully (cf. chapters 9.1.3 and 9.3.1.1. respectively). Moreover, as evidenced in chapter 9.3.1.5, Octavian was particularly successful in the promotion of his family connection with Octavia on gems and is even paired with her in a divine guise. This was intended to lay the foundations for his dynasty. In the early 1st century AD Livia was energetically promoted on intaglios and cameos as the mother of the Julio-Claudian clan and often in the guise of Venus, mainly to guarantee the throne to Tiberius (cf. chapter 10.10). Regarding the succession, all planned successors of Augustus from Marcellus to Tiberius were promoted in glyptic art and the scale of this phenomenon is comparable to that known from sculpture (cf. chapter 10.10).[97]

[93] *RRC*: 728.

[94] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 227-232.

[95] On the phenomenon of promotion of families through coins, see: Hollstein 1993.

[96] However, the iconography of coins is also largely based on abbreviations and symbolises, though not to the same degree as the one from gems, which is one of the reasons for considering both categories as similar, see: Guiraud 1996: 97; Sagiv 2018: 34.

[97] But it is unknown to what extent (either in glyptics and sculpture) the Julio-Claudian dynastic advertisement was induced by the Imperial family since the participation of individual Roman citizens and local communities in Roman provinces must have been considerable too, see: Rose 1997: 11-21 and 51-53.

13.9. Promotion of faction

As the analysis of various propaganda activities described in the third part of the book reveals, regarding promotion of faction, a natural way of expressing someone's affiliation to a political group seems to be putting a portrait of the leader upon a private ring.[98] This observation is confirmed not only by archaeological material, but also by the information one extracts from ancient literary sources. Pliny the Elder informs us about a custom practised under the reign of the emperor Claudius (AD 41-54) which was that a gold ring with his portrait enabled the wearer to have an audition with him without queuing.[99] This highly important testimony communicates that some rings, possibly with portraits cut in gems, were used to obtain privileges reserved only for a small group of people. Moreover, the fact that they were concerned with the emperor makes them highly important objects. Gross believes that such objects were primarily crafted for a ruler and then gifted by him to his selected followers and apparently, the beginnings of such a phenomenon were taking place already in the Hellenistic period.[100] Concerning portrait gems and their usefulness in the manifestation of allegiance to a specific political faction, it is noteworthy to conclude that, for instance, Marcus Iunius Brutus and Quintus Cassius Longinus were well-known politicians already before 44 BC so the gems with their portraits were most likely produced on the commissions of their followers who sought to manifest support for their cause after the assassination of Julius Caesar and this is why there are so few gems with portraits of Brutus and Cassius accompanied with any sort of additional symbolism (cf. chapter 9.2.2). Besides, Brutus was a unifying symbol of opposition to the Caesarian faction during the second Civil War, hence, it would be natural for members of the Republican faction to use his likeness as a sort of emblem. In contrast Octavian, who was not so well-known prior to 44 BC must have been responsible for the production of many gems featuring his own portraits, especially those with additional symbolism, while only a small proportion of his portrait gems were manufactured by his followers. It is clear from the evidence collected in chapters 9.2.2 and 9.2.4 as well as 9.3.1.4 and 9.3.1.6 respectively that these two different starting points required two different approaches. In other words, while the Republicans did not have to invest much in their propaganda on gems because it was a sort of a self-driving phenomenon, Octavian had to put much energy in his own promotion and most importantly into the integration of Caesar's followers around himself. This would explain why he was so successful in producing of propaganda gems among his peers.

Another conclusion is that some gems were accessible only to members of specific societies, classes and groups of friends or political parties. It is said that portraits of philosophers were put upon rings to manifest one's membership of a specific philosophical school.[101] According to Clement of Alexandria (c. AD 150-c. 215), Christians were advised to use rings with gems bearing specific symbols so that they could recognise each other without dangerous exposition of their religious beliefs.[102] It is very likely then that some portrait gems were used to promote faction and one's membership of it. The surviving high number of portrait gems featuring political leaders such as Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar, Sextus Pompey, Mark Antony or Octavian might be partially a result of their followers' actions, not politicians themselves as shown by context or inscriptions discussed in detail in the respective chapters (8.1.7, 8.2.6, 9.1.5, 9.2.4, 9.3.1.6 and 9.3.2.5). Technically, this phenomenon should still be considered propaganda and it suggests that a highly developed machinery was already in existence in the time of Pompey the Great. According to O'Shaughnessy, an ideal situation for a propagandist is one when he does not have to invest energy in his propaganda campaign since the audience takes action on its own spreading his programme and messages.[103] Engraved gems testify to advanced propaganda being in use in ancient Rome.

Concerning portrait gems and their usefulness for the promotion of faction, it seems reasonable to think that some social groups used engraved gems to distinguish themselves This may have been typical of only a small group of people who could afford that, e.g. the political party of the *optimates*. The evidence presented in the third part of the study confirms the results of Vollenweider's studies. A good number of portraits of *optimates* have been identified, while there are very few of *populares*.[104] The imbalance is clearly noticeable and thus, one wonders if it was a kind of privilege or requirement to have one's portrait cut upon one's ring in order to be recognised as a member of the *optimates*? Even if not a requirement, it might have been a useful method for social distinction and therefore, most of the *optimates* carried their portrait gems. The situation is not paralleled in any other branch of Roman art since none is testified as being used for a collective purpose.

Apart from portraits there are a number of other devices that are traditionally taken as markers expressing someone's affiliation to a specific political faction.[105]

[98] Henig and MacGregor 2004: 66.
[99] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII.41.
[100] Gross 2008: 14.
[101] Lang 2012: 104; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 17.
[102] *Paedagogus* II, ch. II.
[103] O'Shaughnessy 2004: 4.
[104] Vollenweider 1972-1974: 83-87.
[105] See, for instance, Vollenweider 1979 - which is full of gems given

These have been examined in the third part of the study, but no definitive conclusions can be drawn. In fact, in most cases, treating them as markers of political affiliation is highly speculative. The so-called political symbols abundantly appearing on intaglios and cameos have been re-examined and in many cases treating them as amulets is more plausible than objects with any political significance. The problem is that many symbols could be used by two or three politicians/parties at the same time such as Neptune or more broadly marine symbols which were used both by Sextus Pompey and Octavian (cf. chapters 9.1.7 and 9.3.1.9 respectively). A similar problem occurs in the coinage, but usually, the legends on the coins help to establish with whom one should relate a specific motif. Such situations barely exist in the case of engraved gems; thus, they are much more confusing. Yet, it is observed that each statesman who proclaimed a wide-ranging political programme (Sulla, Julius Caesar and Octavian/Augustus) strongly influenced the production of symbolic gems which in many cases possibly reflect the new ideas promoted. However, whether these objects were used to manifest affinity to a specific political faction by support or participation in the programme is hard to tell. A full discussion of this issue is offered in chapter 13.12.

13.10. Commemoration

The evidence presented in the third part of the book clearly demonstrates that intaglios and cameos, like any other branch of Roman art, were frequently used to glorify politicians and their successes. Apart from personal branding, commemoration of various events is the most popular propaganda activity reflected in glyptics. Engraved gems played an important role in the construction of a positive narrative about a political leader among the people of Rome. It is noteworthy that this kind of propaganda activity was put into a practice very early, already in the late 3rd-early 2nd centuries BC which is close to the similar use of sculpture (commemorative statues) and coinage. However, owing to their strictly private character, engraved gems created a special, intimate connection between a propagandist and his audience. Furthermore, the commemoration of specific events, achievements and military prowess in general may have been intended to build a strong sense of the special predisposition of a specific statesman to lead Rome and the Roman nation to rule the world. The evidence for that is particularly striking for the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and often relates to the periods when the Roman Republic was in a grave danger like during the Second Punic War (218-201 BC) or the Celtic (121 BC) and Germanic (113-101 BC) threats (cf. chapters 6.3.3 and 6.3.4). A similar narrative is propagated during the reign of Augustus (cf. chapter 10). This kind of activity then should not only be considered agitation but also integration propaganda.

The seal of Sulla depicting the defeated Jugurtha, king of Numidia is one of the clearest proofs for the use of gems in commemorating a propagandist's successes and uniting people around him (cf. chapter 7.1.1). It is debatable whether comparable representations such as intaglios featuring Romans fighting Gauls or any other kinds of barbarians were issued for the same purpose, for instance, by Julius Caesar (cf. chapter 8.2.7). The range of subjects commemorated by Roman political leaders is vast but generally, one distinguishes four spheres within which propaganda messages related to commemoration were transmitted.

The first and most significant category of representations relating to the issue of commemoration are symbols and scenes depicting or alluding to military victories. In this instance engraved gems work like all the other branches of Roman art. In architecture triumphal arches and temples founded by Roman victorious generals since ancient times were the most significant, recognisable and influential means of propaganda.[106] In sculpture, first equestrian statues and later other types of statues were often aimed at commemorating a particular event, usually a military victory sometimes in a highly sophisticated way like the famous statue of Augustus from Prima Porta.[107] Paintings were for sure commissioned to commemorate the military prowess of their founders, but they were also used as spolia of war by Pompey the Great and others.[108] Wall paintings are in this category too and sometimes the whole style might have considerably changed after an important victory that brought inspiration from the conquered regions.[109] Coins were a very important medium used for the commemoration of various political events including military victories. Even Arretine terracotta bowls were often decorated with military designs following a general trend in Augustan art.[110] This brief overview shows that the commemoration of important events and military victories in general was second only to personal branding as a propagandistic activity performed by Roman political leaders through visual art. Engraved gems are no exception and as illustrated in each chronological period distinguished in the third part of the study, there are many occasions immortalised upon them. It is also noteworthy that gems, like paintings and other works of art, were presented as spolia of war during triumphs, which might be regarded as a form of commemoration too (cf. chapters 8.1.2 and 8.2.1).

political significance of which many are wrongly interpreted as such.

[106] Evans 1992: 7; Hekster 2007: 5-8.
[107] Hekster 2007: 8-9; Zanker 1988: 188-192.
[108] Evans 1992: 8-16; Kopij 2017: 211.
[109] Pearson 2015 (I am grateful to the author for making her dissertation available to me in the electronic format).
[110] Łuszczewska 2002.

Another conclusion is that gems are more likely than coins, sculpture or architecture to show discrepancies between propagandists. A good illustration of that is the promotion of the second triumvirate. While all three triumvirs minted their coinage commemorating that political pact, only Octavian and Mark Antony were commemorated on gems in this context (and the proportions are in favour of Octavian, cf. chapter 12). This situation shows the relatively weak position of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus who had enough power to issue his own coinage relating to this occasion, but not so much to invest in propaganda through other branches of Roman visual arts, including engraved gems. Alternatively, he did not consider propaganda gems as worth investing in since he would gain little benefit from the investment. It is also possible that Lepidus was not sufficiently recognisable to be presented on gems by engravers producing casual objects in their workshops. Finally, issuing 'propaganda gems' was in many respects similar to coins – most importantly, it was relatively easy due to the number of artists performing these crafts and could be quickly replaced with new imaginary if there was a need (especially where glass gems are concerned).

As for the other aspects of commemoration, there is enough evidence to claim that aside from military victories other important political events were also commemorated on gems. Roman politicians and public figures used them to communicate the new titles they obtained as well as positions and promotions they received. Here, the situation is similar to coins which were often issued on the occasion of a new position obtained, such as *pontifex maximus* or any other relevant secular or religious office. First examples of this phenomenon can be observed as early as in the 3rd century BC when a group of Roman generals or dictators with the *parazonium* appear mostly on glass intaglios (cf. chapter 6.3.3) and priests of various kinds were also equipped with engraved gems bearing symbols of their profession set into rings (cf. chapter 6.1). This theme was explored especially in the Augustan Age, when it was reinterpreted in a wider context including Augustus' successors being presented as holding specific titles, positions and offices (cf. chapter 10.10).

In this study I deal mostly with political themes and even though ceremonies such as marriages are generally considered private, in the political context they become social events often used for propaganda purposes. Special coin issues were minted on the occasions of marriages such as the sestertii of Marcus Oppius Capito and Mark Antony struck in Achaea c. 38-37 BC to commemorate Antony's marriage with Octavia.[111] According to the material presented here, it might be generally accepted that some intaglios and cameos constituted a part of this phenomenon (cf. chapters 9.3.2.6 and 10.5).[112] Marriages were usually promoted on gems in a way similar to coins, that is, by putting portraits of the married couple upon the surface of the gemstone. A good example are gems commemorating the marriage of Octavia and Mark Antony (cf. chapter 9.3.2.6) which in fact were aimed to strengthen the positive message of unity and peace between Mark Antony and Octavian. Nevertheless, the scale of those actions is difficult to measure due to the great number of gems bearing very similar subjects (usually heads of a man and woman confronted) but referring to private ceremonies of many different individuals. The problem here is clearly the uniformity of private portraits appearing on gems which were inspired by the official ones.

Intaglios and cameos were frequently used to commemorate political events of a global scale such as the second triumvirate or the Brundisium pact. A wide range of symbolism as well as figural representations like double-portrait gems presenting Octavian and Mark Antony were issued to celebrate these events (cf. chapters 8.1.8, 8.2.7 and 9.3.1.7). Apart from that, my study suggests that gems, especially those bearing constellations of symbols, could plausibly reflect the universal policies of Sulla, Julius Caesar and later Augustus which were based on the promotion of peace and prosperity. The traditional view of such objects has been challenged in this study at each chronological period (cf. chapters 7.1.5, 7.2.5, 8.1.11, 8.2.9, 9.1.7, 9.2.7, 9.3.1.9, 9.3.2.8, 9.3.3.2 and 10.8). In conclusion, only a limited number of gems bearing symbolic configurations can be explained politically. Many of them are more plausibly amulets ensuring specific qualities, the help and blessing of the gods as well as averting all kinds of evil and malice making them a category close to the popular *grylloi/baskania* gems of the Imperial period (1st-3rd century AD). Still, those which bear references to political programmes reflect the common spirit and were probably created to integrate followers of Sulla, Julius Caesar or Octavian/Augustus by making clear a common cause. It is to be expected that people who identified with the qualities and ideas proclaimed by those political leaders carried gems symbolising them.

13.11. Religious, divine and mythological references

Critical analysis reveals that intaglios and cameos bearing religious themes were indeed connected to politics and therefore used for propaganda purposes, however, the scale of this phenomenon is smaller than might have been expected. Simple motifs such as augural symbols or scenes presenting various rituals communicated about a person's special status within a

[111] RPC I, no. 1468.

[112] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 126.

community. It is no coincidence that on some bronze statues the figures wear rings with these kinds of motifs and these cases encourage us to consider the gems as propaganda in action (cf. chapter 6.1).[113]

In the course of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC gems were used by a good number of people for self-presentation purposes which stems from a more ancient tradition of Etruscan and Italic glyptics (cf. chapter 6.1).[114] As argued in this study, a wide range of mythological representations might have been carried upon rings due to a particular family tracing their origins back to legendary ancestors, a trend that became even more stronger in the 1st century BC as also evidenced from coins (cf. chapters 6.3.1, 7.4.2 and 8.3.3). It is also expected that representations of mythological figures were examples worth following by young male representatives of Roman society. However, the propagandistic value of gems in this respect cannot be properly judged because many mythological scenes cannot be identified as presenting someone's connection with a particular figure. Perhaps if someone carried a ring with a representation of his patron deity, this was enough for others to recognise that he benefitted from divine support. But this context is lost to us today and the iconography, which is the basis for research into this problem, cannot by itself tell us much more. A separate and more successful case is that of Mark Antony who presented himself as Heracles, for Anton, Heracles' son, was believed to be the founder of *gens* Fabia to which Mark Antony belonged to and reflections of that are faintly discernible in glyptics (cf. chapter 9.3.2.7)

The intaglios and cameos discussed in the third part of the book, show that divine and mythological references made by Roman politicians constitute the third most popular propaganda activity reflected by glyptic art. This phenomenon worked on two levels: first deities were presented as patrons to the propagandists and second, the propagandists made a direct comparison or even identification with a deity.[115] A number of objects present major politicians under the patronage of various deities like Pompey the Great and Neptune, Julius Caesar and Venus, or Octavian and Apollo (cf. chapters 8.1.9, 8.2.8 and 9.3.1.8).[116] This is usually expressed through varied symbolism which was added to the main subject such as a portrait or a figure of a propagandist or when a deity was chosen as a personal seal device.[117] The best example of that is Julius Caesar promoting the image of Venus Victrix in his coinage. He also employed that image for his personal seal which was the clearest and best demonstration of her support for his cause combined with allusion to his divine origins. Such acts definitely helped Caesar as a propagandist to build his own legend (cf. chapter 8.2.3). One should also consider the promotion of the cult of those deities that were favourable to Caesar and his contemporaries. Such actions could have been undertaken by prominent Roman politicians with the use of visual art,[118] which in the case of engraved gems would result in the increase of the number of gems presenting specific deities. According to ancient literary sources and statistics, such trends are observable for instance in the case of Venus Victrix (Julius Caesar – cf. chapter 8.2.8), Neptune (Sextus Pompey – cf. chapter 9.1.7) and Apollo (Sulla – cf. chapter 7.1.5 and Octavian/ Augustus – cf. chapters 9.3.1.8, 10.6 and 12).

Using an image of a legendary ancestor or a well-respected historical figure, who was given divine status, as a seal or in any other way was another powerful message broadcasting the connection between the divinity and the propagandist. A good illustration of this is the production of gems presenting Pompey the Great as related to Neptune by his son Sextus (cf. chapter 9.1.4) or Octavian who alluded to Julius Caesar as his divine father in various ways (cf. chapter 9.3.1.1). Alexander the Great, who was considered almost a divine figure by the Romans, was also used in the propaganda of several Roman statesman. Reflections of comparison and identification made with him are present in glyptics (cf. chapters 8.1.10, 9.3.1.3, 9.3.1.8, 9.3.2.7 and 10.5) and should be considered typical *imitatio Alexandri* practice.[119] Using the same seal-device as Alexander is another manifestation of this phenomenon (cf. chapter 8.1.4) and the fact that Augustus used an image of Alexander as his own seal-device for some time communicates that he possessed all the attributes to rule individually just as Alexander the Great did and was a form of transfer of Alexander's authority onto himself (cf. chapter 10.6).

In the course of time the political leaders of Rome not only highlighted special connections with specific deities but went further from *comparatio* to full identification with their patrons. The trend of presenting oneself through comparison with a mythological or divine figure became increasingly popular in the 1st century BC and is well-reflected on engraved gems but has much deeper roots. People used to identify themselves with Greek heroes, especially those involved in the Trojan War, because they were founders of the cities they lived in and were perfect examples to follow (cf. chapter 6.1).[120] But the reasons were also to raise an individual's

[113] On the use of those symbols in political propaganda in coinage, see: Morawiecki 1996; Stewart 1997.
[114] On this issue see: Hansson 2005: 130-135.
[115] A similar mechanism is known from the Hellenistic period, see: Plantzos 1999: 43-44.
[116] Guiraud 1996: 124-127; Toso 2007: 169.
[117] Sena Chiesa 2012: 257; Vollenweider 1955: 103.
[118] Jaczynowska 1985; Weinstock 1971.
[119] Instinsky 1962: 31-38.
[120] Toso 2007: 25.

authority by its transfer from a figure portrayed upon a gem. Moreover, there is evidence from gems for the application of nudity as a substitute for heroization.[121] Such a mechanism is well-known from sculpture, but as shown in this study, it also occurs on engraved gems.[122] The cult of physical prowess, courage and similar values was very strong in ancient Rome. Therefore, the practice of putting a hero-patron image upon a private ring was really popular those days. As Beazley observed, such practices were also cultivated under Augustus and later. This is why one observes a war of images between Sextus Pompey, Mark Antony, Marcus Iunius Brutus and Octavian for each placed on their coins references to their patron-deities or heroes (Neptune, Heracles/Dionysus/Jupiter, Apollo and Mars respectively).[123] It is likely that the same war mechanisms were employed in glyptics as well at least from the early 1st century BC (cf. chapters 7.1.5, 8.1.9, 8.2.8, 8.3.5, 9.1.7, 9.2.6, 9.3.1.8, 9.3.2.7 and 10.6 for individual cases discussed).

It is noteworthy that this phenomenon was not reserved only for political leaders but ordinary people also put images of various deities and mythological figures upon their rings. This severely limits our ability to estimate the actual outcome of propaganda efforts reflected in glyptics. Therefore, for example, in contrast to Vollenweider and Toso, I think it is difficult to believe that one can recognise Augustus on many gems presenting Greek heroes alone.[124] Beazley's idea that single heroic figures were suitable subjects for a young legionary or athlete who had wished to follow them is very attractive in this respect (cf. chapter 10.6). Unless the figure is engaged in a specific activity that may suggest a political connotation or reference to a specific event like the Battle of Actium (cf. chapter 9.3.1.7), it seems pointless to make completely hypothetical attributions. Similarly, my analysis of the problem carried out in specific chapters also proves that attributions suggested by Vollenweider or Moret on the grounds of the similarity of figures' heads to historical portraits does not find sufficient objective support (cf. discussions in chapters 8.1.9, 9.3.1.8, 9.3.2.7 and 10.6).

Finally, glyptics delivers evidence that Augustus, the first emperor of Rome, exploited a technique based on allusions to the legendary foundations of Rome which obviously included the use of divine references. One observes a considerable increase in the number of gems presenting the myth of Romulus and Remus as well as Aeneas, Diomedes, Cassandra and Rhea Silvia.[125] Moreover, representations of Athena or Mars fighting giants, oath-taking and bucolic scenes, subjects regarded by many as propagandistic, appear in vast quantities those days too (cf. chapter 10.7). The frequent occurrence of these and many more subjects suggests that the propaganda performed by Augustus in various forms was successful and the glyptic repertoire adapted to the general shifts driven by Augustus ideology, and was then eagerly adopted and duplicated by the people of Rome.[126] In other words, glyptics became subject to the same trends as other branches of art, although, still, its strictly private character resulted in a harmonization of many private matters with 'state' ones. The ultimate form of propaganda with divine and mythological references was intaglios and cameos presenting portraits of deified Augustus, often accompanied with Livia, who became his main priestess, crafted with the aim of spreading his cult as with all other objects of art (sculpture, masks etc.) and supposedly utilised in shrines located in the private houses of noble families (cf. chapter 10.11).

13.12. Political symbols and promotion of abstract ideas (*ordo rerum, Pax Augusta and aurea aetas*)

According to the research presented in the study, the role of engraved gems as indicators of social behaviours and moods has been confirmed. Many of the symbolic gems analysed in the book, in contrast to a popular view of their direct propagandistic connotations, were used by the Romans to express their needs and wishes for peace and prosperity (e.g. used as amulets), especially in the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC. The rich symbolism employed is usually related to the gods to whom people went with their wishes in the first place and for the qualities they wanted to obtain. Deities were supposed to support people in the difficult times they must have lived in during the Civil Wars. The combination of these two aspects drives those objects closer to the category of amulets.[127] Furthermore, there is enough evidence that symbolic gems were produced in various places (Aquileia, Rome and other glyptic centres), which means that propagandists did not control their production (cf. chapter 11).

Nevertheless, it is evident that the issue of the introduction of peace and prosperity was addressed in political programmes proclaimed by such statesmen as Sulla, Julius Caesar and Octavian/Augustus (cf. chapters 7.1.6, 8.2.9, 9.3.1.9 and 10.8), whereas other politicians did not embark on similar agendas (cf. chapters 7.2.5, 7.4.3, 8.1.11, 9.1.8, 9.2.7, 9.3.2.8 and 9.3.3.2).[128]

[121] Zanker 1988: 62.
[122] Regarding sculpture, see, for example: Bonfante 1989; Stevenson 1998.
[123] Regarding the identifications with deities reflected in the coinage, see, for instance: Sextus Pompey – *RRC*, nos. 511/2b-c, 511/4a-d; Mark Antony – *RRC*, nos. 494/2a-b, 531/1a-b; Brutus – *RRC*, nos. 502/1, 504/1 and 506/2; Octavian – *RRC*, nos. 494/9a-b and 494/18.
[124] Boardman (ed.) 2002: 68; Toso 2007: 25-26; Vollenweider 1966: 49-50.
[125] Dardenay 2009; Zazoff 1983: 295-298.
[126] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 449-450.
[127] See also a well-balanced and similar opinion on Late Roman Republican symbolic gems in: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979: 7.
[128] Such a perspective had also been put forward by Zazoff 1983: 301.

Sulla, Julius Caesar and Augustus noticed and tried to answer society's needs - the general wishes for peace and prosperity - and included them in their political programmes. Therefore, some symbolic gems should be considered as introducing or popularising the new ideology and gems of this kind were most likely used by those who supported the programme of those specific leaders. The use of gems for the promotion of the new ideology can be compared to other activities of Roman political leaders. For instance, by founding new public buildings (e.g. the Theatre of Pompey) or even creating whole complexes of building arranged, on the one hand, to provide people with new public spaces for religious practices and entertainment, and on the other hand, to praise their personal deities and show off their power (Forum of Caesar and Forum of Augustus), those politicians tried to achieve the same goals.[129] The first was to establish a favourable climate for the introduction of their political reforms and the second to create an impression that thanks to them the people of Rome lived in peace and prosperity.

The first signs of this process are observable during Sulla's political domination (cf. chapter 7.1.6). When Caesar came to power, he put symbolism relating to peace, prosperity and divine protection on his coins because in that way he could show his care for the people and ensure that their needs were fulfilled once he introduced his *ordo rerum*. Quickly enough Caesar's ideology penetrated glyptics too and thus, gems with symbolic configurations similar to those on coins started to appear during his dictatorship (cf. chapter 8.2.9). It is debatable whether such gems were used just for personal needs or they were intended to show support for Caesar's political programme by their owners. According to the research carried out in the third part of the book, it is difficult to prove the dictator's own engagement or encouragement in the production of such pieces. It is more likely that his political programme was so appealing to his followers that they made references to it on their own. In any case, Caesar's propaganda was anchored in the already existing language of visual symbols which certainly made it easier to identify the qualities which he promoted.

But ideology was not only promoted by the direct application of specific symbols and their combinations reflecting it. The second moment when symbolic gems were particularly popular and certainly contributed to the dissemination of a specific ideology and political system was the reign of Augustus (cf. chapter 10.8).[130] In the time of Augustus, large-scale monuments are even more clearly linked with much smaller objects such as intaglios and cameos by a sophisticated language exemplifying the piety of the age. Poetry, architecture, coinage and art were unified around two basic concepts: *Pax Augusta* and *aurea aetas*.[131] The best example of a successful combination of all these elements is, of course, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, the decoration of which is based on the harmony of natural and divine elements which are reflected on gems too (cf. chapter 10.8).[132] It is no coincidence that scenes of bucolic and everyday life showing the rebirth of land raped for many years of civil wars were so popular in Augustan glyptics.[133] It is interesting to witness the integration of official and private art in terms of glyptics too. Sacro-idyllic scenes are popular not only in glyptics, but also in mosaics and paintings (for example in Pompeii).[134] Similarly, all the divine themes relating to Augustus appearing on gems should be interpreted not only according to their associations with his victories and life-story, but also considering his promotion of peace and prosperity. Combinations of symbols standing for these deities and political symbols (imperial eagle, Capricorn and sphinx) as well as scenes such as the *lupa romana* were meant to transmit positive message of the Golden Age as well (cf. chapter 10.8).[135]

Of course, this does not mean that symbolic gems which should be understood as amulets rather than connected to the promotion of Caesar's or Augustus' ideologies ceased to be produced. The two categories co-existed and this is one of the reasons why today it is so hard to establish the meaning of individual pieces.[136] It is particularly difficult to properly assess glyptics in these terms. On coins where similar sets of symbols exist, much information about their meaning is provided by the legends accompanying the images, but such legends barely exist on gems, therefore, it is difficult to assess their propagandistic value. In conclusion, symbolic gems could have been used for propaganda purposes, but certainly not to such a degree as it is usually claimed. Their iconography should not necessarily be interpreted as having political significance; there are many equally plausible explanations. Only in the cases of Julius Caesar and Octavian/Augustus (and perhaps Sulla too) are there some categories that might have had political significance because they had well-designed political programmes based on an ideology that they tried to popularise among their followers, which was attractive for all social classes as far as can

[129] Regarding the Theatre of Pompey, see the last discussion in: Kopij 2017: 208-217. Regarding civic functions in the Forum of Caesar and Forum of Augustus, see, for instance: Leland 1993: 221-222; Meneghini 2015: 19-32 and 100-106; Zanker 1968; 1988.

[130] Platz-Horster 2018: 15.

[131] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 447; Zanker 1988: 167-185.

[132] Zanker 1988: 172-183.

[133] Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994: 91.

[134] Guiraud 1974: 116-117.

[135] Maderna-Lauter 1988: 447-448.

[136] See also a well-balanced and similar opinion on Late Roman Republican symbolic gems in: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979: 7.

be judged from the material culture that has survived to our times (including gems).[137]

13.13. Luxury objects: State Cameos – carved vessels – works in the round

13.13.1. State Cameos

Augustus' establishment of a new form of power in Rome, which was in truth much closer to Hellenistic kingship than to old Republican values, required new art forms to transmit the new ideology.[138] Cameos - a Hellenistic invention - perfectly met these requirements. There was a great increase of cameo production in Rome at the time of Augustus (cf. mainly chapter 10.9 and individual pieces discussed in other chapters), but in fact, cameos had been infiltrating Roman glyptics earlier, mostly due to the activities of several political leaders in the East where they placed commissions for their own portraits to be cut in relief on precious stones. Both, Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar had their portraits cut on cameos (cf. chapters 8.1.5, 8.1.12 and 8.2.10 respectively) and other politicians visiting or residing in the East like Brutus, Cassius and Mark Antony did the same even though there is much less evidence for their engagement in propaganda on gems as far as other categories of glyptic material are concerned (cf. chapters 9.2.8 and 9.3.2.9). Cameos added much splendour and raised the social status of their owners as well as that of the people whom they depicted.

In the times of Augustus though, a special class of luxury cameos became highly popular. 'State' or 'Imperial Cameos' or its German equivalent *Staatskameen* is a term difficult to define but is frequently used for gemstones of larger formats, typically cameos carved in relief that related to the imperial court of Rome, mostly produced in the imperial court workshop. They have been discussed for centuries and have fascinated many, but a clear-cut definition of these objects has not been established yet. Usually the concept of a State Cameo can refer to objects presenting figural scenes and portraits.[139] In this study, State Cameos are understood as objects presenting allegoric representations that in all likelihood transmitted powerful propaganda messages. This mainly applies to multifigure compositions such as the famous *Gemma Augustea* but portraits on cameos, even though analysed here alongside portraits on intaglios, should be regarded as State Cameos too since they were usually exquisite products of the imperial court workshop. Moreover, many of these portraits are given individual features like various types of wreaths, military equipment and so on suggesting their purpose to be not just personal branding but also commemoration of military victories or divine references. In other words, to my mind, a State Cameo must use a sophisticated allegorical language, its quality is absolutely superb and a reference to the emperor, his circle or state is made in a sort of panegyric way.[140] Even Vergil suggests that State Cameos were historical pieces immensely important for propagation of the principate.[141] State Cameos should be recognised as the ultimate form of propaganda in terms of glyptic art. Noteworthy is that the material might be either a gemstone or glass; there are plenty of glass cameos of great quality that should not be completely excluded from the class due to the cheaper material used.[142]

State Cameos can be compared to the historical reliefs used for decorations of architectural monuments. It has been debated whether such objects were made for the inner circle of Augustus and his successors or were openly exhibited and distributed to influence many. Some scholars suggest that State Cameos would have been made as gifts to a respected family in a Roman province or client kingdom.[143] Alternatively, they were cut specifically for the personal use of a close friend or relative in the inner court circle or the emperor himself.[144] Another point of view is that they were exhibited where a wider audience could admire them and appreciate the power of the imperial family reflected on these objects. Proper places for this form of display are imperial palaces or the Senate house.[145] However, temples, especially of those deities who were closely related to the ruler cannot be excluded as well. There is evidence in ancient literature that whole *dactyliothecae* of gems were treasured there (cf. chapters 8.1.2 and 8.2.1).[146] On the other hand, the history and provenance of some State Cameos like *Gemma Augustea* or *Grand Camée de France* testify that they were used by the imperial family as historical and religious pieces since transferred from Rome to Constantinople.[147]

State Cameos started to be produced only under Augustus and their purpose was purely Hellenistic, transferred from Alexandria to Rome (cf. chapter 10.9). Apart from their educational and panegyric functions, they were surely objects raising social status by giving their owners *auctoritas maxima* as stated by Pliny the Elder.[148] Only the emperor was able to hire the best engravers who could produce pieces of this kind. In this study, I have presented and discussed

[137] Zanker 1988: 62.
[138] Toso 2007: 17-18.
[139] Regarding portraits, see: Seidmann 1993. For a general discussion, see: Lang 2012: 102; Lapatin 2015: 107-128; Maderna-Lauter 1988: 442; Sena Chiesa 2009: 83-85; Toso 2007: 9 and 17-18.
[140] Megow 1987: 134.
[141] Vergil, *Aen.* 6.883.
[142] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 146-147.
[143] Pollini 1993.
[144] Megow 1987: 150.
[145] Casagrade-Kim 2018: 104; Gross 2008: 19; Guiraud 1996: 116-121.
[146] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.11.
[147] Zwierlein-Diehl 2008: 25.
[148] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.23, 85; Sena Chiesa 2009b: 85.

all known State Cameos that were produced under Augustus or slightly after his death. It is clear that those objects were highly influential works of art intended to have an impact on the inner circle of the imperial court. All of them demonstrate wonderful visualisations of Augustus' political programme and were powerful means of propaganda also aimed at popularising images of Augustus' successors and other members of the Julio-Claudian family. Because of their special status and exhibition to a limited but well-educated audience, State Cameos promoted ideas of the emperor's glorification and continuity of the dynasty he founded at a level which could not be obtained in any other branch of Roman art. State Cameos are the best illustrations of the double-game played by Augustus. His official attitude was completely different to that kept inside his palace. State Cameos are among the few objects which allow us to see the true face of Augustus and his imperialism.[149] The phenomenon of these masterpieces flourished well into the 1st century AD, especially during the reign of the Julio-Claudian family thanks to the continuity guaranteed by Livia and Tiberius, so eagerly promoted on cameos (cf. chapter 10.10).[150] The success of Augustus' activities in this field is confirmed by numerous examples of his posthumous portraits cut on exceptional cameos where he is given divine status (cf. chapter 10.11).

13.13.2. Carved vessels

Concerning vessels carved in precious stones, these also became one of the definitive forms of propaganda in glyptics and they started to be produced in Rome only under Augustus. Henig observes that there are great similarities between some glyptic objects of this kind and artistic metalworking.[151] Toreutics was often employed for Roman propaganda, especially in the times of Augustus and the famous Boscoreale Cups are the best examples of that phenomenon.[152] Similarly, Arretine bowls were distinguished objects that were subject to Augustus' propaganda and reflected its effectiveness among wealthy Romans.[153] In the case of gemstones, vessels carved out of multi-layered sardonyx as well as moulded in glass constitute a category of objects that like State Cameos stand out and gave wide opportunities for their use as propaganda.

Although the most common use of gemstones in the Roman Republican and Augustan periods was for intaglios and cameos, they were sometimes also used to make vessels decorated with figurative reliefs. The agate, onyx and sardonyx vessels with complex and beautiful decoration usually presented whole narratives related to the ruling family and specific, highly important events. They were originally crafted at the Hellenistic court of the Ptolemies, but the concept and the form was adopted by the Romans and much exploited especially under Augustus (cf. chapter 10.9).[154] These objects are rare and the examples that have survived have been sought after for centuries, such as the onyx Cup of the Ptolemies and the *phiale* known as the Tazza Farnese.[155] Their value was beyond measure and even glass vessels such as the famous Portland Vase were regarded as highly sophisticated due to the amount of work invested in their creation and the exceptional skills of the craftsmen that made them. Unadorned gemstone vessels were also produced and many more of these survive, in forms similar to those used for precious metal and fine wear ceramics.[156] According to Pliny, the most highly prized vessels in Rome were produced of a gemstone known as *murra*, which is today associated with fluorite.[157] It had fabulous purple streaks and the vessels made of it were suited for taking both hot and cold drinks, and could reach astronomical prices from 70,000 to even 1,000000 sesterces for a single cup.[158] Beyond the shadow of a doubt, such vessels represented the height of luxury and were reserved for the use of the very wealthy as an alternative to silver plates.[159] Even the modest Octavian did not hesitate to take one precious object from the Ptolemies' treasury after the battle of Actium – a *murrhine* bowl.[160] However, it was Pompey the Great, who brought about 2,000 *murrhine vessels* and other types of precious gems to Rome first after the defeat of Mithridates VI Eupator in 61 BC. He displayed them during his triumph and ultimately dedicated them to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill (cf. chapters 8.1.1 and 8.1.2).[161] Pompey's example was followed by others, but according to my research, all the known surviving examples date to Augustan times (cf. chapter 10.9). Even though they were restricted to the inner circle of the first emperor, their propagandistic value was considerable. It is not easy to say whether they were produced on the commission of the head of state or of men who were trying to express their support for him. As discussed in chapter 10.9, some of the vessels definitely commemorated important events in the life of imperial family, whereas the nature of others remains obscure. This applies, for instance, to the famous Portland Vase, which traditionally was

[149] Hannestad 1988: 77-82.
[150] We encourage to read a well-arranged section on the issue in: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 146-170.
[151] Henig 2007: 4.
[152] Kuttner 1995.
[153] Łuszczewska 2002.
[154] Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 169-178.
[155] Lapatin 2015: 125; Menes 2004; Möbius 1964: 31-33; Pollini 1992; Sena Chiesa 2013.
[156] The best overview on this subject has been presented so far by Lapatin (2015: 122-126).
[157] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.203; Lapatin 2015: 122-123; Thoresen 2017: 180-182.
[158] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.18-21.
[159] Henig 2007: 4.
[160] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 71.
[161] Appian, *Mithridatica*, 12; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.12.

considered a powerful propaganda object, however, in the light of newly discovered evidence its decoration is likely to have responded to different qualities. In any case, this vase as well as other cups and bottles presented in chapter 10.9 certainly contributed to the establishment of a new image of the imperial court of Augustus. Even if their decorations are not directly related to propaganda issues, their presence itself was a powerful statement of pathos and splendour. Similarly to the State Cameos, carved vessels present the true immodest face of the imperial court of Augustus.

13.13.3 Works in the round

Politics was an extremely engaging part of Roman social life. It successfully infiltrated the private sphere and thanks to some works in the round carved in precious stones one investigates a phenomenon which may be called a private cult of political leaders which is in fact a bottom-up initiative and a part of the propaganda machinery functioning under Augustus and after his death. It derives from an ancient tradition of honouring prominent Romans by displaying their death masks (*imagines*) in the *atria* of their own houses.[162] Such practices are well researched regarding the Roman imperial period, when Roman emperors were revered by their followers. The Roman imperial cult was an institutionalized system of religious devotion which afforded sacrifice to deceased and, in some respects, living emperors and their families. emperor worship was practised from the time of Augustus until the end of the 3rd century AD.[163] In Roman Republican times this kind of cult had a much less official character, although, the mask of Scipio Africanus was stored in the Temple of Jupiter, which was a statement of public recognition beyond the shadow of a doubt.[164] Archaeology provides us with a number of interesting sources proving that the cult of prominent Romans was present even in the houses of ordinary people. For instance, there is a series of little terracotta and bronze figurines of Pompey the Great that could have been used for his cult in private houses belonging to his followers.[165] It is evident that such objects were produced in a series from one matrix and the preserved fragments show that Pompey was presented as a Roman general wearing the *paludamentum*, at least on some of them.[166] Whether those figurines were made within the lifetime of Pompey or after his death is debated, but their existence proves that his propaganda actions were successful as they induced reactions from the target groups.[167]

Glyptics delivers much evidence on the matter of the cult of prominent Romans and emperors in the private sphere too. In the times of Augustus a considerable production of little figurines gets underway, usually busts presenting the first emperor and members of his family (cf. chapter 10.9) in precious and semi-precious stones as well as glass. It was Furtwängler who recognised those statuettes usually of very high quality as luxurious objects.[168] He stressed that the tradition of their production was borrowed from the Greeks. Little statuettes in the round were produced on the court of Ptolemies and then, the concept was probably transferred to Rome where the earliest examples can be dated to the 1st century BC and they perfectly fitted earlier Roman traditions described above.[169] In fact, gemstone figurines were a natural continuation from cameos modelled in high relief, simply removing the background altogether and continuing the engraving on the other side. Over half of the surviving examples represent deities and it has been suggested that such statuettes were made for use in the household shrines of the very wealthy.[170] The rest are mostly heads and busts of the members of imperial family with the primary role for Augustus himself. Suetonius offers a highly interesting account related to those little figurines. He describes that two children of Agrippina the Elder and Germanicus died when they were still in infancy, and one just as he was reaching the age of boyhood, had his own statue, in the guise of Cupid, dedicated by Livia (his grandmother) in the Temple of Capitoline Venus, while Augustus had another placed in his bed chamber and used to kiss it fondly whenever he entered the room.[171] The mentioned figurine must have been one of those chalcedony busts presenting young princes as Cupids preserved in relatively large numbers in various museum collections.[172] Another valuable author is Pliny the Elder who informs us that he had seen a large jasper figurine of Nero in full armour that was 16 inches high.[173] This information combined with the number of statuettes and busts housed today in museum collections suggests they were indeed used in the private cult of the imperial family by the wealthiest followers and supporters of Augustus and his successors. Like the terracotta and bronze heads of Pompey the Great, they played a significant role in official propaganda but due to their extraordinary value, they were reserved only for the few.

13.14. Final remarks

The conclusion of the research carried out on the problem of the use of engraved gems for self-

[162] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXV.4-11; Fejfer 2008: 24-25; Hopkins 1985: 255-256.
[163] See, for instance: Brodd and Reed (eds) 2011; Burton 1912; Gradel 2004; Price 1986; Walker and Burnett 1981: 9.
[164] Taylor 1931: 55; Walbank 1986: 120-137.
[165] Kopij 2017: 232-234.
[166] Bentz 1992.
[167] Kopij 2017: 234.
[168] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 334-336.
[169] Furtwängler 1900, vol. III: 334.
[170] Padgett 1995: 5-7. See, the most comprehensive study on this subject so far: Gagetti 2006.
[171] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 7.
[172] Gołyźniak 2017, no. 715 (with more literature).
[173] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII.37.

presentation and propaganda purposes in the Roman Republic and under Augustus is that glyptics indeed played a significant role in propaganda machinery. Intaglios and cameos were frequently employed, first of all to popularise images of both the main political figures as well as those less successful ones. They were tremendously important in integration propaganda serving as tokens of allegiance to specific political factions. This has further implications because one supposes that many intaglios and cameos, especially glass ones, were produced because there was a demand for them among soldiers and followers of political leaders which proves that their propagandistic campaigns were largely successful. Moreover, gems often commemorated military victories, appointments to positions and offices and other major career points of a vast numbers of Roman statesmen. They were also helpful in the display of particular qualities and virtues of propagandists whether they issued and used them personally or encouraged others to produce them. Furthermore, intaglios and especially cameos guaranteed social distinction and created a powerful image of the Julio-Claudian dynasty suitable to the new form of rule in Rome. Thanks to them top politicians elevated their ancestors and themselves to the level of mythological figures and deities through comparison and even full identification with their patrons. All of this was possible due to the private character of glyptic art that often allowed bolder propaganda messages than any other branch of Roman art. The impact of propaganda practiced in glyptics on public opinion seems weaker if compared to coinage or sculpture at the first glance. However, gems due to their unique forms, rare and exclusive materials used, unlimited charm of the hardstones employed and workmanship invested in giving them a proper shape and carving the image, powerful resonance and usefulness within the society (glass gems), affected those who had sophisticated and high demands like nobility, high-ranking officers and client rulers as well as ordinary citizens and regular soldiers. This makes glyptics one of the most successful propaganda channels in ancient Rome. Furthermore, hardstone intaglios and cameos and especially glass ones confirm that propaganda campaigns carried out by top statesmen like Sextus Pompey or Octavian/Augustus were largely successful since their followers reproduced the messages on their own commissions or purchases. In this respect, glyptics offers a unique opportunity not only to see Roman propaganda in action, but also to measure its successfulness. The research presented here only outlines a general image, which hopefully will convince scholars to include the products of ancient glyptic art in their studies of propaganda machinery. There is clearly still much to discover and discuss as far as individual issues are concerned; the chapter on Augustus' propaganda in glyptics is just an introduction with an invitation to future studies of Roman imperial propaganda reflected in glyptics.

Part V

Catalogue, figures, bibliography and indices

Part V of the study includes all the supplementary data to the study parts (I-IV). The catalogue consists of a list of objects used in the study (2913). By no means it purports to be a complete corpus but a collection of the most significant items with as many analogies provided as possible. It also comprises specimens which are said to have been related to politics and propaganda even though my research proves otherwise. This is done in order to provide a systematic overview of the problematic pieces as well. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition of information, each entry includes just the basic information about the objects, but references to the publications that provide with details such as dimensions, colours etc. are given as well. The sequence of numbering is consistent with chapters' labelling, thus, object numbers should be read as 6.1, 6.2, 6.3... 7.1, 7.2, 7.3 and so on. This system is applied in the analytical part of the book. Objects illustrated on the plates are marked with a proper figure number (Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3 etc.). Furthermore, when the object has been positively verified as possibly transmitting a political message or probably used for propaganda or could have any other political significance and application, this is marked with '**P.**' (political significance/propaganda) added after its catalogue number. When my investigation failed to give it such an attribution and thus, mostly in chapter 6, one cannot decide whether the gem should be associated with any political action, there is no '**P.**' indicated. It is noteworthy that only the specimens marked with '**P.**' could have been taken into account in the provenance studies and statistics (cf. chapters 11-12). Information on object's provenance is given whenever possible, immediately after the name of the institution where it is kept. If no former collection or find place is indicated, the specimen's provenience and provenance are unknown. Provenance of the gems used in the study is discussed in chapter 11. The brief descriptions of the subjects are standardised and when a subject is described as on the actual stone, this is indicated by OR, while if described as from impression, this is indicated by AR. Consequently, the catalogue is followed by figures, bibliography and abbreviations and figure credits.

Catalogue

6. Beginnings (3rd-2nd century BC)

6.1. Etruscan and Italic traditions (auto-presentation)

6.1.1. Etruscan and a globolo examples

1. (Figure 1) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, banded agate, second half of the 5th century BC, OR: A young, naked man standing face forward, with his head bowed down to the left. He washes his hair using his hands above a Luterion. Inscription: ΠΕΛΕ.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 46.

2. Göteborg, Stadsmuseum, carnelian, 4th century BC, OR: Chariot-scene: *biga*.
Publ.: Hansson 2005, no. 289.

3. (Figure 2) Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, carnelian, 4th century BC, OR: Male figure with dog and pedum (or cleaver).
Publ.: Hansson 2005, no. 596.

4. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, carnelian, 4th century BC, OR: Hound.
Publ.: Hansson 2005, no. 628.

5. Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, carnelian, c. 460 BC, OR: Two warriors in a fight.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 113.

6. (Figure 3) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, carnelian, late 4th-early 3rd century BC, OR: Horseman.
Publ.: Hansson 2005, no. 112.

7. (Figure 4) Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, carnelian, 5th century BC, OR: Dancing satyr.
Publ.: Boardman 1975, no. 122.

8. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, said to be from Arezzo, Evans and Lewes House collection, carnelian, c. 480-450 BC, OR: Eros.
Publ.: Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 45.

9. (Figure 5) Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, late 4th-early 3rd century BC, OR: Haruspex.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 53.

10. (Figure 6) London, The British Museum, said to have been found in Cortona, Castellani collection, carnelian, first half of the 4th century BC, OR: Gem engraver or carpenter at work.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 645.

11. (Figure 7) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Athlete.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 129.

12. (Figure 8) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, chalcedony, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Hound.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 187.

6.1.2. Warriors

13. Ferrara, Museo civico, banded agate, 2nd century BC, AR: Warrior with a sword, chlamys and lance.
Publ.: Agostini 1984, no. 4.

14. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: Naked warrior or gladiator to the front holding a palm branch and a shield.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1267.

15. (Figure 9) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Naked Roman warrior or god Mars leaning on a spear with a shield in his right arm and helmet on the head.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 127.

16. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Paris, Arndt collection, carnelian, 3rd century BC, OR: Kneeling warrior.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 737.

17. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Paris, Arndt collection, carnelian, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Bust of a young warrior holding a hammer and a shield to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 867.

18. (Figure 10) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King collection, gift of Johnston, carnelian, 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: Kneeling warrior who wears a crested helmet and tunica and holds a large shield and spear.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 220.

19. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Naked warrior standing to the front with a shield decorated with rays in his left arm and a palm branch on his right hand.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1518.

20. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, 2nd century BC, OR: Naked warrior (except for a mantel and helmet) leaning on a spear and holding a round shield.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 114; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 389.

21. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, early 2nd century BC, AR: Roman footman with shield and spear to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 101.

22. Bern, University Museum, Merz collection, banded agate, early 3rd century BC, AR: Naked warrior holding a spear and helmet in his hands.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 147.

23. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, rock crystal, 2nd century BC, OR: Naked warrior wearing a helmet and leaning on his round shield, a spear in the field. He holds a human head on his outstretched right hand.
Publ.: Casal Garcia 1990, no. 92.

24. (Figure 14) Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, sardonyx, 2nd century BC, OR: Naked warrior standing with a spear and sword to the right. Inscription: EYTYKI.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 111; Zazoff 1983, pl. 77.6.

25. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after a sapphire intaglio now in Florence, 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: Warrior to the front. Inscription: BLETE.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 129.

26. (Figure 12) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, nicolo, 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: Group of three warriors.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 137.

6.1.3. Heroes

27. Ferrara, Museo civico, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: Oedipus standing before a rock with a sphinx atop.
Publ.: Agostini 1984, no. 95.

28. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, banded agate, second half of the 3rd-first half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Argonaut building a ship.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 43.

29. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Heracles wearing lionskin on the head. Inscription: CLYM.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 86.

30. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Omphale wearing lionskin and shouldering Heracles' club.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 92.

31. Torino, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Di Netro collection, carnelian, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: Ajax (or Achilles?) sitting on a stool and mourning death of his companion Patroclus.
Publ.: **Bollati and Messina 2009, no. 68.**

32. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, sardonyx, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Omphale wearing lionskin and shouldering Heracles' club.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 313.

33. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, sardonyx, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: Diomedes running out with Palladion.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 677.

34. (Figure 11) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, first half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Cadmus taking water from the fountain which is flowing from a rock into the vessel after slaying the serpent.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 96.

35. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Perseus holding a shield and head of Medusa.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1417.

36. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Assouad de Marseille collection, carnelian, first half of the 1st century BC, set in ancient gold ring, OR: Victorious Perseus to the left holding head of Medusa in the right hand, a shield at his foot.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 30.

37. (Figure 13) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, carnelian, 2nd century BC, OR: Dolon running to left holding two spears. Inscription M CAVI.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1987,0212.586.

38. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, onyx, 2nd century BC, OR: Diomedes with Palladion and sword marching to the right.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 85.

6.1.4. Horse riders

39. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, carnelian, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Horse ridder galloping to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2378.

40. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, carnelian, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Horse ridder piercing a collapsing footman with his spear.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2380.

41. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Saulini collection, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: Thracian horse ridder stepping forward near to his horse.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3290.

42. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: Three horse riders fighting each other.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3298.

43. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, red jasper, 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: Horse rider with two spears and round shield standing next to his horse.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 681; Zazoff P. (1983), pl. 77.11.

44. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Roman general galloping on a horse to the left.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 367; Zazoff P. (1983), pl. 77.12.

45. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 3rd – early 2nd century BC, AR: Horseman galloping with a spear to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 87.

46. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 3rd – early 2nd century BC, AR: Horseman galloping with another horse by his side to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 88.

47. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Duval collection, glass gem, late 3rd-early 2nd century BC, set in an ancient gold ring, AR: Horseman galloping with another horse by his side to the right, he shoulders a palm branch.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 89.

48. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 3rd century BC; AR: Horse rider with one hand thrown back galloping to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 40.10; Vollenweider 1979, no. 91.

49. (Figure 15) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, end of the 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: Naked horse rider with a shield on a galloping horse with a pilos on his head tries to pull an arrow from his side. Inscription: V•P.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 138.

50. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Rome in a tomb at Esquiline, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Auriga riding a chariot to the right.
Publ.: Babelon 1899, no. 130.

51. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, de Clercq and Boisgelin collection, garnet (hyacinth), second half of the

2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Roman rider galloping on his horse to the right. He wears a mantle and holds a spear.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 11.

52. (Figure 16). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, yellow jasper, 1st century BC, set in ancient silver ring, OR: Italic horse rider galloping to the left.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 402.

53. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, mottled jasper, 1st century BC, OR: Horse rider with a spear and long oval shield (Celtic?). Inscription: BACI (perhaps ΒΑΣΙ(ΛΕΩΣ)).
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 7.29.

54. Jerusalem, The Pontifical Biblical Institute, sardonyx, 50 BC-AD 50, OR: Two horse riders confronted in a combat, the third one has fallen his horse.
Publ.: Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 55.

55. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, Mohamed Sultan collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: Horse rider galloping to the right. He might be a Roman general with a spear (?) and flowing cloak.
Publ.: Boussac and Starkis-Roscam 1983, no. 43.

56. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, Mohamed Sultan collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: Three horse riders in a fight.
Publ.: Boussac and Starkis-Roscam 1983, no. 44.

57. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, onyx, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Horse rider with a round shield galloping to the right.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 31.

58. Whereabouts unknown, Sa'd collection, possibly found in the vicinity of Gadara, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Horse rider on a galloping horse to the left holding a Celtic shield and spear.
Publ.: Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 286.

6.1.5. Sacro-idyllic scenes

59. (Figure 17) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, banded agate, 1st century BC, OR: Satyr pouring wine from a wineskin to the crater.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 68.

60. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, chalcedony, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Sacro-idyllic scene: priest (or Papposilen) playing a double-flute in front of a burning altar and Priapus-herm on a pillar.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 148.

6.1.6. Priests, sacrifice scenes and augurate symbols

61. (Figure 18) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Symbols of augurate: a lidded jug (guttus?) or sacrificial Ewer (capis) and lituus.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 210.

62. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, c. 100 BC, AR: Busts of two priests with apex on the heads.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 869; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 14.5.

63. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem, c. 100 BC, AR: Bust of an augur to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 15.2.

64. Private collection, said to have been found in Aquileia, glass gem, c. 100 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 15.1.

65. Udine, Civici Musei, nicolo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Head of a Roman priest to the right wearing tutulus, a close-fitting round cap, tied under the chin with strings (offendices).
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 377; Buora and Prenc (eds) 1996, no. 110.

66. London, The British Museum, Carlisle collection, nicolo, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1015; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 33.3.

67. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sardonyx, 3rd century BC, AR: Augur steps to the left, holding lituus in his hands.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 870; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 131.1.

68. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, praser, 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: Haruspex performing a ritual.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 76.

69. Pavia, Museo dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Pavia, nicolo, 1st century BC, OR: Victorious Roman general with two of his companions about to sacrifice a bull on altar standing in front of them.
Publ.: Tomaselli et al. 1987, no. G.27.

70. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in southern Italy, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, late 3rd century BC (possibly c. 217 BC?), OR: Roman soldier or general scarifying a bull to god Mars standing next to him on the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 8.

71. (Figure 19) Philadelphia, University Museum, purchased in Rome, Sommerville collection, carnelian late 3rd-early 2nd century BC, OR: Samnitian warrior making an offer (ver sacrum) with a bull before or after a battle, two other warriors in the field.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 121; Berges 2002, no. 64; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 384.

6.1.7. Occupations

72. (Figure 20) Whereabouts unknown, unknown material, first half of the 1st century BC, AR: Banker at work.
Publ.: Lippold 1922, pl. 57.12; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 596.

73. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, sard, 1st century BC, AR: Fisherman.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 149.

6.2. Hellenistic influences

6.2.1. Hellenistic rulers

74. (Figure 21) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Tyszkiewicz collection, chalcedony, 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: Laureate and bearded head of a man (possibly of Philip V or Nabis of Sparta), in profile to the left.
Publ.: Plantzos 1999, no. 92.

75. Art Market, garnet, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Portrait of a Ptolemaic king (Ptolemy IX, Soter II?) to the left.
Publ.: Christie's 27 October 2009, lot 119.

76. (Figure 22) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, garnet, 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: Portrait of Arsinoe II or Berenike II to the left.
Publ.: Plantzos 1999, no. 35.

77. Paris, Louvre Museum, Nalopeon III collection, gold ring, c. 186-145 BC, OR: Portrait of a Ptolemaic king (Ptolemy VI Philometer?) to the left.
Publ.: Lapatin 2015, pl. 44a.

6.2.2. Scipio Africanus

78. P. (Figure 23) Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, said to have been found in Santa Maria Capua Vetere, gold ring, c. 200 BC or slightly after, OR: Head of Scipio Africanus (?) to the left. Signed by Herakleidas: (...) ΑΚΛΕΙΔΑC ΕΠΟCΙ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 37.1-2; Ward et al. 1981, no. 56; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, no. 1; Lapatin 2015, pl. 47.

79. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, early 2nd century BC, AR: Head of Scipio Africanus (?) to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3340.

80. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 200 BC, AR: Head of Scipio Africanus (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 38.7 and 11; Vollenweider 1979, no. 93.

81. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 200 BC, AR: Head of Scipio Africanus (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 39.4; Vollenweider 1979, no. 95.

82. P. Athens, Coin Cabinet of the National Museum, Karapanou collection, glass gem, c. 200 BC or slightly after, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 38.10 and 12.

83. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 200 BC, OR: Head of Scipio Africanus (?) to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1885; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 39.2.

84. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 200 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1886; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 39.3.

85. P. (Figure 24) Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, c. 200 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 195; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 39.5.

6.2.3. Portraits of the Romans (Hellenistic gems)

86. P. (Figure 25) Paris, Bibliothéque national de France, de Clercq and Boisgelin collection, garnet, c. 200-190 BC, OR: Bust of a young Roman (T. Quinctius Flamininus?) to the left, with short curly hair and slight beard, dressed in chlamys. Signed by Daidalos: ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟC.
Publ.: Richter 1968, no. 675; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 44.1-2 and 45.1; Plantzos 1999, no. 611; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 2; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 427; Aubry 2009, p. 30.

87. P. Chicago, Oriental Institute, bought in Beirut in 1953, said to have been found in Syria with Seleucid coins dating down to the time of Tryphon (?-138 BC), garnet, 2nd century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right. Signed by Menophilos: ΜΕΝΟΦΙΛΟC ΕΠΟΙΕΙ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 136.1-2 and 6; Plantzos 1999, no. 621; Lapatin 2015, pl. 90.

88. P. Private collection, garnet, 2nd century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman to the left, with short curly hair, dressed in chlamys.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 53.1; Plantzos 1999, no. 612.

89. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, jasper, 1st century BC, OR: Side A – Head of a Roman with short hair, slightly receding at the temples. Side B – gorgoneion.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1009; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXIII.18, vol. II, p. 163; AGDS II, no. 224; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 42.6; Plantzos 1999, no. 614.

90. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national de France, Luynes collection, mottled jasper, second half of the 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a middle-aged Roman to the right, with short curly hair.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXIII.11, vol. II, p. 162; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 42.1; Plantzos 1999, no. 613; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 1.

91. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national de France, de Clercq and Boisgelin collection, garnet, c. 200-180 BC, set in ancient gold ring, AR: Bust of a Roman wearing chlamys to the right.
Publ.: Ridder de 1911, no. 3207; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 46.4; Plantzos 1999, no. 615; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 4.

92. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national de France, Seyrig collection, bronze ring, 2nd century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 5.

93. P. (Figure 26) London, The British Museum, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Bust of a beardless Roman to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3252.

94. P. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Ludovisi, Tyszkiewicz and Lewes House collection, sard, late 2nd century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Beazley 1920, no. 100; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 100.

95. P. (Figure 27) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, purchased in Athens, Evans and Lewes House collection, sard, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Bust of an elderly Roman in a corselet and cloak to the right.
Publ.: Beazley 1920, no. 116; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 116.

96. P. (Figure 28) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Ludovisi, Tyszkiewicz and Lewes House collection, black jasper, late 2nd century BC, OR: Head of an elderly Roman to the left.
Publ.: Beazley 1920, no. 101; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 101.

6.3. Roman tradition (auto-presentation)

6.3.1. Family symbols and references to familial stories on gems

6.3.1.1. Dog on prow

97. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Chester collection, banded agate, 1st century BC, OR: Maltese dog on a ship prow.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 31; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.38.

98. P. (Figure 29). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Dog running above a ship prow.
Publ.: Campagnolo and Fallani 2018, no. IX.3.i, p. 159.

6.3.1.2. Bull – gens Thoria

99. P. (Figure 30) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, late 2nd century BC, OR: Bull charging with raised hooves to the left.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2216.

6.3.1.3. Diana of Ephesus – gens *Aemilia*

100. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Pompeii, hyacinth, 1st century BC, OR: Head of Diana of Ephesus.
Publ.: Pannuti 1983, no. 223.

101. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, agate, 1st century BC, OR: Head of Diana of Ephesus.
Publ.: Pannuti 1994, no. 228.

102. (Figure 32) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, nicolo, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Diana of Ephesus to the left.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 85.

6.3.1.4. Heracles – gens *Fabia and Antonia*

103. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Heracles wrestling with a lion.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 280.

104. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Athena crowning Heracles (Hellenistic?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 66; LIMC V, (1990), 145 s.v. Herakles, no. 3100 (J. Boardman et al.).

105. (Figure 33) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, banded agate, 2nd century BC, OR: Heracles leading Kerberos on a leash.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 101.

106. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Heracles Lenbach.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 102.

107. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Heracles Bibax.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 103.

108. (Figure 34a-b) Krakow, National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, chrom-chalcedony, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Heracles to the right with lyre. Inscription: N•CAVII.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 116.

109. Krakow, National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Laureate head of Heracles to the right.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 119.

6.3.1.5. Vulcan – gens *Caecilia*

110. (Figure 35) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Vulcan working on Achilles' shield.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 165.

111. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, mid-1st century BC, OR: Thetis ordering a shield for Achilles at Vulcan.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 166.

112. P. (Figure 36) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, amethyst, last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Vulcan to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 408.

6.3.1.6. Dioscuri – gens *Servilia Geminia*

113. P. (Figure 39) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, late 2nd century BC, OR: Dioscuri on horseback rearing in opposing directions.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2563.

6.3.1.7. Ancus Marcius – gens *Marcia and Numa Pomilius and his sons (Calpus, Pinus, Pompo, Mamercus, Aemylos) – gentes Calpurnia, Pinaria, Pomponia, Aemilia*

Elder male heads

114. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Currié collection, sardonyx, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Helmeted head of a bearded, old man to the right (Mars or Roman king?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 10.12.

115. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6527; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXX.28; AGDS II, no. 405; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 9.14; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 405.

116. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 289.

117. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 290.

118. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 9.15; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 552.

119. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 9.13.

120. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, 3rd century BC, OR: As above. Inscription: ALEO(V?).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 122.

121. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 123; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 10.8.

122. P. Krakow, National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 145.

123. P. (Figure 40) Krakow, National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 146.

124. P. Rome, DAI, impression after carnelian or sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 9.10.

125. P. Art Market, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Christie's 8 December 1999, lot 59.

126. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, gift of H.C. Caulfield, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Archaising head of Dionysus.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 238.

127. (Figure 41) Krakow, National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Archaising head of Jupiter to the left.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 87.

128. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King and Johnston collection, carnelian, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Archaising bust of Mercury.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 10.1.

129. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a bearded, old man to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 10.4.

130. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5021; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 10.3.

131. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 165.

132. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, nicolo, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 166.

133. P. (Figure 42) Berlin, Antikensammlung, purchased in Rome, Dressel collection, chalcedony, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above. Inscription: SECVNDI.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 167.

134. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection glass gem, c. 50-48 BC, AR: Bust of a bearded, old man to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 117.

135. P. Munich, Glyptothek, Hansmann collection, nicolo, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a bearded, old man to the right.
Publ.: Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 40.

136. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 10.2; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 198.

137. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 10.7; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 560.

138. P. (Figure 43) Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 276; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 10.5.

Young male heads

139. P. Rome, Museo nazionale romano di Palazzo Massimo, sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a youth (son of Numa Pompilius?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.9.

140. P. Vatican, Coin Cabinet, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.6.

141. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, garnet, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.8.

142. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1878; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.10.

143. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ambras collection, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.5; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 795.

144. P. (Figure 50) London, The British Museum, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3238; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.16.

145. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, purchased in Smyrna (Izmir), sealing, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.18.

146. P. Copenhagen, National Museum, sard, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.1.

147. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.13.

148. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.15.

149. P. Private collection (Italy), sard, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.3.

6.3.1.8. Horologium – gens *Marcia*

150. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Solar Horologium on a Corinthian capitel.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2110.

151. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Barcelona, Arndt collection, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2111.

152. P. (Figure 51a-b) Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, glass gem, set in a bronze and gold-plated ring, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 533.

153. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 534.

154. P. (Figure 52) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Solar Horologium on a Corinthian capitel combined with a male head.

Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 947.

155. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, recut in the second half of the 2nd century AD, OR: A column supporting a sundial, on one side of it is a sword, on the other is a helmet, inscribed: A•FOL•. On the reverse: laureate head of Commodus.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2018.

6.3.1.9. Two priests facing each other – gens *Minucia Augurinia*

156. P. (Figure 54) Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, late 2nd century BC, OR: Two priests, long-draped, standing face to face; on the left an augur with lituus in his right hand, opposite to him a priest with a ladle in his right hand, and mantle drawn over his head.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 177.

6.3.2. Portraits on gems – Roman tradition

6.3.2.1. Frontal portraits

Younger

157. P. Rome, Museo nazionale romano di Palazzo Massimo, glass gem, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Frontal bust of a young Roman wearing toga over tunic.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 29.7.

158. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Frontal bust of a young Roman.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 29.11.

159. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Frontal bust of a young Roman wearing toga.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 26.13.

160. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, sard, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 29.3.

161. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sard, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Frontal bust of a young Roman.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1795; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 29.12.

162. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, sard, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Frontal bust of a young Roman wearing toga.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 375.

163. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the front.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1055.

164. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Frontal bust of a young Roman wearing toga.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 26.9 and 12; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.26.

165. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Gedney Beatty, jasper, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 29.2.

166. P. London, The British Museum, Hertz collection, glass gem set in ancient, bronze ring, early 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3251.

167. P. (Figure 55). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above, in hatched border.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 481.

168. P. Private collection, sard, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 29.1 and 4.

169. P. Rome, DAI, impression after intaglio, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 26.8 and 11.

Older

170. P. Private collection, impression, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Frontal bust of a Roman general.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 29.6.

171. P. Private collection, carnelian, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Frontal bust of a Roman imperator.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 30.7 and 10 and 31.1-2.

6.3.2.2. Profile portraits

Unbearded

172. P. Trieste, Museo di Storia ed Arte, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 8.3.

173. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1876; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 9.3.

174. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1698; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 8.5.

175. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 433; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 8.6 and 8.

176. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 483; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 9.8.

177. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 8.10; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 197.

178. P. Péronne, Danicourt collection, onyx, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right. Inscription: VIRIOU.
Publ.: Boardman 1971, no. 76 (https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems/danicourt/default.htm - retrieved on 15 January 2018).

179. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 8.13; Vollenweider 1979, no. 112.

180. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: As above.

Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 8.7 and 11; Vollenweider 1979, no. 113.

181. P. (Figure 56) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 9.9; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.29.

182. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, sard, set in ancient gold ring, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 284; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 8.2.

Bearded

183. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been purchased in Syria, Luynes collection, amethyst, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Bearded head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 467.

184. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Bearded head of a Roman to the right. Inscription: TM•CAT(AT in ligature)•M•N.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 7.14; Vollenweider 1979, no. 111.

185. P. (Figure 57) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, sard, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Bearded head of a Roman to the left. Inscription: CN AT STAB.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 8.4 and 12; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 96.

Individualised

186. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, gold ring, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: As above. Inscription: N(part) Λ.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 963; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 12.4.

187. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, gold ring, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 964.

188. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, second half of the 2nd century BC, AR: As above. Inscription: STRATO.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1890; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.1; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 50.7.

189. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, sard, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5094; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 50.2.

190. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, mid-2nd century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 49.1, 3 and 5.

191. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 36.1-2; Weiβ 2007, no. 374.

192. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, bronze ring, early 2nd century BC, AR: Bust of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2281; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 43.4-5.

193. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, bronze ring, 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 43.6 and 8.

194. P. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Warren collection, carnelian, second half of the 2nd century BC, OR: Bust of an elderly Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 50.1, 4 and 6.

195. P. Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College, Warren collection, chalcedony, 2nd century BC, AR: Bust of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 48.3.

196. P. (Figure 58) Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, said to have been found in Edfu, sealing, late 2nd century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman to the right (attributed to Cornelius Gallus).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 49.2.

197. P. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, said to have been found in Edfu, sealing, late 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 49.4.

Female

198. (Figure 59) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Baron de Witte collection, sard, late 3rd-early 2nd century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman lady to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 10.

6.3.3. Roman generals, consuls, imperators and dictators

6.3.3.1. Roman generals with parazonium

199. P. (Figure 60) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, agate, 2nd century BC, OR: A naked hero (or Roman general?) with left leg put on a rock holds parazonium in the left hand and a trophy in the right arm.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 131.

200. P. (Figure 61) Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Roman general wearing cuirass and holds a spear and parazonium, standing to the front.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1156.

201. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, 2nd-1st century BC; AR: Roman general wearing cuirass and holds a spear and parazonium, standing to the front.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1157.

202. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Roman general naked, stands to the front with parazonium and spear.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 32.6; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 163.

203. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: Roman imperator (?) with a spear and parazonium to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 32.3.

6.3.3.2. Roman generals with a trophy

204. P. (Figure 62) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Thoms collection, carnelian, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Roman general stands to the front beside a trophy and large round shield.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 31.3-4; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1154.

205. P. Bonn, Rheinischen Landesmuseum, Monreberg/ Altkalkar, carnelian, set in an ancient ring, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Roman general stands next to a trophy leaning on a spear and with a sword in the left hand.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1984, no. 60.

206. P. London, The British Museum, Castellani collection, carnelian, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Young, helmeted warrior

holding a round shield and spear crowns a trophy standing next to him with a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2072.

207. P. (Figure 63). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Roman general stands next to a trophy with a spear.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 581; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 32.4.

208. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost or destroyed intaglio, Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales and Charles I collection, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: Nude warrior holds a trophy and mantel, his shield in front of him.
Publ.: Henig 2008, no. 90.

209. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian, 2nd century BC, OR: Warrior sits in front of a trophy.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 232.

210. P. (Figure 64) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, early 1st century BC, OR: Roman general hands over a legionary standard to Mars holding a trophy, eagle in the field.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 35.

6.3.3.3. Roman general with spolia

211. P. (Figure 65) Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Warrior stands to the right with a spolia on the ground.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 40.

212. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, late 3rd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 875.

213. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 3rd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 746.

6.3.3.4. Roman general armed

214. P. (Figure 66) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in southern Italy, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, early 3rd century BC, OR: Roman soldier or general stands with spear and shield to the front with head turned to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 7.

215. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, purchased in Rome, Fortnum collection, sard, 2nd-1st century BC, set in modern, copper-alloy ring, OR: Naked warrior (or Roman general?), rests his right leg on a fallen column or a rock, grasping a spear in his left hand and holding a sword in the right one.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 7.31.

216. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: Jupiter or a naked heroized Roman general leans on a sceptre or spear to the front.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 41.5.

217. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 41.8.

218. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 41.10.

219. P. (Figure 67) Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, 1st century BC; OR: Naked, heroized Roman general holding a sword and tunica, leans on a spear to the front.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 400.

220. P. Private collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Roman general to the front leans on a spear.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 32.7.

221. P. (Figure 68). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, 2nd century BC, OR: Roman general (?), fully armed, stands on a prow with a spear and shield.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 132.

6.3.3.5. Roman general standing next to his horse

222. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, purchased in Perugia, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Horseman stands next to his horse to the left.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 340.

223. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, purchased in Perugia, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 341.

224. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: Victorious horse rider wearing pileus stands next to his horses to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1138.

225. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1139.

226. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Victorious Roman general stands next to his horse.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 391.

227. P. (Figure 69) Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 392.

228. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: Naked, young warrior stands next to his horse with a round shield in his hand.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 735.

229. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Young warrior stands next to his horse. A column in the field.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 736.

230. P. (Figure 70) Art market, banded agate, 1st century BC, OR: Roman general stands next to his horse with a spear.
Publ.: Christie's, 6 December 2007, lot 330.

6.3.3.6. Roman general galloping on a horse

Equestrian statue

231. P. (Figure 71) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Victorious Roman general rides a horse or an equestrian statue.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 140.

232. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Victorious Roman general rides a horse. He is holds a round shield.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 393.

233. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, 3rd century BC, AR: Roman general gallops on his horse to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 737.

234. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, found in Aquileia, glass gem, 3rd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 738.

235. P. (Figure 72) Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Victorious Roman general rides a horse. He holds a spear or legionary standard.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 394.

236. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Victorious Roman general rides a biga.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 395.

237. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Victorious Roman general leads quadriga.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 396.

238. P. (Figure 73) Copenhagen, National Museum, glass gem, 3rd century BC, OR: Victorious Roman general stands beside to his horse to the left, behind him Athena with shield and spear.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 7.8.

Roman horse rider galloping and seen from behind

239. Verona, Musei Civici, carnelian, 2nd century BC, OR: Equestrian statue or a man gallops on a horse in three-quarter view from behind, wearing a cloak, holding a shield and a spear.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa, Magni and Tassinarri 2009, no. 994.

240. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1146.

241. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1147.

242. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1666.

243. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 166; Zazoff 1983, pl. 77.10.

244. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 167.

245. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Rome, Feuardent collection, carnelian, 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 12.

246. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 94.

247. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 96.

248. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 99.

249. Bern, University Museum, Ruesch (Zürich) and Merz collection, garnet, set in ancient gold ring, 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 151.

250. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Equestrian statue or a man gallops on a horse in three-quarter view from behind, wearing a cloak, holding a shield and a whip.
Publ.: Inv. no. 1814,0704.2643.

251. London, The British Museum, Castellani collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1049; Richter 1971, no. 49.

252. (Figure 74) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Van Hoorn van Vlooswijck collection, amethyst, 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 125.

253. (Figure 75a-b) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 139.

6.3.4. Roman state propaganda

6.3.4.1. Celtomachy

254. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: Horse rider pierces a footman with his lance.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1144.

255. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: Horse rider pierces a Gallic warrior.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4469.

256. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4470.

257. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4471.

258. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4472.

259. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4473.

260. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4474.

261. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4475.

262. P. (Figure 76) Berlin, Antikensammlung, found in Rome, carnelian, 3rd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS II, no. 343; Richter 1971, no. 46; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 424.

263. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Head of a horse combined with a Gallic shield.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 668.

264. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Horse, Gallic shield and helmet.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 873.

265. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Roman horse rider spears a Gallic warrior.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 165.

266. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection glass gem, late 3rd-early 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 167.

267. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 166.

268. P. London, The British Museum, agate, 2nd century BC, AR: A horse ridder galloping to the left and spearing a Gallic footman.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2114.

269. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2115.

270. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, 2nd century BC, AR: As above, a dog in the field.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2116.

271. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, purchased in Rome, Fortnum collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 7.23.

272. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King collection, gift of Johnston, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Two Roman horse riders fight two Gallic footmen.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 233; Richter 1971, no. 45.

273. P. (Figure 77) Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after lost sard, late 4th - early 3rd century BC, OR: Roman horse ridder spears a Gallic(?) footman.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 124; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 425.

6.3.4.2. Punic, Greek and Macedonian wars

274. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: Horse rider with a large round shield rides to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1141.

275. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1142.

276. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1143.

277. P. (Figure 78) Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, late 2nd century BC, OR: Helmeted horseman with round shield and spear charges to the right.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 250.

278. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, late 3rd-2nd century BC (original gem, glass gem was made in the 1st century BC?), OR: Eastern horseman rides to the left, holding a spear. Ground line under which there is an object (a bow crossed with arrows?).
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 402.

279. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 3rd-early 2nd century BC, AR: Horse ridder gallops to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 97.

280. P. (Figure 80) Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, said to have been found in Asia Minor, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Horseman spears a fallen warrior.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 287.

6.3.4.3. Gallic captives

281. P. (Figure 81) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: Horse rider wearing pileus stands next to his horse. A kneeling man in front of him.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1140.

282. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: Naked Gallic warrior kneels keeping his large shield in left arm.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1160.

283. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 3rd-2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1161.

284. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, late 2nd century BC, AR: Gallic captive sits on the ground.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 750.

285. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, late 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 751.

286. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: Barbarian captive.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 106.

287. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 107.

288. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 108.

289. P. (Figure 82) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gedney Beatty collection, agate, 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 235.

6.3.4.4. Oath-taking scene, Caput Oli, Marcus Curtius etc.:

290. P. (Figure 83) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem or a modern glass impression? 1st century BC, OR: Dictator or Roman general offers a bull in order to thank for the military victory? A subject related to the Punic Wars?
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 321.

291. P. (Figure 84) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, chalcedony, 2nd century BC, OR: Goat stands on a ship or prow.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 457.

292. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC; OR: Three Romans discover caput oli.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 405; AGDS II, no. 348; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 552.

293. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 3rd century BC; OR: Oath taking scene involving three Romans, the one in the middle kneels, while two other warriors surround him.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1135; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, abb. 408

294. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Goat stands on a ship or prow.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 142.

295. P. (Figure 86) Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, chrom-chalcedony, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Scene of

conjuration: three warriors make a sacrifice, the one in the middle kneels with an animal.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1098.

296. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 3rd century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 40.1; Vollenweider 1979, no. 90.

297. P. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Perceval collection, nicolo, 1st century BC, OR: Two bearded countrymen, wearing rough cloaks of animal skin, stand leaning on their sticks confronting each other. Between them on the ground there is an approximately circular object, perhaps to be interpreted as a stylized human head or skull. Above it a star.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 135.

298. P. (Figure 85). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Three men around caput oli.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 195.

299. P. (Figure 88) St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Mallia coll, carnelian, 3rd-2nd century BC; OR: Marcus Curtius falling into abyss.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 78; Zazoff 1983, pl. 86.4.

300. P. (Figure 89) London, The British Museum, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Armed Roma stands with her left foot on a sphere and is approached by a winged Victory carrying a wreath and palm branch.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3087.

301. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Roma to the left holding a shield decorated with Bellerophon riding Pegasus. Inscription: HAVE ROMA
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXV.34, vol. II, p. 127.

302. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Head of Roma to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4876.

303. (Figure 90) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: As above, border of dots.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2488.

304. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Lupa romana.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4375.

305. P. (Figure 92) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gedney Beatty collection, garnet, 3rd-2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 432.

306. P. (Figure 93) Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 2nd century BC, AR: Roma seated on pile of arms observes the she-wolf suckling the twins, eagle in field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4400.

6.3.4.5. Other

307. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, first half of the 2nd century BC, AR: Rhyton terminated with a protome of a bull.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 415.

308. (Figure 95) London, The British Museum, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, set in a modern, gold ring, OR: Rhyton terminated with a protome of a goat.
Publ.: Dalton 1915, no. 1009.

309. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 168 BC? AR: Trophy.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 522.

310. P. (Figure 96). Copenhagen, Thorwaldsen Museum, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC OR: Warrior erecting a trophy.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 150.

311. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, AR: Column with a dolphin entwined and quiver with arrows hanging on it.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 537.

312. (Figure 97) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, sard, late2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club between two palm branches.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 95.

313. (Figure 98) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, nicolo, 1st century BC, OR: Palm tree with caduceus atop flanked by two cornucopiae and globes.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 214.

314. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Chester collection, sardonyx, 1st century BC, OR: Palm branch, cornucopia and dolphin.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 11.27.

315. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Chester collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Palm branch, hydria and cockerel.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 11.28.

316. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 11.29.

7. Early 1st century BC

7.1. Lucius Cornelius Sulla

7.1.1. Employment of gem engravers

Protarchos

1. P. (Figure 101) Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, onyx cameo, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Cupid playing a cithara during a ride on a large lion to the right. Signed by Protarchos: ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΕΠΟΕΙ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 12.1; Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 34; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 34.

2. P. (Figure 102) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, said to have been found near Bagdad, bought from Hayes Ward in New York, Lewes House collection, onyx cameo, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus to the front with a veil on her head and Cupid in the arm. Signed by Protarchos: ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΕΠΟΕΙ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 13.1 and 3.

3. P. (Figure 103) Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, onyx cameo, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus rides on a large lion with her veil scattered, her son Cupid holds a branch and leads the lion on a leash. Inscribed: LAVR•MED•.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 12.5.

4. P. (Figure 104) Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, onyx cameo, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus seated on a rock with Cupid on her knees in conversation with a Hermaphrodite leaning on a column. Inscribed: LAVR•MED•.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 13.5 and 7.

7.1.2. Portraits

5. P. (Figure 105) Rome, Musei Capitolini, Martinetti collection, onyx, c. 100-80 BC, OR: Head of Sulla (?) to the left decorated with a myrtle wreath, a sceptre surmounted with aequila in front of him.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 21.1, 4 and 6; Molinari et al. 1990, no. 8.

6. P. Paris, Louvre Museum, said to have been found in Smyrna (Izmir), siver plomb set in an iron ring, c. 87-85 BC, OR: Head of Sulla to the left.
Publ.: Coche de la Ferté 1956, pl. XLII.3, p. 88.

7. P. (Figure 106) Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, first half of the 1st century BC; OR: Bust of Sulla (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 36.3-4 and 11; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 562; Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.3.

8. P. (Figure 107) Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 563.

7.1.3. Commemoration

9. P. (Figure 108) Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome from Cardinal Antonelli, Arndt collection, carnelian, 1st century BC (most likely 88 BC?), OR: Two busts of the Romans (Sulla and Pompeius Rufus?) on altar flanked by two Victories holding palm branches and laurel wreaths.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 990; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 34.3-4; Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.2.

10. P. (Figure 109) Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 80-70 BC, OR: A triumphant general on a biga to the left and another man by his side.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 142.

7.1.4. Divine nature highlighted

7.1.3.1. Apollo

11. P. (Figure 111) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, sard, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Apollo with a laurel branch in front of it.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 72.

12. P. Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, said to have been found in Asia Minor, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 242.

13. P. (Figure 112) London, The British Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Punishment of Marsyas by Apollo, Olympos and Victory on the sides.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2744.

14. P. London, The British Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Punishment of Marsyas by Apollo.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2745.

7.1.3.2. Victory

15. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, early 1st century BC; AR: Victory between two trophies.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 525.

16. P. (Figure 113). London, The British Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3042.

17. P. (Figure 114) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Victory to the left.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 282.

18. P. (Figure 115) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, 1st century BC; OR: Victory with a palm branch reaching a hydria at her foot.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 239.

7.1.3.3. Heracles

19. Verona, Musei Civici, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Head of Heracles.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa, Magni and Tassinarri 2009, no. 500.

2**0. (Figure 116)** Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, chrom-chalcedony, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 117.

7.1.3.4. Dream of Sulla

2**1. (Figure 117)** Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, green jasper, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Luna approaches Endymion during his sleep.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 251.

22. Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Morrison collection, citrine, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Artemis-Selene stands right, head turned to front, crescent on head, a veil blows over her head, she holds a torch downward in her left hand, to left: LB and star, ground line.
Publ.: Spier 2001, no. 35.

23. Whereabouts unknown, Harari collection, garnet, early 1st century BC, OR: Wingless Victory-Luna with a crescent on her head, stands on a globe to the front.
Publ.: Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, no. 72.

24. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, banded agate, 1st century BC, AR: Fragment showing trunk of male figure to the left with skin tied on the breast and mantle hanging on the back, his right leg raised. On the left slight traces of another draped figure. Hatched border.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 196.

7.1.3.5. Diomedes

25. P. (Figure 119) Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, banded agate, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Diomedes with his sword and Palladion.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 114.

7.1.5. Political symbols

7.1.4.1. Symbols of augurate

2**6. (Figure 120)** London, The British Museum, Cracherode collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Ritual instruments: oinochoe, sacrificial knife (culter), lituus, patera, and hooked staff. Inscription: AV.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2635.

27. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, carnelian, mid-1st century BC, OR: Symbols of augurate.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 152.

7.1.4.2. Trophies etc:

28. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, 1st century BC; OR: Trophy.

Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5973.

29. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2134.

30. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 523.

7.1.4.3. Combinations of symbols

31. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, agate, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Palm branch, cornucopia and globe.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1419.

32. P. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, agate, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hamburg, no. 50.

33. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, early 1st century BC, AR: Cornucopia, prow and sceptre or thyrsus.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 421.

34. P. (Figure 122) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Palm branch, cornucopia and globe.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 211.

7.2. Gaius Marius

7.2.1. Portraits

35. P. (Figure 123) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, royal collection, hyacinth, first quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Gaius Marius to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 19.1-4; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 13.

36. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, glass gem, first quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 20.1 and 3.

37. P. Private collection, sard, first quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 20.2 and 4.

38. P. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, sard, first quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 97; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 20.10 and 12.

39. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, first quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 20.5-7.

40. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, first quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5067; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.16, p. 226; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 20.9 and 11.

41. P. (Figure 124) Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after lost ancient unspecified gemstone, first quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 536.

7.2.2. Political symbols

42. (Figure 125a-b) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, chalcedony, second half of the 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: A sparrow-like bird sits on a bucranium.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 185.

43. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Pompeii, carnelian, early 1st century BC, OR: Rudder and dolphin.
Publ.: Pannuti 1983, no. 291.

44. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 4.

45. Glaux-en-Glenne (Nièvre), Glux-en-Glenne, Centre européen de recherches archéologiques (Bibracte), France, carnelian, early 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1400.

46. (Figure 127). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, chalcedony, early 1st centuy BC, OR: Dolphin entwined on anchor.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 93.

7.3. Lucius Licinius Lucullus

7.3.1. Personal branding and commemoration

47. P. (Figure 129) Whereabouts unknown, lost carnelian, early 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman surrounded with an inscription L and L on both sides of the head and a dolphin with olive branch in the mouth below it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.43, vol. II, p. 227; Lippold 1922, pl. LXXI.9.

48. P. (Figure 130) Whereabouts unknown, Bessborough and Marlborough collection, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Date palm at the centre with a shield leaning at its foot, a sword, greaves and palm branch on one side and a walking dog, helmet, spear and wreath on the other one. Inscription: MEANDER.
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 431.

7.3.2. Promotion of family and political symbols

49. (Figure 131a-b) Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, chalcedony, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Parrot stands on a poppy with a butterfly riding it. Inscription: C•LUC.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 457.

7.4. Other politicians

7.4.1. Portraits

7.4.1.1. Hellenized Roman portraits

50. P. (Figure 132) Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig, hyacinth, first third of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left. Signed by Skopas: ΣΚΟΠΑΣ.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXIII.8, vol. II, p. 161; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 15.1 and 3; Richter 1968, no. 676; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 59.4; Zazoff 1983, pl. 79.9; Plantzos 1999, no. 618; Lang and Cain 2015, no. II.14.

51. P. (Figure 133) Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig, carnelian, first third of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Lang and Cain 2015, no. II.13.

52. P. (Figure 134) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Saulini, Morrison and Lewes House collection, black jasper, early 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a young Roman wearing a cloak to the left. Inscription: Π•ΠΛΙΤΙΝΙ•ΣΕΠΤΙΚΛΙ (P. Paetinius Septicianus).

Publ.: Beazley 1920, no. 121; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 121.

53. P. (Figure 135) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, bought in London, sard, early 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman in a corselet and cloak to the left. Inscription: CNTS.
Publ.: Beazley 1920, no. 118; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 118.

54. P. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, said to have been found in or near to Rome, bought in Rome, Lewes House collection, sard, early 1st century BC, set in a massive, ancient, gold ring (early Imperial), AR: Bust of an elderly Roman wearing a cloak to the right.
Publ.: Beazley 1920, no. 119; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 119.

55. P. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, said to have belonged to a Bishop of Winchester, bought in Edinburgh, Lewes House collection, chalcedony, early 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Beazley 1920, no. 120; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 120.

56. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Pompeii, carnelian, first half of the 1st century BC, set in ancient gold ring, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, no. 59.

57. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Martinetti and Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a man to the right.
Publ.: Babelon 1899, no. 153.

58. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Rome, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a bearded man to the right.
Publ.: Babelon 1899, no. 154.

59. P. (Figure 137) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been bought in Rome, Martinetti, Lovatti, Tyszkiewicz and Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, first third of the 1st century BC; OR: Head of a Roman to the left. Inscription: FAL.
Publ.: Babelon 1899, no. 151; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 58.4 and 6; Richter 1971, no. 466; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 87.1-2 and 88.1; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 15.

60. P. (Figure 136). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, first third of the 1st century BC, OR: Draped bust of a bearded Roman senator to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 51.1-3; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1153.

61. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression of a lost intaglio, early 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 34.1-2.

7.4.1.2. Roman portraits inscribed and uninscribed

62. P. (Figure 138) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, early 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a young man crowned by Victory with a laurel wreath. Inscription: LCORNELIUSLF.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 377.

63. P. Whereabouts unknown, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Head of a bearded Roman. Inscription: L•S•C.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.11, vol. II, p. 225.

64. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman. Inscription/Monogram: HA.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.12, vol. II, p. 225.

65. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, green jasper, early 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman to the right. Inscription: PLA C.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 33.4-5.

66. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Orléans collection, carnelian, early 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 91.

67. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Tatishchev collection, carnelian, early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 92.

68. P. (Figure 139) Private collection, carnelian, first third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 18.1-2.

69. P. (Figure 141) Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Currié collection, sard, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 22.1-3.

7.4.1.3. Roman frontal portraits and with attributes

70. P. (Figure 143) Private collection, nicolo, first half of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a Roman wearing toga, a corn ear in the field.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 35.1 and 3.

71. P. (Figure 144) Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Draped bust of a young Roman to the right, two spears behind his back.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1887.

72. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1888.

73. P. (Figure 145) Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio, first half of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a Roman wearing laurel wreath to the front.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 30.4.

74. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Laureate bust of a young Roman.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3560; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 35.6.

75. P. (Figure 146) Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, red jasper, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman general wearing paludamentum to the front with two spears behind his right arm.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 32.1.

76. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Laureate bust of a Roman to the front.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3551; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 32.2.

77. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1690; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 32.5.

7.4.1.4. Roman portraits - unified types

78. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a young Roman wearing a chlamys to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 9.12.

79. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Head of a young Roman to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1696.

80. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1697.

81. P. (Figure 147) Cologne, Dreikönigenschrein, Cathedral, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Head of a young Roman to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 59.

82. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a young Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 12.2; Vollenweider 1979, no. 110.

83. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sard, first half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a young Roman to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 346.

84. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, chrom-chalcedony, first half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 348.

85. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2048; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 12.8-10.

86. P. Private collection, sardonyx, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a Roman wearing a chlamys to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 12.6-7.

87. P. (Figure 148) Private collection (Germany), bought from Sternberg, agate, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a bearded old Roman.
Publ.: Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 56.

88. P. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Signol collection, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman to the left. Inscription in monogram: LM PHIL.
Publ.: Musée des beaux-arts de Tours (ed.) 1997, no. 181.

89. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio, early 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 12.11-12.

7.4.1.5. Female portraits

9**0. (Figure 149)** Whereabouts unknown, Rosarena and Ionides collection, amethyst, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: A veiled bust of a Roman lady to the left, possibly a vestal virgin.
Publ.: Boardman 1968, no. 17; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 162.1-2.

9**1. (Figure 150)** London, The British Museum, Carlisle collection, garnet, c. mid of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman lady to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1193; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 162.3-4.

7.4.2. Family symbols and references to familial stories on gems

7.4.2.1. Fly

92. Rome, Musei Capitolini, purchased in Paris, Feuardent collection, chalcedony, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Fly.
Publ.: Gallotini 2012, no. 257.

9**3. (Figure 151)** London, The British Museum, Townley collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Fly. Inscription: DIOD.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2566.

94. Private collection (Germany), carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Fly.
Publ.: Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 123.

7.4.2.2. Ant

95. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, carnelian-agate, 1st century BC, OR: Ant.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 789.

9**6. (Figure 152)**. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, 1st-2nd century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 573.

7.4.2.3. Boar – gens *Cassia*

97. P. (Figure 154) Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Charging boar to the left. Inscription: CΛCI (Casi?).
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 105.

98. P. (Figure 155) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Boar to the right. Inscription: M EA METR.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6561.

99. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sard, c. mid-1st century BC, AR: As above. Inscription – illegible.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6560.

7.4.2.4. Elephant – gens *Caecilia Metelia or Julius Caesar*

100. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, rock crystal, 1st century BC/AD? OR: Elephant holds a thyrsus in the trunk to the left.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 412.

101. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD? OR: Elephant walks to the left.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 413.

102. (Figure 157) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2045.

103. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Elephant walks to the left, a cockerel in front of it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7827.

104. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Elephant stands to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3386.

105. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 488.

106. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Elephant's head.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5409.

107. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2085.

108. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, gift of H.C. Caulfield, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 246.

109. (Figure 158) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian (burnt), second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of elephant holding a palm branch in its trunk.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 189.

7.4.2.5. Pegasus – gens *Titia*

110. P. (Figure 160) Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, chalcedony, 1st century BC, OR: Pegasus flies to the left.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 148.

111. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Luni, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Pegasus gallops to the left. Inscription: PREPVSA.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 163.

112. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Pegasus walks to the right, behind it a star and in front of it an inscription: KE.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3322.

113. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, rock crystal, AR: Side A: Pegasus walks to the right. Side B: Male portrait.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7980.

114. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Pegasus stands to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3376; LIMC VII (1994), 215 s.v. Pegasos, no. 10 (C. Lochin).

115. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, onyx, second half of the 1st century BC-first half of the 1st century AD, OR: Pegasus flies to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 397.

116. P. Exeter, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, said to have been found in Istria, Evans collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Pegasus flies to the right.
Publ.: Middleton 1998, no. 45.

7.4.2.6. Bust of Galene/Selene – gens *Crepereia*

117. P. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Galene/Selene to the left.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2356.

118. P. (Figure 162). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 302.

119. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King collection, gift of Johnston, banded agate (fragment), early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 151; Plantzos 1999, no. 438.

7.4.2.7. Telegonus/Ulysses – gens *Mamilia*

120. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Ulysses stands to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 255.

121. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, mid-1st century BC, AR: Ulysses steps to the right, carrying a cup to Polyphem.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 686.

122. P. (Figure 164) Krakow, National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Odysseus returns to Ithaca, welcomed by his dog Argos.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 113.

123. P. Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Hertz and Rhodes collection, banded agate, first half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above, flanked by two palm branches.
Publ.: Spier 2001, no. 7.

124. P. Private collection (Near East), carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Odysseus (?) stands to the left, wearing pileus and cloak over his left shoulder, a sword at side and he holds a long-knobbed stick.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 72.

7.4.2.8. Marsyas – gens *Marcia*

125. (Figure 166) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, banded agate, first third of the 1st century BC, OR: Marsyas walks left with his right arm raised holding wine-skin over left shoulder, behind him there is a column with a statue of Palladion atop.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1566.

126. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Marsyas walks left with his right arm raised holding wine-skin over left shoulder.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6963.

7.4.2.9. Victoria Virgo – gens *Porcia*

127. P. (Figure 167) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Victoria Virgo.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 42.

7.4.3. Political symbols

128. P. (Figure 168) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Predatory she-wolf to the left.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2101.

129. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, first half of the 1st century BC, AR: Predatory she-wolf to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6276.

130. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, glass gem, first half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2012.

131. P. (Figure 169). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sard, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Predatory she-wolf to the left.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 265.

8. Civil War: Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar and contemporaries

8.1. Pompey the Great

8.1.1. Triumph

1. P. (Figure 171) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, carnelian, c. 60 BC, OR: A triumphal Roman general who rides a quadriga wearing full cuirass and holding a palm branch in his right hand, while rising a laurel wreath in the left one in the salutation gesture; before him is a horse rider trotting forward who carries a trophy. Inscription: CN PM.
Publ.: Chabouillet 1858, no. 1870.

8.1.2. Gem engravers working for Pompey

Apollophanes

2. P. (Figure 172) Private collection, Martine, Comtesse de Béhague and Comtesse de Béarn collection, amethyst, c. 70-50 BC, AR: Head of Medusa to the right. Signed by Apollophanes: ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΗC.
Publ.: Spier 1991, pl. 10.1-3; Plantzos 1999, no. 466.

Pamphilos

3. P. (Figure 173) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, amethyst, c. 70-50 BC, OR: As above. Signed by Pamphilos: ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 16.4-5 and 17.1; Richter 1971, no. 287; Plantzos 1999, no. 470.

Diodotos

4. P. (Figure 174) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Latium, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, sardonyx cameo, c. 70-50 BC, OR: As above. Signed by Diodotos: ΔΙΟΔΟΘΟΥ
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 18.5.

Solon (and related)

5. P. (Figure 175) London, The British Museum, Cardinal Ottoboni, Rondanini and Carlisle collection, chalcedony, c. 70-50 BC, OR: As above. Signed by Solon: CΩCOCΛ.
Publ.: Plantzos 1999, no. 469.

6. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Abati and Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, c. 70-50 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 17.7; Plantzos 1999, no. 473.

7. P. London, The British Museum, Strozzi and Blacas collection, sard, c. 70-50 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 241; Plantzos 1999, no. 471.

8. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Yusupovs collection, carnelian, c. 70-50 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 65; Plantzos 1999, no. 467.

9. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, c. 70-50 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Plantzos 1999, no. 468.

10. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Francis Cook collection, carnelian, c. 70-50 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 242; Plantzos 1999, no. 472.

11. P. (Figure 176) London, The British Museum, said to have been found in the vineyard on the Caelian Hill, Rome in 1700, Strozzi and Blacas collection, chalcedony, c. 70-50 BC, OR: As above: ΣΟΛΟΝΟC.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1829; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 45.1-2; Richter 1971, no. 694; Plantzos 1999, no. 474.

12. P. (Figure 177) Private collection, carnelian, c. 60 BC, OR: Bust of Pompey the Great (?) wearing tunica and toga to the front.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 70.1-6.

13. P. (Figure 178) St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Orléans collection, amethyst, c. 60-50 BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 111.1-2 and 112.4; Neverov 1976, no. 89.

8.1.3. Portraits

8.1.3.1. Cameos

14. P. (Figure 181) Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire, glass cameo, c. 66-61 BC? OR: Head of Pompey the Great to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.1; Trunk M. 2008, G2.

15. P. (Figure 182) Whereabouts unknown, bought from S.J. Phillips Ltd., Harari collection, sapphire cameo, c. 66-61 BC? OR: Head of Pompey the Great (?) in a three-quarter view, slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, no. 60.

16. P. (Figure 183) Private collection (The Family Content collection), Nahman collection, sardonyx cameo, 70-50 BC, in a 3rd century AD gold mount, OR: Draped bust of Pompey the Great to the right.
Publ.: Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 70.

8.1.3.2. Intaglios eastern?

17. P. (Figure 184) Private collection (Bollmann), carnelian, c. 66-61 BC? OR: Bust of Pompey the Great (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 54.1-3.

18. P. (Figure 185) St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sardonyx, c. 66-61 BC, AR: Head of Pompey the Great to the right.
Publ.: Neverov 1983, no. 4; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 530; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 488; Trunk 2008, G1.

19. P. (Figure 186) Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio (DAI Rome, collection Cades, no. 41.IV.D.37), c. 66-61 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Trunk 2008, G3.

8.1.3.4. Sealing

20. P. (Figure 187) Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, said to have been found in Edfu, sealing, c. 50 BC, AR: Head of Pompey the Great (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 74.1.

8.1.3.5. Intaglios Roman?

21. P. (Figure 188) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, red jasper, c. 61-50 BC, OR: Head of Pompey the Great to the left. Inscription: PP.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6536; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.38, vol. II, p. 227; AGDS II, no. 415; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.5 and 7; Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.5; Trunk 2008, G6.

22. P. (Figure 189) Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, banded agate, c. 61-50 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.2-3; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 568; Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.4; Trunk 2008, G4.

8.1.3.6. Glass gems

23. P. Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem, c. 61-50 BC, AR: Head of Pompey the Great to the left.
Publ.: Traversari 1999, p. 14, ill. 1; Trunk 2008, G7.

24. P. (Figure 190) Bonn, Rheinischen Landesmuseum, found in Xanten, glass gem, c. 61-50 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1984, no. 115.

25. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 61-50 BC, AR: Bust of Pompey the Great to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.9 and 11; AGDS I.3, no. 3351.

26. P. (Figure 191) Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 61-50 BC, OR: Head of Pompey the Great to the left.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1195; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.4; Trunk 2008, G5.

8.1.4. Commemoration

2**7. (Figure 192)** London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Female head wearing elephant scalp.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2525.

28. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2493.

2**9. (Figure 193)** New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King collection, gift of Johnston, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Female head wearing elephant scalp to the front.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 383.

30. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 18.

3**1. (Figure 194)** Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Female portrait bust with elephant's scalp on the head (exuviae elephantis) to the left with a cornucopia in front of it.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 32.

3**2. (Figure 195)** Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection glass gem, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Heads of a bull, ram and goat set together.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 396.

3**3. (Figure 196)** Oxford, Harrow School, said to have been found in Epidaurum, Evans collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Conjoined forequarters of a lion on the left and a bull on the right.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 252.

8.1.5. Divine and mythological references

8.1.5.1. Heracles

8.1.5.1.1. Busts

34. P. Athens, Coin Cabinet of the National Museum, Karapanous collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Bust of youthful Heracles in lionskin.
Publ.: Plantzos 1999, no. 392.

35. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6966; AGDS II, no. 393; Plantzos 1999, no. 391.

36. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Egypt, Rutishauser collection, lapis lazuli, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avissau-Broustet 1995, no. 34; Plantzos 1999, no. 393.

37. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Rome, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avissau-Broustet 1995, no. 35; Plantzos 1999, no. 394.

38. P. London, The British Museum, Carlisle collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1968, no. 569; Plantzos 1999, no. 389.

39. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Story-Maskylene and Beazley collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1968, no. 567; Plantzos 1999, no. 388.

40. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Plantzos 1999, no. 390.

41. P. (Figure 197) Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Plantzos 1999, no. 396.

42. P. Private collection, said to have been found in Syria, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Plantzos 1999, no. 395.

8.1.5.1.2. Heracles releasing Prometheus

43. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles releases Prometheus.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 780.

44. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 781.

45. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 782.

46. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3248.

47. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 309.

48. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 699.

49. P. (Figure 198) London, The British Museum, glass gem, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3148.

8.1.5.1.3. Heracles killing Amazons

50. P. (Figure 199) Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Heracles kills Amazons.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1256.

51. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Heracles fighting Amazon.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1751.

8.1.5.2. Diomedes

5**2. (Figure 200)** Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Diomedes ascends from an altar with a sword in his hand, a column with a statuette in front of him.
Publ.: Moret 1997, no. 188; Weiβ 2007, no. 273.

53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Moret 1997, no. 186.

8.1.5.3. Achilles

54. P. (Figure 201) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Louis XIV collection, amethyst, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Achilles plays cithara. Signed by Pamphilos: ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 16.6-8.

5**5. (Figure 202)** Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, garnet (hyacinth), mid-1st century BC, OR: Naked youth seated on dress on a four-legged table, resting one hand on a sheathed sword and with the other hand to his head, pensively. Ground line. He is perhaps meant for Achilles mourning Patroclus or sulking.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLIII.18, vol. II, p. 205; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 69.1-3; Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 158.

5**6. (Figure 203)** Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sardonyx, 1st century BC, AR: Achilles (?) seated on a stool with his sword hanging on it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6882; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 366.

57. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Joseph, black jasper, 1st century BC, AR: Achilles (?) seated to the front with head slightly turned to the right on a throne without back covered with a mantle. He is naked and leans his hands on a sheathed sword.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 408.

58. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Achilles (?) seated on a stool with his sword hanging on it.
Publ.: AGDS I.1, no. 551.

59. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Beazley collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Achilles mourning Patroclus, seated holding a sword, behind him a shield leans against a column, upon which is an urn.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.3.

60. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Achilles (?) seated on a stool, a shield leaning against his legs. On his right side a column with a sword hanging on it.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 745.

61. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Naked young man stands to the left putting his right hand on a large shield decorated with Gorgoneion, a tree in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3259.

6**2. (Figure 204)** Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Mourning Aias or Achilles, bearded, seated to the left on a rock covered with a mantle, resting his head on the right hand in which he is holding his sword, in the left a sheath. Before his feet are ram's head and fore-part of a bull.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXX.65, vol. II, p. 151; Fossing 1929, no. 392.

63. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Mourning Ajax or Achilles, bearded, seated to the left on a rock covered with a mantle, resting his head on the right hand in which he holds his sword while in the left a sheath. Before his feet are ram's head and fore-part of a bull.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 393.

8.1.6. Imitatio Alexandri

64. P. (Figure 205) Private collection, sardonyx, c. mid-1st century BC, AR: Pompey the Great as Alexander the Great with a double-blade spear.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 69.4.

65. P. (Figure 206) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Warrior holding a shield and spear stands by a horse.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2651.

66. P. (Figure 207) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Nude warrior stands by a horse to the front.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2644.

8.1.7. Political symbols

8.1.7.1. Symbols of Heracles

8.1.7.1.1. Pure motif

67. Málaga, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club and a corn ear.
Publ.: López de la Orden 1990, no. 189.

68. Cologne, Dreikönigenschrein, Cathedral, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Heracles' club flanked by two corn ears.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 63.

6**9. (Figure 208)** Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, sard, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club flanked by two arrows.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 217.

70. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Heracles' club and two arrows in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2124.

71. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Heracles' club and bow and arrow in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2125.

72. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Heracles' club and quiver with bow and arrows.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2126.

73. (Figure 209) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, chalcedony, 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club with a rudder in the bottom, caduceus atop, flanked by poppies.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2614.

74. (Figure 210) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Leake collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Fortuna helmeted, stands holding caduceus and Heracles' club conjoined.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 131.

8.1.7.1.2. With symbols suggesting private amulet function or full-figured version of the concept

75. (Figure 211) Private collection (Germany), carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Hand holds Heracles' club, two corn ears, poppies, grass blade and laurel wreath.
Publ.: Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 126.

76. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, 1st century BC? OR: Heracles' club, mouse and lizard.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 159.

8.1.7.1.3. With inscription

77. (Figure 212) Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, Baron Recupero collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club and mouse. Inscription: L•FLAVI.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 174.

78. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Bird stands on Heracles' club. Inscription: PROTEMVS.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2233.

79. Kassel, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Capello collection, nicolo, 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club and caduceus decorated with ivy leaves. Inscription: FIDI.
Publ.: AGDS III Kassel, no. 116; Zazoff 1983, pl. 106.11.

80. Oxford, Harrow School, sealing sheet, said to have been found in Dalmatia, Evans collection, first half of the 1st century BC, AR: Heracles' club and cornucopia. Inscription: C ELA.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 27.

81. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, chalcedony, 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club. Inscription: AI.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 3.

8.1.7.2. Dolphin combined with other symbols

82. Pavia, Museo dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Pavia, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Dolphin entwined on a rudder.
Publ.: Tomaselli et al. 1987, no. G.31.

83. P. (Figure 213) Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Sceptre upright, a dolphin on the left and an eagle on the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6189.

84. P. (Figure 215) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Caduceus flanked by a dolphin and an eagle.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2253.

8.1.7.3. Dressed trophy

85. Bern, University Museum, Merz collection, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, AR: Dressed trophy. Inscription: M•L.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 156.

86. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Dressed trophy.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 48.

87. (Figure 216) Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: As above. Inscription: LAVIDIA or LUVIDIA.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 59.

8.1.7.4. Cornucopiae

88. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, sard, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Plough and two sparrow-like birds. Inscription: HERMI.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 176.

89. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Caduceus and corn ear. Inscription: ASTVS.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 188.

90. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, banded agate, 1st century BC, OR: Palm branch flanked by two cornucopiae, star and crescent above. Inscription: SYNEROS.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 193.

91. (Figure 217) Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, chrom-chalcedony, 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia with the end in a form of a goat's head. Inscription: F (felix?).
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 924.

92. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, chalcedony-agate, mid-1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia and a corn ear.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 437.

93. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, banded agate, mid-1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia, a palm branch and a globe.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 438.

8.2. Julius Caesar

8.2.1. Gem engravers working for Julius Caesar

Heius

94. (Figure 219) Heidelberg, Institute of Archaeology, glass gem, mid-1st century BC, OR: Diademed bust of King Kodros to the right. Inscription on the diadem: ΚΩΔΡΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. Signed by Heius: HEIOY.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 431.

95. (Figure 220) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Timoni collection, carnelian, c. 60-50 BC, OR: Hygiea and Aesculap confronted. Signed by Heius: HEIOY.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 205.

96. (Figure 221). Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost nicolo, c. 60-50 BC, AR: Bust of Athena Lemnia. Signed by Heius: HEIOY.
Publ.: Hampe 1971, no. 147, pp. 111-117, pl. 108.2.

97. (Figure 222) London, The British Museum, Carlisle collection, carnelian, mid-1st century BC, OR: Diana with a stag. Signed by Heius: HEIOY.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 432.

98. (Figure 223) London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, mid-1st century BC, OR: Diomedes and Ulysses standing over captured Dolon. Signed by Heius: HEIOY.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 965; Richter 1971, no. 298; Moret 1997, no. 190; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 430.

Rufus

99. P. (Figure 224). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Orléans collection, onyx cameo, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory harnessing four horses based on the painting by Nicomachus. Signed by Rufus: ΡΟΥΦΟC ΕΠΟΕΙ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 19.1-2; Neverov 1971, no. 37.

Related

100. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 19.3.

101. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 19.4.

102. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 19.5.

103. P. Kassel, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Capello collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Kassel, no. 58.

104. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Tatishchev collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 20.6-7.

Dioscurides

105. (Figure 226) London, The British Museum, Orsini (?) and Blacas collection, Hyacinth, 18th century? OR: Laureate bust of Julius Caesar to the front, a star in the field. Signed by Dioscurides: ΔΙΟCΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 98.1-3 and 5-6; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 944.

106. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, carnelian, 18th century? OR: As above. Signed by Dioscurides: ΔΙΟCΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 98.4.

8.2.2. Portraits

8.2.2.1. Not laureate

107. P. (Figure 227). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Rome, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, amethyst, c. 59-49 BC (perhaps 59-54 BC?), OR: Bust of Julius Caesar to the left.
Publ.: Babelon 1899, no. 152; Richter 1971, no. 460; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 75.1-2 and 4; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 14.

108. P. (Figure 229). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, c. 50-40 BC, OR: Bust of Julius Caesar (?) to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 383.

109. P. (Figure 230). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Bessborough and Marlborough collection, sapphire, c. 50-44 BC, OR: Bust of Julius Caesar to the left.
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 297.

110. P. (Figure 231). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, c. 50-44 BC, OR: Head of Julius Caesar to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 96.

111. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Julius Caesar to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 351.

112. P. Bern, University Museum, Merz collection, carnelian, c. 50-44 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003, no. 153.

113. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after a lost ancient sard/carnelian, Bessborough collection, c. 50-44 BC, AR: Head of Julius Caesar to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 533.

114. P. (Figure 232). Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after a lost ancient carnelian (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris?), c. 50-40 BC, AR: Bust of Julius Caesar (?) to the left. Inscription: M•T:C (modern addition).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 532; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 489.

115. P. (Figure 233). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, agate, mid-1st century BC, set in an ancient gold ring, OR: Head of Julius Caesar to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 135.

116. P. Paris, Louvre Museum, silver ring with a plomb, c. 50-44 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Coche de la Ferté 1956, pl. XLII.1, pp. 88-89; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 81.5.

117. P. (Figure 234). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass cameo, mid-1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 86.10-12; Vollenweider 1979, no. 134.

8.2.2.2. Laureate

118. P. (Figure 235). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ambras collection, glass gem, c. 42 BC, AR: Laurate head of Julius Caesar to the left, a vessel (guttus?) behind it.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 799.

119. P. (Figure 236) London, The British Museum, iron ring with a thin inlaid sheet of gold, c. 42 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Marshall 1907, no. 1469.

120. P. Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, Castellucio collection, amethyst, c. 45-44 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 85.5 and 8.

121. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, chrom-chalcedony, c. 50-44 BC, AR: Laureate bust of Julius Caesar wearing paludamentum, a palm branch in front of him.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6987; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.36, vol. II, p. 227.

122. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 44 BC, AR: Laureate bust of Julius Caesar to the left seen from behind.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 86.1.

123. P. (Figure 238). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been bought in Cairo, Seyrig collection, chalcedony, 44 BC, OR: Laureate bust of Julius Caesar wearing chlamys to the left.
Publ.: Seyrig 1969, pp. 53-54; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 76.1-3; Plantzos 1999, no. 616; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 16.

8.2.2.3. As a senator or consul

124. P. (Figure 239). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, amethyst, c. 45-44 BC, OR: Bust of Julius Caesar (?) as senator or consul to the left.
Publ.: Richter 1920, no. 217; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 77.1-2 and 78.1.

125. P. (Figure 241). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, c. 44 BC, OR: Bust of Julius Caesar (?) as senator or consul to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 85.2; Weiβ 2007, no. 384.

126. P. (Figure 242). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, OR: Bust of Julius Caesar as senator or consul to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 80.8 and 12; Vollenweider 1979, no. 136.

127. P. (Figure 243) Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, found in Nijmegen, Kops Plateau, garden Traianusstraat 18,

carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Julius Caesar (?) as senator or consul to the left.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 55.

128. P. (Figure 244) Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, carnelian, mid-1st century BC, OR: Bust of a young, bearded man to the left, toga draped across his right arm.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 215.

8.2.3. Promotion of family

129. P. (Figure 245). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, chrom-chalcedony, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus Victrix holding Victoriola on her hand.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 710.

130. P. (Figure 246). Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian-onyx, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Diademed head of Venus to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 213.

131. P. (Figure 247). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ludwig Pichler collection, carnelian, 2nd century AD, OR: Venus Victrix to the left. Inscription: C• IVLI CRESCENTIS.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1460.

8.2.4. Promotion of the faction – populares

132. P. (Figure 248) London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Gaul to the left, his shield behind.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no. 1814,0704.2515.

133. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Gallic warrior, a shield below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5015.

134. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Gaul to the left, his shield behind.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 477.

8.2.5. Commemoration

8.2.5.1. Military victories

135. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: The Romans attack a group of Gallic or Germanic footmen.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXVII.28, vol. II, p. 179; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 390; Zazoff 1983, pl. 86.9.

136. P. (Figure 250). London, The British Museum, glass gem, c. mid-1st century BC, OR: Roman horse rider attacks a group of Gallic footmen.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3281.

137. P. (Figure 251). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Horseman spears a Gallic warrior to the left.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 111.

138. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. mid-1st century BC, AR: Roman horse ridder fights Celts.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 164.

139. P. (Figure 252). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sard, c. mid of the 1st century BC, OR: Roman general (perhaps Julius Caesar himself) wearing cuirass and paludamentum rides a horse and attacks a Gallic warrior.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1092.

140. P. (Figure 253). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Marlborough and Story-Maskylene collection, glass gem, c. 50-44 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 689.

141. P. Verona, Museo Archeologico, impression after a lost intaglio, c. 50-44 BC, AR: Roman general dressed in a cuirass gallops on his horse to the left (Julius Caesar?).
Publ.: Facchini 2012, no. 67.

142. P. (Figure 254). Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 50 BC, AR: Heroized Julius Caesar stands next to a trophy and kneeling barbarian (defeated Vercigentorix?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 86.8.

143. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 50 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 86.9.

144. P. (Figure 255). Xanten, Regionalmuseums, found in Xanten, glass gem, c. mid-1st century BC, OR: Two captives, one bearded, second beardless tied under a trophy consisting of a helmet, cuirass and two Celtic (?) shields.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 47.

145. P. (Figure 256). Whereabouts unknown, image taken from Bull. D. Inst. 1834, 122, 88, c. 50-44 BC, AR: A trophy consisting of a cuirass, four oval shields, helmet and cloaks under which there are two barbarians, perhaps Celts or Germans.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. 1, pl. XXXVIII.12, vol. II, pp. 182-183.

146. P. Lebrija (Sevilla), carnelian, c. 45 BC, OR: A volute crater flanked by two palm trees.
Publ.: López de la Orden 1990, no. 190.

147. P. (Figure 258). London, The British Museum, Townley collection, chrom-chalcedony, c. 45 BC, OR: A volute crater flanked by two palm trees and corn ears.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2637.

148. P. (Figure 259). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Este collection, sard, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory stands to the right holding a palm branch and a laurel wreath, a globe at her foot, sceptre and a writing tablet in front of her, a rudder (?) behind.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1074; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 553.

8.2.5.2. Titles, position and promotions

149. P. (Figure 261) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Sella curulis with a roll of parchment (?) and a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 926.

8.2.5.3. First triumvirate

8.2.5.3.1. Pure motif – propaganda?

150. P. (Figure 264) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, amethyst, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold caduceus, palm branch and a corn ear.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 222.

151. P. (Figure 265) Exeter, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, carnelian (discoloured), 1st century BC/AD, set in ancient iron ring, AR: Eagle stands on altar between legionary standards, two clasped hands beneath.
Publ.: Middleton 1998, no. 49.

8.2.5.3.2. Amulets or betrothal gifts

152. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Santarelli collection, carnelian, 50 BC-AD 50, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold two corn ears and a poppy.
Publ.: Gallottini 2012, no. 284.

153. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian, first half of the 1st century AD, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold two corn ears and caduceus.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 453.

154. L'Hospitalet-du-Larzac (Aveyron), France, nicolo, 50 BC-AD 50, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) with two corn ears and poppy.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1405.

155. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, bought from Pincket in Brussels, glass gem, 50 BC/AD, AR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio), corn ears and a poppy.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 463.

156. (Figure 266) Valencia, Universitat de València, nicolo, 2nd century AD, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold two cornucopiae and a calyx crater between them, two eagles stand upon them, one of them holds a lizard.
Publ.: Giner 1996, no. 22.

157. Jerusalem, The Studium Biblicum Franciscanium Museum, carnelian, 50 BC-AD 50, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold two corn ears and caduceus.
Publ.: Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 125.

158. Private collection (Israel), found in the vicinity of Caesarea Maritima, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, iron setting, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio), caduceus with ears of corn and poppies above. Ram's head below.
Publ.: Hamburger 1968, no. 128.

8.2.5.3.3. With inscription

159. (Figure 267) Berlin, Antikensammlung, von Bose collection, sardonyx, 1st century BC, AR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio). Inscription: PAVLINVS FELIX.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3390.

160. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian (discoloured), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio). Inscription: ΥΓΙΑ ('salute').
Publ.: Ciliberto and Giovannini 2008, no. 17.

8.2.5.3.4. Sealing

161. Cyrene, Nomophylakion, sealing, 1st century BC, AR: A Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) and two cornucopiae.
Publ.: *Maddoli 1963-1964, no. 981.*

8.2.6. Divine and mythological references

8.2.6.1. Venus

162. P. (Figure 268) Private collection (The Family Content collection), purchased in Mexico City but said to be from Tarraco in Spain, sardonyx cameo (fragment), second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Draped jugate bust of Julius Caesar and possibly Venus to the left.
Publ.: Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 69.

8.2.6.2. Medea

163. P. (Figure 269). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Medea about to kill her sons.
Publ.: Toso 2007, fig. 71.

8.2.6.3. Cassandra

164. P. Xanten, Regionalmuseums, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Cassandra kneels on an altar clutching an elevated Palladion, a column surmounted with a vessel next to her.
Publ.: Platz-Hortser 1994, no. 194; Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017, fig. 3d.

165. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, garnet, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Cassandra kneels on an altar clutching an elevated Palladion. Ajax next to her.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017, fig. 3a.

166. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, banded agate, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 396; Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017, fig. 3c.

167. P. (Figure 270). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017, fig. 3g.

168. P. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017, fig. 3h.

8.2.6.4. Aeneas

169. P. (Figure 271) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Aeneas flees from Troy with Anchises and Ascanius.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 217.

8.2.6.5. Romulus

170. P. (Figure 272) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Timoni collection, nicolo, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Romulus marches with a trophy.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1083; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 528.

8.2.7. Political symbols

171. P. (Figure 273) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, found in Germany, banded agate, 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia terminating in the head of a goat and with a ribbon tied round it, palm branch and globe.
Publ.: Zwaan and Swaving 2017, p. 67, fig. 1.

172. P. (Figure 274). Udine, Civici Musei, amethyst, c. mid-1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia and a globe.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 330.

173. P. (Figure 275). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 45-40 BC, OR: Caduceus flanked by two cornucopiae, a rudder in the centre and a globe below.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 424.

174. P. (Figure 276). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, c. 45-40 BC, OR: Two cornucopiae heraldically, a caduceus in the middle and a rudder and globe below.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 594.

175. P. (Figure 277). Bari, Museo Archeologico, banded agate, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia, globe and palm branch.

Publ.: Tamma 1991, no. 23.

176. P. (Figure 278). Bari, Museo Archeologico, banded agate, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Hand holds cornucopia and corn ear.
Publ.: Tamma 1991, no. 25.

177. P. (Figure 279). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, Baron Recupero collection, sard, c. 50-30 BC? OR: Hand holds a palm branch. Inscription: LVCRIO.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 196.

178. P. (Figure 280). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, agate, c. 50-44 BC? OR: Burning altar. Inscription: C•VA (or MA?).
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 195.

179. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, c. 50-44 BC, OR: Burning altar. Inscription: C•MA
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 586.

180. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. mid-1st century BC; OR: Altar of Venus.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 453.

8.2.8. Luxury objects (state cameos etc.):

181. P. (Figure 282) Whereabouts unknown, Marlborough and Ionides collection, sardonyx cameo, 49-40 BC? OR: Elephant tramples and gores a fish.
Publ.: Boardman 1968, no. 57; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 524.

8.3. Less significant politicians and women from the times of the Civil War

8.3.1. Collecting of engraved gems and employment of gem engravers

Gnaeus

182. P. (Figure 284). London, The British Museum, Strozzi and Blacas collection, beryl, c. 40-20 BC, OR: Head of Heracles shouldering a club to the left. Signed by Gnaeus: ΓΝΑΙΟC.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1892; Zazoff 1983, pl. 81.8; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 148.

Aulos

183. P. (Figure 286). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of young Heracles shouldering his club to the left (Perhaps Juba II?). Signed by Aulos: AVΛOV.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 33.8 and 10; Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 90.

Dalion

184. P. (Figure 287). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Agostini collection, carnelian, c. 30-20 BC, AR: Laureate bust of Juba II wearing toga (?) to the right. Signed by Dalion: ΔΛΛΙΟΝ.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 662; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 479.

Aspasios

185. P. (Figure 288). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Joseph, carnelian, c. 60-50 BC, OR: Bust of Juba I (?) to the front. Signed by Aspasios: ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΥ.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 493; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 21.1-2 and 6; Richter 1971, no. 645; Zazoff 1983, pl. 96.6; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 144; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 435.

Others

186. P. (Figure 289) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lapis lazuli, c. 60-46 BC, OR: Bust of Juba I to the left.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 472.

187. P. London, The British Museum, Hertz collection, glass gem, c. 60-46 BC, OR: Head of Juba I to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3224.

188. P. Whereabouts unknown, Evans and the late Maxime Velay collection, carnelian, c. 60-46 BC, AR: Bust of Juba I to the left.
Publ.: Evans 1938, no. 152; Richter 1971, no. 473.

8.3.2. Portraits

8.3.2.1. Cato the Younger

189. P. (Figure 290). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Cato Uticensis to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 350.

8.3.2.2. Cicero

190. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Cicero to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 64.10.

191. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, sardonyx, c. 45-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6983; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.58, vol. II, p. 228; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 64.4-6.

192. P. (Figure 291). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Arundel and Marlborough collection, carnelian, c. 50-44 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 64.1-3; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 209.

193. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, mid-1st century BC, AR: Head of Cicero (?) to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1964; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 534.

194. P. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, obtained from Massimi in Rome, Thoms collection, unspecified stone, mid-1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 62 and 63.1-2; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1152.

195. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after lost ancient carnelian, c. 45-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 535; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 490.

196. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, royal collection, red jasper, late 1st-early 2nd century AD, AR: Head of Cicero to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 64.11; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 19.

197. P. (Figure 292). Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio (DAI Rome, collection Cades, no. IV.C.204), 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 64.7 and 12.

198. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio (DAI Rome, collection Cades, no. IV.C.308), 1st century AD or 18th century? AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 64.8.

199. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio (DAI Rome, collection Cades, no. IV.C.309), 1st century AD or 18th century? AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 64.9.

8.3.2.3. Optimates

200. P. (Figure 293). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, de Clerq and Boisgelin collection, carnelian, second-third of the 1st century BC, set in ancient gold ring, OR: Head of a bearded Roman (Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 25.1-2 and 5; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 6.

201. P. (Figure 295). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sard, second quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left, possibly consul A. Postumius Albinus.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 345.

8.3.2.4. Others

202. P. (Figure 297). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, aquamarine, c. 60-50 BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left. Signed by Agathopus: A(-) AΘOΠOVC EΠOIEI.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 112.1-3.

203. P. London, The British Museum, glass gem, 60-50 BC, OR: Ancient glass copy of the object above.
Publ.: Unpublished: inv. no.: 1867,0507.476.

204. P. (Figure 298). Alnwick Castle (Beverley collection), emerald, c. 60-50 BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left. Attributed to Agathopus.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 232.

205. P. (Figure 299). London, The British Museum, glass gem, c. 60-40 BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3225; Richter 1971, no. 613.

206. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, quartz, first third of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 61.1-3.

207. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Currié collection, carnelian (discoloured), first third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 61.5-7.

208. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, red jasper, c. 60-40 BC, OR: Bust of Gnaeus Pompeius Theophanes.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 381.

209. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, carnelian mid-1st century BC, OR: Head of a bearded man, five-rayed star, butterfly and unidentified object in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 941.

210. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Individualised portrait of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 195; Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.1.

211. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 196.

212. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, sardonyx, mid-1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 614.

213. P. London, The British Museum, carnelian, second quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2044; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 60.4-6.

214. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sard, second quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 60.1-3.

215. P. (Figure 300). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Arundel and Marlborough collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a young, bearded man to the left.
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 218.

216. P. Private collection (Germany), praser, mid-1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler and Lehmann (eds). 2013, no. 69.

217. P. Private collection (France), Guy Ladrière collection, nicolo, mid-1st century BC, OR: Head of a bearded Roman to the left.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016b, no. 225.

218. P. Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sard, c. mid-1st century BC, OR: Head of a bearded, young Roman to the left.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 220.

219. P. (Figure 301). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, greyish-green jasper, c. mid-1st century BC, OR: Head of a bearded, middle-aged Roman to the left.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 221.

220. P. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, said to have been found in Edfu, sealing, 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 67.6.

221. P. Rome, Palazzo Braschi, glass impression after a lost gem, c. 50-40 BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the front.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 58.1-3 and 5.

222. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost gem (DAI Rome, collection Cades), mid-1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 88.2-5.

8.3.2.5. Female

223. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. mid-1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman lady to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 127.

224. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass cameo, c. mid-1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 128.

225. (Figure 302). Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, glass gem, c. mid-1st century BC, OR: Veiled bust o a Roman matron to the left.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 407.

Getty

226. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass cameo, c. mid-1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 162.5-6; Vollenweider 1979, no. 130.

227. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass cameo, c. mid-1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman lady to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 162.7-8; Vollenweider 1979, no. 129.

8.3.3. Family symbols and reference to familial stories on gems

8.3.3.1. Triskeles – gens *Marcelli and Lenteli*

228. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Triskeles. Inscription: EVPHEMI.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6616; Lippold 1922, pl. 98.17.

229. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6075.

230. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2169.

231. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 723.

232. P. Whereabouts unknown, Rosarena and Ionides collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Boardman 1968, no. 42.

233. P. (Figure 303) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, mid-1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 224.

234. P. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, agate, 1st century BC, OR: As above. Inscription: N•CER.
Publ.: Casal Garcia 1990, no. 24.

235. P. Tbilisi, the National Museum of Georgia, sardonyx, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Javakishvili 1972, no. 43.

236. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King collection, gift of Johnston, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 557.

8.3.3.2. Head of Africa – gens *Metelia Scipiones*

237. P. (Figure 307) Whereabouts unknown, once Duke of Gordon collection, carnelian, mid-1st century BC, AR: Head of Africa to the right, corn ear and plough.
Publ.: Raspe and Tassie 1791, no. 8044.

8.3.3.3. Venus – gens *Iulia*

238. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, purchased in Chiusi, glass gem, early 1st century AD, OR: Venus Victrix.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 216.

239. P. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, chrom-chalcedony, 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 529.

240. P. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Leake collection, black jasper, 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 192.

241. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, chrom-chalcedony, 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 704.

242. P. (Figure 308) Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Young warrior stands in the pose of Venus Victrix to the left. Inscription: C•IVLIVS GEMINUS.
Publ.: Zazoff 1983, pl. 68.4; Vitellozzi 2010, no. 108.

243. P. (Figure 309) Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, Baron Recupero collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Head of Athena/Minerva or Venus Victrix to the right. Inscription: Q IVL.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 68.

8.3.3.4. Salus/Valetudo/Hygiea – gens *Acilia*

244. P. (Figure 311). Private collection (Rome), Arndt and Sangiorgi collection, carnelian, mid-1st century BC, OR: Bust of Salus/Valetudo/Hygiea to the left.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 196.

245. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Aesculap to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 47.

246. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Salus/Valetudo/Hygiea standing feeding a serpent.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 207.

247. P. Bloomington, Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University, onyx, 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Aesculap to the right.
Publ.: Berry 1968, no. 133.

8.3.4. Commemoration

248. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Seated man draped round the legs and adds a shield and sword to a trophy. Inscription: L•MV SAL.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2073.

249. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, a fragment, c. 70-50 BC, AR: Marcus Licinius Crassus stands to the front with a large shield decorated with a bundle of thunderbolts and keeps his horse by reins. On his left side a young man (his son?).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1137; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 68.2 and 4.

250. P. (Figure 312). Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio (DAI Rome, collection Cades), c. 70-50 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 68.1 and 3.

251. P. (Figure 313). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 70-50 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1796; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 68.5.

9. Post-Caesarian and Liberators' Civil Wars (from death of Caesar to Octavian's sole rule: 44-27 BC)

9.1. The Pompeians

9.1.1. Gem engravers working for Pompeians

Agathangelos

1. P. (Figure 315) Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have been found near the tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way, Heckert collection, carnelian, c. 45-40 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey (?) with curly hair and beard to the right. Signed by Agathangelos: ΑΓΑΘΑΝΓΕΛΟΥ.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6984; AGDS II, no. 418; Richter 1971, no. 634; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 29.1; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 114.1-2 and 115.1; Zazoff 1983, pl. 79.1; Plantzos 1999, no. 619; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 487.

9.1.2. Portraits

9.1.2.1. Gnaeus

2. P. (Figure 318). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, carnelian, c. 50-45 BC or earlier? AR: Draped and bearded bust of Gnaeus Pompey to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2332; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLVII.41; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 119.5 and 122.1 and 5.

3. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gedney Beatty collection, carnelian, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Head of Gnaeus Pompey (?) to the right.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 482; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 118.1, 3 and 5.

4. P. Whereabouts unknown, unknown stone, c. 50-45 BC, AR: Bearded head of Gnaeus Pompey (?) to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.42, vol. II, p. 227; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 123.1 and 3.

5. P. Private collection, praser, c. 50-45 BC, OR: Head of Gnaeus Pompey (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 124.6 and 9-10.

9.1.2.2. Gnaeus or Sextus (military context 50-48 BC):

6. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, c. 50-45 BC, OR: Bust of a young Roman wearing paludamentum to the left (Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 117.5-6 and 11; Weiβ 2007, no. 378.

7. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 50-45 BC, AR: Slightly bearded and draped bust of Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5062; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 117.3 and 8.

8. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 50-45 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5061; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 117.9 and 10.

9. P. (Figure 320). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Uzman collection, amethyst, 50-45 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 62.1152.

10. P. (Figure 321). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 50-45 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 117.4 and 7; Vollenweider 1979, no. 151.

9.1.2.3. Gnaeus or Sextus (Hispania c. 46-45 BC):

11. P. (Figure 322). Lebrija (Sevilla), carnelian, c. 48-45 BC, OR: Head of Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey to the left.
Publ.: López de la Orden 1990, no. 93.

12. P. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, carnelian, c. 48-45 BC, OR: Head of Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey (?) to the right.
Publ.: Casal Garcia 1990, no. 96.

9.1.2.4. Copies of Agathangelos

13. P. (Figure 323). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, amethyst, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Bearded bust of Sextus Pompey to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 379.

14. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, amethyst, c. 44-36 BC, AR: Bearded bust of Sextus Pompey to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2341.

15. P. (Figure 324). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 115.3 and 7; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 567; Zazoff 1983, pl. 79.2.

16. P. (Figure 325). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Luynes collection, sard, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 458; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 22.

17. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, nicolo, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 120.4.

18. P. Private collection, garnet, c. 42-40 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 115.5 and 6.

19. P. Private collection, chalcedony, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey (?) to the left.
Publ.: Devoto and Molayem 1990, fig. 9.

20. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost gem (DAI Rome, collection Cades), 42-40 BC, AR: Bearded head of Sextus Pompey to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 115.2.

21. P. (Figure 326). Private collection (France), Guy Ladrière collection, gold ring, 42-40 BC, OR: Bearded head of Sextus Pompey (?) to the right.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016b, no. 182.

22. P. (Figure 327). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, sardonyx cameo, c. 44-36 BC, AR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the left.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1972; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 115.4 and 8.

9.1.2.5. Sextus Pompey (other):

23. P. (Figure 328). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, carnelian, Evans and Warren collection, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the left.
Publ.: Richter 1920, no. 220; Richter 1956, no. 481; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 91.1-3.

24. P. (Figure 329). Rome, Musei Capitolini, praser, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the left. Exactly like on coins minted in 42-40 BC.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 119.1 and 4; Molinari et al. 1990, no. 7.

25. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas coll, sardonyx, 42-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2035; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 124.7-8.

9.1.2.6. With inscriptions

26. P. (Figure 330). Rome, Musei Capitolini, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the left. Inscription: Q Q EPICRATES.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 113.1-3; Molinari et al. 1990, no. 5.

27. P. Rome, Palazzo Braschi, modern glass impression after a lost gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the right. Inscription: L•S•C (perhaps added in modern times and meant for Lucius Sergius Catilina?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 113.5-6.

28. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, red jasper, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the right with short

beard. Inscription: L(?)•A•V. Very close to Agathangelos' work.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 459.

29. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sard, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the right. Inscription: IEP.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 355.

30. P. (Figure 331). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, purchased in Basel, carnelian, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above. Inscription: ΔOMINΩN.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 304.

31. P. (Figure 332). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the left. Inscription: Q•VAR•.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 97; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 540.

32. P. Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Kugel collection, nicolo, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Bearded head of Sextus Pompey to the left. Inscription: P F.
Publ.: Finogenowa 1993, no. 18.

33. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost gem (DAI Rome, collection Cades), 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Sextus Pompey to the right. Inscription: LUCR.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 113.4.

34. P. Verona, Museo Archeologico, impression after a lost intaglio, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Gnaeus Pompey to the right. Inscription: MV(P?).
Publ.: Facchini 2012, no. 2.

9.1.2.7. Gnaeus or Sextus (problematic, some might present other people):

35. P. (Figure 333). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, amethyst, c. 40-35 BC? OR: Bust of Sextus Pompey (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 123.7; Vitellozzi 2010, no. 130.

36. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, chrom-chalcedony, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Bust of Sextus or Gnaeus Pompey (?) to the right.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 382.

37. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 48-45 BC, AR: Bearded head of Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey (?) to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2340; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLVIII.14; AGDS II, no. 543; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 119.6 and 11.

38. P. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, agate, c. 44-35 BC, AR: Head of Sextus Pompey (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 123.2 and 4.

39. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, carnelian, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Head of bearded Sextus Pompey (?) to the left with a garment in front.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2231.

40. P. (Figure 334). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, de Clercq and Boisgelin collection, carnelian, c. 50-36 BC, set in ancient gold ring, OR: Bearded head of Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 25.

41. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 45-40 BC, AR: Head of Gnaeus Pompey (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 119.9-10; Vollenweider 1979, no. 150.

42. P. (Figure 335). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, red jasper, c. 44-36 BC, OR: Head of Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 120.3 and 5; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 312.

43. P. Copenhagen, National Museum, nicolo, c. 44-36 BC, AR: Head of Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 119.7-8.

44. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, nicolo, 44-35 BC, AR: Head of Sextus Pompey (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 120.2.

45. P. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Signol collection, carnelian, c. 45-40 BC, OR: Bust of a young Roman (Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey?) with a slight beard to the left.
Publ.: Musée des beaux-arts de Tours (ed.) 1997, no. 203.

46. P. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Signol collection, carnelian, c. 45-40 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Musée des beaux-arts de Tours (ed.) 1997, no. 204.

47. P. Verona, Museo Archeologico, impression after a lost intaglio, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Gnaeus Pompey (?) to the right.
Publ.: Facchini 2012, no. 3.

9.1.2.8. Contemporary people to Sextus sometimes taken for him

48. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, c. 50-40 BC, OR: Head of a young, bearded Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 118.6.

49. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, rock crystal, c. 50-40 BC, AR: Bearded and draped bust of a young Roman to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1104; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXXIII.20; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 124.1 and 5.

50. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Rome, Abati and Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, c. 50-40 BC, OR: Head of Sextus Pompey (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 74.9-10 and 12; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 23.

51. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Rome, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of a young, bearded Roman to the right.
Publ.: Babelon 1899, no. 154; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 126.1-3; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 28.

52. P. (Figure 336). London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, carnelian, c. 50-40 BC, AR: Draped bust of a young, bearded Roman to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2047; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 125.1 and 4-5.

53. P. (Figure 337). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, carnelian, c. 50-40 BC, OR: Head of a young, bearded Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 118.2 and 4; Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 216.

54. P. (Figure 338). Private collection (Germany, Nürnberg), nicolo, c. 50-30 BC, OR: Head of a young, bearded Roman to the left, a prow under his chin.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLVII.39; Lippold 1922, pl. LXXI.11; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 113.9; Weiß 2009, no. 3.

55. P. (Figure 339) London, The British Museum, Castellani collection, carnelian, c. 50-30 BC, OR: As above.

Publ.: Dalton 1914, no. 1083.

56. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio (DAI Rome, collection Cades), c. 50-45 BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 74.7-8.

57. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio (DAI Rome, collection Cades, no. IV.C.138), c. 50-30 BC, AR: Head of a young, bearded Roman to the right flanked by two dolphins.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 119.2.

58. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio, mid-1st century BC, AR: Head of a young, slightly bearded Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 117.2.

9.1.3. Use of heritage

59. P. (Figure 341). Bern, University Museum, Merz collection, carnelian, c. 50-35 BC, OR: Bust of Pompey the Great to the left, a trident, star and dolphin in the field.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 71.6, 8 and 10; Vollenweider 1984, no. 287; Trunk 2008, G8.

60. P. (Figure 342). Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, aquamarine, 44-43 BC, AR: Head of Pompey the great to the right, beneath a dolphin.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. L.43, vol. II, p. 244; Lippold 1922, pl. LXXI.4; Richter 1971, no. 457; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 531; Trunk 2008, G9.

61. P. (Figure 343). Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost carnelian (DAI Rome, collection Cades), c. 44-43 BC, AR: Head of Pompey the Great to the right, lituus and capis (vessel) in the field.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 73.2; Trunk 2008, G10.

62. P. (Figure 345). Verona, Museo Archeologico, impression after a lost intaglio, c. 50 BC, AR: Head of Pompey the Great to the right, capis and lituus in the field.
Publ.: Facchini 2012, no. 1.

9.1.4. Commemoration

9.1.4.1. Scylla - naval victories?

63. (Figure 348). Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, c. 44-36 BC, AR: Scylla killing one of Odysseus's companions with a rudder.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXIII.51, vol. II, p. 165; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 77.3; Sena Chiesa 1997, fig. 63, p. 129; Massaro 2009, fig. 2, p. 372.

64. (Figure 349). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, carnelian, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXIII.45, vol. II, p. 164; Lippold 1922, pl. VI.3; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 11.5.

65. Verona, Musei Civici, carnelian, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa, Magni and Tassinarri 2009, no. 535.

66. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, de Clercq collection, carnelian, 44-36 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: de Ridder 1911, no. 2995.

67. Oxford, Harrow School, sealing after a carnelian gem, said to have been found in Zadar (Dalmatia), Evans collection, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 150.

68. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem (fragment), c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 749; Massaro 2009, fig. 1, p. 371.

69. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4341.

70. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4342.

71. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4343.

72. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, AR: Scylla killing two tritons (?).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4344.

73. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4345.

74. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4346.

75. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4347.

76. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, 44-36 BC, AR: Scylla killing one of Odysseus's companions with a rudder.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3249.

77. (Figure 350). London, The British Museum, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3110.

78. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.72.

79. (Figure 351). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 917.

80. (Figure 352). Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, said to have been found in Syria, glass gem, c. 44-36 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 422.

9.1.4.2. Marriage

81. (Figure 353). Private collection, red jasper, 2nd century AD, AR: Busts of a woman and man confronted (capita opposita).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.11.

9.1.5. Divine and mythological references

9.1.5.1. Neptune

82. (Figure 354). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 44-36 BC, OR: Poseidon drives a biga drawn by two hippocamps, a veil flowing over his head. A bearded man under the hippocamps together with two dolphins.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6256; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXVII.3, vol. II, p. 183; Lippold 1922, pl. V.8; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 10.1.

83. (Figure 355). London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, 44-36 BC, OR: Poseidon drives two hippocamps to the left over waves, in his left hand is a trident and over

his head drapery, among the waves, bust of a Triton and two dolphins.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1289.

84. (Figure 356). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Orléans collection, carnelian, 44-36 BC, modern gold mount; OR: Bearded Neptune drives a biga drawn with two hippocamps.
Publ.: Kagan and Neverov 2001, no. 29/10.

85. (Figure 357). London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2729; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 11.3.

9.1.5.2. Tritons

86. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bearded triton rides a hippocamp, holding a rudder.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6257; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXVII.4, vol. II, p. 183; Lippold 1922, pl. VI.10; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 10.2.

87. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem (fragment), third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bearded triton to the right blows a seashell.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6258; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXVII.1, vol. II, p. 183.

88. (Figure 358). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sard, 3rd century BC, OR: Triton holds a trident and rudder, two dolphins below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 354; AGDS II, no. 217; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 426.

89. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1301.

9.1.6. Political symbols

9.1.6.1. War-ships

90. (Figure 360). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC; OR: Soldiers travel on a warship.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 265.

91. (Figure 361). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: War-ship with a trophy on one end and head of a bearded solar deity (Zeus-Sol?) on the other one. Inscription: TRA.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 632.

9.1.6.2. Sets of symbols and inscription

92. P. (Figure 362). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, chalcedony, c. 44-36 BC? OR: Dolphin combined with a rudder, cornucopia and globe. Inscription: AGAPOM.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 445.

9.1.6.3. Lighthouse

93. P. (Figure 364). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC (perhaps c. 38 BC?), OR: Lighthouse in front of which there is a prow.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 637.

94. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC (perhaps c. 38 BC?), OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2099.

9.2. The Republicans

9.2.1. Gem engravers working for Republicans

Philon

95. P. (Figure 365). Private collection (Rome), said to have been found in Asia Minor, Tyszkiewicz, Arndt and Sangiorgi collection, silver ring, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Marcus Iunius Brutus (?) with a cloak around his arms to the left. Signed by Philon: ΦΙΛΩΝ ΕΠΟΕΙ.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXIII.13, vol. II, p. 162; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 99.1-2; Gerring 2000, no. Vr/29; Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 251.

9.2.2. Portraits

9.2.2.1. Marcus Iunius Brutus

9.2.2.1.1. Youthful and clean-shaven

96. P. Athens, Coin Cabinet of the National Museum, Karapanou collection, agate, c. 43-42 BC, AR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 109.3.

97. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, c. 43-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5070; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 96.15.

98. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, carnelian, c. 45-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 470.

99. P. (Figure 367) Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 43-42 BC, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the left, a dagger in front of his head.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 145.

100. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1031.

101. P. (Figure 368) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, purchased from Pincket in Brussels, glass gem, 44-35 BC, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 103.1; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 451.

102. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, nicolo, 43-42 BC, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 109.4.

103. P. (Figure 369). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Orléans collection, carnelian, 44-35 BC, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 94.

104. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, glass gem, 43-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 96.13 and 16.

105. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wyndham Cook collection, gift of Joseph, carnelian, c. 44-43 BC. AR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the right, a dagger in the field.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 471; Richter 1971, no. 469.

106. P. (Figure 370). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bessborough and Marlborough collection, carnelian, c. 50-43 BC, OR: Bust of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the left.

Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 470; Richter 1971, no. 468; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 298.

107. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio (DAI Rome, collection Cades, no. IV.C.244), second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 139.5 and 7.

108. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost or destroyed intaglio, Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales and Charles I collection, c. 50-43 BC, AR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the right.
Publ.: Henig 2008, no. 1.

9.2.2.1.2. Youthful and bearded

109. P. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, found in a tomb in Rome, amazonite, c. 50-43 BC, set in an ancient gold ring, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus with barbula, to the right.
Publ.: Bordenache Battaglia 1983, no. 2; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, no. 2.

110. P. Mainz, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum, said to have been found in Lebanon, jasper, c. 44-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Deppert-Lippitz, 1985, no. 160.

111. P. (Figure 372a-b). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 118.

112. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King and Johnston collection, carnelian, c. 50-43 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 472; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 98.3-4 and 6.

113. P. (Figure 373a-b). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, glass gem, c. 44-35 BC, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus with a slight beard to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 94.3-4.

114. P. Private collection, impression after a lost intaglio, c. 43-42 BC, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 97.1-2.

115. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost gem (DAI Rome, collection Cades), c. 44-35 BC, AR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus with a slight beard to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 94.1-2.

9.2.2.1.3. With inscriptions

116. P. (Figure 374). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, nicolo, c. 50-42 BC, OR: Bearded bust of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the left. Inscription: L A A.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 347.

117. P. (Figure 375). London, The British Museum, Rhodes collection, amethyst, c. 50-42 BC, AR: Bearded head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the right. Inscription: C•I•O.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1965; Aubry 2009, fig. 6.

118. P. (Figure 376). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Spencer-Churchill collection, carnelian, 44-42 BC, OR: Slightly bearded head of Marcus Iunius Brutus (?) to the left. Inscription: DIA.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.32.

119. P. (Figure 377). Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, said to have been found in Asia Minor, carnelian, c. 44-42 BC, OR: Bearded head of Marcus Iunius Brutus (?) to the left. Inscription: SIL
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 212.

9.2.2.1.4. Old and clean-shaven

120. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-35 BC, AR: Head of old, clean-shaven man (Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo?) to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5072; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.28, vol. II, p. 226.

121. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, c. 43-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5071; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.22, vol. II, p. 226; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 96.8-9 and 11.

122. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, c. 43-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5069; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.29, vol. II, p. 226; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 96.12 and 14.

123. Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut, impression after a lost glass gem, c. 43-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 96.4 and 6.

124. (Figure 378). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 43-42 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 100.1-2 and 4; Vollenweider 1979, no. 140.

125. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 43-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 96.3 and 5; Vollenweider 1979, no. 147.

126. Bern, University Museum, Prince Fürstenberg of Donaueschingen and Merz collection, sard, c. 43-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 97.5-6; Vollenweider 1984, no. 288; Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003, no. 171.

127. (Figure 379). London, The British Museum, glass gem, 45-35 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3226; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 95.1-2 and 4.

128. (Figure 380). London, The British Museum, glass gem, 45-35 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3250; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 95.3 and 96.1-2.

129. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire, glass gem, c. 43-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 96.7 and 10.

130. Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, said to have been found in Tunisia, glass gem, c. 44-42 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 406.

131. (Figure 381). Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after a lost ancient black jasper, c. 43/42 BC, OR: Head of old, clean-shaven man (Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo?) to the left, a dagger behind it.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 537; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 492.

9.2.2.1.5. Cameo

132. P. (Figure 382). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sardonyx cameo, mid-1st century BC, OR: Head of Brutus to the right.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 56.

9.2.2.2. Quintus Cassius Longinus

133. P. (Figure 383). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, carnelian, c. 44-40 BC, OR: Bust of Quintus Cassius Longinus (?) to the left a purse in front of it, caduceus below, star and bundle of thunderbolts behind.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2239; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 101.1-3; Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.9.

134. P. (Figure 384). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, 44-35 BC, OR: Head of Quintus Cassius Longinus to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 101.4 and 7 and 102.3; Neverov 1976, no. 93.

135. P. (Figure 385). Copenhagen, Thorwaldsen Museum, glass cameo, 44-35 BC? OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1966; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 101.5-6.

9.2.2.3. Others

136. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 45-30 BC, OR: Head of a young Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 103.9-11.

137. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, de Clercq and Boisgelin collection, carnelian, c. 45-30 BC; OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 109.6-7; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 17.

138. P. (Figure 387). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, royal collection, carnelian, c. 45-30 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.15, vol. II, pp. 225-226; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 105.1-3; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 20.

139. P. (Figure 388). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 45-30 BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 106.1 and 4; Vollenweider 1979, no. 148.

140. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 45-30 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 149.

141. P. Stratfield Saye House, Duke of Wellington collection, sard, c. 45-35 BC, AR: Head of a young Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 102.1.

142. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, c. 45-35 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 102.9.

143. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, c. 45-35 BC, AR: Head of a young Roman to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.44; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 103.7-8.

144. P. (Figure 389a-b). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, glass gem, c. 44-35 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 102.5-6.

145. P. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, silver plomb, c. 45-30 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 103.2-3 and 5.

146. P. Private collection, impression after a lost intaglio, c. 45-30 BC, OR: Head of a young Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 103.4 and 6.

9.2.3. Use of heritage

147. P. (Figure 390). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Luynes collection, agate, c. 45-42 BC or 18th century? AR: Marcus Iunius Brutus with lictors in a procession marching to the right.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 471.

9.2.4. Commemoration

9.2.4.1. Caesar's assassination

148. (Figure 393). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Oppermann collection, silver plaquette set in a bronze ring, c. 44-35 BC, OR: Head of Brutus to the left surrounded with a dagger, pileus and a serpent.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 98.1-2 and 9; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 27.

149. (Figure 394). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, red jasper, 18th century, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the left flanked by two daggers and pileus below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.37, vol. II, p. 226; Scarisbrick, Boardman and Wagner 2016a, no. 231.

150. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Signol collection, sard, c. 44-42 BC or 18th century, AR: As above.
Publ.: Musée des beaux-arts de Tours (ed.) 1997, no. 213.

151. Whereabouts unknown, Bessborough and Marlborough collection, black stone, 18th century, AR: As above.
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 461.3.

152. Whereabouts unknown, unknown stone, 18th century, AR: As above. Inscription: EID • MAR. Engraved by Antonio Pichler (1697-1779).
Publ.: Lippold 1922, pl. CLVIII.8.

9.2.5. Divine and mythological references

153. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Morison, Baron Schröder and Marlborough collection, nicolo, c. 45-35 BC, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus to the left; caduceus and tortoise behind it.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 93.1-3; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 742.

154. P. (Figure 395). Whereabouts unknown, carnelian, 44-35 BC, OR: Head of Marcus Iunius Brutus (?) to the right, caduceus behind and a star under the chin.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.25, vol. II, p. 226; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 99.5 and 7.

155. P. (Figure 396). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory with pileus cap on the head walks to the left, shouldering a palm branch and holding a shield.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 236.

9.3. The Caesarians

9.3.1. Octavian

9.3.1.1. Heir of Caesar

9.3.1.1.1. Posthumous portraits of Julius Caesar

156. P. (Figure 397). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 44 BC or slightly later, AR: Laureate head of Julius Caesar to the left, lituus and a star in the field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2330.

157. P. (Figure 398). Berlin, Antikensammlung, carnelian, c. 44 BC or slightly later, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6985; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.34, vol. II, p. 226.

158. P. (Figure 399). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 44 BC or slightly later, AR: Laureate bust of Julius Caesar wearing paludamentum, lituus and a star in the field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6986; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.35, vol. II, pp. 226-227.

159. P. (Figure 400). Oxford, Harrow School, sealing sheet, said to have been found in Bosnia, Evans collection, carnelian, c. 44 BC or slightly later, AR: Laureate bust of Julius Caesar wearing cuirass, a star and lituus in the field.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 198.

160. P. (Figure 401). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Marlborough collection, nicolo, c. 44 BC or slightly later, OR: Laureate head of Julius Caesar, lituus and a star in the field.
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 740.

161. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost or destroyed intaglio, Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales and Charles I collection, c. 44 BC, AR: Laureate head of Julius Caesar to the right, lituus and a star in the field.
Publ.: Henig 2008, no. 83.

162. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost or destroyed intaglio, Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales and Charles I collection, c. 44 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Henig 2008, no. 93.

9.3.1.1.2. Caesaris astrum/sidus Iulium

163. P. (Figure 404). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, nicolo, 44-42 BC, OR: Head of young Octavian to the left with a six-rayed star behind. Inscription: L•V•N.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 253.

164. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, 44-40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae over a ring inside which there is a star (sidus Iulium). The ring is flanked by two comedy masks.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.8.

165. P. (Figure 405). Padua, Musei Civici, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Finger ring with mask of Silenus atop, inside which a star, below cicada standing on a corn ear.
Publ.: Agostini, Bidoli and Lavarone (eds) 2004, no. 283.

9.3.1.1.3. Ring of adoption

9.3.1.1.3.1. With Octavian's portrait

Gemstones

166. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Kalkreuth collection, carnelian, 44-40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae over a ring inside which is a lizard. The ring is flanked by two corn ears and beneath it there are two clasped hands.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 8065; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.7.

167. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae, below a ring flanked by two corn ears.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 608.

168. P. (Figure 408). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae, below a ring inside which is a small rabbit or mouse.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.11; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 307.

Glass gems

169. P. Rome, Museo nazionale romano di Palazzo Massimo, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two corn ears, below a ring inside which is a dolphin. The ring is flanked by two comedy masks.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.9.

170. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian? wearing a chlamys to the right over a ring flanked by two corn ears and poppies. There is a mouse inside ring's hoop.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5162; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.6.

171. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two poppies, beneath a ring inside which there is a mouse, comedy masks on both sides of the ring and below two clasped hands.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5163; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.20.

172. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian? over a ring flanked by two corn ears and poppies, dolphin inside ring's hoop.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5164; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.13.

173. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above. The ring is flanked by two comedy masks or corn ears, beneath it two clasped hands.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5165; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.17.

174. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5166; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.15.

175. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above. Comedy masks on both sides of the ring.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5167; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.19.

176. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by corn ears, below a ring.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5168; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.6.

177. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above, but the ring is additionally flanked by two comedy masks.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5169.

178. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian? over a ring flanked by two corn ears and poppies, a hare inside ring's hoop and comedy masks on both sides of the ring.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5170; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.23.

179. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two cornucopiae, beneath a ring inside which there is a female comedy mask.

Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5171; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.21.

180. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem (fragment), 44-40 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the front flanked by legionary standards, below a ring inside which there is an eagle with spread wings.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5179; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.5.

181. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the front flanked by legionary standards, below a ring inside which there is an eagle with spread wings.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5180; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.7.

182. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) upon a finger ring flanked by two corn ears and poppies. Dolphin inside the ring.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3455; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.22.

183. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two corn ears and poppies, below a ring inside which a dolphin.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.10; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 606.

184. P. (Figure 409). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae, below a ring inside which a mouse. The ring is flanked by two corn ears.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 607.

185. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by corn ears, beneath a ring inside which there is a mouse.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 442.

186. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two corn ears and poppies, a ring beneath inside which there is a dolphin.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 175.

187. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.12; Vollenweider 1979, no. 176.

188. P. (Figure 410). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two corn ears and poppies, below a ring inside which there is a club? and the crescent below the ring.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 809.

189. P. (Figure 411). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two palm branches and corn ears, below a ring inside which there is a club.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 810.

190. P. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two corn ears, beneath a ring inside which is a dolphin, comedy masks on both sides of the ring.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 142.18.

191. P. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.1.

192. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldesn Museum, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae and poppies, below a ring.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1211; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.14.

193. P. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two corn ears, beneath a ring inside which is a dolphin, comedy masks on both sides of the ring.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.2; Berges 2002, no. 337.

9.3.1.1.3.2. Without portrait

Gemstones

194. (Figure 412). Xanten, Regionalmuseums, found in Xanten, banded agate, c. 44-40 BC, OR: Finger ring with a mask of Silenus atop and a crescent inside, cornucopia, comic mask and simpulum below.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 107.

195. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Eagle stands to the right on a ring holds a laurel wreath in its beak, flanked by two corn ears and poppies, on both sides of the ring there are cornucopiae and globes. Groundline.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 8067; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.3.

196. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Capricorn with a caduceus and a globe beneath it. Below, there is a ring flanked by cornucopiae, a corn ear and a poppy. Two clasped hands below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 8066; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.4.

197. P. (Figure 413). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a gorgoneion, Victory riding a biga atop and fasces on both sides.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7121; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVI.40, vol. II, p. 223.

198. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is Victory on a globe with a palm branch and laurel wreath, biga atop. The ring is flanked by two hares and circus-metae, and there is a cicada and corn ears below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7122.

199. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a hare, quadriga atop, syrinx on the left, butterfly on the right and a dog below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7123; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVI.43, vol. II, p. 223.

200. Berlin, Antikensammlung, von Bose collection, carnelian, 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a female mask, Eros chasing a mouse atop, butterflies to the sides and pedum below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7124; Lang and Cain 2015, no. Grassi 08.

201. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sard, 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a female mask, Eros chasing a mouse atop, butterflies to the sides and pedum below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7125.

202. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is crescent and star,

bearded mask atop, cornucopiae to the sides and unspecified object below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7126.

203. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is seated sphinx, bearded mask atop, all within a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7127.

204. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC; OR: Finger ring inside which is a hare eating on grapes, two cockerels atop.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 713; Zazoff 1983, pl. 106.6.

205. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Finger ring with Silenus' mask atop and Victoria with a shield or globe and laurel wreath in hands.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 711.

206. P. (Figure 416). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Finger ring with cicada atop, legionary standards to each side and crescent below.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 712.

207. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Duval collection, sard, 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring atop which is Victory, flanked by two butterflies, a globe, cicada and corn ear beneath.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 573.

208. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Duval collection, carnelian, 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring atop which is quadriga, flanked by two butterflies, a hare inside and pedum with soccus beneath.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 574.

209. P. (Figure 417). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Duval collection, carnelian, 44-40 BC, OR: Finger ring atop which is bearded mask, surrounded with military equipment.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 576.

210. (Figure 415). London, The British Museum, Townley collection, black jasper, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Finger ring with a rabbit within it, below a grasshopper on a corn ear, on the right helmeted head of Athena, on the left a shield, above a charioteer.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2654.

211. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, nicolo, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring with uncertain object within it, below a dog pursuing bird, two masks on the sides and a butterfly atop.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2655.

212. London, The British Museum, Hertz collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Finger ring with a hare within it, flanked by two corn ears and two cockerels atop.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3405.

213. P. (Figure 418). London, The British Museum, Townley collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Finger ring with a sphinx within it, below a corn ear and pedum atop.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2656.

214. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Finger ring with Silenus' mask atop flanked by two palm branches, a hand beneath.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 11.25.

215. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, purchased in London, Fortnum collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Two clasped hands holding two cornucopiae between which finger ring with mask of Silenus atop.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 11.16.

216. (Figure 414). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Finger ring flanked by butterflies, a mouse inside, grasshopper beneath and quadriga atop.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos. 268.

217. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian c. 44-27 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a head of a youth, above a beardless head of a man to the right flanked by two cornucopiae, on either side ear of corn and two clasped hands below.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1635.

218. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a rabbit, above a beardless head of a man to the right flanked by two corn ears, on either side of the ring masks and two clasped hands below holding two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1636.

219. Whereabouts unknown, unspecified stone, 44-27 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a hare, a Silenus mask atop, below two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) holding two corn ears flanking the ring.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVI.44, vol. II, p. 223.

220. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring with gorgoneion inside, Eros playing with a mouse atop, butterflies on both sides and pedum below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1184; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 704.

Glass gems

221. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Finger ring with Silenus' mask on the top, inside it a hare, below a crab
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 207.

222. Trier, Rheinischen Landesmuseum, found in Xanten, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a rabbit, above a beardless male head to the left flanked by a corn ear and poppy.
Publ.: Krug 1995a, no. 8.

223. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring with a mask of Silenus atop and a hare inside, flanked by two cornucopiae and palm branches, two clasped hands beneath.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, nos. 6180.

224. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, nos. 6181.

225. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above, but corn ears in the hands.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, nos. 6182.

226. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above, but clubs with palm branches on the sides.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, nos. 6183.

227. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above, but legionary standards on the sides.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, nos. 6184.

228. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above, but a star inside of the ring and syrinx and mask on the sides.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, nos. 6185.

229. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring with quadriga atop and a hare inside, flanked by two butterflies and cicada standing on a corn ear beneath.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, nos. 6186.

230. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Finger ring flanked by two butterflies, inside it is a mouse, above a quadriga, below a cicada standing on a corn ear
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 581.

231. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring with Silenus' mask atop flanked by two corn ears and two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) beneath.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3453.

232. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3454.

233. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3456.

234. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Finger ring atop which is bearded mask, flanked by a herm and cornucopia, two wrestlers inside and aryballos and protome of animal beneath.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 575.

235. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring with a heifer on the top and a rabbit or hare inside surrounded with cornucopia, syrinx, theatrical mask and corn ear.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 939.

236. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring with a crescent inside, two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) above and corn ears on each side.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 940.

237. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a rabbit, above a beardless head of a man to the right flanked by two corn ears.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1637.

9.3.1.1.3.3. With inscription

238. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is Victory with a palm branch and laurel wreath surrounded by various symbols: a gryllus on the top (mask of Silenus, head of elephant, a ram's head keeping a corn ear conjoined), a trident and caduceus on the right, a dolphin entwined on a corn ear and a crescent on the left, a club beneath and inscription: M•VARRII Q•F(ilius).
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1503.

239. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Massoneau collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a hare, a quadriga atop, head of Roma or Athena on the left, a shield on the right and a cicada standing on a corn ear below. Inscription: COM(?).
Publ.: AGDS II, no. 506.

240. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is a hare, Eros riding a biga of cockerels atop, corn ears on both sides, a butterfly on the right side and fasces in the bottom. Inscription: M•VIRRI.
Publ.: Panofka 1852, pl. I.34; Furtwängler 1896, no. 7120; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVI.41, vol. II, p. 223; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 703.

241. (Figure 420). London, The British Museum, Townley collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Finger ring with a rabbit within it, below a grasshopper on a corn ear, butterflies one the sides and quadriga atop. Inscription: M•VIBH (suggested to have been added later, but clearly ancient).
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2653.

242. London, The British Museum, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring with a rabbit within it, below two cranes back to back, Erotes one the sides and head of a youth atop. Inscription: FELIC.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2657.

243. (Figure 419). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Van Hoorn van Vlooswijck collection, agate, late 1st century BC-1st century AD, OR: Finger ring with a bearded bale head on the top and ant inside. Inscription: Q•CAECILI•SFC.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 571.

244. Whereabouts unknown, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring inside which is Victory extending a laurel wreath in her hands, a dolphin entwined on a trident and a fibula (?) on the left, caduceus, corn ears and three candles (?), above – a Silenus mask combined with a ram's head holding a corn ear in its mouth and elephant trunk; upon those stands a raven and there is a serpent in front of the Silenus mask; below the ring Heracles club and thyrsus. Inscription: M•VIRRI•Q•F.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVI.42, vol. II, p. 223.

9.3.1.1.3.4. With Octavian's head as Mercury?

245. P. (Figure 421). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) as Mercury wearing a winged cap (petazos), below a finger ring flanked by two cornucopiae, on the right caduceus, on the left a bird (cockerel?), two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) at the bottom.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3452.

246. Cyrene, Nomophylakion, sealing, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Finger ring with quadriga atop, flanked by figures of deities: Tyche, Hermes and Nike.
Publ.: *Maddoli 1963-1964, no. 977*.

9.3.1.1.4. As philosopher

247. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian wearing a toga (his left arm left bare) to the left. He supports his head with the right hand, under the chin.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5049; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.16.

248. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1718; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 83.2.

249. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1715; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 82.13.

250. P. (Figure 422). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 140.1-2; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 593; Zazoff 1983, pl. 78.8.

251. P. (Figure 423). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian (?) to the left, he raises his hand to his chin.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 83.3; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.12.

252. P. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian wearing a toga (his right arm left bare) to the right. He supports his head with the left hand, under the chin.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 142.11.

253. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1182; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 141.1-2 and 4.

9.3.1.1.5. With office symbols

254. P. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, sardonyx, 44-27, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, lituus in the field?
Publ.: Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, no. 70.

255. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Octavian, lituus in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1695.

256. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, flanked by a corn ear and lituus(?) or grass blade, below a cicada and a syrnix.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 8038; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.2.

257. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, flanked by a corn ear and lituus(?) or grass blade, below a two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 8039; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.4.

258. P. (Figure 424a-b). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian with lituus under the chin.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.13; Vollenweider 1979, no. 192.

9.3.1.1.6. Bearded portraits

Intaglios

259. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Pope Paul II (Cardinal Pietro Barbo) and Farnese collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Bearded head of Octavian to the right. Attributed to Agathangelos.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 29.6; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 158.5-6; Pannuti 1994, no. 225; Gasparri (ed.) 1994, no. 335.

260. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, purchased in 1927 in Paris from a person who dealt with jewellery in Palermo, Chandon collection, carnelian, c. 42-35 BC, AR: Head of bearded Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 42.

261. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of bearded Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2049; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 157.3-4.

262. P. (Figure 427) London, The British Museum, Cracherode collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of bearded Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2050; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 29.3; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 158.3 and 8.

263. P. (Figure 428). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of bearded Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 217.

264. P. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, Marlborough collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 29.4; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 158.1 and 4; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 553; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 495; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 743.

265. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Bearded head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, p. 62, fig. C.

266. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, hyacinth, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the right wearing curiass and paludamentum. He carries long sideburns or scanty beard.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 156.4 and 7.

267. P. Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Morrison collection, carnelian 44-27 BC, set in a bronze ring, AR: Head of bearded Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Spier 2001, no. 20.

268. P. (Figure 426). Private collection (Rome), Arndt and Sangiorgi collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of bearded Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 118.

269. P. Private collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of bearded Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 29.2; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 158.2 and 7.

270. P. Private collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of bearded Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 157.2-5.

271. P. Whereabouts unknown, glass impression after a lost intaglio, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 554.

Cameos

272. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, sardonyx cameo, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of bearded Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 48.

273. P. (Figure 429). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, chalcedony-agate cameo, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 47.

274. P. (Figure 430). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Oppenheimer collection, onyx cameo, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A4.

Possibly others

275. P. Whereabouts unknown, Nott collection, sard, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of a young, bearded man to the right. Inscription: LVCR.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.4, vol. II, p. 225.

276. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of bearded Octavian (?) to the right. Inscription: M•MARCI (M and A in ligature).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6535; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.5.

277. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the right. He wears a chlamys and has small beard or long sideburns.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5127.

9.3.1.1.7. Allegorical scenes

278. P. (Figure 432). Private collection (Rome), Arundel, Marlborough and Sangiorgi collection, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC? OR: Naked warrior, legs crossed, cloak over one arm leans on a spear and talk to another warrior dressed in the same way but with a sword seated on a rock.
Publ.: Lippold 1922, pl. 50.3; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 50.3; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 176; Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 179.

9.3.1.2. Gem engravers working for Octavian

Solon

279. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, Stosch collection, second half of the 1st century BC AR: Bust of a Maenad to the right. Signed by Solon: ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 51.2.

280. P. (Figure 433). London, The British Museum, Arundel and Marlborough collection, sardonyx, c. 30s-early 20s BC, OR: Bust of Octavia as Diana with a spear to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. LXV.24, vol. II, p. 300; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 51.3 and 52.1; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 448; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 158.

281. P. (Figure 434). London, The British Museum, Marlborough, Newton-Robinson and Ionides collection, agate (fragments), c. 30s-early 20s BC, OR: Bust of Octavian as Mercury to the left, a caduceus in front of him.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 53.1; Boardman 1968, no. 19; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 449; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 745.

282. P. (Figure 435). Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, Béhague and Fleischman collection, amethyst, c. 40s-early 20s BC, OR: Diademed bust of Apollo to the right.
Publ.: Lapatin 2015, pp. 109, 138 and 247, pl. 97.

283. P. (Figure 436). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, said to have been found in Hadrumentum in Tunis, Tyszkiewicz and Lewes House collection, carnelian (discoloured), c. 36-27 BC, AR: Octavian as Neptune, holding trident drives quadriga of hippocamps to the right. Beneath Mark Antony swims and a dolphin. Inscription: ΠΟΠΠΛ ΑΛΒΑΝ = Popi(l)lius Albanus.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. L.19, vol. II, pp. 242; Beazley 1920, no. 105; Lippold 1922, pl. IV.7; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 49.2; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 105; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 505; Lapatin 2015, pl. 100.

9.3.1.3. Seals of Octavian
Dioscurides

284. P. (Figure 438). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, purchased in Naples, amethyst fragment, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Heracles or Alexander-Heracles to the left. Signed by Dioscurides: ΔΙΟCΚΟVΡΙΔΟΥ.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 91.

9.3.1.3. Portraits

9.3.1.3.1. Head/busts without additional symbolism

Gemstones

285. P. Touffréville (Calvados), France, nicolo, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1272.

286. P. Richebourg (Yvelines), Versailles (Yvelines), Service départamental de l'archéologie, France, sardonyx, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1273.

287. P. Carnuntum, Archäologische Park, found in Carnuntum, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left.
Publ.: Dembski 2005, no. 733.

288. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Pope Paul II (Cardinal Pietro Barbo) collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.17.

289. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, nicolo, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Pannuti 1994, no. 227.

290. P. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, carnelian, 44-27, OR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, no. 73.

291. P. Bari, Museo Archeologico, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left.
Publ.: Tamma 1991, no. 27.

292. P. Udine, Civici Musei, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 375.

293. P. Udine, Civici Musei, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 381.

294. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sardonyx, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6542.

295. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1875; AGDS II, no. 417; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 142.12-13.

296. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2228; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 144.5.

297. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, royal collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 33.

298. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Ambras collection, nicolo, 1st century BC, OR: Head of a young man (Octavian?) to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2730.

299. P. London, The British Museum, Londesborough and Franks collection, nicolo, set in an ancient bronze ring, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Marshall 1907, no. 1341; Walters 1926, no. 2051; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.4.

300. P. London, The British Museum, Cracherode collection, carnelian, set in a modern, gold ring, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2045.

301. P. (Figure 439). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, nicolo, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.

Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.19.

302. P. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mayer and McClean collection, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 221.

303. P. (Figure 440). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, banded agate, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 433.

304. P. (Figure 441a-b). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, amethyst, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 255.

305. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sard, c. 40-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.9.

306. P. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, onyx, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 87.

307. P. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Marlborough collection, carnelian, c. 40-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.6.

308. P. Private collection (Germany), Bauer collection, chalcedony-agate, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 60.

309. P. Private collection (Israel), found in the vicinity of Caesarea Maritima, chalcedony, iron mount, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: Hamburger 1968, no. 133.

Glass gems

310. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.3.

311. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.5.

312. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.6.

313. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 140.5.

314. P. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, said to have been found in Rheinland, glass gem, set in ancient iron ring, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left.
Publ.: Krug 1981, no. 199.

315. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5095.

316. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5096.

317. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5097; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.15.

318. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5098; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.7.

319. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5099.

320. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5100.

321. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5101.

322. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5102.

323. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5103.

324. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5104.

325. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5105.

326. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5106.

327. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5107.

328. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5108.

329. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5109.

330. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5110.

331. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5111.

332. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5112.

333. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5113.

334. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5114.

335. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5115.

336. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5116.

337. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5118.

338. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC; AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5119.

339. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5120.

340. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5121.

341. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3338; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 141.12.

342. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 142.10.

343. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.4.

344. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3336.

345. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3337.

346. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 595.

347. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 596.

348. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.6; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 597.

349. P. (Figure 444). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Froehner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian (?) seen from behind with head turned to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 37.

350. P. Briord, Les Plantées (Ain), Musée Briord, France, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC; OR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 483.

351. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.2; Vollenweider 1979, no. 115.

352. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 142.7; Vollenweider 1979, no. 168.

353. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.2; Vollenweider 1979, no. 169.

354. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.7; Vollenweider 1979, no. 170.

355. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 142.8; Vollenweider 1979, no. 171.

356. P. (Figure 445). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.17; Vollenweider 1979, no. 173.

357. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.18; Vollenweider 1979, no. 174.

358. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC; AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 189.

359. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 197.

360. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol, glass gem, AR: Bust of Octavian wearing a chlamys to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 198.

361. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian wearing a chlamys to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 199.

362. P. Carnuntum, Archäologische Park, found in Carnuntum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left.
Publ.: Dembski 2005, no. 734.

363. P. Carnuntum, Archäologische Park, found in Carnuntum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: Dembski 2005, no. 735.

364. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 796.

365. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 797.

366. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 798.

367. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 800.

368. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Ambras collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian (or Augustus?) to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 808.

369. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, set in an ancient bronze ring, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 812.

370. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.19; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 807.

371. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 794.

372. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.

Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.13.

373. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.14.

374. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Chester collection, glass gem 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.15.

375. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian? to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 9.7; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.20.

376. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.31.

377. P. (Figure 447). London, The British Museum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3351; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.14.

378. P. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 309.

379. P. (Figure 443). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, bought from Pincket in Brussels, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 445.

380. P. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 31.

381. P. (Figure 442). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 281.

382. P. (Figure 446). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, agate, c. 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1189.

383. P. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Casal Garcia 1990, no. 134.

384. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 141.11; Neverov 1976, p. 62, fig. A.

385. P. Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian (?) facing three-quarter right.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 408.

386. P. Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, glass gem, set in ancient bronze ring (fragment), c. 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 409.

387. P. Whereabouts unknown, once in the Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem (fragment), 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 143.13.

388. P. Whereabouts unknown, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Henig 1975, App. 39.

389. P. Rome, DAI, impression after a lost intaglio, Cades IV D.55 (41b), c. 40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 142.6.

390. P. Whereabouts unknown, glass impression after an intaglio in St. Petersburg, OR: Head of a youth (Octavian?) to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 139.

391. P. Whereabouts unknown, glass impression after a lost intaglio (once and perhaps still Devonshire collection?), third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 527.

392. P. Whereabouts unknown, glass impression after a lost intaglio, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 555.

Engraved ring

393. P. London, The British Museum, silver engraved ring, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Marshall 1907, no. 1147; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.3.

9.3.1.3.2. Head with modius/aerarium

Gemstones

394. P. (Figure 448). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, nicolo, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two corn ears, below a balance and modius.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.10.

395. P. (Figure 449). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, after 43 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 385.

396. P. London, The British Museum, Cracherode collection, sard, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1973.

Glass gems

397. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) over modius flanked by two corn ears and poppies.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5156; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.8.

398. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5157; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.11.

399. P. (Figure 450). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, after 43 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.9; Weiβ 2007, no. 386.

400. P. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.12.

9.3.1.3.3. Head with dolphins, cornucopiae, globe, clenched fist etc.:

Gemstones

401. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, behind it a cornucopia, below a head of a goat and in front of it a corn ear.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.13.

402. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, nicolo (fragment) c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, cornucopia behind it and another unidentified object below.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.17.

403. P. (Figure 452). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, below a dolphin with a corn ear in its mouth.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.16.

404. P. (Figure 453). Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, nicolo, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, below a globe.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.19.

405. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two corn ears and a grasshopper below.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1204.

Glass gems

406. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, a cornucopia behind it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5141; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.2.

407. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, a cornucopia behind it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5143.

408. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5142; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.1.

409. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right, under it there is a cornucopia and the globe.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5144.

410. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem (fragment), 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by a cornucopia and a corn ear.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5145; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.14.

411. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by cornucopiae, below the head there is a globe.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5146; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.11.

412. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right, under it there are cornucopiae and the globe.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5147; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.12.

413. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right, under it there is a right hand keeping two cornucopiae and it is flanked by corn ears.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5148; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.10.

414. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by cornucopiae held in a hand, beside an ant.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5149; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.7.

415. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by cornucopiae held in a hand.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5150; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.8.

416. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right, under it there is a right hand alone.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5151; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.4.

417. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of young Octavian (?) to the right, a cornucopia and globe beneath.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3365; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.5.

418. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian over a globe and cornucopia.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.16; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 602.

419. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two corn ears.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 434; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.14.

420. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two corn ears.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 444.

421. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the right, behind him a cornucopia.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 195.

422. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right over a globe and flanked by two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 801.

423. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, c. 40-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae clasped in a clenched fist; an ant to either side of the cornucopiae.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 804.

424. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, c. 40-20 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (or Augustus?) to the right below a corn ear and a poppy.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 806.

425. P. (Figure 454). London, The British Museum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, a cornucopia behind it.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3236; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.3.

426. P. (Figure 455). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae clasped in a clenched fist; an ant to either side of the cornucopiae.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.9; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.11.

427. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, with a cornucopia behind him.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.16.

428. P. (Figure 456). Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Waal collection, found in Nijmegen near Winseling, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, cornucopia and globe in the field.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 28.

429. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right cornucopia in the field.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1205.

430. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by crossed cornucopiae.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1206.

431. P. (Figure 457). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left between two cornucopiae held by a hand.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1209.

432. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right between two cornucopiae held by a hand and an ant to each side.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1210.

433. P. Whereabouts unknown, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right between cornucopiae held in a clenched right hand, beside cornucopiae ants.
Publ.: Henig 1975, App. 41.

9.3.1.3.4. Heads with a balance

434. P. Bologna, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian flanked by two dolphins, a balance beneath.
Publ.: Pradelli 2009, no. 2.

435. P. Canet-en-Roussillon (Pyrénées-Orientales), Perpignan (Pyrénées-Orientales), Service regional de l'achéologie, France, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two dolphins, a balance below.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1397.

436. P. Biesheim (Haut-Rhin), Biesheim, musée gallo-romain, France, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1398.

437. P. (Figure 458). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian? to the right flanked by two corn ears, a balance and two dolphins below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3374.

438. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian? over a balance flanked by two corn ears, poppies and dolphins.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5158; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.9.

439. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two dolphins, a balance beneath.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5161; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.6.

440. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5159; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.8.

441. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5160; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.10.

442. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3362; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.11.

443. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3363.

444. P. (Figure 459). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 605.

445. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right. Below a balance and a comedy mask.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 178.

446. P. Oxford, Harrow School, sealing sheet, said to have been found in Salona, Evans collection, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by cornucopia and corn ear, balance beneath.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 259.

447. P. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two dolphins and a balance beneath.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 29.

9.3.1.3.5. Heads with crab

448. P. (Figure 460). Split, Museo Archeologico, found in Tilurium, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left flanked by two stars, a crab below.
Publ.: Nardelli 2011a, no. 225.

449. P. (Figure 461). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Octavian to the left and a crab below.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 128.

450. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, flanked by two corn ears, below a crab.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5181; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.19.

451. P. (Figure 462). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1208; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.15.

9.3.1.3.6. Heads in bucolic context

452. P. (Figure 464). Xanten, Regionalmuseums, found in Xanten, banded agate, c. 44-40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, a spear and star in front of it, a goat below and aedicula on a rock behind.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 71a.

453. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, below a goat, in front of which two corn ears growing from the ground and behind an aedicula on a round altar.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 609.

454. P. (Figure 465). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-24 BC OR: Bust of Octavian to the front over a globe inside of a sanctuary or a temple. Laurel bushes on both sides of the building – Domus Augustus on the Palatine Hill?
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 177.

9.3.1.3.7. With legionary symbols (eagle, standards, prow, Capricorn etc.):

Gemstones

455. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, carnelian (discoloured), 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right flanked by legionary standards, beneath is a modius and a balance.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 8041; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.5.

456. P. (Figure 466) Berlin, Antikensammlung, von Bose collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, flanked by two corn ears, a poppy and a legionary standard, below a stork and a comedy mask.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 8040; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.1 and 5; Lang and Cain 2015, no. Grassi 07.

457. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, sard, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right, surrounded by a shield, cuirass, spear and globe.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6541.

458. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Ambras collection, nicolo, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, below cornucopia, globe and an eagle.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1718.

459. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient carnelian (now in Florence), 30-20 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian wearing paludamentum to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no 558.

Glass gems

460. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right flanked by legionary standards and there is an eagle with spread wings below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5136; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.6.

461. P. (Figure 467). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right surrounded by a trophy, mask and two spears or legionary standards.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3352.

462. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3353.

463. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Laureate head of Octavian (or other Julio-Claudian prince?) to the right with elephant's scalp beneath and unidentified object in front of it.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3356.

464. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, impression after an ancient gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two cornucopiae, an eagle with spread wings beneath.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.13.

465. P. (Figure 468). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right above an eagle with spread wings.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1199.

466. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left, flanked by a corn ear, a spear and a legionary standard, below head of an eagle holding a laurel wreath in its beak.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1202; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.3.

9.3.1.3.8. Heads with spears, rudder and shield

Shield and spears

Gemstones

467. P. Cazères (Haute-Garonne), France, nicolo, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the right, two clasped hands below, two spears and a shield.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 485.

468. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, carnelian, 44-40 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian as a warrior to the right. A round shield with a boss and hatched border on his arm.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.16; Vollenweider 1979, no. 186.

469. P. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Corazzi and Humbert collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, beneath an oval (Gallic?) shield?
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.3 and 8; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 203.

470. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Currié collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Diademed head of man to the left, a spear in front of him and an oval (Gallic?) shield below. Modern inscription added later: SER TUL – Servius Tullius, legendary sixth king of Rome.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.17.

Glass gems

471. P. (Figure 469). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, found in Velsen, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Helmeted head of Octavian (?) to the left flanked by a bird standing on a shield and poppy, another object below (a hand?).
Publ.: Bosman 1994, no. 40.

472. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem c. 44-27 BC; AR: Head of Octavian to the right. Beneath it a rectangular object.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 191.

473. P. Chatel-Saint-Germain (Moselle), Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Metz, France, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the right, a spear and Gallic shield in the field.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 482.

474. P. Les Bolards (Nuits-Sait-Georges, Côté-d'Or), Musée Nuits-Saint-Georges, France, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, cornucopia, shield and two spears below.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 484.

475. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian (?) seen from behind with head to the left. He wears paludamentum, holds a shield and a spear protrudes behind hm.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.6.

476. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.8.

477. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.9.

478. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.

Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5128; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.3.

479. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5129; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.1.

480. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5130; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.2.

481. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5131; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.4.

482. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3328; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.5.

483. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3329.

484. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3330.

485. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3331.

486. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.7; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 601.

487. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian as a warrior to the left. He wears cuirass, a round shield on his left arm and a spear on another.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.10; Vollenweider 1979, no. 180.

488. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian as a warrior to the left. He carries a round shield? on his left arm and a spear behind himself.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.13; Vollenweider 1979, no. 182.

489. P. (Figure 470). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian (?) seen from behind with head to the right. He wears paludamentum, holds a shield and a spear is protruding behind hm.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1212; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.12.

Shield and rudder

490. P. (Figure 471). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian as a warrior to the right. He carries a round shield decorated with a galloping horse or Pegasus? on his left arm and holds a rudder on his left arm.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.18; Vollenweider 1979, no. 183.

491. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King and Johnston collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the left. He holds a round shield with a Pegasus device in the centre and carries a rudder on his right shoulder.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 442; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 156.1.

Two spears behind

Gemstones

492. P. (Figure 472). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian to the left, two spears in front of him.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.23; Vitellozzi 2010, no. 127.

493. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian (?) to the left, behind him two spears.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 448.

494. P. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Signol collection, agate, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of a man with two spears behind his back.
Publ.: Musée des beaux-arts de Tours (ed.) 1997, no. 206.

Glass gems

495. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, behind it two spears.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.20.

496. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, two spears emerging from behind.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5122.

497. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5123.

498. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5124.

499. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5125.

500. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of young Octavian (?) to the right, two spears behind it and unidentified object in front of it.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3358.

501. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, two spears behind him.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 599.

502. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, two spears behind and Capricorn below.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.15; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 600.

503. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian as a warrior to the right. He wears paludamentum fibulated on the shoulder and there are two spears behind his head.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 184.

504. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-20 BC, AR: Laureate head of Octavian as a warrior to the right. Two spears behind.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.21; Vollenweider 1979, no. 185.

505. P. (Figure 473). London, The British Museum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, behind it two spears.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3096; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.19.

506. P. Whereabouts unknown, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, a spear behind his left shoulder.
Publ.: Henig 1975, App. 38.

Trophy

507. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the right wearing a chlamys, behind him a trophy or caduceus.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.16; Vollenweider 1979, no. 196.

508. P. (Figure 474a-b). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 30s BC, OR: Bust of Octavian as a warrior to the right. He carries a round shield (decorated with a star – sidus Iulium?) on his left arm and holds a spear in front of himself as well as a trophy behind.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.11; Vollenweider 1979, no. 181.

9.3.1.3.9. Heads/busts with astrological signs (crab, Capricorn and lion, Capricorn and bull, balance etc.):

509. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC AR: Head of Octavian over a Capricorn, behind it a dolphin.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5176.

510. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC AR: Head of Octavian over a Capricorn, behind it a mask and corn ear.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5177; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.4.

511. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian in three-quarter view to the right, below a lion in a jump (Leo) and Capricorn combined.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5182; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.23.

512. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left, below a Capricorn and dolphin.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.11.

513. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, below a Capricorn and two spears behind.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3335; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.12.

514. P. (Figure 475). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left below a ram (Aries), crab (Cancer) and Capricorn.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 811.

515. P. (Figure 476). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a youth? to the left surrounded by zodiacal signs: Capricorn, Piesces, Scorpion and Cancer.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 520.

516. P. (Figure 477). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Octavian with slight beard to the left, crescent and star in the field.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 479.

517. P. (Figure 478). London, The British Museum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left over Capricorn whose tale ends with a comedy mask and there is cornucopia behind the head.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3396; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.18.

518. P. (Figure 479). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, banded agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, a balance (Libra) and Capricorn in the field.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1197.

519. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient glass gem (now in Florence), 40-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left over a Capricorn and dolphin.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no 557; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 518.

9.3.1.3.10. Diademed heads

Gemstones

520. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian (?) to the left with a band on the head, spear in front of it and a Gallic shield below.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2238.

521. (Figure 480). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Pozza-Sorgo collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a diademed young man to the left, a spear in front of him.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 38; Plantzos 1999, no. 106.

522. P. (Figure 481a-b). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, c. 30 BC, OR: Laureate head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 256.

Glass gems

523. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Diademed head of a Hellenistic ruler to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5088; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.11.

524. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Diademed head of a Hellenistic ruler to the right, a cornucopia behind him, under the head an oval (Gallic?) shield and two spears.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5140; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.5.

525. (Figure 482). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Diademed head of a Hellenistic ruler wearing a chlamys to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1693; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.10.

526. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Diademed head of a Hellenistic ruler to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.4; Vollenweider 1979, no. 193.

527. (Figure 483). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: MF 2928.

9.3.1.3.11. With inscriptions

Octavian with symbols

528. P. (Figure 484). Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have been found in Rome, Dressel collection, carnelian (discoloured), c. 45-30 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian as Mercury with head decorated with a lotus-petal diadem. Inscription: OPT ATVS.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 389.

529. P. (Figure 485). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left upon a round altar with a festoon and between two palm branches. Inscription: N and Λ.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1200.

530. P. (Figure 486). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian flanked by two cornucopiae. Inscription: AL.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 129.

Inscription added later

531. P. (Figure 487). Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection? glass impression after ancient carnelian, 44-27 BC? OR: Bust of Octavian wearing paludamentum to the left. Inscription: CAES behind the head and AUG in front of it.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no 560.

Octavian/not Octavian without symbols

532. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Head of a young Roman (Octavian?) to the right. Inscription: C•C.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1877.

533. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sard, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right. Inscription: N•CLAV.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1874; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 11.11; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 138.

534. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right. Inscription: P•L•T.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 34.

535. P. (Figure 488). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in Beiruth, de Clercq and Boisgelin collection, carnelian, set in a gold ring – 1st century BC/AD, c. 40 BC (intaglio), OR: Head of Octavian to the left. Inscription: CFS
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 35.

536. P. (Figure 489). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left. Inscription: C•AVFI.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.7, vol. II, p. 225; Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 349; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 405.

537. P. Whereabouts unknown, unknown material, 44-27 BC, AR: As above. Inscription: PHI.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.8, vol. II, p. 225.

Private portraits

538. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a young Roman to the left. Inscription: AEG IP.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 142.1-2; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 565.

539. P. (Figure 490). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, sard 1st century BC, OR: Head of a young Roman to the left. Inscription: TM•CA•M•A (M. Cato Marci Nepos? – according to Vollenweider).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 111.

540. P. (Figure 491). London, The British Museum, Braybrooke and Franks collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Head of a young Roman to the left. Inscription: P•M•.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1972; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.7.

541. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sard, 1st century BC, AR: Head of a young Roman to the right, a monogram: HL under the chin.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 142.9.

9.3.1.3.13. Sealings

542. P. Artashat, Armenia (archaeological find), sealing, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Neverov 1996, fig. 4.

543. P. (Figure 492). Cyrene, Nomophylakion, (archaeological find), sealing, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, prow below and dolphin behind.
Publ.: Salzmann 1984, no. 512, fig. 19.

544. P. (Figure 493). Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, c. 40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, inscription: ΠΤΠ.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 185.

545. P. Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Laureate head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 186.

9.3.1.3.14. Cameos

Gemstones

546. P. (Figure 494). Berlin, Antikensammlung, sardonyx cameo, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 32.

547. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Luynes collection, chalcedony-onyx cameo (fragment), c. 35-30 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 49.

548. P. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, carnelian cameo (fragment), 30s BC, AR: Portrait of Octavian to the right; only nose, lips and a part of chin preserved.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 29.5; Megow 1987, no. A3.

549. P. (Figure 495). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, chalcedony-onyx cameo, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.21.

550. P. (Figure 496) Private collection (Spain), carnelian cameo, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right.
Publ.: Bagot 2012, no. 330.

Glass cameos

551. P. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, glass cameo, early 30s BC, AR: Bust of Octavian to the right.
Publ.: Righetti 1957-1959, fig. 22; Megow 1987, no. A2; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 156.3.

552. P. (Figure 497). London, The British Museum, glass cameo, early 30s BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3918; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 156.8; Megow 1987, no. A1.

9.3.1.4. Promotion of the family

9.3.1.4.1. With divine and mythological references

553. P. (Figure 498). Whereabouts unknown, Strozzi collection, carnelian, c. 40-27 BC, AR: Diomedes advances to the left with Palladion and sword in his hands, he is steps over a dead body of the temple guard. Signed by Solon: ΣΟΛωΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLIX.5, vol. II, p. 233; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 49.1; Zazoff 1983, pl. 93.6; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 154.

554. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, sard, 44-27 BC, AR: Venus stands to the front with head turned to the right. She holds a female head on her left hand, while the right one rests on a shield. Beside her a cuirass.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6713.

555. P. (Figure 499). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, sard, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus Genetrix examines the sword of Mars.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 427; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 509.

556. P. (Figure 500). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, cornelian, c. 44-20 BC, OR: Octavian and Livia (?) stand together looking to the right. Octavia holds a cloak flowing over her head.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: GS-10787.

557. P. (Figure 501). London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem (fragment), c. 44-20 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3310; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 36.3.

558. P. Whereabouts unknown, praser, c. 44-20 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXVII.27, vol. II, p. 178.

559. P. (Figure 502). Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, formerly in the Story-Maskelyne and The Hague collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus veiled, seated on a rock before her stands Anchises (Octavia and Octavian?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 34.1-2; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1166.

9.3.1.4.2. Octavian and Octavia double portraits

560. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Busts of Octavian and Octavia (?) confronted (capita opposita).
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 265.

561. P. (Figure 503). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 99.

9.3.1.5. Commemoration

9.3.1.5.1. Political events

9.3.1.5.1.1. Second Triumvirate

Gemstones

562. P. (Figure 504). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, found in Velsen, sard, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left flanked by corn ears and two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) below.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1980, no. 1.

563. P. Athens, Coin Cabinet of the National Museum, Karapanous collection, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian wearing chlamys to the left, flanked by two corn ears and caduceus, below two clasped hands.
Publ.: Karapanou 1913, no. 141; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.18 and 21.

Glass gems

564. P. (Figure 505). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, found in Velsen, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left unidentified objects below.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1980, no. 31.

565. P. Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two corn ears and two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) below.
Publ.: Bruschetti 1985-1986, no. 44.

566. P. Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, black jasper, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Cicu 2009, p. 343, fig. 6.

567. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the front within a laurel wreath and two clasped hands beneath.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5152; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.1.

568. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two corn ears, below two clasped hands.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5153; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.15.

569. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5154; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.22.

570. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5155; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.20.

571. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two corn ears clenched in two clasped hands (dextrarium iunctio).
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 443; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.17.

572. P. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two corn ears, below two clasped hands.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.16; Berges 2002, no. 336.

9.3.1.5.1.2. Brundisium Treaty

573. P. Rome, Villia Giulia Museum, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: Two heads of young men to the right (Octavian and Mark Antony?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.7.

574. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5183; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.2.

575. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5184; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.1.

576. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5185; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.4.

577. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5186; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.8.

578. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3360.

579. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3366; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.5.

580. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Froehner collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 38.

581. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Buts of Mercury and Heracles confronted (Octavian and Mark Antony?).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 569.

582. P. (Figure 507). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: Two heads of young men to the left (Octavian and Mark Antony?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.3 and 6; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 313.

583. P. Whereabouts unknown, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: Two heads of young men to the right (Octavian and Mark Antony?), a shield beneath?
Publ.: Henig 1975, App. 40.

584. P. (Figure 508). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: Two heads of young men to the left (Octavian and Mark Antony?), one of them is diademed.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 190.

9.3.1.5.2. Military victories

9.3.1.5.2.1. Naulochus

585. P. (Figure 509). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, c. 36-30 BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune riding biga drawn by two hippocamps, sidus Iulium in the background.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 244E.

586. P. (Figure 510). London, The British Museum, Towneley collection, banded agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club combined with a rudder and a palm branch.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2624.

587. P. (Figure 512). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Beatrix de Candolle collection, carnelian, around 36 BC, OR: Bust of Diana Siciliensis to the left. Behind her a legionary standard and below Capricorn.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 207.

9.3.1.5.2.2. Naulochus or Actium

Gemstones

588. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, carnelian 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the right over a prow.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.15.

589. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, green jasper, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two corn ears and ship beneath.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.10.

590. P. (fig. 513). Xanten, Regionalmuseums, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, prow and trident in front of it and an eagle behind.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2009, fig. 3, p. 131.

591. P. Athens, Coin Cabinet of the National Museum, Karapanous collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right over a prow.
Publ.: Karapanou 1913, no. 388; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.9.

592. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, around 36 BC or shortly after, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right, a trident behind it and Capricorn below it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6539; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.15.

593. P. (Figure 514). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Froehner collection, carnelian, around 36 BC or slightly after, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, a trident behind him and Capricorn beneath.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 36.

594. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right with drapery visible round the neck; below a dolphin and prow above which is a spear; behind the head on the left, a column with a vase.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1203.

595. P. Whereabouts unknown, once in the property of Lucien Naville, an impression of an unspecified gemstone, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right over a prow.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.10.

596. P. Whereabouts unknown, an impression after a lost unspecified gemstone, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right surrounded with a prow and two spears?
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.7.

597. P. Verona, Museo Archeologico, impression after a lost intaglio, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian over a prow to the right.
Publ.: Facchini 2012, no. 39.

Glass gems

598. P. Xanten, Regionalmuseums, found in Xanten, glass gem, 36-30 BC, OR: Head of Octavian flanked by legionary standard and cornucopia, prow and dolphin below.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 222.

599. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 36-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right over a prow.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5137; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.16.

600. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 36-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right flanked by legionary standards and ship prow below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5138.

601. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 36-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right flanked by two legionary standards, ship beneath.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5139; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.13.

602. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 36-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian over a warship, flanked

by a legionary standard and lituus; two dolphins beneath the ship.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5175; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.9.

603. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, c. 36-30 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left, below a dolphin.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 388.

604. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 36-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian in three-quarter view to the right flanked by cornucopiae on the top of columna rostrata.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5178; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.22.

605. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 36-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left. A trident behind him and a dolphin below.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 598; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.17.

606. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 36-30 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by a spear and a corn ear, below a syrinx and prow.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 604; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.18.

607. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, 36-30 BC, AR: Head of young Octavian (?) to the right surrounded with a cornucopia, legionary standard, prow and dolphin.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3364.

608. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, c. 36-30 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left over a prow with a legionary standard and a dolphin behind it.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3355; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.12.

609. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, 36-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right, behind a dolphin, below a prow.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 805.

610. P. Private collection, glass gem, 36-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right over a prow.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 150.11.

611. P. (Figure 516). Private collection (Oxford), glass gem, 36-30 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left over a prow.
Publ.: Wagner 2019, p. 40, fig. 6.

612. P. (Figure 515). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Madame Pompadour and Duke de Orléans collection, sardonyx, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the right, behind it a cornucopia, below a war-ship and two dolphins. Inscription: AOEN.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no 556; Kagan 2000, no. 66/16.

9.3.1.5.2.3. Actium

9.3.1.5.2.3.1. Octavian as Apollo-Sol

613. P. (Figure 517). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, carnelian, c. 30 BC, OR: Octavian as Helios-Apollo with a veil flowing behind him, holding a torch and driving a quadriga to the left. Beneath defeated Mark Antony as Okeanos and Thetis. Inscription added in the 15th century: LAV•R•MED.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 491; Gasparri (ed.) 1994, no. 47; Pannuti 1994, no. 128; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 503a-b.

614. P. (Figure 518a-b). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, nicolo, c. 30 BC, OR: Head of Octavian as Apollo-Sol wearing corona radiata surrounded with military equipment and some illegible symbols or objects (flower decoration?).
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 257.

9.3.1.5.2.3.2. Apollo and Marsyas

615. P. (Figure 519). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Trevisian, Barbo, di Piero, Medici and Farnese collection, carnelian, c. 30 BC, OR: Apollo punishing Marsyas, a young Olympos kneels bagging Apollo to exempt the punishment. Inscription added in the 15th century: LAV•R•MED. The so-called seal of Nero, attributed to Dioscurides.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLII.28, vol. II, pp. 201-202; Lapatin 2015, pl. 95.

9.3.1.5.2.3.3. Roma

616. P. (Figure 520). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, chrom-chalcedony, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Roma wearing a helmet and a robe, in front of her a column with Victory holding a palm branch and laurel wreath atop.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1071; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 458.

617. P. (Figure 521). Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, purchased in Smyrna (Izmir), carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Roma seated on a throne holding Victoriola (standing on a globe) on her outstretched hand; beneath a prow.
Publ.: Henig 1975, no. 85.

9.3.1.5.2.3.4. Victory

618. P. (Figure 523). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: Octavian holds Victoriola on his right hand, while a spear and a cloak is in the left one. Before him a prow.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3258.

619. P. (Figure 524). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Young hero or Octavian (?) rides biga with Victory.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6215.

620. P. (Figure 525). Berlin, Antikensammlung, praser, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory stands on an altar (decorated with garlands) to the left. She holds a laurel wreath and a palm branch. Beneath the altar a serpent.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2451; Lang and Cain 2015, no. Grassi 04.

621. P. (Figure 526). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory dresses a trophy under which there are two captives.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3198.

622. P. (Figure 527). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory stands on a globe to the front flanked by two warriors.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3200.

623. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: Victory stands on a prow.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 619.

624. P. (Figure 528). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, c. 30 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1043.

625. P. (Figure 530). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass cameo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory advances forward with her wings spread and a palm branch in the left hand.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1017; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 510.

9.3.1.5.2.3.4. Octavian – Neptune statue-like type – classical

626. P. (Figure 532). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, 30 BC or slightly later, OR: Octavian (?) as Neptune holds aplustrum in his left hand, while a trident and a cloak is in the right one. He puts his left leg on a prow.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 105.

627. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bartholdy collection, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: Octavian as Neptune-statue – classical type.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3452.

628. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3453.

629. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3459.

630. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3460.

631. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: Octavian as Neptune-statue – classical type, dolphin in the field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3461.

632. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3462.

633. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1044.

634. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1477.

635. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1504.

636. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1505.

637. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1506.

638. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1507.

639. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1510.

640. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 242.

641. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 243.

642. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune holds aplustrum in his left hand, while a trident and a cloak is in the right one. He puts his left leg on a prow.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1088.

643. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: Octavian as Neptune-statue – classical type.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 348.

644. P. (Figure 533). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 30 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 349.

9.3.1.5.2.3.5. Octavian – Neptune statue-like type with military symbols

645. P. Xanten, Regionalmuseums, found in Xanten, chalcedony, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune stands with one leg on a prow holding a dolphin on his outstretched hand and a spear in the second one.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 150.

646. P. (Figure 535). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, banded agate, c. 30-20 BC; OR: Octavian as Neptune. He puts his left leg on a prow and there is vexillum or rather a spear and a trophy in front of him.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 323.

647. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: Octavian as Neptune-statue – classical type, eagle in the field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3454.

648. P. (Figure 536). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 30 BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune, holding a legionary standard and spear.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 348.

649. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3463.

650. P. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton-Urlich Museum, nicolo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune stands with one leg on a prow holding aplustrum in his outstretched hand and a spear or sceptre in the second one.
Publ.: AGDS III Braunschweig, no. 15.

651. P. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune stands with one leg on a prow holding parazonium in his arm and rising his left hand to the face.
Publ.: Lang and Cain 2015, no. III.19.

9.3.1.5.2.3.6. Octavian - Neptune statue-like type with inscription

652. P. (Figure 537). Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have come from Rome, bought in London, Dressel collection, carnelian, c. 30-20 BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune holds aplustrum and a cloak in his hands. He puts his left leg on a prow and there is vexillum in front of him. Inscription: T•IVL•FIR = T(iti) Iul(ii) Fir(---).
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 322.

9.3.1.5.2.3.7. Octavian - Neptune statue-like type with Capricorn and other military symbols

653. P. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, said to have been found in Rheinland, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: A naked young man or Octavian (?) stands to the front with head turned to the right holding a dolphin or Capricorn on his outstretched hand, a prow at his foot.
Publ.: Krug 1981, no. 137.

654. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: Octavian in the Neptune statue-like type, Capricorn in the field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3456.

655. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3457.

656. P. (Figure 538). Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3458.

9.3.1.5.2.3.8. Octavian - Neptune statue-like type with globe

657. P. (Figure 539). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, c. 30 BC or slightly later; OR: Octavian as Neptune holds a globe (?) in his left hand, while a trident and a cloak is in the right one. He puts his left leg on a prow.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.56.

9.3.1.5.2.3.9. Octavian - Neptune statue-like type with Victoriola

658. P. (Figure 540). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, onyx, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune holds Victoriola on his left hand, while a trident and a cloak is in the right one. He puts his left leg on a prow, unidentified object before him (globe?).
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2339.

659. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune holds Victoriola on his left hand, he puts his left leg on a prow.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 583.

9.3.1.5.2.3.10. Octavian - Neptune statue-like type with head of Africa

660. P. (Figure 541). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Neptune holds Victoriola in his left hand, in the right one he keeps a spear and a cloak. He puts his left leg on a head of Africa (symbolising defeated Egypt).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1089; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 507.

9.3.1.5.2.3.11. Octavian - Mars statue-like type

661. P. (Figure 542). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, nicolo, late 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Mars stands on a prow with a spear.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 416.

662. P. (Figure 543). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian (?) as Mars with a spear and one leg on a prow inside the temple. Inscription: M•VAL AEQVAL.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7262; AGDS II, no. 441.

663. P. (Figure 544). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, red jasper, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Mars (in cuirass and paludamentum) stands with his left leg on a prow holding a bearded and helmeted head of Mars in the left hand and leaning on a spear with his right one, a man at his feet (Mark Antony or personification of Egypt?).
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2320.

9.3.1.5.2.3.11. Octavian - Mercury statue-like type

664. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, von Gans collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Mercury stands with one leg on a prow holding caduceus.
Publ.: AGDS II, no. 363.

665. P. (Figure 545). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, Greville and Poniatowski collection, sardonyx, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Mercury statue-like type. Inscription: KVINTIΛ (Quintilius).
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 574; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 290.

666. P. (Figure 546). Private collection, Wright collection, garnet, 1st century BC, AR: Young Hermes with caduceus stands to the right with the left leg on a globe.
Publ.: Middleton 2001, no. 10.

9.3.1.5.2.3.12. Mars fighting giants

667. P. Nîmes (Gard), Centre de documentation archéologique du Gard (Nîmes), France, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Mars spears a giant.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1244.

668. P. Mouzon (Ardennes), Mouzon, musée de l'Association archéologique du Sillon mosan, France, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1245.

669. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden coll, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4113.

670. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4114.

671. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4115.

672. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4116.

673. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4117.

674. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4118.

675. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6850; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no 286.

676. P. (Figure 547). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 849.

677. P. (Figure 548). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Tyszkiewicz collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 11.2.

678. P. (Figure 549). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian (fragment), last third of the 1st century

BC, OR: Octavian (?) as Mars with flowing mantel, sword and shield (decorated with gorgoneion) in his hands fights a giant.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 255.

679. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Mars kills a giant with sword.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 581.

680. P. (Figure 550). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Roman horse rider fights a giant.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 401.

9.3.1.5.2.3.13. Athena/Minerva combating giants

681. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Athena/Minerva kills a giant with a spear.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 154; Buora and Prenc (eds) 1996, no. 27.

682. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 39.

683. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4119.

684. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Athena/Minerva with a shield decorated with a gorgoneion spears a giant.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4120; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXVII.35, vol. II, p. 179.

685. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4121.

686. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4122; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXVII.36, vol. II, p. 179.

687. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arnd collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3237.

688. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 632.

689. (Figure 551). London, The British Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2762.

690. (Figure 552). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 2.20.

9.3.1.5.2.3.14. Giant

691. (Figure 553). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Johnston, burnt carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Giant.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 404.

9.3.1.5.2.3.15. Actium – varia

692. P. (Figure 554). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Mars lies in a papyrus boat holding Victory on his outstretched hand, a trophy in the background.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 582.

693. P. (Figure 555). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem last third of the 1st century BC; AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right with a band on the head, below a prow.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3354.

694. P. (Figure 556). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, glass gem, c. 20 BC, AR: Actium Arch.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 538.

695. P. (Figure 557). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Luynes collection, amethyst, c. 30 BC, AR: Triptolemus-Octavian (?) stands to the right, wearing a toga, he holds bunches of grapes in his left hand and corn ears in the right one. On the ground, behind him, there are two serpents. Inscription: 'Jophimo wise man after Gesenius'.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 45.

696. P. (Figure 558). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Naked, bearded man (possibly Neptune) stands next to a column, atop which is a rudder, holding Victory on his left hand, while a shield and cuirass lays on the ground.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 150.

9.3.1.5.2.3.16. Actium – symbols

697. P. (Figure 559). Bonn, Rheinischen Landesmuseum, found in Xanten, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Eagle stands on an altar keeping lituus in its left leg flanked by two dolphins, tridents and Capricorns.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 144; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 506.

698. (Figure 560). Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, sard, c. 30 BC or slightly after, OR: Fortuna seated on a rudder holds corn ears and cornucopia, a prow is behind her (?). Inscription: AMICUS.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 92.

699. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Palm tree flanked by two birds seated on prows.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 482.

700. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Palm tree flanked by two birds sitting on modius.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 483.

701. (Figure 561). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Palm tree flanked by two birds perching on it and goats' heads to either side.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 484.

702. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Crater flanked by birds.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 555.

703. (Figure 562). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Soldiers traveling on a warship.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1641.

704. P. (Figure 563). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Eagle stands on a globe over a warship.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 507.

9.3.1.5.2.3.17. First important cameos

705. P. Paris, Musée du Louvre, found in Grand (Vosges), France, sardonyx cameo, c. 30 BC of shortly after, OR: Venus and Heracles flank a trophy.
Publ.: Laubscher 1974, pp. 244-246, figs. 5-6; Guiraud 1988, no. 987.

9.3.1.5.3. Titles, positions and promotions

Octavian's head with *sella curulis*

706. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian over sella curulis flanked by two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5172; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.3.

707. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5173; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.1.

708. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5174; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.5.

709. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.2; Weiβ 2007, no. 387.

710. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3361; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 145.4.

711. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 441.

712. P. (Figure 565). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1207.

Octavian's priesthood to Apollo

713. P. (Figure 566). Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, glass cameo, c. 37-30 BC, OR: Symbols related to the Octavian priesthood obtained in 37 BC (he was accounted into the collegium).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 504.

714. P. (Figure 567). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 570.

9.3.1.5.4. Marriages

Gemstones

715. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Froehner collection, banded agate, c. 40-38 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) confronted with the head of Livia (?) (capita opposita).
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 39.

716. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 527; Ciliberto and Giovannini 2008, no. 7.

717. P. (Figure 568). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, 30s BC, OR: Bust of Octavian (?) to the right confronted with a bust of Livia or Scribonia (?) to the left.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 306.

Glass gems

718. P. Nîmes (Gard), Musée archéologique, Nimes, France, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Busts of a man and a woman confronted (capita opposita), possibly Octavian and Scribonia or Livia?
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 504.

719. P. Mandeure (Doubs), Musée du Château, Montbéliard, France, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 505.

720. P. (Figure 569). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Busts of a man and a woman confronted (capita opposita), possibly Octavian and Scribonia or Livia? Or Mark Antony and Octavia?
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 126.

721. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Busts of a man and a woman confronted (capita opposita), possibly Octavian and Scribonia or Livia?
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1892; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.8.

722. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1893; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.9.

723. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5201; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.15.

724. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5203; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.19.

725. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5209; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.16.

726. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5207; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.17.

727. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5211; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.18.

728. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1741; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.9.

729. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Heads of young Octavian confronted with a head of a woman (capita opposita).
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3367.

730. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem (fragment), 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian (?) to the left confronting another one (of Livia?).
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 455.

731. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 457.

732. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Froehner collection, glass gem, c. 38-35 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) confronted with the head of Livia (?) (capita opposita).
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 40.

733. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Busts of a man and a woman confronted (capita opposita), possibly Octavian and Scribonia or Livia?
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 789.

Not Octavian – private couples

734. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Heads of a Roman couple confronted.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1739; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.12.

735. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1740; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.14.

736. (Figure 570). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Heads of a Roman couple confronted, clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) below.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1742; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.8.

With inscriptions

737. (Figure 571). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman lady (Livia?) and a Roman (Octavian?) confronted (capita opposita). Inscription: PHOEBE(F?)•IVVE•VITA.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1095.

738. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, chalcedony, 44-27 BC, AR: Busts of a man and a woman confronted (capita opposita), possibly Octavian and Scribonia or Livia? Inscription: ALF behind the man and SPE under the woman.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.14.

739. Whereabouts unknown, once in the Landgraf von Hessen-Kassel collection, glass impression after a lost intaglio, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Busts of a man and a woman confronted (capita opposita), possibly Octavian and Scribonia or Livia? Between them a star and inscription: ΣΟΤΥΕΤΑΣ above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 523.

Unusual

740. P. (Figure 572). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, sardonyx, c. 40-20 BC, OR: Venus naked with a garment held behind.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 225.

9.3.1.6. Divine and mythological references

9.3.1.6.1. Diana

741. P. (Figure 573). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Tigrini, Orsini and Farnese collection, amethyst, c. 40-30 BC or slightly after, OR: Diana leans on a column holding a club in front of her, she is surrounded by clouds. Signed by Apollonidos: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ.
Publ.: Pannuti 1994, no. 72; Lapatin 2015, pl. 93.

742. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, c. 40-30 BC or slightly after, AR: As above.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 110 (attributed to Apollonios' workshop).

9.3.1.6.2. Mars

Octavian as Mars

743. P. (Figure 574). Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Morrison collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Mars dressed only in a cloak, otherwise naked, with a round shield and spear in front of an aedicule placed on an altar.
Publ.: Spier 2001, no. 19.

Mars with a trophy

744. P. (Figure 575). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Mars stands to the right, holding a round shield on his right arm and a sword in a sheath in the left hand, beside him a trophy. Inscription: PRI.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1096.

745. P. (Figure 576). Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Mars stands to the front with a captive under a trophy.
Publ.: Gesztelyi 2000, no. 44.

Mars presenting his shield

746. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Mars stands to the front and presenting his shield on a postument or a column.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3504.

747. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3505.

748. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3506.

749. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3507.

750. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3508.

751. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3509.

752. P. Oxford, Harrow School, electrotype plaster after a carnelian, said to have been found in Iader (Zara, Zadar), Evans collection, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Mars with sword and spear to the front, his shield decorated with the sunburst at his foot.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 19.

753. P. (Figure 577). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Mars stands to the front with a spear presenting his shield decorated with a sunburst put on a column or altar, a cuirass lies against it.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 230.

Mars as protégé of *gens* Iulia

754. P. (Figure 578). Cologne, Dreikönigenschrein, Cathedral, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Mars gives his sword to Venus. He is naked except for a cloak fastened on his neck and holds a spear and shield, while Venus sits on a throne decorated with sphinx wings and legs. There is Cupid above her arm and another one is crowning the goddess with a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 65.

755. P. (Figure 579). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory crowning Mars seated on a shield, cuirass and helmet at his foot.
Publ.: Pannuti 1994, no. 125.

756. P. (Figure 580). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Athena/Minerva stands to the left. She holds a female head (personification of Africa or Egypt?) in one hand, while the other one rests on a shield, a spear behind her and cuirass at her foot.
Publ.: AGDS II, no. 519.

9.3.1.6.3. Victory

757. P. (Figure 581). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory to the left stands on her toes on a cornucopia. She wears peplos and holds a laurel wreath in her left, raised hand, while in the right one a palm branch. There is a crescent above hear forehead and an ant in front of her.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 235.

9.3.1.6.4. Mercury

9.3.1.6.4.1. With caduceus, tortoise, cockerel or simple portraits

758. P. Bram (Aude), France, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Mercury to the right with features of Octavian.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 191.

759. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust Mercury with features of Octavian to the left wearing a chlamys, a caduceus behind it.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 432; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.24.

760. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavian as Mercury (?) to the right flanked by two cornucopiae, beneath a tortoise shell.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 802.

761. P. (Figure 582). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Octavian as Mercury (?) to the left, with a small bird in front of it and a cockerel below.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.18.

762. P. (Figure 583). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by a cornucopia and caduceus, below a bearded comedy mask and a syrnix.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 147.6; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 308.

763. P. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian (?) as Mercury to the left.
Publ.: Casal Garcia 1990, no. 69.

9.3.1.6.4.2. With petazos

764. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, nicolo, c. 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian wearing petazos to the right, there is a corn ear in front of it and a parrot behind.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.15.

765. P. Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left with a petazos on the head.
Publ.: Cicu 2009, fig. 1, p. 342.

766. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Mercury with petazos on his head and features of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 76.

767. P. (Figure 584). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Mercury with petazos on his head and features of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 136.

768. P. Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left wearing petazos, caduceus in front of him and prow below.
Publ.: Nardelli 2007, fig. 1, p. 266.

769. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian with petazos on his head to the left flanked by a rudder, cornucopia and caduceus.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1843; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.16.

770. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sard, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian with petazos on his head to the left. He wears a chlamys and caduceus protrudes behind his back.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1837; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.18.

771. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the left wearing petazos on his head.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 172.

772. P. (Figure 585). London, The British Museum, glass gem, 44-40 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left wearing petazos on his head and paludamentum.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2797.

773. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, collected at Megalopolis, Greece by W. Loring during excavations by the British School at Athens (1890-91), glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian wearing petazos to the left.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.17.

774. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian as Mercury with petazos on his head to the right.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 462.

9.3.1.6.4.3. With reference to the Second Triumvirate

775. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Don Reber collection, nicolo, 44-40 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right wearing petazos on his head flanked by two cornucopiae, two clasped hands below.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 179.

776. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, purchased in Rome, Fortnum collection, glass gem, c. 44-40 BC, set in a gilt copper-

alloy ring; OR: Head of Mercury (or Octavian as Mercury?) to the left, surrounded with cornucopia, globe, caduceus, corn ear and poppy; two clasped hands beneath.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 1.61.

777. P. (Figure 587). **Krakow,** The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, nicolo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 254.

9.3.1.6.4.4. With Capricorn

778. P. (Figure 588). Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian with petazos on his head to the right flanked by two Capricorns, globe beneath.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6084.

9.3.1.6.4.6. Controversial

779. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Mercury wearing petazos.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4866.

780. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4867.

781. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4868.

782. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4869.

783. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: A cockerel and bust of Mercury with caduceus.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2205.

784. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, amethyst, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Mercury to the front, caduceus over his left arm.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 420.

785. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, nicolo second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 422.

786. P. (Figure 586). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Mercury to the left.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 111.

787. P. (Figure 589). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 112.

9.3.1.6.4.7. Above winged foot

788. P. (Figure 590). Munich, Archäologischen Staatssammlung, found in Auerberg, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, set in ancient iron ring, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae atop of a finger ring with unidentified object inside (a mouse?) and a comedy mask to either side; below there is a winged foot? and a dolphin.
Publ.: Ulbert 2010, pl. 14.1a-c; Platz-Horster 2018, no. 8.

789. P. Verona, Musei Civici, glass gem, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left flanked by two cornucopiae, a winged foot and caduceus below.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1991-1992, pl. V.4.

790. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Mercury with features of Octavian over a winged foot flanked by two dolphins.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6085.

791. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Mercury with features of Octavian over a winged foot flanked by two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6086.

792. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right, a caduceus in front of it, a trident behind, a rudder, winged foot and dolphin beneath.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 8037; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.14.

793. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem (fragment), c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian wearing petazos to the right, flanked by two dolphins, a winged foot and caduceus beneath.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3104; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 148.12.

794. P. (Figure 591). Kassel, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Capello collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Mercury with caduceus, crescent above his forehead, cornucopia and globe in front of it and winged foot with a palm branch beneath.
Publ.: AGDS III Kassel, no. 88.

795. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavian (?) to the left flanked by two cornucopiae, below Mercury's winged foot, caduceus and dolphin.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 603.

796. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, c. 40-30 BC, AR: Head of Octavian to the right flanked by two cornucopiae, beneath a winged foot, caduceus and a dolphin?
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 803.

9.3.1.6.6. Apollo

Busts and heads

797. P. (Figure 592). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Laureate bust of Apollo to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 54.1.

798. P. (Figure 593). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Diademed head of Apollo to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1032.

799. P. Munich, Glyptothek, Hansmann collection, red jasper, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Laureate head of Apollo to the left.
Publ.: Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 42.

800. P. (Figure 594). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Madame Pompadour and Duke de Orléans collection, amethyst, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Laureate bust of Apollo to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 81.2, 5-6; Neverov 1976, no. 115; Kagan 2000, no. 51/1 (attributed to Hyllos).

801. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Madame Pompadour and Duke de Orléans collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Laureate bust of Apollo to the right, a bow beside it?
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 79.3 and 7; Kagan 2000, no. 52/2 (attributed to Hyllos).

802. P. (Figure 595). Private collection (Germany), amethyst, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Laureate bust of Apollo with a bow and quiver.
Publ.: Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 9.

803. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian (fragment), last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Laureate bust of Apollo with cithara to the right.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 226.

804. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Laureate bust of Apollo with cithara to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 77.

805. P. Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Morisson collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Laureate bust of Apollo with cithara to the right.
Publ.: Spier 2001, no. 23.

806. P. (Figure 596). Private collection (Germany), bought from Sternberg, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 8.

807. P. (Figure 597). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, aquamarine, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Laureate head of Apollo to the left, a laurel branch before him.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 413.

Others

808. P. Munich, Glyptothek, Hansmann collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Apollo stands to the right playing a lyre.
Publ.: Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 52.

809. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, amethyst, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Apollo leaning on a column with a bow and arrow, cithara at his feet.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 411.

810. P. Private collection (Near East), emerald, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Apollo, naked, stands to the right, holding a laurel branch and spreading a cloak behind himself. Beside him there is a column on a rock with a bird sitting atop. In the background a tree and a rock, over Apollo's right shoulder a disc.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 67.

811. P. Whereabouts unknown, said to have been found in Rome, Kibaltchitch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Apollo (or Octavian as Apollo?) stands to the front, on his right a tripod on an altar and on his left cithara on a column.
Publ.: Kibaltchitch 1910, no. 153.

812. P. (Figure 598). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, chalcedony (discoloured), last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Atia (?) sleeps on a rock, eagle flies with sceptre in its talons and Apollo about to inseminate Atia in the guise of a serpent entwined on a tree.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 357; Zazoff 1983, pl. 85.7.

9.3.1.6.7. Achilles

813. P. (Figure 599). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Madame Pompadour and Duke de Orléans collection, onyx cameo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Achilles receives Priam, sphinx on a column in the field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. 1, pl. LVIII.3, vol. II, p. 263; Neverov 1971, no. 54.

814. P. (Figure 600). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Francis Cook, Wyndham Cook, Humphrey Cook, Ricketts and Shannon collection, amethyst, c. 30-20 BC, set in a massive, gold ring (ancient?), OR: Achilles seated on a rock to the right. In front of him a tree upon which hangs a sword.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 196.

815. P. (Figure 601). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, carnelian, c. 30 BC, AR: Octavian as Achilles stands to the left, wearing a chlamys, holds a spear in his right hand. In front of him a Corinthian helmet, cuirass and a round shield. Groundline.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 46.

816. P. (Figure 602). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, c. 30-20 BC, AR: Achilles? stands to the right with crossed legs leaning on a spear, a cloak wrapped around his right arm. Behind him a tree and a shield and a helmet on the ground.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6234; Furtwängler 1900, vol. 1, pl. XXXVII.10, vol. II, p. 183.

9.3.1.6.8. Heracles

817. P. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, aquamarine, c. 50-30 BC, OR: Heracles carries Cretan Bull. Signed by Antheros: ΑΝΤΕΡΩΤΟC.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 38.1 and 3 and 40.1.

818. P. (Figure 603). Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, Morrison, Newton-Robinson, Ionides and Jonathan H. Kagan and Ute Wartenberg-Kagan collection, mottled agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles carries Cretan Bull. Signed by Moschos: MOCXOY.
Publ.: Boardman 1968, no. 81.

819. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian? to the left, behind it a club and a trophy on its right side.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.21.

820. P. Rome, National Etruscan Museum - Villa Giulia, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian? seen from behind with the head to the right, behind it a club.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.20.

821. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, reddish-brown jasper, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of young Octavian as Heracles?
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 521.

822. P. (Figure 604) Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavian as Heracles (?) with a club over shoulder.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 522.

823. P. (Figure 605). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, sardonyx cameo, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Heracles wrestles with Cerberus. Signed by Dioscurides: ΔIOCKOVPIΔOY.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 25.

824. P. (Figure 606). Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC; OR: Heracles kills a giant with his club.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4123.

825. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Heracles fights Hydra.
Publ.: LIMC V, (1990), 40 s.v. Herakles, no. 2074 (J. Boardman et al.).

9.3.1.6.9. Meleager

826. P. (Figure 607). Whereabouts unknown, once in the property of Lucien Naville, impression after a lost intaglio, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavian (?) to the right, behind it a spear and below boar's head.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.14.

827. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5126.

828. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3357.

829. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1201.

830. P. (Figure 608). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Orléans collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Meleager (?) naked except for the cloak wrapped around his left arm, leans on a pillar feeding an eagle, a dog at his feet, two spears behind him.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 50.1-2; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 465; Kagan and Neverov 2001, no. 35/16.

831. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Meleager leans on a column and holds a spear, there is a dog at his feet.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 254.

832. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Story-Maskelyne collection, garnet, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Meleager with a spear stands in front of a shrine of Artemis-Hekate.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 419.

833. Whereabouts unknown, c. 30-20 BC, AR: Meleager stands to the right and leans on his spear. He is naked except for the cloak. In front of him a body of Calydonian Boar and Artemis-Idol with two torches, behind the hero another one.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. 1, pl. XXXVII.8, vol. II, p. 183.

9.3.1.6.10. Theseus

834. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, praser (discoloured), second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Young man seated on a cuirass leans with his right hand on a shield and holds a sword in the left one, a column in front of him.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2382.

835. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Theseus stands to the front with the sword of his father in the left hand and a club in the right one.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 952.

836. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 953.

837. P. Cologne, Dreikönigenschrein, Cathedral, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Theseus, naked, stands to the left holding a club in his right hand, a cloak wrapped around his left one.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 117.

838. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, said to have been found in Rome, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, AR: Theseus examines the sword of his father, a shield behind him and a helmet on a rock in front of him.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 50.4; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 43.

839. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national de France, said to have been found in Rome, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, amethyst, 44-27 BC, AR: Octavian as Theseus (?) stands to the right and examines the sword of his father, supporting his head with his right hand by leaning it on a rock. A chlamys is overthrown on the top of the rock. Statuary type.
Publ.: Babelon 1899, no. 99; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 44.

840. P. (Figure 609). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Tyszkiewicz and Lewes House collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Theseus examines the sword of his father.
Publ.: Beazley 1920, no. 107; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 107.

841. P. Private collection (Germany), bought from Sternberg, agate, c. 44-27 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 54.

842. P. London, The British Museum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Theseus examines the sword of his father, before him a rock upon which he put his helmet and shield decorated with gorgoneion.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3171.

843. P. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Theseus in a dispute with his father seated on a chair – allusion to Julius Caesar and Octavian?
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.2352.

844. P. (Figure 610). Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, found in Pompeii, nicolo, c. 44-27 BC, set in an ancient gold ring, OR: Theseus examines the sword of his father leaning on a club with his right hand. Signed by Solon: ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 47.1-2 and 7; Zazoff 1983, p. 320, pl. 93.7; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 452.

9.3.1.6.11. Alexander the Great

845. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Diademed head of a young Diadoch-King or Alexander the Great (?) to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5052.

846. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5053.

847. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Diademed head of Alexander the Great to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 570.

848. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 117.1; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 571.

849. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Alexander the Great (?) to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 790.

850. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Chester collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC; OR: Head of Alexander the Great (?) to the left. Part of the matrix preserved too.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.54.

851. P. (Figure 611) Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Morrison collection, carnelian, c. 30-20 BC, OR: Head of

Alexander the Great to the right, below a head of his horse Bucephalus.
Publ.: Spier 2001, no. 31.

852. P. Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, purchased from Sternberg, Zurich, carnelian (fragment), second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Diademed head of Alexander the Great to the right.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 225.

853. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian, second-third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Helmeted head of Alexander the Great with a shield in the arm.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 240.

854. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, chalcedony cameo, 1st century BC, OR: Portrait of Alexander the great to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995, no. 31.

855. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, chalcedony cameo (cracked), 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995, no. 32.

856. P. (Figure 612) Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, said to have been found in Asia Minor, sardonyx cameo (fragment), second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Diademed head of Alexander the Great to the right.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 431.

857. P. (Figure 613). Berlin, Antikensammlung, found in Petescia (Turania at present) – north to Rome, in 1875, carnelian-onyx cameo, 1st century BC, set in a gold ring of Augustan date, OR: Bust of Augustus in the guise of Alexander the Great to the left. His head is diademed and he wears an aegis.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 3; Megow 1987, no. A36.

858. P. (Figure 614). Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Morrison collection, carnelian, c. 30 BC, OR: Young male figure (Octavian?) leans on a sceptre.
Publ.: Spier 2001, no. 21.

859. P. London, The British Museum, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: A youth wearing a chlamys and holding sceptre stands next to his horse.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1799,0521.40.

860. P. (Figure 616). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Orsini collection, carnelian, c. 30-20 BC, OR: Alexander the Great as a naked hero, possibly Achilles, stands to the front with the left leg bent (contrapposto) and head turned to the left. He keeps a spear in his right hand, while in the left one he holds a sword and the cloak is wrapped around it. On his right, there is a shield decorated with a gorgoneion on a rock, at the bottom a helmet. Inscription: ΔΙΟCΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 63.1, 3-4; Pannuti 1994, no. 183.

861. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 30-20 BC, AR: Alexander the Great as a naked hero, possibly Achilles, stands to the front with the right leg bent (contrapposto) and head turned to the left. He keeps a spear in his left hand, while on the right to him there is a cuirass, helmet and a round shield decorated with a gorgoneion on which Alexander gazes. Further to the right there is a sword.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2299.

9.3.1.7. Political symbols

9.3.1.7.1. Dextarum iunctio

862. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, sardonyx, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold caduceus and two corn ears.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 599.

863. P. (Figure 617). Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Mercury stands on two clasped hands holding corn ears.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 179.

864. P. Bern, University Museum, Merz collection, carnelian second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold two corn ears.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 334.

865. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, sardonyx, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Two clasped hands hold caduceus, poppy and corn of ear.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1632.

866. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King and Johnston collection, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold two corn ears and a poppy.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 563.

9.3.1.7.2. Raven with symbols

867. P. Ficarolo (Italy), archaeological find, nicolo, second half of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Raven stands on a tripod, on the right side a lyre, on the left one cornucopia and globe.
Publ.: Büsing-Kolbe 1997, ill. 20, pp. 47-48.

868. P. (Figure 618). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Raven stands on an altar, a globe and cornucopia with laurel branch in front of him and eagle on the other side.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: f 1894/9.5.

869. P. (Figure 619). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Raven stands on a tripod with a laurel branch under its claws; three corn ears to the left and a bust of Athena to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2222.

870. P. Bern, University Museum, Merz collection, nicolo, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Raven walks to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 242.

871. P. (Figure 620). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Raven perched on a tripod and flanked by laurel branch, bow and quiver.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1473.

872. P. Exeter, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, green jasper, 1st century BC/AD, set in ancient iron ring, AR: Raven stands on altar, cornucopia and dolphin in the field.
Publ.: Middleton 1998, no. 48.

873. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, nicolo second half of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Mouse stands on a raven which stands on a cornucopia.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 552.

874. P. Bucharest, Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine, rock crystal second half of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Delphic tripod of Apollo surmounted with a raven perching on a caduceus or a corn ear; cornucopiae and corn ears to each side.
Publ.: Gramatpol 1974, no. 567.

875. P. (Figure 621). Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Raven stands on a cornucopia.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 110.

9.3.1.7.3. Sphinx

9.3.1.7.3.1. Female sphinx

876. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, black jasper, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the right.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1217.

877. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1218.

878. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1219.

879. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1220.

880. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1221.

881. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1222.

882. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, agate, 1st century BC/AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1223.

883. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, banded agate, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the right with one fore leg risen.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 145.

884. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, chalcedony, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Recumbent sphinx to the right.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 146.

885. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1129.

886. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Recumbent sphinx to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 857.

887. P. London, The British Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Female sphinx seated to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3111.

888. P. London, The British Museum, said to be from Constantinople, chalcedony, 1st century BC/AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1841.

889. P. London, The British Museum, W.C. Trewelyan collection, chalcedony, 1st century BC/AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1842.

890. P. (Figure 622). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: GL 571.

891. P. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Perceval collection, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 229.

892. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1544.

893. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1545.

894. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1546.

895. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1547.

896. P. Bloomington, Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University, onyx, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the right.
Publ.: Berry 1968, no. 143.

897. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Saint-Moryce collection, glass gem, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 84.

898. P. (Figure 623). **Krakow,** The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 300.

899. P. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Signol collection, carnelian, 1st century/BC/AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left, human head in front of it.
Publ.: Musée des beaux-arts de Tours (ed.) 1997, no. 283.

900. P. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Signol collection, carnelian, 1st century/BC/AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left.
Publ.: Musée des beaux-arts de Tours (ed.) 1997, no. 284.

901. P. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Signol collection, chalcedony, 1st century/BC/AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left, human head in front of it.
Publ.: Musée des beaux-arts de Tours (ed.) 1997, no. 285.

9.3.1.7.3.2. Cameos

902. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass cameo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left.
Publ.: Eichler and Kris 1927, no. 70; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1045.

903. P. (Figure 624) Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, onyx cameo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: GS-10177.

904. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, sardonyx cameo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Sphinx seated to the right.
Publ.: Babelon 1897, no. 178.

905. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, sardonyx cameo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Sphinx seated to the left.
Publ.: Babelon 1897, no. 179.

9.3.1.7.3.3. Sphinx and Mercury (caduceus or figure):

906. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the right, caduceus in front of it.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1224.

907. P. Udine, Civici Musei, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx recumbents to the left, caduceus in front of it.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 326.

908. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left, caduceus in front of it.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 377.

909. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have been found in Perugia, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Female sphinx seated to the right, caduceus in front of it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7088.

910. P. (Figure 625). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Female sphinx seated to the right. Mercury with a caduceus and money bag above, cockerel below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2747.

911. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with curved wings seated to the left, caduceus in front of it.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 392.

912. P. (Figure 626). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Perceval collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left, caduceus in front of it.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 230.

913. P. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, purchased in Smyrna (Izmir), chalcedony, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Sphinx seated to the left, caduceus in front of it.
Publ.: Henig 1975, no. 171.

9.3.1.7.3.4. With inscriptions

914. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Berlin, Arndt collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Sphinx seated. Inscription: APPV(C)?
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1009.

915. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left. Inscription: MN A or M•N(---) A(---).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1133.

916. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Parker collection, chalcedony, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left. Inscription: M•LUCRETI ('[The seal] of Marcus Lucretius').
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.87.

917. P. Oxford, Harrow School, said to have been found in Salona or Bosnia, Evans collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the right. Inscription: FAVSTI.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 133.

918. P. (Figure 627). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated to the left. Inscription: XCΛY.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLV.61, vol. II, p. 220.

919. P. Bucharest, Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Female sphinx seated to the right. Inscription: XTELI(or LI)A.
Publ.: Gramatpol 1974, no. 396.

920. P. Art market, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated with curved wings, crescent and three stars above its head. Inscription: MIL.
Publ.: Christie's, 6 December 2007, lot 320.

9.3.1.7.3.5. Sealings

921. P. (Figure 628). Artashat (Artaxata), Armenia, sealing, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Female sphinx almost to the front with spread wings.
Publ.: Khachatrian 1996, fig. 30.

922. P. Artashat (Artaxata), Armenia, sealing, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Bearded sphinx seated to the left.
Publ.: Khachatrian 1996, fig. 31.

9.3.1.7.3.6. Sphinx with modius on the head

923. (Figure 629). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, found in Germany, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with modius on the head seated to the left, a burning altar in front of it.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: M 1931/2.9.

9.3.1.7.3.7. Sphinx eastern type

924. Udine, Civici Musei, chalcedony, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with curved wings seated to the left.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 324.

925. Udine, Civici Musei, carnelian last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with curved wings seated to the right.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 325.

926. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, amethyst last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3323.

927. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with curved wings seated to the left; under its right fore-leg is a human head.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 566.

928. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem (fragment), last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with curved wings seated to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1130.

929. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with modius on the head and curved wings seated to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 264.

930. Oxford, Harrow School, said to have been found in Salona, Evans collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-

early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with curved wings seated to the left, caduceus in front of it.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 134.

931. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with recurved wings seated to the right.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1541.

932. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1542.

933. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with recurved wings seated to the right holding ram's head between the forepaws.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1543.

934. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, agate, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with recurved wings seated to the left.
Publ.: Casal Garcia 1990, no. 59.

935. (Figure 630). Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with recurved wings steps to the left.
Publ.: Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, no. 75.

9.3.1.7.3.8. Sphinx with bearded male head

936. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Male bearded sphinx with recurved wings seated to the right.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 42.

937. (Figure 631). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 649.

9.3.1.7.3.9. Varia (mostly recumbent and playing with human head):

938. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx recumbent to the right and playing with a prey?
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1225.

939. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian (discoloured, fragment), last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx recumbent to the left, burning altar in front of it.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1131.

940. Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx with body to the front and head turned to the right.
Publ.: Chadour and Rüdiger 1985, no. 51.

941. London, The British Museum, Castellani collection, black jasper, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Female sphinx seated playing with human head.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1843.

942. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Sphinx recumbent on the ground to the left.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.85.

943. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1548.

944. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Sphinx recumbent on the ground and playing with human head.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1549.

945. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1550.

946. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1551.

947. (Figure 632). Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, sard (discoloured), last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 115.

948. Private collection (Near East), carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Two sphinxes to the left.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 526.

9.3.1.7.3.10. Later examples

949. Whereabouts unknown, Sa'd collection, possibly found in the vicinity of Gadara, carnelian, 1st-2nd century AD, OR: Sphinx seated to the left.
Publ.: Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 391.

950. Whereabouts unknown, Sa'd collection, possibly found in the vicinity of Gadara, carnelian, 1st-2nd century AD, OR: Sphinx stands to the left.
Publ.: Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 392.

9.3.1.7.4. Capricorn

9.3.1.7.4.1. Early examples

951. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Bari, Arndt collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Capricorn.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 794.

952. (Figure 634). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, chalcedony, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 91.

953. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, sard, late 2nd-early 1st century BC, OR: Capricorn to the left.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 41.

954. Art market, banded agate, 1st century BC, OR: Capricorn to the left, palm branch above.
Publ.: Christie's, 6 December 2000, lot 80.

9.3.1.7.4.2. Capricorn with astrological/zodiacal signs

955. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale**,** found in Pompeii, sardonyx, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Capricorn with rudder and star in the field.
Publ.: Pannuti 1983, no. 125.

956. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn, rudder and a scorpion.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2356.

957. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swimming to the left, his back part is in the form of a scorpion.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 402.

958. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, nicolo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swimming to the left, a globe below and a crescent over it.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 528.

959. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, carnelian last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Protomes of Taurus and Capricorn in antithetic capture over sea waves.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 530.

960. London, The British Museum, chalcedony, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Capricorn and Libra.
Publ.: Walters 1926, 2603.

961. (fig. 635). London, The British Museum, banded agate, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Capricorn, dolphin, two fish (Pisces) and cuttlefish.
Publ.: Walters 1926, 2604.

962. (fig. 636). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn set together with a bull and beardless head of a man to the left.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1596.

963. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Combination: Capricorn swimming to the left and scorpion flanked by two dolphins, star in the field.
Publ.: Dimitrova-Miličeva 1981, no. 226.

964. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gedney Beatty collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn swimming to the right, crescent and star above.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 402.

9.3.1.7.4.3. Capricorn with inscriptions

965. (Figure 637). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Capricorn over a tripod and amphora. Inscription: EICIMN.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 696.

966. Paris, Louvre Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn with a Greek monogram.
Publ.: de Ridder 1911, no. VII.3291.

9.3.1.7.4.4. Sealings

967. (Figure 638). Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn swims to the right holding cornucopia, above it a crescent.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 148.

968. Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn swims to the right holding cornucopia, above it a crescent. Inscription: MAMA.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 149.

969. Artashat (Artaxata), Armenia, sealing, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Capricorn.
Publ.: Khachatrian 1996, fig. 29.

970. Kyrene (Nomophylakion), sealing, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn over a ship.
Publ.: Salzmann 1984, p. 161, no. 919, fig. 21.

9.3.1.7.4.5. Capricorn with military symbols

971. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Warship to the right, above Capricorn, globe, cornucopia and stylis.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 992.

972. P. Dorset, Bridport Museum, archaeological find - Waddon Hill, sard (discoloured), late 1st-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn, dolphin, globe and prow.
Publ.: Henig 2007, no. 408.

973. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn, globe and legionary standard.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1593.

974. P. (Figure 639). Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, found in Novae (chance find), carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left with a legionary standard.
Publ.: Dimitrova-Miličeva 1981, no. 224.

9.3.1.7.4.6. Capricorn with symbols of victory

975. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, sard (brown), last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn swims to the right with a trophy.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1236.

976. P. (Figure 640). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, nicolo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left with a palm branch over a warship.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 622.

977. P. Luni, Museo Archeologico, found in Luni, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left with a palm branch.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 159.

978. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Duval collection, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Capricorn swims to the right with a palm branch.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 584.

979. P. Private collection (Israel), found in the vicinity of Caesarea Maritima, carnelian, 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn swims to the right with a palm branch and rudder.
Publ.: Hamburger 1968, no. 132.

9.3.1.7.4.7. Capricorn in a laurel wreath

980. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn to the right inside of a laurel wreath.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3379.

981. P. (Figure 641). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1141.

9.3.1.7.4.8. Capricorn with naval symbols

982. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn swims to the right with a cornucopia and rudder.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1242.

983. P. Torino, **Museo Civico d'Arte Antica**, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, set in an ancient bronze ring, OR: Capricorn with a trident.
Publ.: Bollati and Messina 2009, no. 20.

984. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Luni, nicolo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century

AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left a cornucopia and a rudder behind.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 161.

985. P. Luni, Museo Archeologico, found in Luni, nicolo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn with cornucopia and dolphin.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 157.

986. P. Xanten, Regionalmuseums, found in Xanten, agate, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 136.

987. P. (Figure 643). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, found in Limburg, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left with a rudder below, cornucopia behind the head and globe between the legs.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: GL 549.

988. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left, cornucopia and a dolphin below.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 411.

989. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Duval collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorns and fish.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 579.

990. P. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, found in Novae (chance find), sardonyx, 1st century AD; OR: Capricorn with a trident swims to the left.
Publ.: Dimitrova-Miličeva 1981, no. 158.

991. P. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, carnelian, 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn with a trident and rudder swims to the left.
Publ.: Dimitrova-Miličeva 1981, no. 225.

992. P. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, Vratsa district (chance find), carnelian, 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left, a cornucopia in front of it and a dolphin below.
Publ.: Dimitrova-Miličeva 1981, no. 227.

993. P. (Figure 644). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gedney Beatty collection, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left with a trident.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 401.

9.3.1.7.4.8. Capricorn with symbols of prosperity

994. P. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Santarelli collection, amethyst last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Two Capricorns swim to opposite sides between them two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Gallottini 2012, no. 197.

995. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn combined with cornucopia to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 554.

996. P. (Figure 645). London, The British Museum, Towneley collection, agate, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn between a cornucopia, globe and pacock on the one side and a hase, crater and parrot on the other one.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2605.

997. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, De Montigny collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn combined with cornucopia to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6619.

998. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn combined with a dolphin to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6620.

999. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn combined with cornucopia to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6621.

1000. P. Cologne, Dreikönigenschrein, Cathedral, Dr H.U. Bauer collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left with a cornucopia and globe.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 141.

1001. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn and cornucopia.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 582.

1002. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 583.

1003. P. Bucharest, Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the right, a cornucopia surmounted with a parrot before it and a fish below.
Publ.: Gramatpol 1974, no. 573.

9.3.1.7.4.9. Capricorn with bucolic symbols

1004. P. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, chalcedony, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Large crater containing two corn ears and poppies flanked by two cornucopiae with parrots atop. Above Capricorn turning his head back towards its tale in which it is holding a caduceus.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 77.

1005. P. (Figure 646). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, agate, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD or later, OR: Capricorn swims to the left, below a globe and eagle with spread wings and palm branch in the beak above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 567.

9.3.1.7.4.10. Capricorn and Second Triumvirate?

1006. P. Bern, University Museum, Merz collection, green jasper, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD or later, AR: Capricorn swims to the right over two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) holding a poppy and corn ears.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 346.

1007. P. (Figure 647). Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Capricorn swims to the left over two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) and a star in the field.
Publ.: Lang and Cain 2015, no. III.16.

9.3.1.7.4.11. Capricorn over altar

1008. P. (Figure 648). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn swims to the right over altar

decorated with garlands and bucrania, a trident with a dolphin on each side.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6055.

1009. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6056.

1010. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6057.

1011. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn over an altar decorated with garlands and bucrania.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 598.

1012. P. (Figure 649). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem (fragment), last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left over an altar decorated with garlands, bucrania and prows.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1145.

1013. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1142.

1014. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1143.

1015. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1144.

1016. P. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, said to have been found in Rheinland, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Round altar decorated with ram heads and Capricorn above.
Publ.: Krug 1981, no. 237.

9.3.1.7.4.12. Capricorn alone

1017. P. Udine, Civici Musei, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 319.

1018. P. Munich, Glyptothek, Hansmann collection, garnet, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, set in an ancient, bronze ring (contemporary to the gem), OR: As above.
Publ.: Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 26.

1019. P. Paris, Louvre Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn.
Publ.: de Ridder 1911, no. VII.3292.

1020. P. Paris, Louvre Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: de Ridder 1911, no. VII.3293.

1021. P. Paris, Louvre Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn with a Greek monogram.
Publ.: de Ridder 1911, no. VII.3294.

1022. P. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 72.

1023. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 509.

1024. P. Valencia, **Universitat de València**, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Casal Garcia 1990, no. 60.

1025. P. (Figure 650). Bloomington, Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Berry 1968, no. 144.

9.3.1.7.5. Eagle on altar

9.3.1.7.5.1. Eagle on altar with military and victory symbols

1026. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with garlands, rams' heads and laurel branches to each side. It holds a laurel wreath and palm branch in its beak and a legionary standard in its claw.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1267.

1027. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with lupa romana, rams' heads to each side. It holds a palm branch in its beak and a legionary standard in its claw.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 177.

1028. P. Metz, (Moselle), France, chalcedony, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with garlands. It holds a laurel wreath in its beak and a palm branch under its foot.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 729.

1029. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle stands on an altar with a palm branch and laurel wreath in the beak, a legionary standard under its claws, the altar is decorated with bucrania and quadriga, laurel branches to each side.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5721.

1030. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5722.

1031. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle stands on an altar with a laurel wreath in the beak and bundle of thunderbolts in the claws, the altar is decorated with rams' heads and a garland, laurel branches to each side.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5724.

1032. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle stands on an altar with a laurel wreath in the beak, the altar is decorated with rams' heads and a garland, laurel branches to each side.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5725.

1033. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle stands on an altar with a laurel wreath in the beak and

a legionary standard in the claws; the altar is decorated with rams' heads and lupa romana motif.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5718.

1034. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with a Pegasus, rams' heads and protomes of Capricorn to each side. It holds a laurel wreath in its beak and a palm branch under its claw.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 475.

1035. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with quadriga, bucrania and laurel branches to each side. It holds a laurel wreath and palm branch in its beak and a legionary standard in its claw.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1261.

1036. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with the motif of a quadriga and bucrania on each side. It holds a laurel wreath and palm branch in its beak.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 337.

1037. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, hematite, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands with spread wings on an altar decorated with garlands.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 338.

1038. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with lupa romana, rams' heads and Capricorn protomes to each side. It holds a laurel wreath and palm branch in its beak and a bundle of thunderbolts in its claws. There is also a caduceus behind the altar.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 914.

1039. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, sardonyx, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with Victory flying to the left with laurel wreath and palm branch, rams' heads and Capricorn protomes to each side. It holds a legionary standard in its beak and a palm branch in its claws.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1158.

1040. P. London, The British Museum, Hertz collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with a chariot driven to the right. Form its base spring laurel-branches, ox's heads to the sides.
Publ.: Walters 1926, 3387.

1041. P. London, The British Museum, Hertz collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, 3388.

1042. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle perches on a garlanded altar flanked by laurels. It holds a legionary standard under one of its foot.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.80.

1043. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle perches on a garlanded altar flanked by laurels. It holds a palm branch under one of its foot.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.88.

1044. P. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, obtained from Massimi in Rome, Thoms collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle holds a laurel wreath in its beak and with military standard under claws, standing on a round altar decorated with bucrania and quadriga; laurel branches on either side.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 266.

1045. P. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 267.

1046. P. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle holding a laurel wreath in its beak stands on a round altar decorated with bucrania and quadriga; laurel branches on either side.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 278.

1047. P. (Figure 652). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 279.

1048. P. (Figure 653). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar holding wreath and palm branch in its beak. The altar is decorated with a chariot driven to the right and ox's heads on the sides, from its base spring laurel branches and legionary standard is visible above it.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1456.

1049. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar holding wreath and palm branch in its beak. The altar is decorated with lupa romana and ram's and goat's heads on the sides, from its base spring laurel branches and legionary standard is visible above it.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1457.

1050. P. (Figure 654). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gedney Beatty collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with garlands, rams' heads and Capricorn protomes to each side. The eagle holds a laurel wreath and a palm branch in its beak and a legionary standard under its claw.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 522.

1051. P. Bloomington, Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle stands on an altar (or pyxis?) with head to the right holding a laurel wreath in the beak, flanked by legionary standards.
Publ.: Berry 1968, no. 89.

9.3.1.7.5.2. Eagle on altar in a temple

1052. P. (Figure 655). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with garlands. The motif is located within a temple which frieze is decorated with a lotus flower (?). Below a dolphin.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 419.

1053. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar inside of a temple.

Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 437.

9.3.1.7.5.3. Eagle on altar

1054. P. Vindonissa, Landesmuseum, archaeological find, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, set in an ancient bronze ring, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with two rams' heads.
Publ.: Gonzenbach 1952, no. 37.

1055. P. Aime, Saint-Sigismond (Savoie), France, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a round altar decorated with garlands.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 728.

1056. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Round altar flanked by two corn ears.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 455.

1057. P. (Figure 656) Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Two cornucopiae, terminating in goat heads, crossing each other, below altar.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1616.

1058. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Round altar decorated with ram's heads and two laurel branches springs from either side.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6038.

1059. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6039.

1060. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6040.

1061. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6041.

1062. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but the altar is decorated with lupa romana.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6042.

1063. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but heads with palm branch to either side and corn ear and a bird above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6043.

1064. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but heads of a ram and goat above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6044.

1065. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but the altar is decorated with Victory riding a biga and two sphinxes sit on it, below it a hand with legionary standard.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6045.

1066. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but the altar is decorated with two goat's heads.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6046.

1067. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but a butterfly and two clasped hands above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6047.

1068. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but a cockerel and goat climbing a tree on it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6048.

1069. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but the altar is decorated with a grazing horse, boar's and hound's heads to the sides and Corinthian helmet above it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6049.

1070. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but two cornucopiae and laurel wreath above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6050.

1071. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6051.

1072. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6052.

1073. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but without a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6053.

1074. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6054.

1075. (Figure 657). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 30 BC, OR: Burning round altar decorated with festoon and goats' heads.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1644.

1076. (Figure 658). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Circular altar with ram's head consoles heaped with fruit, an ear of corn on either side.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 11.2.

1077. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 11.3.

1078. Private collection (Near East), garnet, 1st century BC, OR: Circular garlanded altar.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 513.

1079. Private collection (Near East), garnet, 1st century BC, OR: Circular garlanded altar, a parrot on crater stands on it flanked by two cornucopiae and corn ears.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 524.

9.3.1.7.5.4. Sealings

1080. Cyrene, Nomophylakion, sealing, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Two birds stand on a circular altar decorated with two bucrania.
Publ.: *Maddoli 1963-1964, no. 938*.

9.3.1.7.6. Cockerel and symbols

1081. P. Pavia, Museo dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Pavia, nicolo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cockerel walks to the left with a trophy, behind it a cornucopia and a vessel.
Publ.: Tomaselli et al. 1987, no. G.29.

1082. P. Split, Museo Archeologico, found in Tilurium, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cockerel stands on a modius flanked by two cornucopiae and globes.
Publ.: Nardelli 2011a, no. 139.

1083. P. Split, Museo Archeologico, found in Tilurium, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cockerel stands on a cornucopia and globe perching on a mouse.
Publ.: Nardelli 2011a, no. 140.

1084. P. Split, Museo Archeologico, found in Tilurium, nicolo, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cockerel stands on a modius from which cornucopia extends.
Publ.: Nardelli 2011a, no. 141.

1085. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Cockerel stands on an altar decorated with garlands and rams' heads holding corn ears, a palm branch under its leg.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5808.

1086. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5809.

1087. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5810.

1088. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5811.

1089. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5812.

1090. P. (Figure 660). Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Cockerel stands on a miniaturised warship, a corn ear in its claw.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5814.

1091. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cockerel stands on circular altar with a palm branch under its foot. The altar is decorated with garlands and ram's heads keeping corn ears in their mouths.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2104.

1092. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 2105.

1093. P. (Figure 661). Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 499.

1094. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 500.

1095. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, banded agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Cockerel stands to the left with a serpent in its beak, palm branch in the field.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 343.

1096. P. (Figure 659). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Cockerel with a palm branch in its beak, cornucopia and corn ear in front of him.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: VF 861.

1097. P. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Cockerel stands on an altar decorated with garlands and ram's heads holding corn ears, a palm branch under its leg.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 45.

9.3.1.7.7. Goat, cornucopia and globe

1098. P. Como, Museo Giovo, Garovaglio collection, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Goat, cornucopia and globe.
Publ.: Tassinari and Magni 2010, fig. 9, p. 169.

1099. P. Athens, Coin Cabinet of the National Museum, Karapanous collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Karapanou 1913, no. 481.

1100. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Goat on which a bird stands, cornucopia and a globe next to it.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6157.

1101. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Goat, cornucopia and a globe.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 8083.

1102. P. (Figure 662). **Krakow,** The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Goat, cornucopia and globe.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 280.

1103. P. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 281.

1104. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3465.

1105. P. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Perceval collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 233.

1106. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 12.3.

1107. P. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Casal Garcia 1990, no. 419.

1108. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Goat and cornucopia.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1972.

1109. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Goat on which a bird stands, cornucopia next to it.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1973.

9.3.1.7.8. Trophies, dolphins, rudders, cornucopiae etc.:

1110. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, banded agate, 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club with a trident and two palm branches atop flanked by two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 190.

1111. EHL (Bas-Rhin), France, found in the habitable zone, agate (or chalcedony?) last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club with caduceus atop flanked by two palm branches.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 876.

1112. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Palm tree flanked by birds standing on baskets.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 627.

1113. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Modius full of corn ears.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2264.

1114. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Palm branch flanked by two cornucopiae terminated with heads of the goat.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2265.

1115. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Steiglehner collection, carnelian-agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia, rudder and a globe.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2266.

1116. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, sardonyx, c. 45-30 BC, OR: Hand holding a cornucopia, palm branch and a corn ear.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 426.

1117. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, AR: Cornucopia.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 416.

1118. (Figure 663). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) holding two cornucopiae and corn ears.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 464.

1119. Lebrija (Sevilla), carnelian second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Rudder, palm branch and celestial globe.
Publ.: López de la Orden 1990, no. 185.

1120. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, carnelian, early 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia and a corn ear.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 35.

1121. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, sardonyx, 2nd century BC, OR: Cornucopia.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 46.

1122. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, carnelian, 2nd-1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 47.

1123. (Figure 664). Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia, thyrsus, globe and bird.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 100.

1124. (Figure 665). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, purchased in Chiusi, carnelian, c. 50-30 BC, OR: Hand holding caduceus. Inscription: A•B•E.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 197.

1125. (Figure 666). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia, rudder and a bird (raven?). Inscription: HILARI (name Hilarus).
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2267.

1126. P. (Figure 667). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Isis symbol within a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 576.

1127. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Isis symbol flanked by two stars, on the top two corn ears and a bird perching on them.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 577.

1128. P. (Figure 668). Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Eagle standing on sella curulis on which there is a lituus.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5731.

9.3.2. Mark Antony

9.3.2.1. Gem engravers working of Mark Anotny

Aspasios

1129. P. Rome, Museo nazionale romano di Palazzo Massimo, red jasper, c. 50-40 BC, OR: Bust of Athena Parthenos. Signed by Aspasios: ACΠACIOY.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 22.3-4.

1130. P. (Figure 669). London, The British Museum, Hamilton and Townley collection, red jasper, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Terminal herm of Dionysus/Bacchus. Signed by Aspasios: ACΠACIOY.
Publ.: Jenkins and Sloan 1996, no. 111.

1131. P. (Figure 670). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, red jasper, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Bust of Sarapis. Signed by Aspasios: ACΠACIOY.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 21.4.

Sostratos

1132. P. (Figure 671). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Orsini collection, onyx cameo, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Two drunk centaurs. Signed by Sostratos: CΩ(...).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 23.2 and 6; Pannuti 1994, no. 166.

1133. P. (Figure 672). London, The British Museum, Ottoboni and Carlisle collection, onyx cameo, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Eros leads two she-panthers which pull a cart, mainly missing, only a hand remains of the figure within. Signed by Sostratos: CΩCTPATOY.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3462; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 24.1-3.

1134. P. (Figure 673). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Pope Paul II (Cardinal Pietro Barbo) and Medici collection, onyx cameo, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Nike rides a biga. Signed by Sostratos: CΩCTPATOY.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 26.1-2; Pannuti 1994, no. 148.

1135. (Figure 674). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, onyx cameo, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles subdued by Eros/Cupid.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Boardman and Wagner 2016a, no. 35.

Gnaeus

1136. P. (Figure 675). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Rosarena and Ionides collection, amethyst, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Mark Antony to the left. Signed by Gnaeus: ΓNAIOC.
Publ.: Boardman 1968, no. 18; Richter 1971, no. 659bis; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 137.1, 3 and 5; Zazoff 1983, pl. 82.1; Plantzos 1999, no. 620.

1137. P. (Figure 676). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Kircheriano and Este collection, carnelian, c. 20 BC,

OR: Bust of Cleopatra Selene to the left. Signed by Gnaeus: ΓΝΑΙΟΥ.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 463; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 43.1-2; Zazoff 1983, pl. 82.2; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 149; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 478.

Teukros

1138. P. (Figure 677). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, amethyst, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Heracles and Nymph. Signed by Teukros: ΤΕΥΚΡΟΥ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 37.3-5; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 29.

9.3.2.1. Portraits – personal branding and manifestation of loyalty

9.3.2.1.1. Bearded

1139. P. (Figure 678). Private collection, carnelian, c. 50-40 BC, AR: Head of a young Roman (Mark Antony?) with a slight beard to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 129.1-3.

1140. P. (Figure 679). Whereabouts unknown, impression of a lost gem (DAI Rome, collection Cades), c. 50-40 BC, AR: Head of a young Roman (Mark Antony?) with a slight beard to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 130.1.

1141. P. (Figure 680). Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after a lost ancient unspecified intaglio, c. 44-42 BC, AR: Bearded head of Mark Antony to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 538.

1142. P. (Figure 681). Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after a lost carnelian, c. 44-42 BC, AR: As above. Inscription: ΓΝΑΙΟC (added in modern times).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 542.

9.3.2.1.2. Youthful

Gemstones

1143. P. (Figure 685). Whereabouts unknown, Marlborough collection, carnelian, c. third quarter of the 1st BC, AR: Head of young Mark Antony to the left.
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 741.

1144. P. (Figure 686). London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, red jasper, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.31, vol. II, p. 226; Walters 1926, no. 1966; Richter 1971, no. 463.

1145. P. Private collection (New York), said to have been found in Greece, Evans and the late Maxime Velay collection, sard, c. 40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Evans 1938, no. 151; Richter 1971, no. 465; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 133.7.

1146. P. (Figure 687). Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after lost ancient carnelian (once in the Graf von Bellegarde collection), c. third quarter of the 1st BC, AR: Head of young Mark Antony to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 539; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 494.

Glass gems

1147. P. (Figure 689). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, c. third quarter of the 1st BC, OR: Head of Mark Antony to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 380.

1148. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 40-30 BC, AR: Head of Mark Antony to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5074; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 134.2.

1149. P. (Figure 690a-b). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 43-40 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 153.

1150. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, c. third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 793.

9.3.2.1.3. Schematic/the most common (after coins of the 30s BC):

1151. P. (Figure 691). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Seyrig collection, sard, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of Mark Antony to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 29.

1152. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, black jasper, c. 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 357.

1153. P. (Figure 692). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, chalcedony, c. third quarter of the 1st BC, OR: Head of Mark Antony to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 98; Neverov 1983, no. 2.

1154. P. Rome, Palazzo Braschi, impression after a lost gem, c. early 30s. BC, AR: Head of Mark Antony to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 133.1 and 4.

1155. P. (Figure 693). Art market, black jasper, 30s. BC, OR: Head of Mark Antony to the left.
Publ.: Christie's, 7 December 2011, lot 389.

9.3.2.1.4. Sealing

1156. P. (Figure 695). Artashat, Armenia (archaeological find), sealing, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Mark Antony (?) to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1996, fig. 1, pp. 375-376.

9.3.2.1.6. Problematic

1157. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, sard, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of a young Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 131.11.

1158. P. (fig. 696). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 132.5.

1159. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 40-30 BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5084; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 132.6.

1160. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, nicolo, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Bust of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 132.9-10.

1161. P. (Figure 697). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Luynes collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, set in modern, gold ring, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 137.2 and 4; 7; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 32.

1162. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, onyx, c. 44-27 BC, set in a modern, gold ring, OR: Head of Mark Antony to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 356.

1163. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian (discoloured by fire), c. 44-36 BC; AR: Head of Mark Antony (?) to the left.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1184.

1164. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, nicolo, c. early 30 BC, AR: Head of Mark Antony to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 133.10.

1165. P. Péronne, Danicourt collection, carnelian, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Boardman 1971, no. 71 (https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems/danicourt/default.htm - retrieved on 15 January 2018).

1166. P. Péronne, Danicourt collection, carnelian, c. 40-30 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Boardman 1971, no. 72 (https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems/danicourt/default.htm - retrieved on 15 January 2018).

9.3.2.2. Promotion of the faction

1167. P. (Figure 698). Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after a lost ancient carnelian, once in the de France collection, Vienna, c. 44-42 BC, AR: Bearded head of Mark Antony to the left. Inscription: CAI
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 541.

1168. P. (Figure 699). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: Horse ridder.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 161.

1169. P. (Figure 700). Whereabouts unknown, impression of a lost gem (DAI Rome, collection Cades), c. 50-40 BC, OR: Young man wearing a tunica stands next to his horse. Inscription: M•ANT•NYMP (M(arcus) Ant(onius) Nymp(hios).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 132.4.

1170. P. Rome, Museo nazionale romano di Palazzo Massimo, glass gem, c. 50-40 BC, OR: Young man wearing tunica stands next to his horse.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 132.7.

1171. P. Verona, Musei Civici, glass gem, c. 50-40 BC, OR: Young man wearing tunica stands next to his horse.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa, Magni and Tassinarri 2009, no. 564.

9.3.2.3. Commemoration

9.3.2.3.1. Brundisium Treaty?

1172. P. (Figure 701). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, red jasper, third quarter of the 1st century BC or 2nd century AD? OR: Heracles with a club and Apollo with a cithara stand together frontally. Inscription: BN.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1202; *LIMC* V, p. 141, s.v. Herakles, no. 3072 (S. Woodford and J. Boardman).

9.3.2.3.1. Marriage with Octavia

1173. P. Udine, Civici Musei, nicolo, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of bearded Mark Antony confronted to the bust of Octavia?
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 380.

1174. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a woman and a man facing each other, between them clasped hands.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5197; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.12.

1175. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Mark Antony and Octavia (?) confronted.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5198; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.15.

1176. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5199.

1177. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5200.

1178. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5202.

1179. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5204.

1180. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5205.

1181. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5206.

1182. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5208.

1183. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5210.

1184. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5213.

1185. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a woman and a man facing each other (capita opposita).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5212; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.13.

1186. P. (Figure 702). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, onyx, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Heads of Mark Antony and Octavia (?) confronted.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 371.

1187. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Don Reber collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 187.

1188. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 188.

1189. P. (Figure 703). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, amethyst, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 153.13; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 314.

1190. P. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Kam collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Busts of Mark Antony confronted with the head of Octavia (?) (capita opposita).
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 27.

1191. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after a lost ancient gemstone, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no 524.

1192. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a woman and a man facing each other, between them a caduceus.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5214; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.10.

1193. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a woman and a man facing each other (capita opposita), between them a caduceus.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5215; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 154.11.

1194. P. (Figure 704). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Rhusopulos collection (Athens), sard, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Mark Antony and Octavia (?) Inscription: I ΛA PO Y (Hilarius – name of the gem's owner).
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 575.

9.3.2.3.2. Augural office

1195. P. Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of an augur to the left, holding lituus (Mark Antony?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 131.2; Bruschetti 1985-1986, no. 15.

1196. P. (Figure 706). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Walther Fol collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of an augur to the left, holding lituus (Mark Antony?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 131.3.

9.3.2.3.3. Military victories

1197. P. (Figure 707a-b). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, said to have been found in Asia Minor, sard, c. 34 BC, OR: Head of Mark Antony to the right, eagle standing on an altar is about to crown him with a laurel wreath. Inscription: ΠΡΟCΩΛΑC.
Publ.: Vermeule 1966, no. 19.

9.3.2.4. Divine and mythological references

9.3.2.4.1. Heracles

Busts

1198. P. (Figure 708). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: Bust of Mark Antony as Heracles to the front with head slightly turned to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 157.

1199. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, ca 40-30 BC, AR: Bust of Mark Antony as Herakles to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 208.

1200. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, glass gem, c. 35-30 BC, set in an ancient gold ring, AR: Head of Mark Antony as Heracles to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 135.9; Vollenweider 1979, no. 76.

Heracles figural representations

1201. P. (Figure 709). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Seguin collection, nicolo, c. 50-30 BC, AR: Mark Antony as Heracles with club and lionskin lies on a rock on his left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 31.

1202. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles seated on a rock binded or released by Eros.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 268; *LIMC* V, (1990), 174 s.v. Herakles, no. 3437 (J. Boardman *et al.*).

1203. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Fortnum collection, said to have been found near Viterbo, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: Heracles kneels on his left knee to the left with Cupid climbing on his back.
Publ.: Boardman and Vollenweider 1978, no. 383; LIMC V, (1990), 141 s.v. Herakles, no. 3432 (J. Boardman et al.).

1204. P. (Figure 710). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 877.

9.3.2.4.2. Neos Dionysus

1205. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Satyr with a pantherskin and thyrsus dances to the left, a crater at his feet.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 112.

1206. P. (Figure 712). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, red jasper, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Satyr with a pantherskin and thyrsus dances to the right.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 232.

1207. P. (Figure 713). Private collection (Stockholm), sardonyx cameo, second half of the 1st century BC (with later recuts), OR: Mark Antony seated on a throne with a phiale and presumably thyrsus as Neos Dionysus/Osiris accompanied with Cleopatra depicted as Isis holding cornucopia to the side.
Publ.: Henig 2015-2016; Henig 2017, fig. 13, pp. 28-29.

9.3.2.4.3. Imitatio Alexandri

1208. P. (Figure 715). Whereabouts unknown, impression of a lost gem (DAI Rome, collection Cades), c. 35 BC, AR: Head of Mark Antony as Alexander/Zeus-Ammon to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 136.4.

1209. P. (Figure 716). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, sardonyx cameo, late 40s-early 30s. BC, OR: Head of Mark Antony with slight beard and long hair wearing a decorative casque and laurel wreath on his head. In the top part of the helmet there is a walking lion.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995, no. 36.

9.3.2.4.4. Genius

1210. P. (Figure 717). Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have been found in Rome, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Mark Antony as Genius seated on a throne, holds cornucopia in his right arm and Victoriola on his left, outstretched hand. In front of him there is a statue of Mars (?) standing on an altar. Inscription: MAR•VIC.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2926.

9.3.2.5. Political symbols

9.3.2.5.1. Heracles' attributes

1211. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Santarelli collection, agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles club flanked by corn ears and a rudder below.
Publ.: Gallottini 2012, no. 271.

1212. (Figure 718). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Configuration of cornucopia with fillet and a staff or rod (sceptre?) with a corn ear beside.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 213.

1213. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol, glass gem, c. 42-30 BC, OR: Hand holding Heracles' club, palm branch and corn ear.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 469.

1214. (Figure 719). Udine, Civici Musei, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Hand holding Heracles' club, corn ear and palm branch. Inscription: P•A•C.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 334.

9.3.2.5.2. Warship

1215. (Figure 720). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, chalcedony, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Warship with three soldiers on board.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 519.

9.3.2.5.3. Trophies, cornucopiae, globe, palm branch etc.:

1216. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, sard, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Two cornucopiae heraldically, a palm branch in the middle and a thyrsus below.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 593.

1217. (Figure 723). Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, sard, mid-1st century BC, OR: Hand clasped as fist, holds two cornucopiae, caduceus, corn ear and a poppy.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 446.

1218. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Hartmann collection, said to have been found in Egypt, sard, c. 45-30 BC, OR: Double cornucopiae, globe and palm branch.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 425.

1219. (Figure 724) Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC; OR: Heracles' club conjoined with a caduceus flanked by to cornucopiae.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 432.

1220. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 40-30 BC, AR: Two cornucopiae and two globes.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 419.

With inscription

1221. (Figure 725). London, The British Museum, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Clasped hand holds a palm branch. Inscription: STEFANO HATILI•TI•S.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2666.

Other subjects like lion and birds/stork and pietas

1222. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, sard, mid-1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia flanked by two birds and a globe.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 440.

1223. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, chalcedony-agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Stork stands on a poppy.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 340.

1224. (Figure 726) Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Don Reber collection, carnelian, c. 41-40 BC, OR: Cornucopia, globe and a stork.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 427.

1225. (Figure 728). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Lion.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 460.

9.3.3. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (triumvir):

9.3.3.1. Portraits – personal branding and manifestation of loyalty

1226. P. (Figure 730). Chesterfield, Chesterfield Museum and Art Gallery, Bessborough and Marlborough collection, hyacinthine-sard, mid-1st century BC, AR: Head of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus to the right, lituus in the field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.30, vol. II, p. 226; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 296.

1227. P. (Figure 731). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, c. 43-42 BC, OR: Bust of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus to the front, lituus in the field.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 358.

1228. P. (Figure 733). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 40 BC, OR: Head of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 154.

1229. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King and Johnston collection, black jasper, c. 50-30 BC, AR: Head of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus to the right.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 473.

1230. P. (Figure 734). Artashat, Armenia (archaeological find), sealing, c. 44-40 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Neverov 1996, fig. 2, pp. 375-376.

9.3.3.2. Political symbols

1231. P. (Figure 735). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, mid-1st century BC, OR: Vestal virgin.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 125.

9.4. Less significant politicians

9.4.1. Portraits

9.4.1.1. Intaglios and cameos with portraits of the Romans

1232. P. Rome, Musei Capitolini, olivine cameo, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a young, bearded Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 110.1-2.

1233. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Pompeii, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a young Roman to the left.
Publ.: Pannuti 1983, no. 191.

1234. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Currié collection, garnet (hyacinth), second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 138.1-3.

1235. P. Split, Museo Archeologico, found in Tilurium, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a young Roman to the left.
Publ.: Nardelli 2011a, no. 123.

1236. P. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, Mohamed Sultan collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Boussac and Starkis-Roscam 1983, no. 47.

1237. P. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, Mohamed Sultan collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Boussac and Starkis-Roscam 1983, no. 48.

1238. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, sard, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6538; AGDS II, no. 412; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 485.

1239. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6537; AGDS II, no. 414; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 61.4 and 8-9; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 486.

1240. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5073; AGDS II, no. 413.

1241. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a young, bearded Roman to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 663; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 128.1-3; Zazoff 1983, pl. 79.5.

1242. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 564.

1243. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 566.

1244. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, once in the Luynes collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 108.1-3.

1245. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, once in the Luynes collection, amethyst, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 109.1-2 and 5.

1246. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 792.

1247. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a bearded Roman to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 352.

1248. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, onyx, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a young Roman to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 353.

1249. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, nicolo, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 354.

1250. P. (Figure 736). London, The British Museum, Blacas coll, chrom-chalcedony, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a young Roman to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2046.

1251. P. London, The British Museum, Franks collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2052.

1252. P. London, The British Museum, Franks collection, sardonyx, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2053.

1253. P. London, The British Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a young Roman to the left, a palm branch in front of him and letter H behind.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no: 1867,0507.479.

1254. P. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, back jasper, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 108.4-5.

1255. P. (Figure 737). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, nicolo, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 311.

1256. P. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire, glass cameo, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of an old Roman to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 107.6-7.

1257. P. Private collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.27, vol. II, p. 226; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 139.1-2 and 6.

With symbols of priesthood

1258. P. (Figure 738). London, The British Museum, Castellani collection, carnelian, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Draped bust of a young Roman to the left, a vessel and another priesthood attribute in the field.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2009; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 120.1 and 6.

1259. P. (Figure 739). Private collection, sard, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of a bearded young Roman priest to the left. Inscription: V C R.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 125.7.

With additional symbolism

1260. P. (Figure 740). London, The British Museum, Cracherode collection, hyacinth, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of a young Roman to the left, a ruder, spear and a goat in the field.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2271; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 125.6.

1261. P. (Figure 741). Berlin, Antikensammlung, sard, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman to the right, a club in front of him and a mask of Silenus behind.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1873; AGDS II, no. 416 (Cades made an impression of a gem showing identical portrait with letters L.C.C standing for Lucius Cornelius Cinna. This inscription is modern, perhaps added by Cades himself).

1262. P. (Figure 742). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, garnet (almadin), second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Laureate head of a Roman to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 376.

1263. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ambras collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a Roman to the left, unidentified object in front of him.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 791.

With inscriptions

1264. P. Rome, Musei Capitolini, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, set in ancient gold ring, OR: Draped bust of a young man to the left, caduceus behind him. Inscription: ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ.
Publ.: Molinari et al. 1990, no. 13.

1265. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, sard, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left. Monograms in the field: AT (conjoined) and POB.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.24, vol. II, p. 226; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 106.5 and 8.

1266. P. (Figure 743). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Friedländer collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Draped bust of a Roman to the left. Monogram: HORAT(ius).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2333.

1267. P. (Figure 744). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Van Hoorn van Vlooswijck collection, agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman to the left. Inscription: ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΥ.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 310.

1268. P. Private collection, sard, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of a young Roman with a slight beard to the left. Inscription: Q•ROSCI•SABINI.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 104.1-3.

1269. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio (DAI Rome, collection Cades, no. IV.C.418(39)), second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right. Monogram behind the head.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.52, vol. II, p. 227; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 107.1 and 5.

9.4.1.2. Sealings

1270. P. Artashat, Armenia (archaeological find), sealing, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Cornelius Gallus (?) to the right.
Publ.: Neverov 1996, fig. 3.

1271. P. (Figure 745). Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a bearded Roman to the right. Inscription: Λ.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 182.

1272. P. Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman to the right.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 183.

1273. P. Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a bearded Roman (?) to the right.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 184.

9.4.1.3. Juba II

1274. P. (Figure 746). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, end of the 1st century BC; OR: Head of Juba II? to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 405.

1275. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, Gonzenbach collection, said to have been found in Smyrna (Izmir), carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, set in ancient gold ring, OR: Bust of a bearded and laureate man (Juba II?) to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2232.

1276. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Juba II?
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1694.

1277. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, sardonyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Head of Juba II as Heracles (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 77.

1278. P. (Figure 747). London, The British Museum, De la Turbie and Blacas collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Diademed bust of a king, perhaps Juba II of Mauretania.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1963.

1279. P. Private collection (Near East), carnelian, 1st century BC, AR: Laureate bust of Apollo or portrait of Juba II?
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 193.

9.5. Women

9.5.1. Portraits

9.5.1.1. Octavia

Gemstone intaglios

1280. P. Padua, Museo Archeologico, sard, c. 40-30 BC, OR: Head of Octavia to the right.
Publ.: Agostini, Bidoli and Lavarone (eds) 2004, no. 287.

1281. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Pompeii, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Octavian to the left.
Publ.: Pannuti 1983, no. 222.

1282. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, agate (discoloured), c. 44-30BC, AR: Head of Octavia (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.10; Pannuti 1994, no. 203.

1283. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, De Montigny collection, sard, c. 40 BC, AR: Head of Octavia (?) to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6543; AGDS II, no. 496; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.5; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 549.

1284. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Ross collection, said to have been found in Cyprus, chalcedony, c. 40 BC, set in ancient gold ring, OR: Head of Octavia (?) to the left.
Publ.: AGDS II, no. 495.

1285. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, purchased from marchrands Rollin and Feuardent in 1899, chalcedony, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Octavia (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.6; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 41.

1286. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, de Clercq collection, sard, 44-27 BC, set in an ancient gold ring, AR: As above.
Publ.: de Ridder 1911, no. VII.3191; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 166.6.

1287. P. (Figure 748). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, banded agate, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavia (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 168.5-6.

1288. P. Copenhagen, National Museum, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavia (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.7.

1289. P. (Figure 749). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, said to have been found in Cyprus, Cesnola collection, sard, 44-27 BC, set in an ancient gold ring, OR: Head of Octavia to the left.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 476; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 166.2-4.

1290. P. Stratfield Saye House, Duke of Wellington collection, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: Head of Octavia (?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.2.

1291. P. Stratfield Saye House, Duke of Wellington collection, sard, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.8.

Glass gems

1292. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavia (?) to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1899; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.9.

1293. P. (Figure 750). London, The British Museum, glass gem, 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavia or Julia - Augustus' daughter to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3259; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 165.3.

1294. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavia (?) to the right.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1224.

1295. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1225.

Cameo

1296. P. (Figure 751). Private collection, agate cameo, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Octavia to the right.
Publ.: Hedqvist 2007, no. 58.

1297. P. (Figure 752). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass cameo, c. 39-35 BC, OR: Head of Octavia to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 166.1; Vollenweider 1979, no. 204; Megow 1987, no. D1.

Sealing

1298. P. (Figure 753). Artashat, Armenia (archaeological find), sealing, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Octavia to the right.
Publ.: Neverov 1996, pl. 82.5.

9.5.1.2. Livia – early portraits

Gemstone intaglios

1299. P. (Figure 754). Bloomington, Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University, garnet, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Livia or Fulvia to the left.
Publ.: Berry 1968, no. 94.

Glass gems

1300. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Meissner collection, said to have come from Asia Minor, Meissner collection, glass cameo, second half of the 1st century BC, set in ancient gold mount (part of a diadem?), AR: Head of Livia to the left.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 345.

Cameos

1301. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sardonyx cameo, late 1st century BC-1st century AD, OR: Bust of Livia to the right.
Publ.: Neverov 1971, no. 100.

1302. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, onyx cameo, c. 5 BC-AD 5, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 89.

1303. P. (Figure 755). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, onyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 92.

9.5.1.3. Julia, daughter of Augustus

Gemstone intaglios

1304. P. (Figure 756). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, nicolo, c. 39 BC-AD 14, OR: Head of Julia, daughter of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1093.

1305. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection nicolo, last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Julia, daughter of Augustus (or Livia his wife) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 205.

1306. P. Whereabouts unknown, glass impression after ancient carnelian or sard, c. 14-22/23 AD, AR: Bust of Iulia, daughter of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 583.

1307. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient carnelian in Florence, c. 25-21 BC, AR: Bust of Julia to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 582; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 497.

1308. P. Verona, Museo Archeologico, impression after a lost intaglio, c. last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Julia daughter of Augustus to the left. Inscription: IVLIA (modern).
Publ.: Facchini 2012, no. 23.

Glass gems

1309. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, c. 39 BC-AD 14, OR: Head of Julia, daughter of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1092.

9.5.1.5. Fulvia, Servilia, Porcia, Hortensia, Pompeia and others

Gemstone gems

1310. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Currié collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman lady to the left, behind it a protome of Capricorn, below a bucranium, in front of it a corn ear and caduceus emerges above her forehead.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.15.

1311. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, purchased in Vienna, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Draped bust of a Roman lady to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2242.

1312. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, banded agate, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman lady to the right.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 267.

1313. Weimar, Goethe collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Draped bust of a Roman lady to the left wearing jewellery.
Publ.: Femmel and Heres 1977, no. 10.

1314. Bern, University Museum, Merz collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman lady (Julia, daughter of Augustus?) to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 290.

1315. (Figure 757). Bern, University Museum, Lederer (Berlin) and Merz collection, nicolo, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a Roman lady to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 165.7; Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003, no. 193.5.

1316. Oxford, Harrow School, said to have been found in Salona, Evans collection, amethyst, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman lady to the right.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 6.

1317. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sard third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.16.

1318. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.17.

1319. (Figure 758). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Piombino-Boncompagni collection, black jasper, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman lady to the left.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 479; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 168.1-2.

Glass gems

1320. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.14.

1321. (Figure 759). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of a Roman lady to the left.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 138.

1322. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 40 BC, AR: Head of a woman to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5187; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I. pl. XLVII.46, vol. II, pp. 227-228; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.13.

1323. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5188; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.1.

1324. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5189; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.2.

1325. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5192.

1326. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5193.

1327. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5196; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.3.

1328. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5191; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.4.

1329. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1896; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.6 and 9.

1330. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1895; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.7.

1331. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5195; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.8.

1332. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC; AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1897; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.10.

1333. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5194; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.11.

1334. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a woman to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1852; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 164.11.

1335. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a woman to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5190; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.12.

1336. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman lady to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 164.10.

1337. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gréau collection, gift of J.P. Morgan collection, glass gem (fragment), third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of a Roman lady to the left.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 477; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 165.5.

With inscriptions

1338. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of a woman to the left. Inscription: ANΘHΔWN KA(Λ)H.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2340.

1339. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a woman to the left. Inscription: SCAEVA.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1117.

1340. (Figure 760). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, bought from Van Lennep, said to have come from Asia Minor, agate, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Octavia (?) to the left, hatched border. Inscription: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 235.

1341. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sardonyx (fragment), third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Octavia (?) to the left. Inscription AFPI and a star in front of it.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 167.11.

9.5.1.6. Cleopatra VII

1342. P. Lisbon, National Archaeological Museum, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Cleopatra VII to the right.
Publ.: Cravinho 2017, no. 42.

1343. P. Artashat, Armenia (archaeological find), sealing, c. 44-27 BC, AR: Head of Cleopatra VII to the right.
Publ.: Neverov 1996, fig. 8.

9.5.1.7. Cleopatra Selene

1344. P. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, quartz-praser, last quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Cleopatra Selene to the right.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 30.

1345. P. (Figure 761a-b) Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, amethyst, last quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Diademed bust of Cleopatra Selene to the right.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 31.

1346. P. Private collection (Zürich), Dr H. Remund collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Cleopatra Selene to the left with sceptre over shoulder.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 43.4-5.

9.5.2. Divine and mythological references

9.5.2.1. As Victory

Gemstone intaglios

1347. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico, chalcedony (discoloured), c. mid of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of a Roman lady as Nike/Victory? to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 163.12; Vitellozzi 2010, no. 137.

1348. P. Brescia, Cross, rock crystal, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Victory to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 164.6.

1349. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Victory to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2241; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 165.1-2 and 4.

1350. P. (Figure 762). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Crozat and Duke of Orléans collection, amethyst, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Victory to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 85 (attributed to Pamphilos); Kagan 2000, no. 98/5 (attributed to Pamphilos).

Glass gems

1351. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, purchased in Perugia, glass gem, 31 BC or slightly later? AR: Bust of Victory to the right.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 79.

1352. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a winged woman to the right (Nike/Victory?).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4906.

1353. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4907.

1354. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4908.

1355. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bertholdy collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4909.

1356. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass cameo, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Victory to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 11184; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 164.4; Platz-Horster 2012, no. 234.

1357. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of a Roman lady as Nike/Victory? to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4910; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 164.9.

1358. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4911.

1359. P. (Figure 763). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Victory to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 164.7.

1360. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem (fragment), third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Victory to the left.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 229; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 164.8.

1361. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Walther Fol collection, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Victory or Psyche to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 164.5.

1362. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, carnelian, c. 50-40 BC, AR: Bust of a Roman as Victory (?) to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 15.3; Vollenweider 1979, no. 122.

1363. P. Basel, Historical Museum, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Victory to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 165.8.

1364. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 165.6.

With inscriptions

1365. P. (Figure 764). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Victory to the left with a palm branch on a shoulder. Inscription: M•C•F.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2197.

9.5.2.2. As Diana

Regular busts

1366. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Rhusopulos collection (Athens), carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Diana to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 476; LIMC II, (1984), 184 s.v. Artemis/Diana, no. 184.

1367. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King collection, gift of Johnston, garnet (hyacinth), 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Diana to the right.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 282.

1368. P. Cleveland, Museum of Art, cameo, 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Diana to the left.
Publ.: LIMC II, (1984), 683 s.v. Artemis, no. 815 (L. Kahil).

1369. P. (Figure 765). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, amethyst, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Diana to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 86 (attributed to Pamphilos).

Unusual busts

1370. P. (Figure 767). London, The British Museum, Carlisle collection, sardonyx cameo, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Bust of Julia as Venus to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3585.

9.5.2.3. As Agathe-Tyche

1371. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass impression after ancient intaglio, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Fortuna-Tyche with cornucopia to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 196.

1372. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Julia as Agathe Tyche to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 209.

1373. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 210.

1374. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 211.

1375. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 212.

1376. P. (Figure 768). London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.1874.

1377. P. (Figure 769). London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.1873.

1378. P. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1814,0704.1872.

9.5.2.4. As Athena

1379. P. (Figure 770). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Louis XIV collection, onyx cameo, c. last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Athena to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 67; Lapatin 2015, pl. 111.

9.5.2.5. As Isis

1380. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Cleopatra VII as Isis to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 201.

1381. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass cameo, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Isis to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3515.

1382. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, nicolo, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Isis to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1045.

1383. P. (Figure 771). Private collection (Germany), bought from Sternberg, garnet, c. 44-27 BC, OR: Draped bust of Cleopatra VII as Isis to the left surrounded with ivy branches with grapes atop.
Publ.: Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 36.

1384. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, onyx cameo, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Cleopatra VII as Isis to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 703.

1385. P. (Figure 772). Private collection (Rome), Sangiorgi collection, sardonyx, 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Cleopatra VII (?) as Isis to the left.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 214.

10. Augustus (27 BC-AD 14)

10.1. Gem engravers working for Augustus

Sostratos

1. P. (Figure 773). London, The British Museum, Stosch and Carlise collection, carnelian, c. 20 BC, OR: Nike/Victory slaughtering a bull. Signed by Sostratos: CΩCTPATOY.
Publ.: Dalton 1915, no. 770; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 27.2 and 8; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 156; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 441.

Aulos (and related):

2. P. (Figure 774). London, The British Museum, glass gem, c. 20 BC, OR: As above. Attributed to Aulos.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3035; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 34.3 and 35.5.

3. P. (Figure 775). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, purchased in Athens, Lewes House collection, aquamarine, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cassandra kneels with Palladion on her left hand.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 35.2-3; Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 94.

4. P. (Figure 776). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, said to have been found in Chalkis in Euboea, bought from Lambros, Lewes House collection, sard, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Boardman (ed.) 2002, no. 93.

Gnaeus

5. P. (Figure 777). Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, sardonyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Diomedes seated on an altar, holding a sword in his right hand and Palladion in the left one, before him a pillar surmounted with a figurine. Signed by Gnaeus: ΓNAIOY.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLIX.2, vol. II, p. 232; Lippold 1922, pl. XLII.11; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 41.1-2; Zazoff 1983, pl. 81.7.

Felix

6. P. (Figure 778). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Nicolo Niccoli, Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan, Pope Paul II (Pietro Barbo), Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis Federico I of Mantua, Marlborough, Evans and Spencer-Churchill collection, agate, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Diomedes, cloak over arm, escapes from Troy over a wreathed altar, holding a sword and the Palladium statue of Athena. He is greeted by Odysseus, dress over his arm, holding a scabbard with sword, pointing to the feet of a dead Trojan guard or priest whom he has slai,; behind him a block. Between them is a pillar bearing a three-quarter back view of a statue of Poseidon, cloak over shoulder, holding a trident and aplustrum in his lowered hand. Top right, the gate and walls of Troy. Ground line. Signed by Felix (in Greek on the altar): ΦHΛIΞ EΠOIEI. Inscribed with the name of the owner above, KAΛΠOYPNIOY CEOYHPOY (Of Calpurnius Severus).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLIX.4, vol. II, pp. 232-33; Lippold 1922, pl. XLII.5; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 39.1-2; Zazoff 1983, pl. 81.4; Moret 1997, no. 256 (and chapter IV); Plantzos 1999, no. 625; Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 10.20; Zwierlein-

Diehl 2007, ill. 482; Boardman et al. 2009, no. 165; Aubry 2009, p. 32.

Dioscurides

7. P. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, Seven and royal French collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes seated on an altar, holding a sword in his right hand and Palladion in the left one, before him a pillar surmounted with a figurine, below a dead guardian. Signed by Dioscurides: ΔΙΟCΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLIX.1, vol. II, p. 232; Lippold 1922, pl. XLII.1; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 62.1-2; Lapatin 2015, pl. 96.

Hyllos

8. P. (Figure 779). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Orsini, Medici, Crozat and Duke de Orléans collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Diademed bust of Apollo to the left. Signed by Hyllos: ΥΛΛΟΥ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 81.1 and 3; Neverov 1976, no. 113; Richter 1971, no. 708; Kagan 2000, no. 1/1; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 474.

9. P. (Figure 780). Paris, Bibliothéque national, Louis XV collection, chalcedony, late 1st century BC, OR: Charging bull stands on a thyrsus to the right. Signed by Hyllos: ΥΛΛΟΥ.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLV.11, vol. II, p. 218; Lippold 1922, pl. XCI.6; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 78.1-2; Zazoff 1983, pl. 93.2.

10.1. Seal of Augustus

10. P. (Figure 781a-b). Private collection (France), Guy Ladrière collection, ruby, c. 27 BC, OR: Head of Augustus wearing possibly oak wreath to the right.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016b, no. 135.

10.2. Portraits

10.2.1. Simple portraits without attributes

Gemstone intaglios

11. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, c. 40-20 BC, OR: Head of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1075.

12. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, c. 40-20 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1076.

13. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, chalcedony-onyx cameo, c. 30-20 BC. OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 50.

14. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Luynes collection, amethyst, around 20 BC, AR: Head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 51.

15. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, de Clercq collection, garnet (hyacinth), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: de Ridder 1911, no. VII.3208.

16. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, beryl, c. 40-20 BC, AR: Bust of Augustus (?) to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1981.

17. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, c. 30 BC, AR: Head of Augustus (?) to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1971.

18. P. London, The British Museum, sard, c. 30-20 BC, AR: Head of Augustus to the right, star in the field.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1970.

19. P. (Figure 783). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, sapphire, c. 18-17BC, OR: Head of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 315.

20. P. (Figure 784). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Orléans collection, carnelian, 44-27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 95.

Glass Gems

21. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have been found in Thebes, glass gem, 30BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Bust of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5075.

22. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem (fragment), c. 40-20 BC, AR: Head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.14.

23. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of young Augustus with laurel wreath on the head.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3332.

24. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, c. 30-20 BC AR: Head of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 430.

25. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 30-20 BC, AR: Bust of Octavian/Augustus to the right wearing a chlamys.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 194.

26. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 20-10 BC, AR: Head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 157.6; Vollenweider 1979, no. 201.

27. P. (Figure 785). London, The British Museum, glass gem, end of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Augustus (?) to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3247.

10.2.2. Laureate

Gemstones

28. P. Venice, Museo Correr, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Dorigato 1974, no. 43; Nardelli 2011/2012, no. 48.

29. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. AD 10-14, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2331; AGDS II, no. 490.

30. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2237; Overbeck and Overbeck 2005, ill. 16.

31. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Henry IV and Louis XIV collection, chalcedony-onyx cameo, c. 18-5 BC, OR: Head of Augustus? wearing a laurel wreath, to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 54.

32. P. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Gesztelyi 2000, no. 49 (as Tiberius).

33. P. (Figure 787). Private collection, Guy Ladrière collection, garnet, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Galerie Nefer 1996, no. 41; Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016b, no. 137.

34. P. Art market, sapphire, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: Christie's, 6 December 2007, lot 326.

35. P. (Figure 788). Art market; emerald, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Christie's, 6 December 2007, lot 327.

Glass gems

36. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem, c. 20 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 161.1.

37. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Laureate head of Augustus (?) to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2235.

38. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of young Augustus with a laurel wreath on the head.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3333.

39. P. (Figure 789). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3334.

40. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3552.

41. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, c. 31-20 BC, AR: Laureate head of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 202.

42. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Migliarini collection, chalcedony, c. AD 10-14, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 562 (glass impression).

10.2.3. With inscriptions

43. P. Whereabouts unknown, unknown material, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above. Inscription: M•CAS•M•F•LONGINI.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.59, vol. II, p. 228.

44. P. (Figure 790). Whereabouts unknown, unknown material, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above. Inscription: VALERIENSES.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.60, vol. II, p. 228.

10.2.4. Uncertain

45. P. (Figure 791). Private collection (James Ferrell), carnelian, late 1st century BC, OR: Head of Augustus (?) to the right.
Publ.: Spier 2010, no. 31.

46. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, AR: Bust of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 558.

47. P. Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost intaglio, once or still in the Devonshire collection, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 560.

48. P. Verona, Museo Archeologico, impression after a lost intaglio? late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD; AR: Head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Facchini 2012, no. 6.

10.2.5. Sealings

49. P. Cyrene, Nomophylakion, sealing, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Bust of Augustus wearing a laurel wreath and paludamentum to the right.
Publ.: *Maddoli 1963-1964, no. 507.*

50. P. Cyrene, Nomophylakion, sealing, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Bust of Augustus to the right holding a cylinder in front of himself.
Publ.: *Maddoli, G. 1963-64, no. 512.*

51. P. Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, c. 31 BC-AD 14; AR: Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 187.

52. P. Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Head of Augustus to the right wearing an oak wreath.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 188.

53. P. (Figure 792). Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, burnt, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Laureate head of Augustus to the right, inscription: ANT.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 189.

10.2.6. Manifestation of loyalty

54. P. (Figure 793a-b). Bloomington, Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Side A: Capricorn swimming to the right. Side B: Unfinished male portrait bust.
Publ.: Berry 1968, no. 145.

55. P. (Figure 794). London, The British Museum, Steuart collection, onyx (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD; OR: Capricorn. Inscription: IVL DAVAMAGVS (?).
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2602.

10.2.7. Cameos simple portraits without attributes

Gemstone

56. P. Rome, Ludovisi collection, cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A37.

57. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Herculaneum, Farnese collection, sardonyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Augustus to the right. Attributed to Dioscurides or his workshop.
Publ.: Gasparri (ed.) 1994, no. 336; Pannuti 1994, no. 202.

58. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, agate cameo (fragment), end of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Augustus (?) to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 702.

59. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, onyx cameo (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD; OR: Head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet, 2003, no. 50.

60. P. (Figure 795). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, chalcedony-onyx cameo, c. AD 4-14; OR: As above.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A14; Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 7.

61. P. (Figure 796). London, The British Museum, Strozzi and Blacas collection, chalcedony-onyx cameo, 31 BC-AD 14, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3578; Megow 1987, no. A13.

Glass cameos

62. P. Torino, **Museo Civico d'Arte Antica**, Gariazzo collection, glass gem cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Augustus in three-quarter view, slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Bollati and Messina 2009, no. 49.

63. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem cameo, last quarter of the 1st century BC, set in a modern silver mount, AR: Head of Augustus (?) to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1032.

64. P. Whereabouts unknown, cameo fragment, 30 BC or slightly after, AR: Fragment of a portrait of Octavian to the left (almost the whole head preserved).
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A5.

10.2.8. Laureate portrait cameos

Gemstones

65. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Crozat and Duke of Orléans collection, sardonyx cameo, 30 BC-AD 14, OR: Bust of Augustus wearing a laurel wreath and paludamentum with head turned to the left. A cornucopia on his left arm.
Publ.: Kagan 2000, no. 140/47.

66. P. (Figure 797). Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, sardonyx cameo, c. 30 BC or slightly after, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A7.

Glass cameos

67. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found on the Necropoli di Levante in the quarter of the family Cluentii (the tomb is dated c. AD 80), glass cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: Giovannini 2009, p. 48, fig. 13.

68. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 2009, p. 88, fig. 9.

69. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, accidental find, glass cameo (fragment), early 1st century AD; OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 2009, p. 90, fig. 13.

70. P. Izmir, Museum of Izmir (Smyrna), glass cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Lafli 2012, no. 132.

71. P. (Figure 798). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bartholdy collection, glass cameo, c. 30-20 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 338.

72. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, AR: Laureate head of Augustus (?) to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1033; Megow 1987, no. A35.

73. P. Private collection (Washington), said to have been from Ephesus, Smith collection, glass cameo, c. 30 BC-AD 14, AR: Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A8.

74. P. (Figure 799). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, said to have been found in Asia Minor, Hanazoglou collection, glass cameo, around AD 14, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vermeule 1966, no. 21; Megow 1987, no. A17.

75. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after cameo now in Naples, c. 20-15 BC, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 2.

10.3. Commemoration

10.3.1. Title Augustus obtained in 27 BC

10.3.1.1. Eagle with corona civica

76. P. (Figure 800). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sardonyx cameo, 27 BC or slightly later, OR: Eagle with spread wings standing to the front with head turned to the right. In one claw it is holding a laurel wreath, while in the second a palm branch.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 4; Lapatin 2015, pl. 110.

10.3.1.2. Portraits of Augustus with corona civica

77. P. (Figure 803). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, from the Treasury of Saint-Denis Abbey, chalcedony-onyx cameo, c. 25-20 BC, OR: Head of Augustus in corona civica to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 52; Megow 1987, no. A28; Lapatin 2015, pl. 112.

78. P. Private collection, agate cameo, c. 27-20 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Hedqvist 2007, no. 63.

79. P. (Figure 804). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, sardonyx cameo, c. 20 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 716.

80. P. London, The British Museum, Christy collection, glass cameo, c. 27-20 BC, AR: As above. The rim is milled like that of a coin.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3916; Megow 1987, no. A6.

10.3.1.3. Portraits of Augustus within corona civica

81. P. (Figure 805). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, c. 27-20 BC, OR: Head of Augustus to the left inside of an oak wreath.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.3; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 561.

82. P. Basel, Historical Museum, glass gem, c. 27-20 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.2.

83. P. (Figure 806). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 27-20 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1198; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.8.

10.3.1.4. Victory presenting a shield (clupeus virtutis):

84. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory presenting a shield (clupeus virtutis).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1483.

85. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory to the front, holding a palm branch and presenting a shield (clupeus virtutis).

Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3561.

86. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory stands to the front and presents a shield (clupeus virtutis).
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3197.

87. P. (Figure 807). London, The British Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory stands to the front presenting a shield (clupeus virtutis) decorated with a male head (possibly Octavian?).
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3048.

88. P. (Figure 808). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory the type of Curia Iulia stands on a globe to the front, slightly turned to the right, presents a gold shield (clupeus virtutis) inscribed SC (Senatus consulto).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 649; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 511.

89. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory to the front, holds a palm branch and presents a shield (clupeus virtutis).
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 627.

10.3.1.5. Augustus between Capricorns

90. P. (Figure 810). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, said to have been found in Egypt, gift of Milton Weil, sardonyx cameo, after 27 BC, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the left within a laurel wreath (or in clupeus virtutis) flanked by two Capricorns.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 649; Draper 2008, no. 19.

91. P. (Figure 811). Berlin, Antikensammlung, purchased in Italy by Professor Gerhard (1841), sardonyx cameo, after 27 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 33.

10.3.2. Actium

10.3.2.1. Cameos

92. P. (Figure 812). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sardonyx cameo, early 1st century AD? OR: Augustus on a chariot drawn by four tritons. The one on the left raises a globe with clupeus virtutis flanked by two Capricorns. The one on the right holds a rudder and a globe on which stands Victoriola.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 5.

93. P. (Figure 813). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sardonyx cameo, 31 BC or slightly after/ AD 41-54/ modern? OR: Head of Augustus (or Agrippa?) above Capricorn, caduceus, and trident as well as a dolphin, a hand holding aplustrum and a burning altar. Inscription: OCT. CAES. AVG. MA. RQ. VOT. PVB. TER. and hatched border surrounds the depiction.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A34 (AD 41-54/modern?); Neverov 1971, no. 71 (20s BC).

10.3.2.2. Victory the type of Curia Iulia

94. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, c. 30 BC or slightly later, AR: Victory flies to the front, holds a laurel wreath in her right hand and a palm branch decorated with teniae in the left one. Hatched border. The type of Curia Iulia.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLII.3, vol. II, p. 199.

95. P. (Figure 814). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Wissmann collection, glass gem, c. 30 BC or slightly later, OR: Victory flies to the front holding a laurel wreath in her right hand and a palm branch decorated with teniae in the left one. The type of Curia Iulia.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no: 02.276.

96. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass cameo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 239.

97. P. (Figure 815). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 130.

10.3.2.3. Victory on a finger ring

98. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Lady Fellowes and Fortnum collection, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory to the right shoulders a palm branch with her right hand and holds out a wreath with her left, a globe at her feet. She stands on a finger ring, with a butterfly to either side, below is a grasshopper on an ear of wheat.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 217; Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 4.27; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 512.

99. P. (Figure 816). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Duval collection, glass cameo, c. 20 BC, OR: As above but without the globe.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 573.

100. P. (Figure 817). Zeugma, Gaziantep Museum, sealing, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Athena and a man stand on a finger ring, Victory crowns the man with a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 024.

10.3.2.4. Victory on a prow

101. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, green jasper, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory stands on a prow to the left holding a palm branch and laurel wreath.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 674.

102. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 215.

103. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 219.

104. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 223.

105. P. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, purchased in Smyrna (Izmir), carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Victory with wreath and palm branch ascends on a prow behind which is a dolphin.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 218; Henig 1975, no. 87.

106. P. (Figure 818). Bloomington, Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University, carnelian, late 1st century BC, OR: As above, with milled border.
Publ.: Berry 1968, no. 123.

107. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient carnelian, now in Florence (Migliarini collection), second half of the 1st century BC, AR:

Victory stands on a prow to the left with a trophy and laurel wreath.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 343.

10.3.2.5. Victory on globe

108. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, d'Ambrosio collection, sardonyx, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory stands on a globe to the left shouldering a palm branch on her left arm and extending a laurel wreath in her right hand.
Publ.: Pannuti 1994, no. 154.

109. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in a villa of Boscotrecase, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above. Inscription: HERACLIA.
Publ.: Pannuti 1983, no. 97.

110. P. Mons-Boubert (Somme), France, found as a part of a coin and jewellery hoard, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, nos. 1138.

111. P. Fesques (Seine-Maritime), France, found in a Gallic-Roman sanctuary, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, nos. 1139.

112. P. Saint-Romain-de-Jalionas (Isère), Hières-sur-Amby (Isère), musée de la maison du Patrimoine, France, found in a Gallic-Roman villa, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, nos. 1140.

113. P. Reims (Marne), Reims, Institut national de recherches archéologiques preventives, France, found in a city area, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, nos. 1141.

114. P. (Figure 819). Whereabouts unknown, Charavines (Isère), France, archaeological find (village), nicolo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above. Inscription: SAB•M•I•F = Sab(inus/ina) M(arci) I(ulii) f(ilius/ilia) = Sabinus (Sabina) son/daughter of Marcus Iulius.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1137.

115. P. Munich, Glyptothek, Hansmann collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC, OR: Victory stands on a globe to the front.
Publ.: Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 65.

116. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Victory with a palm branch and laurel wreath stands on a globe to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 899.

117. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 215.

118. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 216.

119. P. (Figure 820). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, nicolo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory stands on a globe to the front, on her left cornucopia, on her right inscription: CSC.
Publ.: Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 4.29.

120. P. Péronne (France), Danicourt collection, amethyst, late 1st century BC, OR: Victory stands on a globe to the front, holding laurel wreath and legionary standard (vexillum).
Publ.: Boardman 1971, no. 52 (https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems/danicourt/default.htm - retrieved on 15 January 2018).

10.3.2.6. Victory others

121. P. (Figure 823). Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Laureate bust of Augustus to the left holding a globe in his left hand. In front of him Victory about to crown him with a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.12 and 18.

122. P. (Figure 824). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 559.

123. P. (Figure 825). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, c. 30 BC or slightly later, AR: Victory holds a palm branch and a laurel wreath, in front of her a female head, beneath a prow.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3571.

124. P. (Figure 826). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 30 BC or slightly later, AR: Victory stands on a prow to the right holding a palm branch and a laurel wreath. In front of her two clasped hands (dextrarium iunctio).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6738.

125. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, c. 30 BC or slightly later, AR: Victory stands to the right holding a palm branch and a laurel wreath, below, two clasped hands hold a corn ear.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7283.

126. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, carnelian, c. 30 BC or slightly later, AR: Two Victories crown a caduceus decorated with two clasped hands, on both sides cornucopiae.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7295.

127. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory rides a biga drawn by two dolphins.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 244.

128. P. (Figure 827). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, end of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Victory crowns a trophy.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 453.

129. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Crozat and Duke of Orléans collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Victoria Augustii to the left holding a stick(?), a round shield beside her and a helmet under her feet.
Publ.: Maximowa 1926, no. 74; Neverov 1976, no. 82; Kagan, 2000, no. 119/26.

130. P. (Figure 828). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gedney Beatty collection, carnelian, last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory riding a quadriga to the left. Inscription: T AER.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 362.

10.3.3. Youth/Pan/Eros on Capricorn

131. P. (Figure 831). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, Cardinal Grimani collection, sardonyx cameo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Youthful Pan rides a Capricorn and fishes with a rod.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 517; Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016, no. 6.

132. P. (Figure 832). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, carnelian (burnt), 1st century BC, AR: Bearded, old man rides Capricorn.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2733.

133. P. Augsburg, Römisches Museum, found in 1990 on the school courtyard of the St. George Public School, Jesuits Street 14, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Youthful Pan rides a Capricorn and fishes with a rod. Hatched border.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 516; Platz-Horster 2012, no. 27.

134. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Eros armed in a shield rides a hippocamp to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6259.

135. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Bauer collection (Cologne), carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Cupid rides Capricorn to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 825.

136. P. (Figure 833). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Eros rides Capricorn holding cornucopia in his arm.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 228.

10.3.4. Retrieval of legionary standards from Parthians in 20 BC

10.3.4.1. State cameos

137. P. (Figure 834). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sardonyx cameo, c. 30-20 BC, OR: Augustus as Alexander the Great-Jupiter stands frontally holding a bundle of thunderbolts in his left hand, while by the right one he is grasping a sceptre. On his left a trophy and defeated barbarian, on his right an eagle.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 3.

138. P. (Figure 835). Aachen, Cathedral Treasury (Cross of Lothair), sardonyx cameo, c. 20 BC, OR: Laureate bust of Augustus to the left. He wears a cuirass and paludamentum, and grasps a sceptre topped with an eagle with his right hand.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 74.2; Megow 1987, no. A9.

10.3.4.2. Defeated Parthians

139. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Sabatini and Stosch collection, glass gem, c. 20 BC or slightly later, AR: Victory holding a trophy and a laurel wreath stands on a globe which is placed upon an altar (decorated with garlands, Ammon heads and a horse) to the front. On both sides kneeling barbarians wearing trousers and rising legionary standards.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2816; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XXXVII.25, vol. II, p. 178.

140. P. (Figure 836). Whereabouts unknown, once in the possession of Lord Northampton, glass gem, c. 20 BC or slightly later, AR: As above.
Publ.: Lippold 1922, pl. XXXIII.2; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 513.

141. P. (Figure 837). Whereabouts unknown, carnelian, c. 20 BC or slightly later, AR: Eagle stands on an altar (decorated with a she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus) a kneeling Parthian wearing trousers and rising legionary standards on either side.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 514.

10.3.4.3. Victory with a shield and barbarian

142. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass gem, c. 30-20 BC, AR: Victory presents a shield, a kneeling barbarian beside.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3557.

143. P. (Figure 838). Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30-20 BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3558.

144. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, c. 30-20 BC, AR: Victory to the front, presents a shield decorated with a head of a clean-shaven man.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3559.

145. P. (Figure 839). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, carnelian (fragment), c. 30-20 BC, AR: Victory stands to the left and presents a shield on a pedestal. Behind her sits bearded male figure supporting his head by one of his hand.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6740.

146. P. (Figure 840). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, carnelian (fragment), c. 30-20 BC, AR: Victory walks to the right shouldering a palm branch and holding a legionary standard in front of her, a male head at her feet and a star in the field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6739.

147. P. London, The British Museum, glass gem, c. 20 BC, OR: Venus Victrix combined in one figure with Victory wearing himation and Phrygian cap inscribes a shield, while next to her is a trophy with two barbarians wearing Phrygian caps seated beneath.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1865,0712.96.

10.3.4.4. Symbolic configurations

148. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Two eagles holding laurel wreaths in their beaks, stand under a palm tree, a star and a crescent in the field.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5715.

149. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass cameo, c. 20 BC, AR: Crescent.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 527.

150. P. (Figure 841). Oxford, Harrow School, said to have been found on Dalmatian coast, Evans collection, chrom-chalcedony, c. 20 BC, AR: Fortuna-Isis stands on a globe, holding a rudder, palm branch and cornucopia, behind her a column, crescent and star, Capricorn with a globe beneath. Inscription: L•SAM•MATR.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 114.

10.3.5. Conquer of Armenia

10.3.5.1. Nike/Victory slaying a bull

151. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Nike/Victory slaying a bull.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6250.

152. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3201.

153. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3202.

154. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 901.

155. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem (fragment), last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 902.

156. P. (Figure 842). London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, c. 20 BC, OR: As above. Attributed to Aulos.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3034; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 34.5.

157. P. London, The British Museum, Castellani collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1712.

158. P. London, The British Museum, red jasper, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1713.

159. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sardonyx, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1726.

160. P. London, The British Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3032.

161. P. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3033.

162. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, plasma, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 628.

163. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, plasma, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 629.

164. P. (Figure 843). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Johnston, chalcedony, c. 20 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 355.

10.3.5.2. Personification of an eastern province

165. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated under a tree.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 695.

166. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on the ground to the left, behind her a pillar with a vessel on the top.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 696.

167. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on the ground to the right, in front of her an item (and axe? or rather a part of a trophy).
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 697.

168. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on the ground to the right, in front of her a trophy.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 698.

169. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Luni, carnelian, late 1st century BC, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on a rock to the left, a spear on her shoulder, in front of her a trophy, behind her a pillar with a vessel atop.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 32.

170. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian (fragment), late 1st century BC, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on a rock to the right, in front of her a trophy.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 82.

171. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, said to have been found in Troas, once in the Rhusopulos collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on the ground to the left, in front of her a trophy, behind her a high column with a vessel atop, a tree in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2212.

172. P. Xanten, Regionalmuseum, found in Xanten, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1994, no. 108.

173. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, purchased in Rome, Dressel collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC, traces of iron mount, possibly of a ring has been preserved, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on a rock to the left, a spear on her shoulder, in front of her a trophy, behind her a pillar with a vessel atop. Inscription: CPIALR or GPIALR.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 217.

174. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, said to have been found in Athens, once in the Rhusopulos collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on the ground to the left, in front of her a trophy, behind her a high column, a tree in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2213.

175. P. Munich, Glyptothek, Hansmann collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on a rock to the left, a spear on her shoulder, in front of her a trophy, behind her a pillar with a vessel atop.
Publ.: Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 41.

176. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, sard, late 1st century BC, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on a rock to the left. She inscribes a round shield, in front of her a trophy.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 198.

177. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sard, c. 20 BC or slightly later, OR: Personification of defeated Parthia seated under a column on which stands a vessel. A tree and a trophy in the field.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 221; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 515.

178. P. (Figure 845). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, red jasper, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Personification of Parthia or Armenia seated on a rock to the left, in front of

her a trophy, behind her a pillar with a vessel atop, a tree in the field.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 330.

179. P. (Figure 846). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 331.

180. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, sard, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Woman wearing a Phrygian cap and long robe seated on the ground extends her right hand forward to her foot. A tree in front of her.
Publ.: Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 4.36.

10.3.6. Other military successes

181. P. (Figure 847). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, onyx cameo (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Personification of a province (Germania?) in the type provincia capta seated on the ground and supporting her head with the left hand. Behind her a Germanic shield and a tree or a twig in the background.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 701.

182. P. (Figure 848). Whereabouts unknown, Arundel and Marlborough collection, sardonyx cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Seated grieving woman with hands to her head, part-dressed upon whom is a horse marching with a Germanic shield. In the field is a figure wearing tunica and trumpeting.
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 46.

183. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, said to have been found in France, Pauvert de la Chapelle collection, sardonyx cameo (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Fragment of a cameo presenting an emperor wearing paludamentum and cuirass who holds a globe.
Publ.: Babelon 1899, no. 167; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 86.

184. P. (Figure 849). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Augustus (?) ridding a biga.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1016.

185. P. (Figure 850). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sardonyx cameo, AD 9/10-12, OR: The upper tier shows Augustus as pontifex maximus seated on a throne in the centre holding a sceptre and lituus. He is crowned with an oak wreath by Oikumene who is veiled and wears a mural crown. In front of her are male and female personifications (Ocean, Neptune or Saturn and Earth or Italy). The woman wears a bulla and holds a cornucopia. Beside her are her two children, one with ears of wheat. Augustus shares his throne with armed Roma. Between them is a starred disk with Capricorn. Farther left stands a Roman soldier in battle armour and next to him is a four-horse chariot driven by winged Victory who brings another Roman wearing toga and laurel wreath – possibly Tiberius. The lower tier presents the triumph of Roman armies and the pacification of barbarian peoples.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 6; Lapatin 2015, pl. 113.

10.3.7. Augustus as pontifex maximus

186. P. (Figure 851). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, from the Treasury of Saint-Denis Abbey, chalcedony cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Portrait bust of Augustus wearing a toga and a laurel wreath, captured en face.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 53.

187. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Augustus as pontifex maximus veiled and holding lituus.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 144.

188. P. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gréau collection gift of J.P. Morgan, glass gem, last quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Priest (Augustus?), wearing a tunic and a mantle pulled over the back of his head, holds a patera in his right hand and pours a libation over a burning altar; in his left hand is a scroll. By the side of the altar is a tree.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 444.

189. P. (Figure 852). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, glass cameo, after 12 BC, OR: Bust of Augustus as pontifex maximus in capite velato.
Publ.: Draper 2008, no. 21.

190. P. Art Market, Bessborough, Marlborough and Bachstitz collection, chalcedony cameo, first half of the 1st century AD, OR: Frontal bust of Augustus as pontifex maximus. He wears a tunica and toga, which is thrown over his head (capite velato), and a laurel wreath crowns him.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A27.

10.3.8. Presentation of children

191. P. (Figure 853). Private collection (Denmark), glass gem, c. 9 BC, AR: Augustus, togate, seated on sella curulis on a platform and receiving a child from the standing barbarian who is one of the Gallic chieftans.
Publ.: Unpublished.

10.3.9. Transvectio equitum

192. P. (Figure 855). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Currié collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Augustus seated on sella curulis positioned over a pedestal decorated with a Capricorn. He watches an equestrian parade (with legionary signas) and there is a Victory behind him climbing on a ladder in order to crown him with a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 519.

10.4. Divine nature and mythological references

10.4.1. Telephus

193. P. (Figure 856). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, nicolo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Hind suckling the infant Telephus.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 251.

194. P. (Figure 857). Whereabouts unknown, once in the Wyndham Francis Cook collection, onyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heracles seated on a rock with young Telephus on his knee who offers food to the hind.
Publ.: Smith and Hutton 1908, no. 338.

195. P. (Figure 858). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sardonyx cameo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Hind suckling the infant Telephus.
Publ.: Neverov 1971, no. 40.

196. P. Djemila, *carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Heracles reckling on a rock covered by the lion skin under a tree watches over a she-wolf suckling young Telephus.*
Publ.: Leglay 1957, p. 113.

197. P. Verona, Musei Civici, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Young Telephus plays with a hind or young Zeus playing with Amalthea?
Publ.: Sena Chiesa, Magni and Tassinarri 2009, no. 526.

198. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Heracles holds young Telephus in his hands.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4172.

199. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heracles with his club watches young Telephus playing with a hind. On the right-side eagle on a rock, on the left one a vessel atop a column.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 265.

200. P. (Figure 859). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, said to have been found in Chiusi, King collection, gift of Johnston, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heracles seated with his club in one hand and young Telephus on his knee who holds out a branch towards the hind. There is a tree and a shepherd in the field.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 413.

201. P. Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, purchased from Sternberg, Zurich, carnelian (fragment), 1st-2nd century AD, AR: Heracles discovering his son Telephus, a shepherd in the field.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 284.

10.4.2. Jupiter

202. P. (Figure 860). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, chrom-chalcedony, late 1st century BC, OR: Octavian as Jupiter Veiovis putting his leg on a globe and feeding eagle.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 402.

10.4.3. Mars

203. P. (Figure 861). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Mars rides a she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 580.

204. P. London, The British Museum, said to have been found in Crete, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Man stands to the left in a nearly back view carrying a shield and spear, and wears a chlamys which falls down his back. In front of him a cippus surmounted by another, smaller cippus, each surrounded by a wreath; they are surmounted by an open-work structure of conical form.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2081.

205. P. (Figure 862). Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after a carnelian intaglio now in Florence, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Youth wearing chlamys and helmet with shield and spear in front of a shrine placed on a round, garlanded altar.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 479.

10.4.4. Mercury

206. P. (Figure 863). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, amethyst, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Mercury stands to the left, naked except for a cloak which he pulls off by his right hand, while in the left one he holds a caduceus and a branch.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 419.

207. P. London, The British Museum, said to be from Sana in Yemen, onyx cameo set in a modern mount, late 1st centyrt BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Octavian as Mercury with petazos on the head in front of a shrine (?) surmounted with a figurine of Athena (Palladion?). A tree in the field.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3559.

10.4.5. Athena/Minerva

208. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have been found in Capua, Dressel collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Athena/Minerva with aegis, helmet beside her.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 180.

209. P. (Figure 864). London, The British Museum, said to be from Sidon, Llwelyn collection, quartz, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1372.

210. P. (Figure 865). Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Morisson collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Winged Athena with a crest on a sphinx instead of a helmet on the head holding a spear and round shield.
Publ.: Spier 2001, no. 22.

211. P. (Figure 866). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Minerva to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 83.5; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 301.

10.4.6. Venus and Cupid

10.4.6.1. Venus Victrix

212. P. Udine, Civici Musei, nicolo, late 1st century BC-1st century AD, OR: Venus Victrix. Inscription: V•H•Q.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 60; Buora and Prenc (eds) 1996, no. 43.

213. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 796.

214. P. (Figure 868). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gedney Beatty collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 300.

215. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 57.

216. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 59.

217. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 60.

218. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 61.

219. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 62.

220. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, chrom-chalcedony, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 63.

221. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 64.

222. P. (Figure 867). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, amethyst, early 1st century AD, OR: Venus Victrix adds another element to a trophy next to her under which there are two shields.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 679.

223. P. (Figure 870). Private collection (Germany), citrine, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus Victrix with a large crater and cuirass to the side.
Publ.: Furtwängler and Lehmann (eds). 2013, no. 58.

224. P. (Figure 871). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, onyx cameo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus Victrix to the front holds a sword, a shield on her left side.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 8.2; Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 29; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 123.

225. P. (Figure 872). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus Victrix to the front equips herself with the arms of Mars.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 191.

226. P. (Figure 873). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, onyx cameo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Venus Victrix to the left and a Cupid on her arm braiding her hair.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 8.6; Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 122; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 122.

227. P. Private collection (France), Guy Ladrière collection, chalcedony cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Venus Victrix holds a sword.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016b, no. 109.

228. P. Private collection (Rome), Sangiorgi collection, amethyst, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Venus seated on a rock holds sword of Mars, while a helmet is on the ground next to her.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 175.

229. P. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Venus Victrix to the front equips herself with the arms of Mars.
Publ.: Lang and Cain 2015, no. I.22.

10.4.6.2. Others

230. P. (Figure 874). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, praser, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Venus (or Thetis?) seated on altar with spear and helmet in her hands, before her a shield, behind a column with urn and sword hanging down.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 254.

231. P. (Figure 876). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, c. 30 BC or slightly later, OR: Diademed head of Venus to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 224.

10.4.6.3. Venus Pelagia

232. P. (Figure 877). Private collection, aquamarine, early 1st century AD, OR: Venus Pelagia and Triton.
Publ.: Gołyźniak (forthcoming), fig. 1.

233. P. Whereabouts unknown, plaster impression after a lost intaglio, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Cades 1829, K12.

234. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, sardonyx, end of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 69.

235. P. (Figure 878). Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 96.

236. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: Luynes.180.

237. P. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, sard, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 42.538.

238. P. (Figure 879). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Thoms collection, carnelian, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 679.

10.4.6.5. Venus Epithragia

239. P. (Figure 880). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, onyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Venus Epithragia.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 30.

240. P. (Figure 881). London, The British Museum, said to be from Apulia, Castellani collection, onyx cameo set in a lead mount, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3449.

241. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, onyx cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Pannuti 1994, no. 109.

242. P. Torino, **Museo Civico d'Arte Antica**, onyx cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Bollati and Messina 2009, no. 7.

10.4.7. Victory

243. P. Torino, **Museo Civico d'Arte Antica**, amethyst, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory advances with a palm branch and laurel wreath to the right.
Publ.: Bollati and Messina 2009, no. 48.

244. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above. Inscription: M•N•I•F.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1477.

245. P. (Figure 882). Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have been found in Rome, Dressel collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory advances to the left, holding a palm branch and a laurel wreath. Inscription: PHRONIMI.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 236.

246. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, 30-20 BC, OR: Victory advances to the right, holding a palm branch and a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 237.

247. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, red jasper, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory steps to the left holding a laurel wreath and palm branch inside of a temple. Inscription RTM.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2304.

248. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory stands on a globe to the left holding a laurel wreath and a palm branch.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3190.

249. P. (Figure 883). Cologne, Dreikönigenschrein, Cathedral, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory with a palm branch and laurel wreath before a thymiaterion.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 107.

250. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Victory stands to the front with head to the left, holding a laurel wreath and palm branch. Inscription: MNLF.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 644.

251. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above. Inscription: MNLF.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 645.

252. P. (Figure 884). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, sardonyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Augustus wearing paludamentum, crowned by Victory with a laurel wreath.
Publ.: Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 151; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 223; Tondo 1996, no. 216.

10.4.8. Roma

253. P. (Figure 885). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, chrom-chalcedony, early 1st century AD, OR: Roma seated on a cuirass holds Palladion on her left outstretched hand, behind her is Victory with a laurel crown, on the opposite side a trophy with two captives crowned by another Victory.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 671.

254. P. (Figure 886). Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Roma seated on a cuirass and a shield to the right holds Victoriola on her right outstretched hand and parazonium in the left one.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 295.

255. P. Marburg, Schrein der hl. Elisabeth, unknown stone, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Helmeted Roma wearing Amazonian dress seated on a round altar outstretches her hand with a sword. A shield lies against the altar.
Publ.: Amedick 2007, no. 15.

256. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, praser, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Roma seated on a cuirass holds Victoriola on her outstretched left hand.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2337.

257. P. (Figure 887). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Roma.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, nos. 218.

10.4.9. Virgo

10.4.9.1. Virgo alone

258. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Virgo to the front with head turned to the right sits on protomes of Capricorn and Taurus. She holds a laurel wreath in her left hand?
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 245.

259. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton-Urlich Museum, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Virgo seated on conjoined protomes of Capricorn and bull.
Publ.: AGDS III Braunschweig, no. 16.

260. Kassel, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Capello collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: Virgo, Ceres or Tyche/Fortuna seated on conjoined protomes of Capricorn and bull.
Publ.: AGDS III Kassel, no. 51.

261. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Virgo to the front with head turned to the left stands on a palm branch flanked by a protome of a Capricorn and Taurus.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 227.

262. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, nicolo, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Virgo to the front with head turned to the left stands on a palm branch flanked by a protome of a Capricorn and Taurus. She holds a corn ear in her right hand and a balance in the left one.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1072.

263. (Figure 888). London, The British Museum, glass gem, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Virgo holding corn ears and poppies, stands on protomes of conjoined Aries and Taurus stars and crescent in the field.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3089.

264. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Virgo holding corn ears and poppies, stands on protomes of conjoined Aries and Taurus.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1588.

265. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Virgo holding cornucopia, seated on protomes of conjoined Aries and Taurus.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1589.

10.4.9.2. Pantheistic goddess and other themes related to Virgo

266. (Figure 889). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Pantheistic goddess (Ceres-Fortuna-Iustitia-Virgo) stands on protomes of conjoined Aries and Taurus.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 303.

267. (Figure 890). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Conjoined protomes of Capricorn and Aires.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 189.

10.5. Mythological Foundations of the New Rome

10.5.1. Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius/Iulus

268. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, purchased in Rieti, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Aeneas, in armour, carries his father Anchises holding the box of relics from Troy. He leads by the hand his son Ascanius in short dress, pointed cap and holding a lagobolon. Ground line.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 319.

269. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Aeneas carrying his father Anchises (holding the box of relics from Troy) and leading his son Ascanius/Iulus by the hand.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4333.

270. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4334.

271. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4335.

272. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4336.

273. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4337.

274. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4338.

275. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4339.

276. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4340.

277. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, onyx, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Aeneas, in armour, carries his father Anchises holding the box of relics from Troy. He leads by the hand his son Ascanius in short dress, pointed cap and holding a lagobolon.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 996.

278. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 973.

279. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 350.

280. P. (Figure 891). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, garnet (almandine), last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above, but Ascanius shoulders a staff.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 244.

281. P. (Figure 892). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Marlborough collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 681.

282. P. Private collection (Germany, Nürnberg), nicolo, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiß 2009, no. 7.

283. P. (Figure 893). Private collection (Rome), Sangiorgi collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Aeneas, in armour, carries his father Anchises holding the box of relics from Troy. He leads by the hand his son Ascanius who wears a short dress, pointed cap and holds a lagobolon. They are about to board on a ship, walls of Troy in the field. Ground line.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 8.8; Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 136.

10.5.2. Diomedes and Palladion

Common gems

284. P. (Figure 894). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, gift of A.A. de Pass, carnelian, late 1st century BC-1st century AD, OR: Diomedes seated on an altar holds a sword in his right hand and Palladion in the left one, before him a pillar surmounted with a figurine (of Poseidon?).
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 197.

285. P. (Figure 895). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, Dingly collection, nicolo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Diomedes seated on an altar with a sword in the right hand and Palladion in the left one, in front of him a column with a figure of a male deity (possibly Neptune?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 47.5-6; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 367; Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 157.

286. P. Private collection (Rome), said to have been found in Taranto, Sangiorgi collection, garnet, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Diomedes seated on an altar with a sword in the right hand and Palladion in the left one supported by a pillar against which lays a palm branch; a figure of a female deity (possibly Venus?) on his hand and another figure on the side plus a star and crescent in the field.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 138.

287. P. Xanten, Regionalmuseums, found in Xanten, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Diomedes stands to the front with Palladion and cloak on the right hand and a sword in the left one.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 37; Moret 1997, no. 267.

288. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1347.

289. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes walks with stolen Palladion on his left arm and with a sword in his right hand.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1348.

290. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, sard, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes walks with stolen Palladion in his right hand, a shield and a spear in his left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1350.

291. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes steps with stolen Palladion in his left hand and a sword in the right one to the right, behind him an altar.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4296.

292. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes steals Palladion, a round shield on his left arm and a column behind him.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4299.

293. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4301.

294. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4304.

295. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4303.

296. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes kneels on an altar holding a stolen Palladion, behind him a temple guard or priest.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4305.

297. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes seated on an altar with a sword in the right hand and Palladion in the left one, in front of him a column with a figure of a male deity (possibly Neptune?).
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4306.

298. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4307.

299. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4308.

300. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4309.

301. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4310.

302. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes walks to the left with a sword in his right hand and Palladion on the left arm. He puts his right leg on a rock.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4311.

303. P. Berlin, Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4312.

304. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4313.

305. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4314.

306. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4315.

307. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4316.

308. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4317.

309. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4318.

310. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes seated on an altar holding a sword in his right hand and Palladion in the left one, before him a pillar surmounted with a figurine.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6885.

311. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6886; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLIII.19, vol. II, p. 205.

312. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above, but no column with a figurine.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 274.

313. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Ulysses, naked, a cloak wrapped over his left arm, standing before a column over a dead body of the temple guard.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 966; Moret 1997, no. 257.

314. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 967.

315. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Ulysses and Diomedes stealing Palladion standing on a high column, below a dead body of the temple guard.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 972; Moret 1997, no. 261.

316. P. Auterive (France), archaeological find, glass gem, late 1st century BC-1st century AD, OR: Diomedes steps to the right with Palladion in his right hand and a sword in the left one.
Publ.: Moret 1997, no. 260.

317. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes stands to the right with Palladion on his left hand and a sword in the right one.
Publ.: Moret 1997, no. 264.

318. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, nicolo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Diomedes climbs on altar with a sword in his right and Palladion in the left hand; before him Ulysses stepping over dead body of the temple guard.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 109.

319. P. Princeton, New Jersey, **Art Museum, Princeton University**, Frank Jewett Mather Jr. collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Diomedes seated on an altar with a sword in the right hand and Palladion in the left one, in front of him a column with a figure of a male deity (possibly Neptune?).
Publ.: Forbes 1981, no. 97.

320. P. Art Market, Zürich, glass gem, late 1st century BC-1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Moret 1997, no. 259.

321. P. (Figure 896). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, banded agate, late 1st century BC, OR: Diomedes kneels on the right knee holding Palladion in his right hand and a sword in the left one.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 68.

322. P. Private collection (Germany, Nürnberg), sardonyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Diomedes carries Palladion on his right arm and holds a torch in the left hand.
Publ.: Weiß 2009, no. 17.

10.5.3. Cassandra

10.5.3.1. Heads and busts

323. P. (Figure 897). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Yusupovs collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Cassandra to the left.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 116.

324. P. Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, amethyst, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 222.

10.5.3.2. Apollo approaching Cassandra

325. P. (Figure 898). Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, carnelian set in an ancient gold ring, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Apollo standing near Cassandra in trance. Attributed to Aulos.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017, fig. 4f.

10.5.3.3. Cassandra with Palladion

326. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Cassandra seated on an altar of Athena with Palladion nearby.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1352.

327. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1351.

328. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1353.

329. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1354.

330. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1355.

331. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1356.

332. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 1357.

333. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4328.

334. P. Berlin, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above but Cassandra sits on a rock under a tree.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6893; Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017, fig. 4g.

335. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, said to have been found in Tarentum, Arndt collection, carnelian, 1st century BC, OR: Cassandra seated on an altar with Palladion in her hands.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 837.

336. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1360.

337. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1361.

338. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1362.

339. P. (Figure 899). Bonn, Rheinischen Landesmuseum, found in Xanten, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Cassandra kneels on altar with Palladion in her hands.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 194.

340. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Cassandra seated on an altar with Palladion in her hands.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 677.

341. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ambras collection, glass gem (fragment), last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Cassandra seated pensive before Palladion.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 678.

342. P. (Figure 900). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Cassandra seated pensive before a column surmounted with Palladion.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 913.

343. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Cassandra in a squat with Palladion in her hands.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 914.

10.5.4. Rhea Silvia

10.5.4.1. Rhea Silvia seated before hydria and other objects

344. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, last quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: Rhea Silvia seated on the ground, a hydria before her, a corn ear behind and an eagle flying over her head with sceptre in its claws.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 701.

345. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Rhea Silvia seated on the ground, to the right, a basket before her and an eagle with sceptre in its talons above, corn ears to each side.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 97.

346. P. Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Rhea Silvia seated under a large corn ear, in front of her a hydria, eagle flying above with a sceptre in its talons and an ant.
Publ.: Bruschetti 1985-1986, no. 12.

347. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Rhea Silvia seated on a rock before a hydria, two corn ears behind her, an eagle carrying a sceptre above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2910.

348. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Uhden collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2911.

349. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bergau collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2912.

350. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Rhea Silvia seated on a rock before a hydria and ant, a corn ear behind her, an eagle carrying a sceptre above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3630.

351. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3631.

352. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3632.

353. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Rhea Silvia seated on the ground, a basket in front of her, a corn ear behind her.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3633.

354. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian (discoloured), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Rhea Silvia seated on a rock, to the left, an ant before

her and an eagle with sceptre in its talons above, a corn ear behind.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 319.

355. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Rhea Silvia seated on the ground, to the left, a hydria before her and an eagle with sceptre in its talons above, corn ears to each side.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 320.

356. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Rhea Silvia seated on the ground before a hydria and corn ears, eagle with a sceptre above her, a tree in the field and a man on the left side.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 971.

357. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 358.

358. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 359.

359. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 361.

360. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, sard, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Rhea Silvia seated on the ground, to the left, a hydria before her and an eagle with sceptre in its talons above, two corn ears behind.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 247.

361. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Rhea Silvia seated on the ground, to the right, a hydria before her and an eagle with sceptre in its talons above, corn ears to each side.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 721.

362. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 722.

363. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 10.69.

364. P. (Figure 901). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Rhea Silvia to the left, seated on a rock. She is dressed in a long chiton and holds a hydria with her right hand in front of her. There are two large ears of corn behind her and above the head there is an eagle, perhaps holding a sceptre in its talons.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 249.

365. P. (Figure 902). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 250.

366. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient carnelian, once in the Brühl collection, 1st century BC, AR: Rhea Silvia seated under a tree, eagle with sceptre above and vessel with corn ears inside in front of her.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 433.

367. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4401.

368. P. (Figure 903). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above, but Faustulus in the field.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 360.

369. P. (Figure 904). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above, but Rhea Silvia surrounded by three male figures.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 362.

370. P. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Rhea Silvia seated on the ground, to the right, a basket before her and an eagle with sceptre in its talons above, Faustulus in the field.
Publ.: Henig 1975, no. 175.

10.5.4.2. Dream of Rhea Silvia

371. P. (Figure 905). Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, onyx, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Rhea Silvia sleeps on the rocks, two priests advances to her, an eagle holding sceptre above and a tree in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 972; Zazoff 1983, pl. 85.9.

372. P. (Figure 906). London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, chrom-chalcedony, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Dream of Rhea Silvia: Mars ascends to sleeping Rhea Silvia.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 982.

373. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1468.

374. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1473.

10.5.5. Lupa romana

10.5.5.1. Lupa romana suckling the twins

375. P. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Santarelli collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus.
Publ.: Gallottini 2012, no. 201.

376. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling the twins.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 773.

377. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under ficus Ruminalis.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 323.

378. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6896.

379. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under ficus Ruminalis.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 285.

380. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Lupa romana suckling the twins.

Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1452.

381. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1453.

382. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1454.

383. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1455.

384. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 369.

385. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 370.

386. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Lupa romana suckling the twins under ficus Ruminalis.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 371.

387. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Lupa romana suckling the twins, an eagle above them carrying a palm branch.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 372.

388. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus.
Publ.: Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 10.60.

389. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, purchased in Rome by Fortnum, chalcedony, finger ring, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 10.61.

390. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Chester collection, green jasper, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus, above a flying eagle with a serpent in its beak and a palm branch in talons.
Publ.: Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 10.62.

391. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus. Inscription: Q•ACUTI•ASTRAGALI (seal of Quintus Acutus Astragalus).
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 983; Henig 1997, no. 6/2.

392. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 920.

393. P. (Figure 908). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 921.

394. P. (fig. 907). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, 2nd century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 919.

10.5.5.2. Faustulus or shepherds discovering lupa romana suckling the twins

395. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, glass gem, last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling the twins.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 774.

396. P. Bari, Museo Archeologico, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling the twins under a vine.
Publ.: Tamma 1991, no. 9.

397. P. Bari, Museo Archeologico, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus seated on a rock discovers lupa romana suckling the twins under fiscus Ruminalis. Inscription: M•N•HY.
Publ.: Tamma 1991, no. 10.

398. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus in a cavity upon which there is a tree flanked by two shepherds holding goats.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 87.

399. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under ficus Ruminalis.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 88.

400. P. Brion (Maine-et-Loire), France, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under ficus Ruminalis.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1268.

401. P. Munich, Archäologischen Staatssammlung, found in Auerberg, carnelian (fragment), last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2018, no. 9.

402. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under a vine.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4381.

403. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4382.

404. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4383.

405. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4384.

406. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4386.

407. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4387.

408. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4388.

409. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4389.

410. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus in a cavity upon which there is a tree flanked by two shepherds holding goats.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 3120.

411. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under a vine.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 286.

412. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling the twins under the ficus Ruminalis.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1456.

413. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1457.

414. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1458.

415. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1459.

416. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Bergau and Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1460.

417. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling the twins under a vine.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1461.

418. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1462.

419. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1463.

420. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1464.

421. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, purchased in Rome, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Lupa romana suckling the twins under the ficus Ruminalis, shepherds on both sides.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1465.

422. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling the twins under the vine.
Publ.: AGDS I.2, no. 1466.

423. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 363.

424. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling the twins under ficus Ruminalis.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 364.

425. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 365.

426. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Two shepherds overseeing lupa romana suckling the twins under ficus Ruminalis.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 366.

427. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under a vine.
Publ.: Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 10.63.

428. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 10.64.

429. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig and McGregor 2004, no. 10.65.

430. P. London, The British Museum, Carlisle collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 984.

431. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 985.

432. P. London, The British Museum, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under ficus Ruminalis from which hangs a hare.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 986.

433. P. (Figure 909). London, The British Museum, chrom-chalcedony, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus and another shepherd discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus in a naiskos above which trees.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 987.

434. P. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus in a naiskos above which ficus ruminalis and there is a helmeted head of Athena or Roma to the side.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 988.

435. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Faustulus discovering lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 409.

436. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 410.

437. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 411.

438. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 412.

439. P. (fig. 910). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 430.

440. P. Private collection (Near East), Nashe and Southesk collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 331.

10.5.5.3. Lupa romana subject with Roma or Mars and Victory engaged

441. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Faustulus discovers lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus on the left, seated Roma with a round shield and a spear on the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4390.

442. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4391.

443. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4392.

444. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Faustulus discovers lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus, a woodpecker sits on a tree in the field and a helmeted head of Mars or Roma to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4393.

445. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4394.

446. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4385.

447. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Faustulus discovers lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under ficus Ruminalis, a helmeted head of Mars or Roma to the left above the she-wolf.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4396.

448. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 4397.

449. P. (Figure 911). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, chrom-chalcedony, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Faustulus discovers lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus under ficus Ruminalis, on the left a helmeted head of Roma or Mars. The whole scene is arranged on a ship.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 287.

450. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Lupa romana suckling the twins under ficus Ruminalis flanked by Roma and Faustulus.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 367.

451. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 368.

452. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Faustulus discovers lupa romana suckling the twins under fiscus Ruminalis, head of Roma or Mars on the right side.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 495.

453. P. (Figure 912). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nott and King collection, gift of Johnston collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Faustulus discovers lupa romana suckling Romulus and Remus on the left seated Roma with a round shield and a spear on the right.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 429.

454. P. (Figure 913). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus discovers lupa romana suckling the twins under fiscus Ruminalis on which sits a woodpecker, head of Roma or Mars on the right side. Inscription FELIX.
Publ.: Campagnolo and Fallani 2018, no. X.6.i, p. 297.

455. P. Private collection (Near East), carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Naiskos with an eagle and two Victories inside, lupa romana suckling the twins below.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 333.

456. P. (Figure 914). Private collection (Rome), Sangiorgi collection carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Faustulus watches over lupa romana suckling the twins under ficus Ruminalis on which is a woodpecker, helmeted head of Roma on the left. The whole scene is arranged on a ship below which swim two dolphins. Inscription: COMUNIS.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2017, no. 202.

10.5.6. Romulus

457. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, 1st century AD, OR: Romulus stands with a trophy and spear to the left.

Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 241.

458. P. Le Mas-d'Agenais (Lot-et-Garonne), France, accidental find, carnelian, OR: Romulus advances with a trophy and spear to the left.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1269.

459. P. Namur, Musée Archéologique, found by a detectorist in a Roman vicus (Liberchies) in northern France, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Ruyt 1969, no. 8.

460. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, 1st-2nd century, OR: Romulus advances with a trophy and spear to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6727; AGDS II, no. 531.

461. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, nicolo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Romulus advances with a trophy and spear to the right, a corn ear emerges from the ground on the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1427.

462. P. (Figure 915). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, nicolo, 1st century AD, OR: Romulus advances with a trophy and spear to the left.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 581.

10.6. Promotion of peace and prosperity

10.6.1. Cornucopia with corn ears etc. and divine symbols

463. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Raven stands on a tripod flanked by two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 427.

464. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, chrom-chalcedony, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Two peacocks stand on cornucopiae flanking a modius, a poppy and a corn ear to the sides.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 428.

465. P. Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, black jasper, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia with a corn ear and unidentifiable object.
Publ.: Cicu 2009, p. 343, fig. 3.

466. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Rudder, cornucopia, mouse, peacock, caduceus, torch, butterfly, corn ears and dog (?).
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 595.

467. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Two cornucopiae crossed, caduceus between them, globe and rudder below.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3460.

468. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3461.

469. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Two cornucopiae crossed, a column between them with three palm branches atop.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3462.

470. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Cornucopia, dolphin and column surmounted with a cockerel.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3463.

471. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Two cornucopiae crossed combined with a corn ear and poppy.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3464.

472. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Rhyton decorated with teniae and globe below.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3465.

473. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Prow combined with a cornucopia and head of Africa (?).
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3466.

474. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Two cornucopiae crossed with birds perching on corn ears, modius between them.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3467.

475. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Modius flanked by cornucopia with a bird perching and dolphin, a globe and torch in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3468.

476. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Heracles' club surmounted with palm branches flanked by two cornucopiae and globe below.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3469.

477. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cornucopia upon which a parrot stands composed with Mercury's purse, rudder, corn ear and a poppy.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1320.

478. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cornucopia with a globe upon which stands a parrot, beside a cockerel stands on a vessel, above Capricorn.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1321.

479. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1322.

480. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, nicolo (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Dolphin, rudder, Heracles' club, cornucopia and globe.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1323.

481. P. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bundle of thunderbolts, globe, star, crescent, cornucopia, poppies, dolphin and trident.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 417.

482. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia flanked by two goats.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 458.

483. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Two birds perches on modius flanked by two cornucopiae and a globe below.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 459.

484. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Bird perches on modius which is flanked by two cornucopiae and two corn ears below upon which birds.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 462.

485. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 463.

486. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 464.

487. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Bird and parrot perch on modius which is flanked by two corn ears.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 465.

488. P. Bern, University Museum, Lederer (Berlin) and Merz collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, set in an ancient gold ring (3rd century AD), AR: Vessel on a column flanked by cornucopiae with birds standing on them.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 330.

489. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, found in Voltera, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia surmounted with a parrot holding a palm branch and sceptre, surrounded by a butterfly, poppies and corn ears, Mercury's money bag, dolphin, globe and a ruder.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1182; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 591.

490. P. (Figure 916). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, c. 43-20 BC, OR: Cornucopia with the head of a goat at the end, from which emerges a caduceus, two pairs of poppies and bunches of grapes; in the background, there is a serpent and a globe.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 304.

491. P. (Figure 917). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Cornucopia filled with a lotus flower, pomegranates and bunches of grapes in combination of the rudder, globe and caduceus.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 305.

492. P. (Figure 918). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, rock crystal, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Volute crater with two corn ears and poppies inside between the lyre and cornucopia with a parrot on it.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 307.

493. P. (Figure 919). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, chrom-chalcedony, early 1st century AD, OR: Amphora with volute handles or a volute crater and two corn ears inside, flanked by two bucraniums, globes and cornucopiae with parrots.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 308.

10.6.2. Modius/aerarium or crater combined with corn ears etc.

494. P. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, early 1st century AD, OR: Modius on three legs containing two corn ears and a poppy. A pair of scales is suspended from it. Inscription: IR.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1469.

495. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, carnelian, OR: Modius on three legs containing two corn ears and a poppy. A pair of scales is suspended from it. Inscription: 'Good luck Herakleides'.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 446.

496. Vindonissa, Landesmuseum, archaeological find, onyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, set in ancient iron ring, OR: Modius stands on a Heracles club (?) or a pillar flanked by two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Gonzenbach 1952, no. 40.

497. P. (Figure 920). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, early 1st century AD, set in a modern gold ring, OR: Modius flanked by two cornucopiae and dolphins.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 802.

498. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol, glass gem, c. 40-20 BC, OR: Aerarium with three corn ears and a balance atop.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 451.

499. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol, red jasper, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Aerarium with three corn ears and a balance atop.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 452.

500. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Modius on a basis flanked by two peacocks sitting on cornucopiae and globes.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 487.

501. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Basket surmounted with two parrots, two more birds pecking fruits on either side.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 898.

502. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Basket with fruits and birds on either side.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 899.

503. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Basket with fruits and birds on either side.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 900.

504. P. London, The British Museum, Townley collection, chrom-chalcedony, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Modius containing two cornucopiae (on top of which there are two parrots), ears of corn and poppies, flanked by two eagles, below a globe.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2646.

505. London, The British Museum, sard, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Modius containing corn ears and caduceus, beside a lizard, above three stars and crescent.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2647.

506. P. (Figure 921). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, early 1st century AD, set in a modern gold ring, OR: Large crater with a trophy atop flankd by two cornucopiae, parrots and dolphins.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 803.

507. P. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Aerarium on three legs containing two corn ears and a poppy. A pair of scales is suspended from it. Ground line.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink, 1986, no. 79.

508. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, nicolo, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Modius with two cornucopiae above it and two corn ears flanking it.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1619.

10.6.3. Dextrarum iunctio

509. P. La Spezia, Museo Civico, found in Luni, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Modius with a parrot atop flanked by two cornucopiae and globes, below two clasped hands (dextrarium iunctio).
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 165.

510. P. La Spezia, Museo Civico, found in Luni, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 167.

511. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, 1st century AD, OR: Crater with an eagle atop, flanked by two cornucopiae surmounted by legionary standards and two dolphins, below clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio).
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 602.

512. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold two cornucopiae, in the centre cithara upon which stands a parrot.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1319.

513. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, sardonyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold a caduceus and corn ears.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1327.

514. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, green jasper, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1328.

515. P. London, The British Museum, sard, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) hold corn ears and poppies, above two cornucopiae surmounted by parrots.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2662.

516. London, The British Museum, Arundell collection, amethyst, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) surrounded by inscription: ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥ.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2663.

517. London, The British Museum, sard (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Two clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) surrounded by inscription: FRUCTUS GI.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2665.

518. P. (Figure 922). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, nicolo, 1st century AD, OR: Large crater wit a parrot nimbling cherries atop flankd by two dolphins and clasped hands (dextrarum iunctio) below.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 730.

10.6.4. Clenched fist with other symbols

519. P. Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian (fragment), second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Hand holds a palm branch.
Publ.: Cicu 2009, p. 343, fig. 4.

520. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Clenched fist holds corn ears and poppies.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3470.

521. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Clenched fist holds a wreath decorated with teniae, two corn ears and vine leaf.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3471.

522. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Clenched fist holds a wreath decorated with teniae.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, nos. 3472.

523. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Hand clasps corn ears and poppies.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1325.

524. P. (Figure 923). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, sard, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Hand with poppies, blades, and a corn ear?
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 221.

10.6.5. Palm tree with symbols

525. P. (Figure 924). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Luni, chalcedony, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Palm tree flanked by two cornucopiae and a globe below, three stars above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 166.

10.6.6. Finger ring

526. (Figure 925). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, sard (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Finger ring inside which is a swan and on its right side there is a butterfly (?), below a corn ear and hoppergrass.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1324.

10.6.7. Heracles' club

527. (Figure 926). Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heracles' club surrounded by two cornucopiae, dolphins and a bundle of thunderbolts below.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 418.

528. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ambras collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Heracles' club surmounted with Isis crown and flanked by two palm branches and corn ears.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 932.

529. London, The British Museum, sard, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Club and caduceus combined, on which is perched eagle bearing palm branch, on each side, a cornucopia and globe, and a dolphin bearing a branch, on the right side flamen's apex, on the left side, a purse.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2609.

530. London, The British Museum, banded agate, late 1st century BC, OR: Heracles' club. Inscription: L•MARI (M and A in ligature).
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2608.

10.6.8. Cista mystica and other secular subjects

531. P. (Figure 927). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Cista mystica.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 571.

532. P. (Figure 928). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Helmeted head to the right (the helmet is decorated with a gorgoneion) surrounded by a charging bull, protome of Capricorn, head of a ram with a palm branch in the mouth and a rectangular shield decorated with a bundle of thunderbolts.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 941.

533. P. (Figure 929). London, The British Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, re-set in a 3rd century AD bronze ring, OR: Lyre with two birds atop.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3408.

10.6.9. Altar or basin combined with cornucopiae, corn ears etc:

534. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Luni, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Basin with two corn ears inside flanked by two cornucopiae with parrots atop.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 164.

535. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, c. 40-20 BC, OR: Double cornucopia on a watering device perched by a cockerel and a parrot.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 588.

536. P. (Figure 930). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass gem, last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Dove flies over a vessel.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 589.

537. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Round, garlanded altar combined with two crossed cornucopiae, laurel branches emerge from the basis.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3432.

538. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3433.

539. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3434.

540. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Round altar decorated with lupa romana suckling the twins, combined

with two crossed cornucopiae, laurel branches emerge from the basis.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3435.

541. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Round garlanded altar, laurel branches emerge from the basis, clenched fist holding corn ears and palm branch.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3436.

542. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Round garlanded altar, laurel branches emerge from the basis.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3437.

543. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Round garlanded and burning altar decorated with lupa romana suckling the twins.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3438.

544. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Round garlanded altar decorated with quadriga, laurel branches emerge from the basis, eagle carries a palm branch and laurel wreath above, legionary standards in the field.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3439.

545. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above, but without eagle and legionary standards.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3440.

546. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Round garlanded altar decorated with goat, ram and horse heads.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3441.

547. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Round burning altar decorated with goat heads and bucraniums.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3442.

548. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ambras collection, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Altar surmounted with fruits, on the right side two corn ears and ram's protome, on the left side bull's protome.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 919.

549. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Altar decorated with a grazing cow or a heifer, surmounted with a Corinthian helmet, animal's heads (boar's or hound's) and corn ears on either side.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 920.

550. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Garlanded altar surmounted with a caduceus flanked by two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 922.

551. P. (Figure 931). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Garlanded altar surmounted with two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: GL 576.

552. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Garlanded altar surmounted with a serpent and two fruits (pomegranates?).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 924.

553. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Altar surmounted with a raven and cithara, flanked by two cornucopiae and globes.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 925.

554. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Altar decorated with a pair of dolphins and floral (?) motifs, on the right side a protome of a bull, on the left of a Capricorn (?). On the top three birds, possibly an owl, eagle and a peacock.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 946.

555. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Round altar decorated with heads of ram and laurel branches, two cornucopiae above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 428.

556. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 429.

557. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Fountain flanked by two cornucopiae.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 430.

558. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 431.

559. P. Oxford, Harrow School, said to have been found in Dalmatia, Evans collection, banded agate, 1st century BC, AR: Peacock and another bird sit on a fountain on both sides of a poppy.
Publ.: Middleton 1991, no. 15.

560. P. (Figure 932). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, amethyst, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Burning round altar (ara) decorated with garlands over which a butterfly flies, flanked by a thysrsus (with teniae) and a caduceus. The wand is made of two serpents entwined around a stick.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 302.

561. P. (Figure 933). Private collection (The Family Content collection), sardonyx cameo (fragment), late 1st century BC, OR: Fragment of the base of a pedestal.
Publ.: Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 115.

10.6.10. Capricorn with globe

562. P. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Santarelli collection, black jasper, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left, a cornucopia behind its back, a globe between its legs and a rudder below.
Publ.: Gallottini 2012, no. 198.

563. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the right with a cornucopia and globe?
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1243.

564. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1244.

565. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Luni, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, set in ancient gold ring (3rd century AD), OR: As above and dolphin below.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 160.

566. P. Udine, Civici Musei, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left with a trident and globe.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 321.

567. P. Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn with a kantharos and rudder.
Publ.: Cicu 2009, p. 343, fig. 5.

568. P. Pouillé (Loir-et-Cher), France, nicolo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the left with a trident, a globe and dolphin below.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 864.

569. P. (Figure 934). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, agate, early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn combined with cornucopia, trident and dolphin.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 570.

570. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorns swim to opposite sides, between them a globe.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 558.

571. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Two Capricorns facing each other, below a globe and a rudder.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6064.

572. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn swims to the right, cornucopia behind its back, a rudder and a globe below.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6062.

573. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Capricorn, crescent and globe.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 580.

574. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 581.

575. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Capricorn, rudder and globe.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 578.

576. P. London, The British Museum, sard, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Capricorn to right, dolphin and a bird, two corn ears in the field.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 2606.

577. P. (fig. 935). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, nicolo, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Capricorn with globe and cornucopia.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1594.

578. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, agate, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Capricorn with globe.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 510.

579. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1591.

580. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1592.

581. P. Bucharest, Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine, opal (?), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the right with a palm branch and a globe between its legs.
Publ.: Gramatpol 1974, no. 572.

582. P. Private collection (Near East), garnet, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Capricorn swims to the right with a cornucopia and globe.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 531.

583. P. Private collection (Near East), carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 532.

10.6.11. Imperial eagle

584. P. (Figure 937). Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, c. 27-20 BC, OR: Eagle within an oak wreath.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1461.

585. P. Roanne (Loire), Musée Joseph Déchelette, France, greyish stone, 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a globe.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 731.

586. P. Areines (Loir-et-Cher), Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Yvelines), musée des Antiquités nationales, France, onyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle with spread wings, stands on a bundle of thunderbolts with a laurel wreath in its beak.
Publ.: Guiraud 2008, no. 1367.

587. P. Trier, Rheinischen Landesmuseum, found in Trier, engraved gold ring, 1st century AD, OR: Eagle with a laurel wreath stands on a celestial globe.
Publ.: Krug 1995a, no. 17.

588. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle stands to the front with spread wings.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5698.

589. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Eagle stands to the front on a prow with spread wings and palm branch in the beak.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5701.

590. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Eagle stands to the front with spread wings and caduceus in the claws. Inscription: AVCTVS.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5703.

591. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Eagle stands to the front with spread wings holding a laurel wreath and palm branch in the claws.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5705.

592. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle stands to the front with spread wings holding a bundle of thunderbolts in the claws.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5708.

593. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5709.

594. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5710.

595. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Eagle stands to the front with spread wings holding a bundle of thunderbolts and a legionary standards in the claws.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5713.

596. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR:

Eagle stands on a round shield decorated with a Gorgoneion, cornucopia to the left and corn ear to the right.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 476.

597. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, carnelian, 1st century BC/AD, OR: Eagle stands on a bundle of thunderbolts and globe with a laurel wreath in its beak.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 2437.

598. P. Munich, Archäologischen Staatssammlung, found in Obernau, Stadt Aschaffenburg, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a globe between a cornucopia and corn ear.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2018, no. 3.

599. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a bundle of thunderbolts to the front with spread wings and a laurel wreath in the beak.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 470.

600. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 471.

601. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 472.

602. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 473.

603. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 474.

604. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 475.

605. P. Göttingen, Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands to the front with spread wings, a legionary standard beside it.
Publ.: AGDS III Göttingen, no. 476.

606. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle stands on a bundle of thunderbolts with spread wings to the front.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1251.

607. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1252.

608. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1253.

609. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1254.

610. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1255.

611. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1256.

612. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1257.

613. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1258.

614. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Rudder on a globe surmounted with an eagle with spread wings flanked by two protomes of Capricorn. On the left side of the rudder a crescent, on the right one a star.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 944.

615. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol, glass gem, c. 10 BC; OR: Eagle stands on a rudder and cornucopia.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 449.

616. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Eagle stands on a palm branch with laurel wreath in the beak.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.81.

617. P. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Evans collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Eagle stands on a bundle of thunderbolts.
Publ.: Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.82.

618. P. Bucharest, Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Eagle to the front with spread wings crowned by Victory flying over him.
Publ.: Gramatpol 1974, no. 569.

619. P. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Eagle stands with spread wings to the front.
Publ.: Casal Garcia 1990, no. 111.

620. P. (Figure 938). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Eagle stands on a bundle of thunderbolt with spread wings and laurel wreath in its beak.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 277.

10.6.12. Heifer

621. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Heifer or cow walks to the left.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1032.

622. P. La Spezia, Museo Civico, found in Luni, nicolo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 128.

623. P. Udine, Civici Musei, green jasper, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: A grazes cow under a tree to the left.
Publ.: Tomaselli 1993, no. 243.

624. P. Nîmes (Gard), France, Musée archéologique, found near the Temple of Diana, sardonyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heifer or cow grazes to the right.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 675.

625. P. Bourges (Cher), France, Musée de Berry, found at the necropolis of Sérancourt, sardonyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 676.

626. P. Mont Beuvray (Saône-et-Loire), Musée archéologique Dijon (Côte-d'Or), France, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 677.

627. P. Mont Beuvray (Saône-et-Loire), Musée archéologique Dijon (Côte-d'Or), France, praser, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above, under a tree.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 681.

628. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Heifer stands to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 5502.

629. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have been found in Rome, Dressel collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heifer grazes under a tree to the left. Inscription: C(---)•V(---)•C(---).
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 442.

630. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 443.

631. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heifer or cow walks to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1178.

632. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cow suckling a little calf.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1185.

633. P. Cologne, Dreikönigenschrein, Cathedral, amethyst, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heifer or cow walks to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1998, no. 156.

634. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, sardonyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heifer to the right.
Publ.: Babelon 1897, no. 185.

635. P. Bern, University Museum, Prince Fürstenberg of Donaueschingen and Merz collection, agate, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Heifer or cow walks to the left.
Publ.: Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003, no. 82.

636. P. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Leake collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 244.

637. P. (Figure 939). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, Poggi collection, amethyst, late 1st century BC, OR: Cow or heifer walks to the leftt. Signed by Apollonios: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 92.

638. P. (Figure 940). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Cow or a heifer walks to the left. Three letters in the field: M R M.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 262.

639. P. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, nicolo, early 1st century AD, OR: Cow or a heifer walks to the left. Inscription: DONATI.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 263.

640. P. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Cow or a heifer walks to the right.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 264.

641. P. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 265.

642. P. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 266.

10.6.13. Bull

643. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, chalcedony, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Bull charges to the right.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1018.

644. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1019.

645. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1020.

646. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1021.

647. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1022.

648. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1023.

649. P. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, purchased in Perugia, onyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vitellozzi 2010, no. 403.

650. P. Torino, **Museo Civico d'Arte Antica**, carnelian, last quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Bollati and Messina 2009, no. 103.

651. P. Autun (Saône-et-Loire), Musée Rolin, France, banded agate, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bull charges to the left.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 682.

652. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch collection, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Bull charges to the right. Inscription: HERMAISCUS.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6576; AGDS II, no. 428; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 394.

653. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, said to have been found in Rome, sardonyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above. Inscription: GEM PAPI.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6577.

654. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Stosch and Panofka collection, sardonyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above. Inscription: SATURNINI.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6578.

655. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, sardonyx, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bull charges to the left.
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 447.

656. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3390.

657. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.

Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3391.

658. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, glass gem, last quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3392.

659. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass gem, last quarter of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3393.

660. P. (Figure 942). Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bull stands on a thyrsus to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1171.

661. (Figure 943). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Bull charges to the left, a star above.
Publ.: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 150.

662. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, sardonyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bull charges to the right.
Publ.: Babelon 1897, no. 184.

663. P. Bern, University Museum, Merz collection, citrine, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Charging bull and a dog run to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 233.

664. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Bull charges to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 877.

665. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 878.

666. P. (Figure 944). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, agate, last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bull charges to the left.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 269.

667. Philadelphia, University Museum, Sommerville collection, carnelian, last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Bull charges to the right, a crescent above. Inscription: Διοσκ(ουρίδου).
Publ.: Berges 2002, no. 102.

668. P. (Figure 946). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sard, 1st century BC, OR: Bull charges to the right. Inscription: D•MARI AVCTI.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 263.

669. P. Art Market, amethyst, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Bull charges to the left
Publ.: Galerie Nefer 1996, no. 45.

670. Whereabouts unknown, Arundell and Marlborough collection, banded agate, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Bull charges to the right, a crescent above its head
Publ.: Boardman et al. 2009, no. 195.

10.6.14. Varia

671. (Figure 947). Private collection (Spain), carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Crab holding a butterfly in its claws.
Publ.: Bagot 2012, no. 329.

672. Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Bergau collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Plough.
Publ.: Weiβ 1996, no. 428.

673. (Figure 948). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, c. 40s. BC- early 1st century AD, OR: Group of symbols related to abundance, welfare and prosperity: a palm branch flanked by corn ears and poppy in the centre, on the right, is a cornucopia, a small olive tree and a laurel wreath, on the left is a plough, small olive tree, and a parrot.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 303.

10.7. Luxury objects (state cameos, cameo vessels etc.) and religious propaganda

674. P. (Figure 949). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sardonyx cameo, last quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Magna Mater or a city goddess handing Victoriola with a laurel wreath to the emperor (most likely Augustus) holding a sceptre.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, p. 203, ill. 156.

675. P. (Figure 950a-c). Berlin, Antikensammlung, once in the Nottuln monastery near Münster, sardonyx vessel, c. 40-10 BC, OR: Upper register: a religious ritual involving three women holding an infant male. Lower register: Venus Victrix seated on a rock with a trophy and aedicula to the sides and there is a barbarian captive beneath her.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 86; Lapatin 2015, pl. 126.

676. P. (Figure 951). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Guay collection, sardonyx amphoriskos, c. 40-20 BC, OR: Allegory of might and love: a scene involving Aphrodite/Venus, Apollo and Artemis surrounded with Cupids.
Publ.: Neverov 1971, no. 70.

677. P. (Figure 952a-b). Saint-Maurice d'Agaune Abbey (Switzerland), onyx kanne, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Mythological scene involving Venus and Anchises.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 644a-b.

678. (Figure 953a-e). London, The British Museum, perhaps from Rome, glass cameo vessel (Portland Vase), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: On the one side: wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia combined with the story of the foundation of Thebes. On the other side: birth of Dionysus.
Publ.: Harden (ed.) 1988, no. 29, pp. 58-65, no. 30, pp. 66-67; Henig and Vickers 1993, pp. 3-24.

679. (Figure 954). Private collection, glass cameo vessel (Bonhams Vase), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Upper register: myth of Antiope. Lower register: Amazonomachy.
Publ.: Mosch von H.-Ch. 2010.

680. (Figure 955a-d). Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, said to have been one of a pair found in a Parthian tomb in Iran, glass cameo vessel (The Getty Cup), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Bacchic theme.
Publ.: Harden (ed.) 1988, no. 31, pp. 68-69.

681. (Figure 956a-e). Malibu, Jean Paul Getty Museum, said to have been found near Eskişehir, Turkey, Kofler-Truniger collection, glass cameo vessel, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Horus, son of Isis pays a homage to his mother and to Toth for bringing him back to life after he had been bitten by a scorpion.
Publ.: Harden (ed.) 1988, no. 36, pp. 83-84.

10.8. Promotion of family and successors

10.8.1. Augustus and Livia

682. P. (Figure 957). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Briailles collection, praser, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Augustus and Livia as victories over Egypt.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 61.

683. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, glass gem, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 59.

684. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, carnelian, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 60.

685. P. (Figure 958). Bern, University Museum, Prince Fürstenberg of Donaueschingen and Merz collection, mikroklin (turquoise) or chrysopal, late 1st century BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 293; Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003, no. 152.

686. P. (Figure 960). Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, sardonyx cameo, Ptolemaic, created around the mid-1st century BC, reworked c. 30 BC, set in a gold mount c. AD 4-14, OR: Heads of Augustus and Livia to the left (capita iugata).
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 31.

687. P. (Figure 961). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Este collection, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Busts of laureate Augustus and Livia to the left (capita jugata).
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A15; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1034.

10.8.2. Livia as the mother of Julian family (associated with Venus and other deities):

10.8.2.1. Ordinary portraits

688. P. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, found in Herculaneum, carnelian cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Livia to the front.
Publ.: Pannuti 1983, no. 213.

689. P. Region de Metz (Moselle), Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Metz, France, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Draped bust of Livia to the right.
Publ.: Guiraud 1988, no. 999.

690. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Vollard collection, glass cameo, end of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Livia (?) to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 11213; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 166.7; Platz-Horster 2012, no. 344.

691. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Vollard collection, glass cameo, c. AD 4-14, OR: Head of Livia to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 168.3; Megow 1987, no. B2; Platz-Horster 2012, no. 347.

692. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Bertholdy collection, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Livia to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 166.10; Megow 1987, no. B.3; Platz-Horster 2012, no. 346.

693. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Meissner collection, said to have been found in Asia Minor, glass cameo, c. 20-10 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Greifenhagen 1975, p. 13, pl. 3,2.6; Megow W.R. 1987, no. B5.

694. P. (Figure 962). Berlin, Antikensammlung, found in Petescia (Turania at present) – north to Rome, in 1875, carnelian cameo, c. AD 4-14, set in a gold mount, OR: Frontal bust of Livia with head slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 75.1 and 3; Megow 1987, no. B13; Platz-Horster 2012, no. 4.

695. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Baron Roger de Sivry collection whose father purchased it in Leipzig at the art market, onyx cameo (fragment), around AD 14, OR: Bust of Livia to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 74.1; Megow 1987, no. B11.

696. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass cameo, c. 30-20 BC, OR: Bust of Livia to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 206; Megow 1987, no. B4.

697. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, chrom-chalcedony cameo, c. AD 20-29, OR: Veiled head of Livia (capite velato) as Venus or priestess of Augustus?
Publ.: Eichler and Kris 1927, no. 24; Megow 1987, no. B22.

698. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Ambras collection, glass gem, first quarter of the 1st century AD (possibly after AD 22/23), OR: Bust of Livia to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1745.

699. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Ambras collection, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Livia to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1746.

700. P. London, The British Museum, glass cameo, 20s. BC, OR: Bust of Livia to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3926; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 166.9; Megow 1987, no. B1.

701. P. (Figure 963). London, The British Museum, Nott collection, glass cameo (fragment), c. 10-0 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3813; Megow 1987, no. B6.

702. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1974, Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 168.4.

703. P. (Figure 964). London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, sard, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Livia (?) to the left. Inscription: ΛΕΥ.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1975.

704. P. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, sardonyx cameo (fragment), c. AD 4-14, OR: Head of Livia to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 59.2; Megow 1987, no. B8.

705. P. (Figure 965). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Thoms collection, sardonyx cameo (fragment), around AD 14, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 84.1; Megow 1987, no. B9.

706. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, sardonyx cameo, around AD 14, OR: Bust of Livia to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. B12.

707. P. Whereabouts unknown, Nott and Wyndham Francis Cook collection, glass cameo (fragment), around AD 14, OR: Head of Livia to the left.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. B10.

708. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient carnelian now in Florence, c. AD 14-22/23, AR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 582.

Livia as Fortuna or Pax

709. P. (Figure 966). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pope Paul II (Cardinal Pietro Barbo) and Louis XIV collection, amethyst, c. AD 14-20, OR: Veiled and laureate bust of Livia (?) as Agathe Tyche wearing a necklace and a robe. She holds a cornucopia in her left arm.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 93.2,4-5; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 267; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 76.

10.8.2.2. Livia portraits as Venus

710. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, agate cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of diademed Livia as Venus to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 56.

711. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, onyx cameo (fragment), c. AD 14 or slightly after, OR: Diademed head of Livia as Venus.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. B20.

712. P. (Figure 967). Bern, University Museum, Prince Fürstenberg of Donaueschingen and Merz collection, sardonyx, first half of the 1st century BC, OR: Roman lady as Venus?
Publ.: Vollenweider 1984, no. 272; Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003, no. 172.

713. P. London, The British Museum, Payne Knight collection, amethyst, early 1st century AD, AR: A veiled bust of Livia (?) to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1979.

714. P. London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, onyx cameo, early 1st century AD, AR: A diademed and veiled bust of Livia? to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3583.

715. P. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ridgeway and Venn collection, sardonyx cameo, late 1st century BC-1st century AD, OR: Diademed and veiled head of Livia as Aphrodite (Venus), to the left.
Publ.: Henig Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 527.

716. P. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, OR: Diademed bust of Livia (?) as Venus to the left.
Publ.: Nicholls 1983, no. 38.

717. P. (Figure 968). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, said to have been found in Rome, Duke of Saint-Moryce collection, sardonyx cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Diademed and veiled bust of Livia as Venus to the right.
Publ.: Neverov 1976, no. 64; Neverov 1988, no. 1; Kagan 2000, no. 17/5.

718. P. Private collection (The Family Content collection), sardonyx cameo, shortly after AD 14, OR: Bust of veiled and diademed Livia as Venus to the left.
Publ.: Henig 1990, no. 66; Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 32.

719. P. Whereabouts unknown, said to have been found in Egypt, smaragdite, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Head of Livia as Venus with a diadem on the head.
Publ.: Galerie Nefer 1996, no. 42.

720. P. Art Market, chrom-chalcedony cameo (fragment), c. AD 4-14, OR: Frontal bust of Livia with head slightly turned to the right and covered by a veil (capite velato).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 70.8; Megow 1987, no. B7.

10.8.2.3. Laureate bust of Livia

721. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, onyx cameo, c. AD 14 or slightly after, OR: Bust of Livia to the left. She wears a tunic, stola and a cloak.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. B21.

722. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, onyx cameo, c. AD 20-29/modern? OR: As above.
Publ.: Babelon 1897, no. 278; Megow 1987, no. B24.

723. P. (Figure 969). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Crozat and Duke of Orléans collection, sardonyx cameo, c. AD 14-20, OR: Laureate bust of Livia to the left. She wears a tunic, stola and a cloak.
Publ.: Neverov 1971, no. 80; Megow 1987, no. B14; Kagan 2000, no. 141/48.

724. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Khitrovo collection, onyx cameo, c. AD 20-29/18th century? OR: As above.
Publ.: Neverov 1971, no. 101; Megow 1987, no. B23.

725. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Orléans collection, onyx cameo, c. AD 14-20, OR: As above.
Publ.: Neverov 1971, no. 72; Megow 1987, no. B.16.

726. P. (Figure 970). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, emerald cameo, AD 14 or slightly later, OR: Laureate bust of Livia as Venus to the right. She wears a sleeveless robe.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 718.

10.8.2.4. Livia as Venus nourishing eagle

Intaglios

727. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Timoni collection, carnelian, third quarter of the 1st century BC, OR: Livia as Venus nourishes or kisses an eagle standing with one leg on a rock and the another one probably on a globe.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 189.

728. P. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, carnelian, second half of the 1st century BC, AR: Livia as Venus seated on a marble throne, nourishes or kisses an eagle standing beside her; a cornucopia in the field.
Publ.: Nicholls 1983, no. 42.

729. P. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, carnelian, early 1st century AD, OR: Livia as Venus nourishes or kisses an eagle standing with one leg on a rock and the another one on a globe.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 95.1-2.

730. P. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, carnelian, early 1st century AD, AR: Livia as Venus seated on a rock nourishes an eagle standing on another one. A cornucopia in the field.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 96.3.

731. P. (Figure 971). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Duke of Saint-Moryce collection, carnelian, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 96.6; Neverov 1976, no. 83.

Cameos

732. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Vollard collection, glass cameo (fragment), early 1st century AD, AR: Livia as Venus nourishes or kisses an eagle standing with one leg on a rock and the another one probably on a globe.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 96.1; Platz-Horster 2012, no. 175.

733. P. (Figure 972). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, George Eastwood (prior to 1860), King, Prince Juritzky and Peter Spiro collection, sapphire cameo (fragment), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Diademed bust of Aphrodite (Venus), three-quarters to the front having features of Livia or Antonia holding a cup in her left hand with which she nourishes an eagle with swept-back wings, representing imperial power.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pls. 1-2 and 93.1; Megow 1987, no. D32; Henig, Scarisbrick and Whiting 1994, no. 523.

734. P. (Figure 973). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, onyx cameo (fragment), early 1st century AD, OR: Livia as Venus nourishes or kisses an eagle standing with one leg on a rock and the another one probably on a globe.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 95.4.

735. P. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Crozat and Duke de Orléans collection, sardonyx cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 95.3; Kagan 2000, no. 155/62.

10.8.2.5. Livia portraits as Ceres

736. P. (Figure 974). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, onyx cameo, c. AD 41-54, OR: Veiled and crowned head of Livia as Ceres to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 76.4; Megow 1987, no. B17; Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 155; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 20.

737. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Livia as Ceres, draped and veiled and with a corn ears wreath, earrings and necklace.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1975.

738. P. (Figure 975). Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, chrom-chalcedony, c. AD 20, OR: Veiled and crowned head of Livia as Ceres to the left.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 246.

739. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient carnelian intaglio, c. AD 14-22/23, AR: Veiled bust of Livia as Ceres wearing crown of corn ears to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 581.

10.8.2.6. Antonia Minor

Gemstone intaglios

740. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, black jasper, early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Antonia Minor to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1094.

741. P. London, The British Museum, Castellani collection, sard, 44-27 BC, AR: Bust of Antonia Minor (?) to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1982.

Glass gems

742. P. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, said to have been found in Lebanon, glass gem, last quarter of the 1st century BC, set in ancient gold ring, AR: Bust of Antonia Minor (?) to the right.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 410.

Cameos

743. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, topaz cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Antonia Minor frontally with head slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 75.2 and 4; Megow 1987, no. D3; Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 185; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 17.

744. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, sardonyx cameo, around AD 37, OR: Bust of Antonia Minor (?) as Juno wearing stephane on the head to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. D9; Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 214; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 107.

745. P. Cologne, Archibishop Diözesanmuseum, once in the Santa Maria on Capitol church, then set in the Herimannkreuz since 11th century, lapis lazuli cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Antonia Minor frontally with head slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. D4.

746. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, amethyst cameo (fragm.), c. AD 14-20, OR: Diademed and veiled head of Antonia Minor to the front with head slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. D7.

747. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, sardonyx cameo, c. AD 37-41, OR: Bust of Antonia Minor (?) as Juno wearing stephane on the head to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. D11.

748. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, sardonyx cameo, c. AD 37-41, OR: As above.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. D12.

749. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, said to have been found in Villa Arcieri in Rome, Caroline Murat, Queen of Naples, Seguin and de Saint-Albin collection, onyx cameo, c. AD 37-41, OR: Bust of Antonia Minor (?) to the front with head slightly turned to the left. Signed by Saturninus: CATOPNEINOY.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 85. 1,2 and 4; Megow 1987, no. D20.

750. P. Prague, Cathedral Treasury, sardonyx cameo, since 1360 set in the Charles IV Cross, around AD 37, OR: Bust of Antonia Minor (?) as Juno wearing stephane on the head to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. D10.

751. P. (Figure 976). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Mayer and Hertz collection, chalcedony, c. AD 41-54, OR: Bust of Antonia Minor with diadem jewelled with Augustus portrait on the head.
Publ.: Spier 1992, no. 432; Conticelli, Gennaioli and Paolucci (eds) 2016, pp. 32-33, fig. 11a-b.

752. P. (Figure 977). Tbilisi, private collection (the Natsvlishvili Family Collection), peridot? mid-1st century AD, OR: Diademed bust of Antonia Minor to the front.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2021, no. 73.

753. P. Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sardonyx cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Veiled and diademed head of Antonia Minor to the right.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 75.

Glass cameos

754. P. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, Mohamed Sultan collection, glass cameo (fragment), c. AD 37-54, OR: Diademed bust of Antonia Minor to the front.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. D8.

755. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Antonia Minor frontally with head slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. D2.

756. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, glass cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Bust of Antonia Minor to the front.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 216.

10.8.3. Successors of Augustus

10.8.3.1. Marcellus

757. P. (Figure 978). Whereabouts unknown, impression after a lost chrom-chalcedony intaglio (once in the Borioni collection), c. 31-9 BC, AR: Bust of Marcellus (as Mars?) seen from behind with head to the right. He is naked except for a cloak covering his back and he holds a spear.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 72.4-5; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 574; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 498.

10.8.3.2. Agrippa

758. P. (Figure 979a-b). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Henry IV and Louis XIV collection, agate cameo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Side A: Bust o Agrippa in corona rostrata and paludamentum to the left. Side B: Bust of Julia to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 66.

759. P. (Figure 980). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, acquired from Lhérie in Paris in 1859, amethyst, early 1st century AD, OR: Diademed head of Agrippa to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 72.

760. P. (Figure 981). London, The British Museum, glass cameo, c. 20-11 BC, OR: Bust of Agrippa to the front.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. C1.

761. P. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, glass gem, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Bust of Agrippa (?) to the right.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1185.

762. P. Whereabouts unknown, Pappalardo, Catania and an old Austrian collection, agate cameo, last third of the 1st century BC, OR: Head of Agrippa to the right.
Publ.: Richter 1971, no. 616bis.

763. P. Whereabouts unknown, Piombino-Boncompagni collection, carnelian, last third of the 1st century BC, AR: Head of Agrippa wearing corona muralis to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.61, vol. II, p. 228.

10.8.3.3. Gaius and Lucius Caesar

10.8.3.3.1. Portraits

Portraits

764. P. (Figure 983). Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, carnelian, late 1st century BC, OR: Heads of Gaius and Lucius Caesar as Dioscuri with stars above.
Publ.: Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, no. 68.

765. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Friedländer collection, sard, c. 25-15 BC, AR: Bust of Gaius Caesar to the right.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6988; Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.51, vol. II, p. 226; AGDS II, no. 487.

766. P. Waddesdon Manor, Rothschild collection, found in a burial in Tirlemont (Belgium) in 1892, sardonyx cameo, early 1st century AD (before AD 4), OR: Head of Gaius Caesar to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. C2.

767. P. Paris, Bibliothéque nationale de France, carnelian cameo, late 1st century BC, OR: Head of Gaius Caesar to the front, slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 70.1-3; Megow 1987, no. C4.

768. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, onyx cameo, late 1st century BC, OR: Head of Gaius Caesar to the front, slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Babelon 1897, no. 247; Megow 1987, no. C9.

769. P. (Figure 984). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Luynes and Fould collection, amethyst, end of the 1st century BC, OR: Bust of Gaius Caesar as a young satyr to the left. Signed by Epitynchanos: ΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΥ.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 75.

770. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, said to have been found in Mainz, carnelian cameo (fragment), early 1st century AD (before AD 4), OR: Head of Gaius Caesar to the front, head slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. C5.

771. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, carnelian cameo (fragment), early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Gaius Caesar to the front, head slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. C11.

772. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass cameo (fragment), early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Gaius Caesar to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1036; Megow 1987, no. C12.

773. P. (Figure 985). London, The British Museum, glass cameo, early 1st century AD (before AD 4), OR: As above.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3919; Megow 1987, no. C3.

774. P. (Figure 986). London, The British Museum, glass cameo, late 1st century BC, OR: Laureate head of Gaius Caesar to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3920; Megow 1987, no. C6.

775. P. London, The British Museum, glass gem, early 1st century BC, AR: Two laureate heads of the Romans (capita iugata) possibly Gaius and Lucius Caesar.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3237; Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 34.13.

776. P. (Figure 987). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, King collection, gift of Johnston, garnet (hyacinth), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Gaius or Lucius Caesar (?) to the left.
Publ.: Richter 1920, no. 218; Richter 1956, no. 475.

777. P. Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, onyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Caius Caesar to the right.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 60.

778. P. Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, 17 BC-AD 4, OR: Bust of Caius or Lucius Caesar wearing paludamentum to the left.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 258.

779. P. Whereabouts unknown, once in Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, carnelian cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD; AR: Bust of Germanicus or Lucius Caesar to the front, head slightly turned to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 70.5-6; Megow 1987, no. C12.

780. P. Verona, Museo Archeologico, impression after a lost unspecified intaglio, 1st century BC/AD, AR: Busts of Gaius and Lucius Caesar confronted (capita opposita). Inscription: KIC COC COΘAΛA (modern?).
Publ.: Facchini 2012, no. 32.

10.8.3.3.2. Figural or allegoric scenes

781. P. (Figure 988). Izernore (France), archaeological find, agate, early 1st century AD, set in a gold ring 1st century BC/AD, AR: Lucius Caesar as Diomedes stealing Palladion?
Publ.: Moret 1997, no. 262.

782. P. (Figure 989). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, carnelian, c. 2 BC-AD 4, AR: Gaius and Lucius Caesar as princeps iuventutis presenting two shields, spears, and symbols of Pontifex (simpuvium) and Augurate (lituus) in the background. Inscription: CL CAESAV[G].
Publ.: Zazoff 1983, pl. 100.5; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 492; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 521.

783. P. (Figure 991). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, sardonyx, c. 8 BC, OR: Gaius Caesar as princeps iuventutis rides a horse to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 515; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 520.

784. P. (Figure 992). Munich, Glyptothek, Hansmann collection, carnelian, end of the 1st century BC, OR: Victory-Virtus stands beside a column and inscribes a shield decorated with a star, another the same shield lays against the pillar.
Publ.: Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 66.

785. P. (Figure 993). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Duval collection, carnelian, c. 2 BC, OR: Gaius and Lucius Caesar ride horses to the left (as Dioscuri?).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 159.

10.8.3.4. Drusus Maior

786. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, chacledony cameo, c. 20-9 BC, OR: Head of Drusus Maior to the right.
Publ.: Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 164; Tondo 1996, no. 215.

787. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, onyx cameo, c. 20-9 BC, OR: As above.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 76.2; Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 164; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 221.

788. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Panofka collection, glass cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Head of Drusus Maior to the front, slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 2012, no. 339.

789. P. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arndt collection, glass cameo (phalera), late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, AR: Bust of Drusus Maior to the front, head slightly turned to the left.
Publ.: AGDS I.3, no. 3526.

790. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Louis XIV collection, onyx cameo, late 1st century BC, OR: Portrait bust of Drusus Maior to the left. He wears cuirass and paludamentum.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 91.

791. P. (Figure 995). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Laureate head of Drusus Maior to the right. Signed by Hérophilos: ΗΡΟΦΙΛΟC | ΔΙΟCΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1035; Megow 1987, no. C19; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 471; Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 9.

792. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, found in 1912 in Ljubljana (Roman Emona), glass cameo, 10-9 BC, OR: Head of Drusus Maior to the front (a fragment of a phalera).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1038.

793. P. London, The British Museum, once in the Carlisle collection, chalcedony-agate cameo, c. 27-9 BC, OR: Head of Drusus Maior to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. C7.

794. P. London, The British Museum, said to have been found in Cumae, glass cameo, c. 27-9 BC, set in a bronze mount, ancient? OR: Head of Drusus Maior to the left.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. C8.

795. P. (Figure 996). London, The British Museum, Blacas collection, turquoise cameo, early 1st century AD (probably AD 2-4), OR: Laureate head of Drusus Maior or Germanicus frontally, slightly turned to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3590; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 75.5-7; Megow 1987, no. C23.

796. P. (Figure 997). Krakow, The National Museum, Count Nikolai Nikitich Demidoff and Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, onyx cameo, 9 BC-AD 14, OR: Head of Drusus Maior wearing laurel wreath with berries (corona laurea lemniscata) to the right.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 717.

797. P. Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sardonyx cameo, late 1st century BC, OR: Head of Drusus Maior to the right.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 57.

798. P. Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sardonyx cameo, late 1st century BC, OR: Head of Drusus Maior to the front.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 62.

799. P. (Figure 994). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, onyx cameo, late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Drusus Maior to the left.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 27.752.

800. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient carnelian once in the Kings of Sicily collection, now possibly in Naples? c. 15 BC, AR: Bust of Drusus Maior to the left wearing cuirass and paludamentum.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 575.

10.8.3.5. Germanicus

801. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, carnelian, early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Germanicus to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 516.

802. P. (Figure 998). Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, carnelian, early 1st century AD, OR: As above.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 517.

803. P. (Figure 999). London, The British Museum, Orsini, Strozzi and Blacas collection, sardonyx cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Germanicus to the right. Signed by Epityncanos: ΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΥ.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 88.4; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 4.

804. P. Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, sardonyx cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Head of Germanicus wearing paludamentum to the right.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 63.

805. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient glass gem (once in Moszyński collection), c. AD 4 or slightly later, AR: Head of Germanicus wearing cuirass and paludamentum to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 576.

10.8.3.6. Tiberius

806. P. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, glass cameo (fragment), c. AD 14, OR: Head of Tiberius decorated with an oak wreath to the left.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 59.1; Megow 1987, no. A45; Sena Chiesa 2009, p. 89, fig. 11.

807. P. Naples, Museo Nazionale, found on 29 March 1843 near the Nola Gate in Pompeii, glass cameo, c. AD 14, OR: Head of Tiberius to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A46.

808. P. Xanten, Regionalmuseums, found in Xanten, glass gem, early 1st century AD, OR: Laureate head of Tiberius to the left.
Publ.: Platz-Horster 1987, no. 223.

809. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Brandenburg treasure collection, chrom-chalcedony, c. AD 20-30, AR: Bust of Tiberius wearing paludamentum to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1896, no. 2516; AGDS II, no. 492.

810. P. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Dressel collection, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of a Julio-Claudian prince to the right (Tiberius or Germanicus?).
Publ.: Weiβ 2007, no. 725.

811. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, early 1st century AD, OR: Head of young Tiberius to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1077.

812. P. Hannover, Kestner Museum, Kestner collection, carnelian, slightly after AD 14, OR: Head of young Tiberius wearing a mourning beard to the left.
Publ.: AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1080.

813. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, carnelian, early 1st century AD, AR: Bust of Tiberius wearing aegis and laurel wreath, seen from behind with head turned to the left. A spear protrudes over his arm.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 73.1.

814. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, found in Ofen (Austria) in 1794, onyx cameo, c. AD 4? set in a modern mount, OR: Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A41.

815. P. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, chalcedony-agate cameo, c. AD 4? OR: Laureate bust of Tiberius to the front with head slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A43.

816. P. Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, glass cameo, 9-7 BC, OR: Head of Tiberius to the front (a fragment of a phalera).
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1039.

817. P. London, The British Museum, glass gem set in ancient bronze ring, c. AD 4-14, OR: Head of Tiberius to the left.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 1867,0507.471.

818. P. London, The British Museum, Christy collection, glass cameo, c. AD 4-14, OR: Laureate bust of Tiberius wearing cuirass and paludamentum to the left.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3814.

819. P. London, The British Museum, from Canopy in Egypt, turquoise cameo, early 1st century AD (probably AD 2-4), OR: Head of Tiberius frontally but slightly turned to the left.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A38.

820. P. London, The British Museum, Castellani collection, sardonyx cameo, slightly before AD 14, OR: Head of Tiberius to the front.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A40.

821. P. London, The British Museum, Carlisle collection, sardonyx cameo (fragment), c. AD 4? OR: Laureate head of Tiberius to the front.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A42.

822. P. London, The British Museum, glass cameo (fragment), c. AD 4-14, OR: Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A44.

823. P. London, The British Museum, glass cameo, early 1st century AD, AR: Bust of Tiberius (?) seen from behind with head turned to the right.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3235; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 73.2.

824. P. London, The British Museum, Carlisle and Walpole collection, glass impression after ancient chalcedony, c. AD 4-14, AR: Head of Tiberius wearing paludamentum to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 565.

825. P. Copenhagen, Thorwaldsen Museum, glass cameo, slightly before AD 14, OR: Frontal bust of Tiberius with head turned to the right.
Publ.: Fossing 1929, no. 1970; Megow 1987, no. A39.

826. P. Private collection (The Family Content collection), coral cameo, AD 4-14, OR: Head of Tiberius to the front.
Publ.: Henig 1990, no. 58; Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 72.

827. P. Private collection (The Family Content collection), sardonyx cameo, AD 4-14, OR: Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
Publ.: Henig 1990, no. 57; Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 73.

828. P. Private collection (The Family Content collection), amethyst cameo, shortly after AD 14, OR: Veiled bust of Tiberius (?) to the front.
Publ.: Henig and Molesworth 2018, no. 71.

829. P. Private collection, onyx cameo, c. AD 4-14, OR: Head of Tiberius to the right.
Publ.: Hedqvist 2007, no. 6.

830. P. Alnwick Castle, Beverley collection, green jasper, c. AD 4-14, OR: Laureate head of Tiberius to the left.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016a, no. 211.

831. P. (Figure 1000a-b). Krakow, The National Museum, Schmidt-Ciążyński collection, carnelian, AD 12-14, OR: Laureate bust of Tiberius wearing paludamentum to the left.
Publ.: Gołyźniak 2017, no. 259.

832. P. (Figure 1001). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Ludovisi and Tyszkiewicz collection, carnelian cameo, c. AD 14 or slightly later, OR: Laureate bust of Tiberius wearing cuirass and paludamentum.
Publ.: Unpublished, inv. no.: 98.757.

833. P. Whereabouts unknown, convex stone, early 1st century AD, AR: Laureate (?) bust of Tiberius wearing paludamentum to the left.
Publ.: Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.62, vol. II, p. 228.

834. P. (Figure 1002). London, The British Museum, glass gem, early 1st century AD, OR: Bust of Tiberius wearing aegis and laurel wreath, seen from behind with head turned to the left. A spear protrudes over his arm.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3228; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 73.5.

835. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient sard, c. 4-14 AD, AR: Head of Tiberius to the left.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 566.

10.9. Divus Augustus

10.9.1. Posthumous portraits of Augustus (laureate and radiated):

836. P. Vatican, Bibliotheca Vaticana, found in 1851 in the Cimiterio Maggiore of Saint Agnes in Rome, sard cameo (fragment), AD 14 or slightly after, AR: Head of Augustus wearing a radiated crown, to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A21.

837. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, sardonyx cameo, c. AD 14-20, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the front.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 87.3-4; Megow 1987, no. A24; Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 148; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 226.

838. P. Private collection (France), Guy Ladrière collection, chalcedony cameo, 1st century AD, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the front.
Publ.: Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman 2016b, no. 28.

839. P. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, sardonyx cameo, c. AD 41-54, OR: Head of Augustus, veiled and crowned with an oak wreath to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 69.7; Megow 1987, no. A26; Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 147; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 19.

840. P. (Figure 1004). Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, sardonyx cameo, OR: Divus Augustus with corona radiata to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 614a-b.

841. P. Paris, Bibliothéque national, sardonyx cameo, around AD 14 or slightly after, AR: Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A19.

842. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, onyx cameo (fragment), after AD 14, OR: Portrait of Augustus in corona radiata to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 62.

843. P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, sardonyx cameo, after AD 14 or Renaissance, OR: Portraits of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius and Germanicus. All wears laurel wreath except for Augustus who wears corona radiata. Inscription: IVL, AVGV, TIBE and GERM.
Publ.: Baelon 1897, no. 249.

844. P. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Historie, Fol collection, onyx, c. AD 14-20, AR: Head of Divus Augustus wearing corona radiata to the right. Imperial eagle stands on a globe under Augustus' chin.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1979, no. 200; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 564.

845. P. (Figure 1005). London, The British Museum, Strozzi and Blacas collection, sardonyx cameo (Cameo Blacas), around AD 14 or slightly after, OR: Diademed head of Augustus to the left. He wears aegis and a spear protrudes above his right shoulder.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 60.1; Megow 1987, no. A18.

846. P. (Figure 1006). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Arundel, Marlborough and Evans collection, chalcedony-onyx, early 1st century AD, OR: Laureate bust of Augustus to the left captured from behind. He wears aegis with Medusa's head and wing god and holds a lance.
Publ.: Richter 1956, no. 648; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 72.3; Megow 1987, no. A29; Draper 2008, no. 18.

847. P. (Figure 1007). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, said to have been found in Cyprus, Cesnola collection, glass cameo, c. AD 14-20, OR: Laureate head of Augustus to the front but slightly turned to the right.
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 87.1-2; Megow 1987, no. A25.

848. P. Private collection (Switzerland), Prince Fürstenberg of Donaueschingen collection, sardonyx cameo, around AD 14 or slightly after, AR: Head of Augustus wearing an oak wreath, to the right.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A20.

849. P. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, glass impression after ancient aquamarine (once in the Praun and Mertens-Schaaffhausen collection), c. AD 14 or slightly after, AR: Head of Augustus wearing corona radiata to the right.
Publ.: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no 563.

10.9.2. Augustus posthumous heads in the round

850. P. (Figure 1008). Florence, Uffizi Gallery, said to have been found in Rome, Cardinal Leopold de Medici collection, turquoise, work in the round, AD 14-25, OR: Head of Augustus.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A23; Conticelli, Gennaioli and Paolucci (eds) 2016, no. 9.

851. P. (Figure 1009). Cologne, Romisch-Germanisches Museum, presumably from Italy, glass, work in the round, AD 20-30, OR: As above.
Publ.: Harden (ed.) 1988, no. 1, pp. 21-22; Conticelli, Gennaioli and Paolucci (eds) 2016, pp. 42-43, fig. 2a-c.

852. P. Paris, Louvre Museum, once in the Vatican Library, chalcedony, work in the round, AD 41-54, OR: Bust of Augustus wearing paludamentum, a globe behind him.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. A32; Conticelli, Gennaioli and Paolucci (eds) 2016, p. 44, fig. 3a-c.

853. P. (Figure 1003). London, The British Museum, Hamilton collection (?), agate (fragment, discoloured), work in the round, AD 41-54, OR: Laureate head of a Claudian Caesar or Augustus, drilled with holes for the attachment of a metal diadem; missing from below the cheek-bones.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 3944; Megow 1987, no. A31; Conticelli, Gennaioli and Paolucci (eds) 2016, p. 47, fig. 5a-b.

10.9.3. Augustus posthumous (figural):

854. P. (Figure 1010). Whereabouts unknown, once in the St. Albans Abbey, sardonyx cameo, shortly after AD 14, OR: Augustus stands to the front grasping a sceptre up which a serpent is entwined in his right hand and holding a Palladion on the outstretched left one. He wears a diadem on his head, cuirass with pteryges and paludamentum. His foot is bare and there is eagle on the side.
Publ.: Henig and Heslop 1986, p. 149, fig. 1.

10.9.4. Livia with Augustus (posthumous):

855. P. Rome, Musei Capitolini, found in 1872/3 on Esquiline Hill in Rome, sardonyx cameo (fragment), AD 20-29, OR: Veiled and crowned bust of Livia as Ceres to the left confronted with a male veiled bust (probably Augustus).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 73.7; Megow 1987, no. B18.

856. P. (Figure 1011). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, sardonyx cameo, AD 14-29, OR: Bust of Livia as Ceres wearing

corona muralis on her head and a veil. She sits on a throne keeping poppies and corn ears in her left hand which she rests on a shield decorated with a resting lion. On her right hand, Livia holds bust of Augustus wearing a veil and corona radiata.
Publ.: Megow 1987, no. B15; Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 8.

857. P. (Figure 1012). London, The British Museum, Payne Knight collection, carnelian, AD 14-20, OR: Veiled bust of Livia wearing stephane and holding in her right hand a cornucopia on top of which is head of Augustus wearing corona radiata on a globe.
Publ.: Walters 1926, no. 1977; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 86.4-6.

858. P. (Figure 1013). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Stosch, Natter, Bessborough and Marlborough collection, turquoise cameo fragm., c. AD 20-29, OR: Laureate bust of Livia as Venus Genetrix to the left confronted with laureate bust (probably of Augustus).
Publ.: Vollenweider 1966, pl. 86.1-3; Megow 1987, no. B19 (male bust attributed to Tiberius); Boardman et al. 2009, no. 373.

859. P. (Figure 1014). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Yusupov collection, sardonyx cameo, AD 14-20, OR: Busts of Augustus with corona radiata on his head and Livia with her head decorated with a laurel wreath face each other, above them laureate bust of Tiberius.
Publ.: Neverov 1971, no. 104; Megow 1987, no. A22.

860. P. (Figure 1015). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Medici collection, onyx-chalcedony, c. AD 14-22/23, OR: Busts of Tiberius and Livia (capita iugata).
Publ.: Giuliano and Micheli 1989, no. 159; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 22; Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, ill. 624, p. 436.

Figures



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7

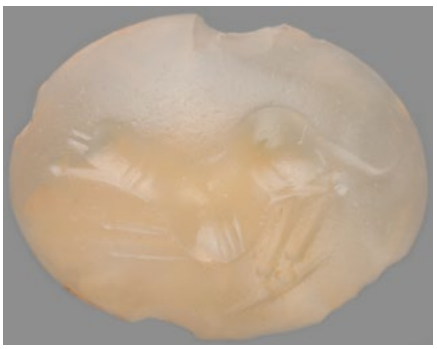


Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22

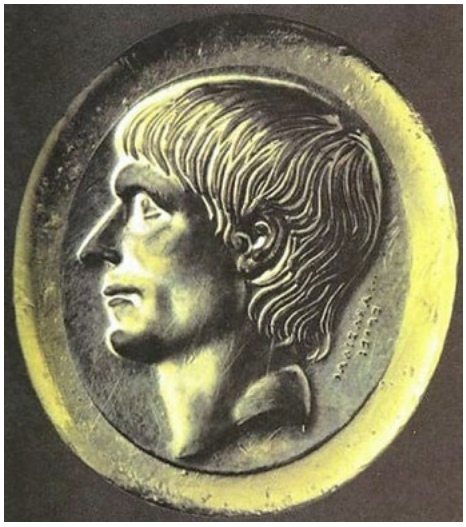


Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29

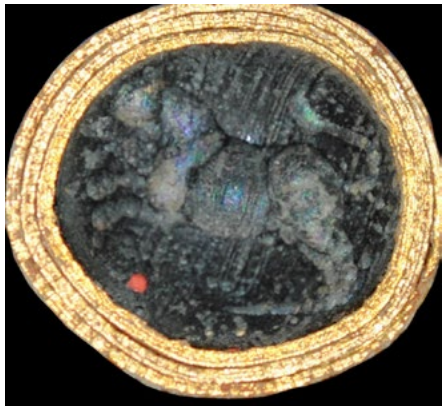


Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34a



Figure 34b



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39



Figure 40



Figure 41



Figure 42



Figure 43



Figure 44



Figure 45



Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 48



Figure 49



Figure 50



Figure 51a



Figure 51b



Figure 52



Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55



Figure 56



Figure 57



Figure 58



Figure 59



Figure 60



Figure 61



Figure 62



Figure 63



Figure 64



Figure 65



Figure 66



Figure 67



Figure 68



Figure 69



Figure 70



Figure 71



Figure 72



Figure 73



Figure 74



Figure 75a



Figure 75b



Figure 76



Figure 77



Figure 78



Figure 79



Figure 80



Figure 81



Figure 82



Figure 83



Figure 84



Figure 85



Figure 86



Figure 87



Figure 88



Figure 89



Figure 90



Figure 91



Figure 92



Figure 93



Figure 94



Figure 95



Figure 96



Figure 97



Figure 98



Figure 99



Figure 100



Figure 101



Figure 102



Figure 103



Figure 104



Figure 105



Figure 106



Figure 107



Figure 108



Figure 109



Figure 110



Figure 111



Figure 112



Figure 113



Figure 114



Figure 115



Figure 116



Figure 117



Figure 118



Figure 119



Figure 120



Figure 121



Figure 122



Figure 123



Figure 124



Figure 125a



Figure 125b



Figure 126



Figure 127



Figure 128



Figure 129



Figure 130



Figure 131a



Figure 131b



Figure 132



Figure 133



Figure 134



Figure 135



Figure 136



Figure 137



Figure 138



Figure 139



Figure 140



Figure 141



Figure 142



Figure 143



Figure 144



Figure 145



Figure 146



Figure 147



Figure 148



Figure 149

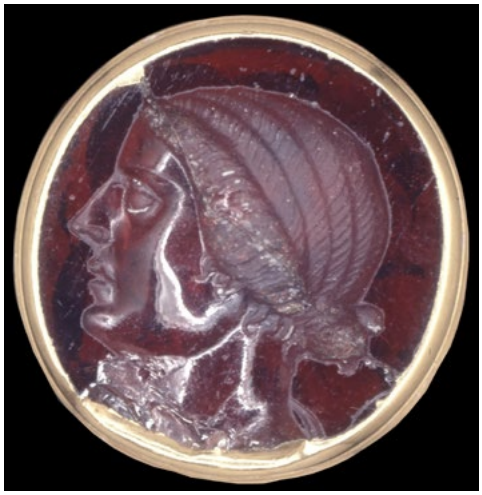


Figure 150



Figure 151



Figure 152



Figure 153



Figure 154



Figure 155



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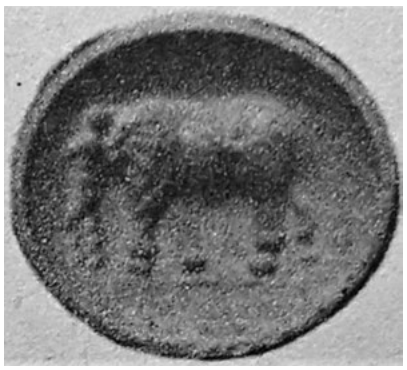


Figure 157



Figure 158



Figure 159



Figure 160



Figure 161



Figure 162



Figure 163



Figure 164



Figure 165



Figure 166



Figure 167



Figure 168



Figure 169



Figure 170



Figure 171a



Figure 171b



Figure 172



Figure 173



Figure 174



Figure 175



Figure 176



Figure 177



Figure 178

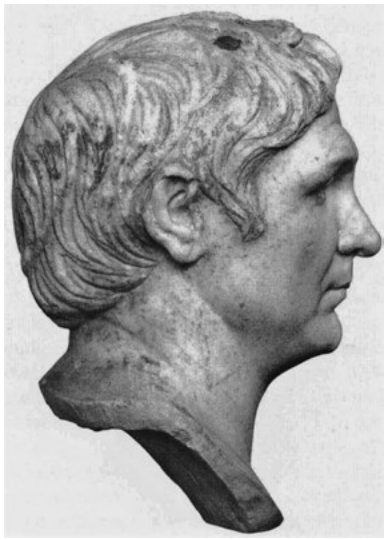


Figure 179



Figure 180



Figure 181



Figure 182



Figure 183



Figure 184



Figure 185



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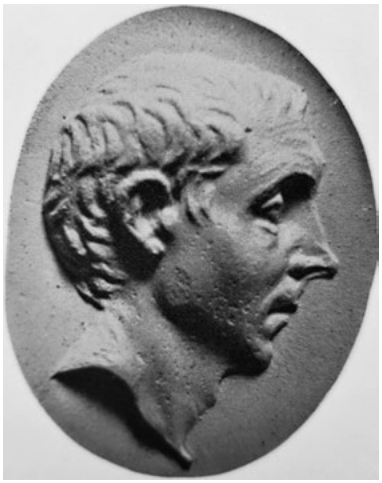


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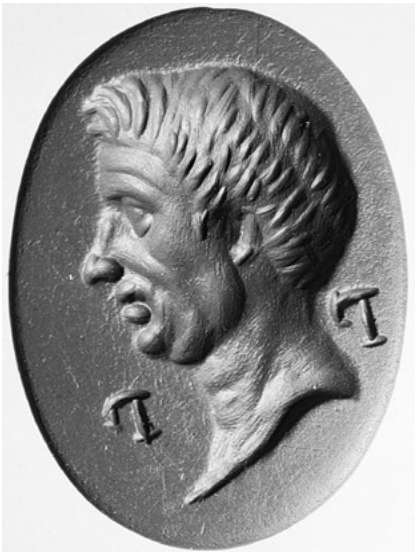


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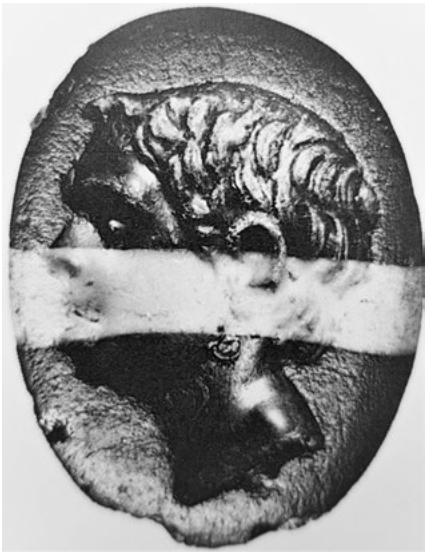


Figure 190



Figure 191



Figure 192



Figure 193



Figure 194



Figure 195



Figure 196



Figure 197



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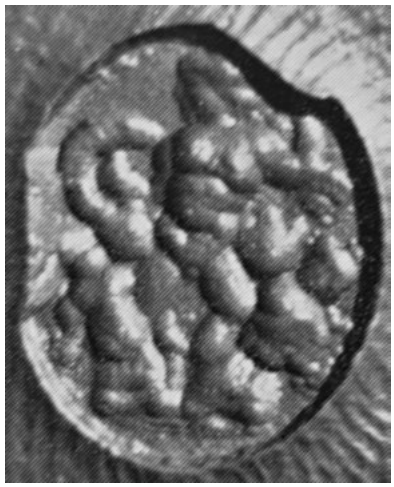


Figure 199



Figure 200



Figure 201



Figure 202



Figure 203



Figure 204



Figure 205



Figure 206



Figure 207



Figure 208



Figure 209



Figure 210



Figure 211



Figure 212



Figure 213



Figure 214



Figure 215



Figure 216



Figure 217



Figure 218



Figure 219



Figure 220



Figure 221



Figure 222



Figure 223



Figure 224



Figure 225



Figure 226

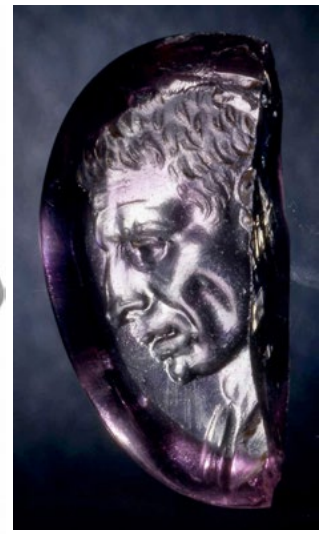


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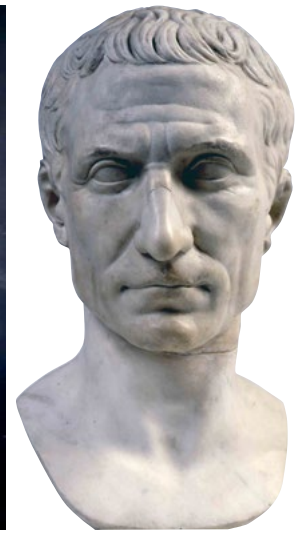


Figure 228



Figure 229



Figure 230



Figure 231



Figure 232



Figure 233



Figure 234



Figure 235



Figure 236



Figure 237



Figure 238



Figure 239



Figure 240



Figure 241



Figure 242



Figure 243



Figure 244



Figure 245



Figure 246



Figure 247



Figure 248



Figure 249



Figure 250



Figure 251



Figure 252



Figure 253



Figure 254



Figure 255



Figure 256



Figure 257



Figure 258



Figure 259



Figure 260

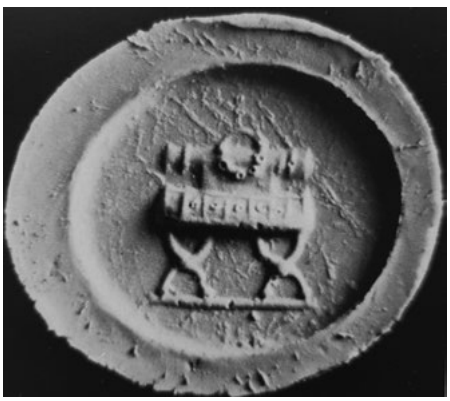


Figure 261



Figure 262



Figure 263



Figure 264



Figure 265



Figure 266



Figure 267



Figure 268



Figure 269



Figure 270



Figure 271



Figure 272



Figure 273



Figure 274



Figure 275

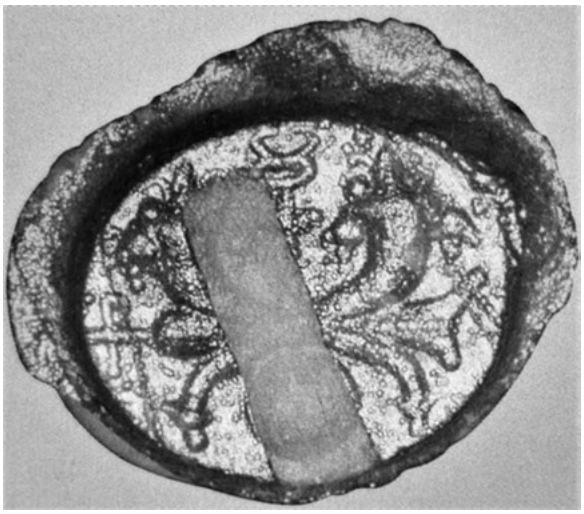


Figure 276



Figure 277



Figure 278



Figure 279



Figure 280



Figure 281



Figure 282



Figure 283



Figure 284



Figure 285



Figure 286



Figure 287



Figure 288



Figure 289



Figure 290



Figure 291

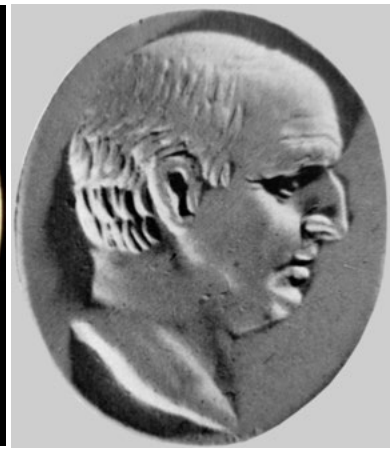


Figure 292



Figure 293



Figure 294



Figure 295



Figure 296



Figure 297



Figure 298



Figure 299



Figure 300



Figure 301

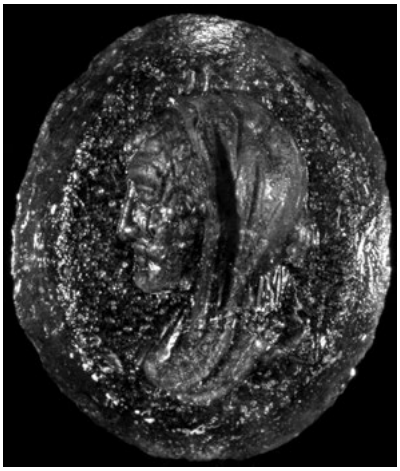


Figure 302



Figure 303



Figure 304



Figure 305



Figure 306



Figure 307



Figure 308



Figure 309



Figure 310



Figure 311



Figure 312



Figure 313



Figure 314



Figure 315



Figure 316



Figure 317



Figure 318



Figure 319



Figure 320



Figure 321

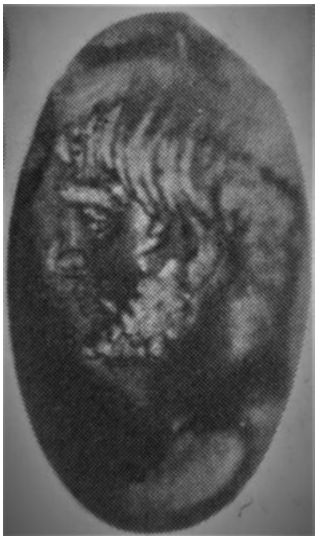


Figure 322



Figure 323



Figure 324



Figure 325



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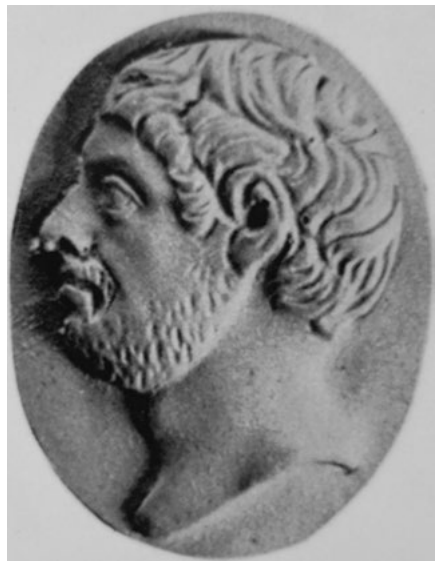


Figure 327



Figure 328



Figure 329



Figure 330



Figure 331



Figure 332



Figure 333



Figure 334



Figure 335



Figure 336



Figure 337



Figure 338



Figure 339



Figure 340



Figure 341



Figure 342



Figure 343



Figure 344



Figure 345



Figure 346



Figure 347



Figure 348



Figure 349



Figure 350



Figure 351



Figure 352



Figure 353



Figure 354



Figure 355



Figure 356



Figure 357



Figure 358



Figure 359



Figure 360



Figure 361



Figure 362



Figure 363



Figure 364



Figure 365



Figure 366



Figure 367



Figure 368



Figure 369



Figure 370



Figure 371



Figure 372a



Figure 372b



Figure 373a



Figure 373b



Figure 374



Figure 375



Figure 376



Figure 377



Figure 378



Figure 379



Figure 380



Figure 381



Figure 382



Figure 383



Figure 384



Figure 385



Figure 386



Figure 387



Figure 388



Figure 389a



Figure 389b



Figure 390



Figure 391



Figure 392



Figure 393



Figure 394



Figure 395



Figure 396



Figure 397



Figure 398



Figure 399



Figure 400



Figure 401



Figure 402



Figure 403



Figure 404



Figure 405



Figure 406



Figure 407



Figure 408



Figure 409



Figure 410



Figure 411



Figure 412



Figure 413



Figure 414



Figure 415



Figure 416



Figure 417



Figure 418



Figure 419



Figure 420



Figure 421



Figure 422



Figure 423



Figure 424a



Figure 424b



Figure 425



Figure 426



Figure 427



Figure 428



Figure 429



Figure 430



Figure 431



Figure 432



Figure 433



Figure 434



Figure 435



Figure 436



Figure 437



Figure 438



Figure 439



Figure 440



Figure 441a



Figure 441b



Figure 442



Figure 443



Figure 444



Figure 445



Figure 446



Figure 447



Figure 448



Figure 449



Figure 450



Figure 451



Figure 452



Figure 453



Figure 454



Figure 455



Figure 456



Figure 457



Figure 458



Figure 459



Figure 460



Figure 461



Figure 462



Figure 463



Figure 464



Figure 465



Figure 466



Figure 467



Figure 468



Figure 469



Figure 470



Figure 471



Figure 472

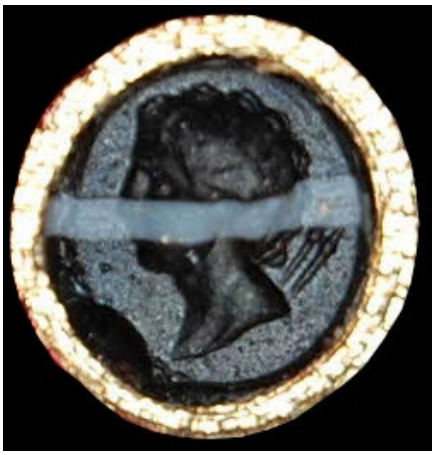


Figure 473



Figure 474a



Figure 474b

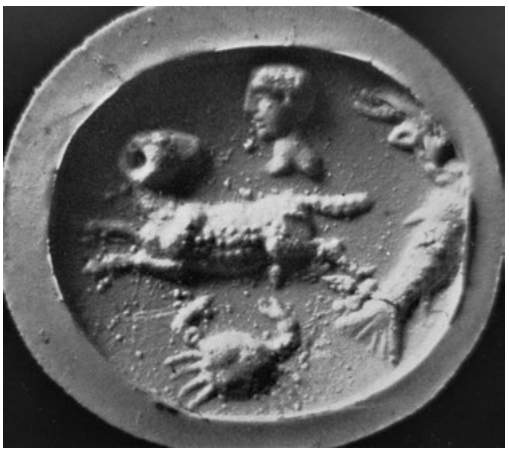


Figure 475



Figure 476



Figure 477



Figure 478



Figure 479



Figure 480



Figure 481a



Figure 481b



Figure 482



Figure 483



Figure 484



Figure 485



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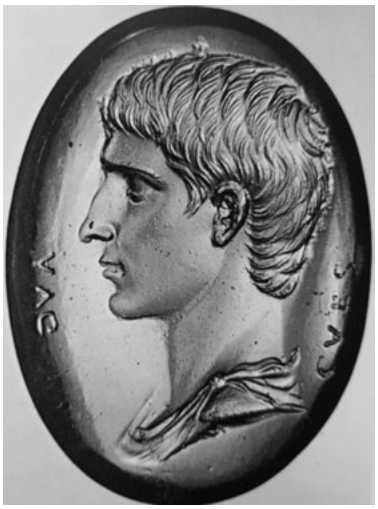


Figure 487



Figure 488



Figure 489



Figure 490



Figure 491



Figure 492



Figure 493



Figure 494



Figure 495



Figure 496



Figure 497



Figure 498



Figure 499



Figure 500



Figure 501



Figure 502



Figure 503



Figure 504



Figure 505



Figure 506

Figure 507



Figure 508



Figure 509



Figure 510



Figure 511



Figure 512



Figure 513



Figure 514



Figure 515



Figure 516



Figure 517



Figure 518a



Figure 518b



Figure 519



Figure 520



Figure 521



Figure 522



Figure 523



Figure 524



Figure 525



Figure 526



Figure 527



Figure 528



Figure 529



Figure 530



Figure 531



Figure 532



Figure 533



Figure 534



Figure 535



Figure 536



Figure 537



Figure 538



Figure 539



Figure 540



Figure 541



Figure 542



Figure 543



Figure 544



Figure 545



Figure 546



Figure 547



Figure 548



Figure 549



Figure 550



Figure 551



Figure 552



Figure 553



Figure 554



Figure 555



Figure 556



Figure 557



Figure 558



Figure 559



Figure 560



Figure 561



Figure 562



Figure 563



Figure 564



Figure 565



Figure 566



Figure 567



Figure 568



Figure 569



Figure 570



Figure 571



Figure 572



Figure 573



Figure 574



Figure 575



Figure 576



Figure 577



Figure 578



Figure 579



Figure 580



Figure 581



Figure 582



Figure 583



Figure 584



Figure 585



Figure 586



Figure 587



Figure 588



Figure 589



Figure 590



Figure 591



Figure 592



Figure 593



Figure 594



Figure 595



Figure 596



Figure 597



Figure 598



Figure 599



Figure 600



Figure 601



Figure 602



Figure 603



Figure 604



Figure 605



Figure 606



Figure 607



Figure 608



Figure 609



Figure 610



Figure 611



Figure 612



Figure 613



Figure 614



Figure 615



Figure 616



Figure 617



Figure 618



Figure 619



Figure 620



Figure 621



Figure 622



Figure 623



Figure 624



Figure 625



Figure 626



Figure 627



Figure 628



Figure 629



Figure 630



Figure 631



Figure 632



Figure 633



Figure 634



Figure 635



Figure 636



Figure 637



Figure 638



Figure 639



Figure 640



Figure 641



Figure 642



Figure 643



Figure 644



Figure 645



Figure 646



Figure 647



Figure 648



Figure 649



Figure 650





Figure 651



Figure 652



Figure 653



Figure 654



Figure 655



Figure 656

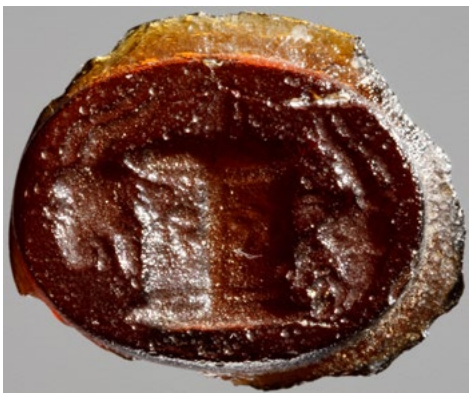


Figure 657



Figure 658



Figure 659



Figure 660



Figure 661



Figure 662



Figure 663



Figure 664



Figure 665



Figure 666



Figure 667



Figure 668



Figure 669



Figure 670



Figure 671



Figure 672



Figure 673



Figure 674



Figure 675



Figure 676



Figure 677

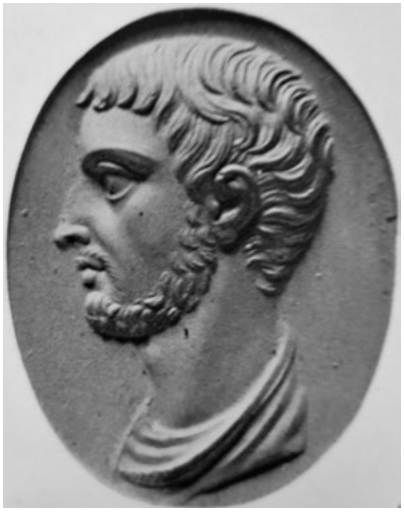


Figure 678



Figure 679



Figure 680



Figure 681



Figure 682



Figure 683



Figure 684



Figure 685



Figure 686



Figure 687



Figure 688



Figure 689



Figure 690a



Figure 690b



Figure 691



Figure 692



Figure 693



Figure 694

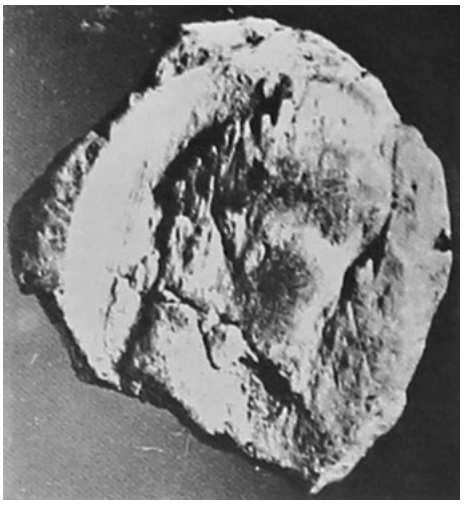


Figure 695



Figure 696



Figure 697



Figure 698



Figure 699



Figure 700



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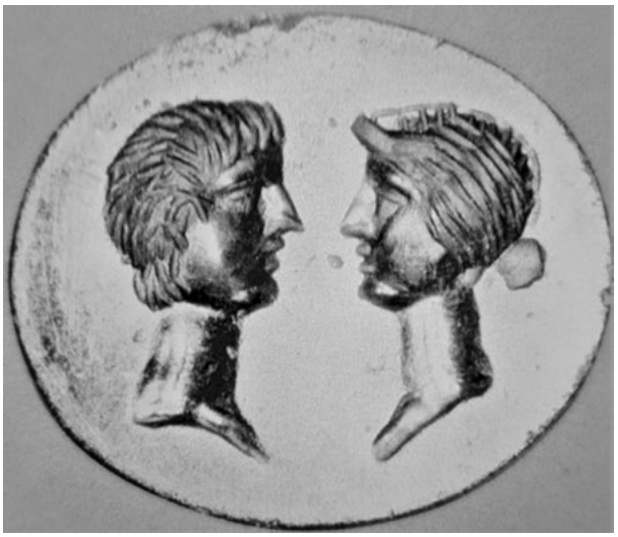


Figure 702



Figure 703



Figure 704



Figure 705



Figure 706



Figure 707a



Figure 707b



Figure 708



Figure 709



Figure 710



Figure 711



Figure 712



Figure 713



Figure 714



Figure 715



Figure 716



Figure 717



Figure 718



Figure 719

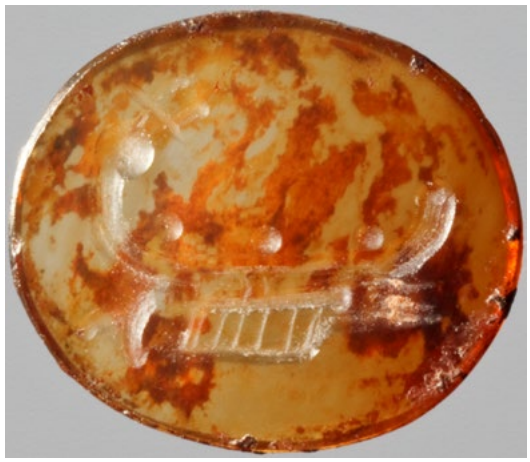


Figure 720



Figure 721



Figure 722



Figure 723



Figure 724



Figure 725



Figure 726



Figure 727



Figure 728



Figure 729



Figure 730



Figure 731



Figure 732



Figure 733



Figure 734



Figure 735



Figure 736



Figure 737



Figure 738



Figure 739



Figure 740



Figure 741



Figure 742



Figure 743



Figure 744



Figure 745

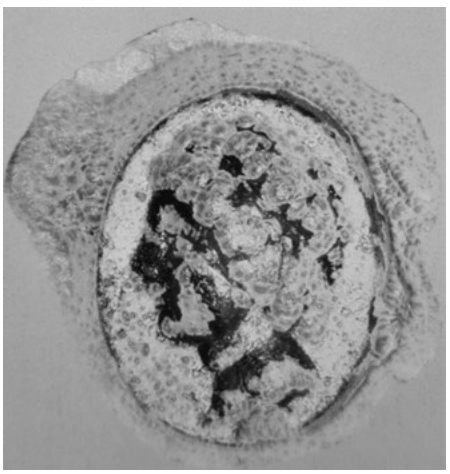


Figure 746



Figure 747



Figure 748



Figure 749



Figure 750



Figure 751



Figure 752



Figure 753

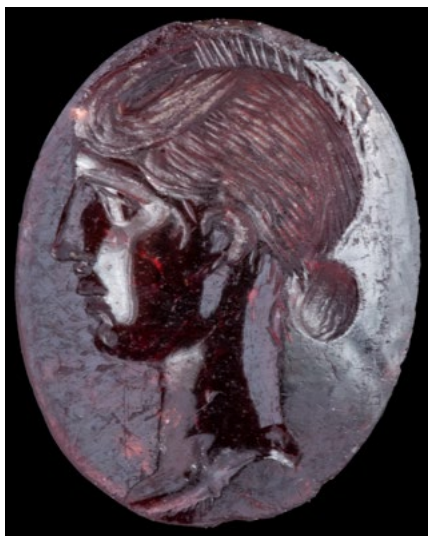


Figure 754



Figure 755

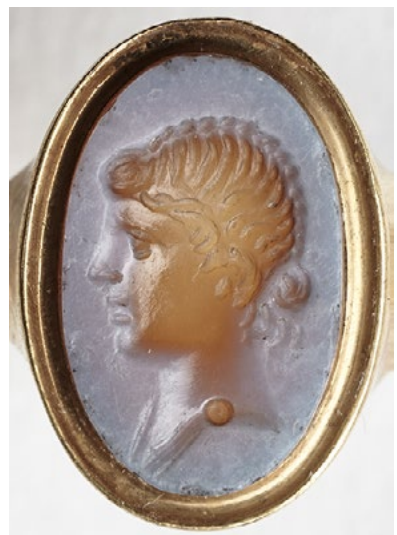


Figure 756



Figure 757



Figure 758



Figure 759



Figure 760



Figure 761a



Figure 761b



Figure 762



Figure 763



Figure 764



Figure 765



Figure 766



Figure 767



Figure 768



Figure 769



Figure 770



Figure 771



Figure 772



Figure 773



Figure 774



Figure 775



Figure 776



Figure 777



Figure 778



Figure 779



Figure 780



Figure 781a



Figure 781b



Figure 782



Figure 783



Figure 784



Figure 785



Figure 786



Figure 787



Figure 788



Figure 789



Figure 790



Figure 791



Figure 792

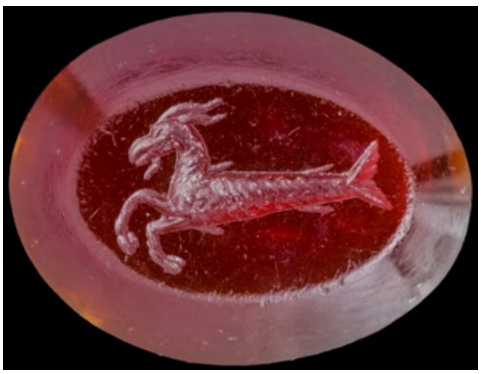


Figure 793a



Figure 793b



Figure 794



Figure 795



Figure 796



Figure 797



Figure 798



Figure 799



Figure 800



Figure 801



Figure 802



Figure 803



Figure 804



Figure 805



Figure 806



Figure 807



Figure 808



Figure 809



Figure 810

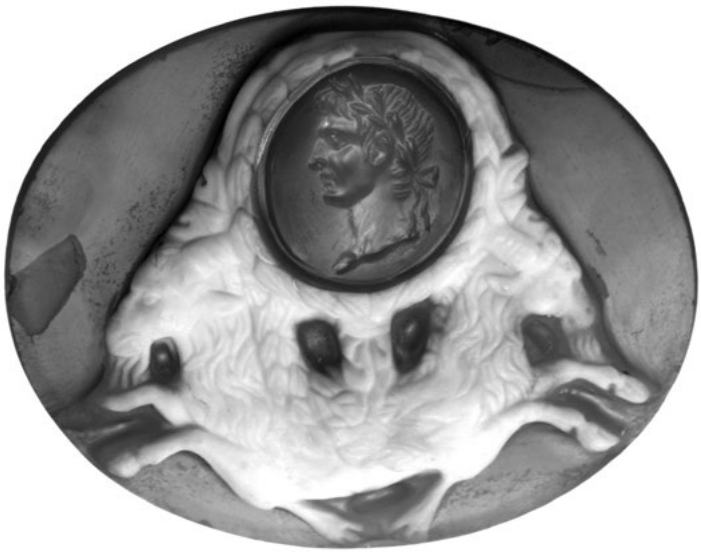


Figure 811



Figure 812



Figure 813



Figure 814



Figure 815



Figure 816



Figure 817



Figure 818



Figure 819



Figure 820



Figure 821



Figure 822



Figure 823



Figure 824



Figure 825



Figure 826



Figure 827



Figure 828



Figure 829



Figure 830



Figure 831



Figure 832



Figure 833



Figure 834



Figure 835



Figure 836



Figure 837



Figure 838



Figure 839



Figure 840



Figure 841



Figure 842



Figure 843



Figure 844



Figure 845



Figure 846



Figure 847



Figure 848



Figure 849



Figure 850



Figure 851



Figure 852



Figure 853



Figure 854



Figure 855



Figure 856



Figure 857



Figure 858



Figure 859



Figure 860



Figure 861



Figure 862



Figure 863



Figure 864



Figure 865



Figure 866



Figure 867



Figure 868



Figure 869



Figure 870



Figure 871



Figure 872



Figure 873



Figure 874



Figure 875



Figure 876



Figure 877



Figure 878



Figure 879



Figure 880



Figure 881



Figure 882



Figure 883



Figure 884



Figure 885



Figure 886



Figure 887



Figure 888



Figure 889



Figure 890



Figure 891



Figure 892



Figure 893



Figure 894



Figure 895



Figure 896



Figure 897



Figure 898



Figure 899



Figure 900



Figure 901



Figure 902



Figure 903



Figure 904



Figure 905



Figure 906



Figure 907



Figure 908



Figure 909



Figure 910



Figure 911



Figure 912



Figure 913



Figure 914



Figure 915



Figure 916



Figure 917



Figure 918



Figure 919



Figure 920



Figure 921



Figure 922



Figure 923

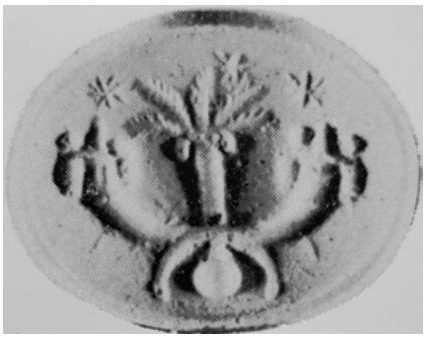


Figure 924



Figure 925



Figure 926



Figure 927



Figure 928



Figure 929

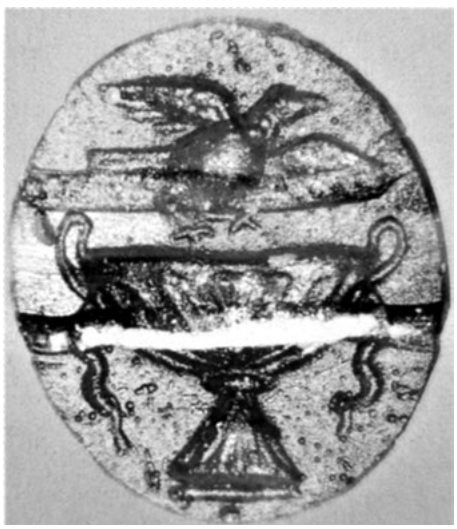


Figure 930



Figure 931



Figure 932



Figure 933



Figure 934



Figure 935



Figure 936



Figure 937



Figure 938



Figure 939



Figure 940



Figure 941



Figure 942



Figure 943



Figure 944



Figure 945



Figure 946



Figure 947



Figure 948



Figure 949



Figure 950a

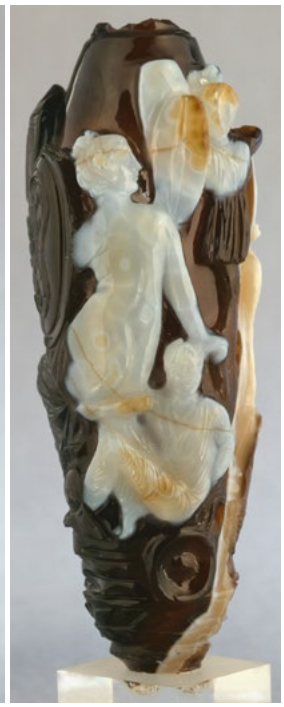


Figure 950b



Figure 950c



Figure 951

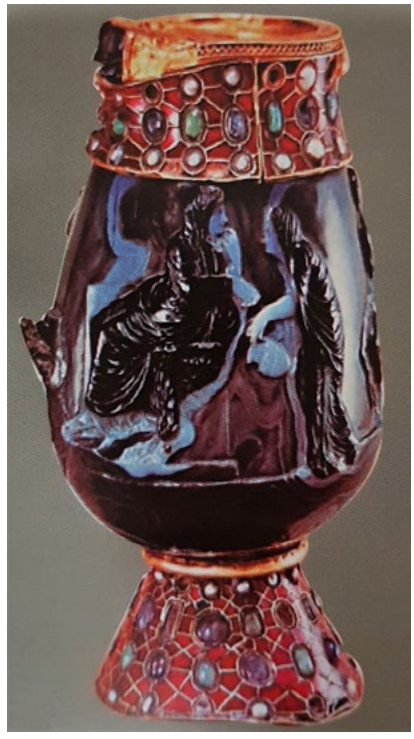


Figure 952a



Figure 952b



Figure 953a



Figure 953b



Figure 953c



Figure 953d



Figure 953e



Figure 954



Figure 955a



Figure 955b



Figure 955c



Figure 955d



Figure 956a



Figure 956b



Figure 956c



Figure 956d



Figure 956e



Figure 957



Figure 958



Figure 959



Figure 960



Figure 961



Figure 962



Figure 963



Figure 964



Figure 965



Figure 966



Figure 967



Figure 968



Figure 969



Figure 970



Figure 971



Figure 972



Figure 973



Figure 974



Figure 975



Figure 976



Figure 977



Figure 978



Figure 979a



Figure 979b



Figure 980



Figure 981



Figure 982



Figure 983



Figure 984



Figure 985



Figure 986



Figure 987



Figure 988



Figure 989



Figure 990



Figure 991



Figure 992



Figure 993



Figure 994



Figure 995



Figure 996



Figure 997



Figure 998

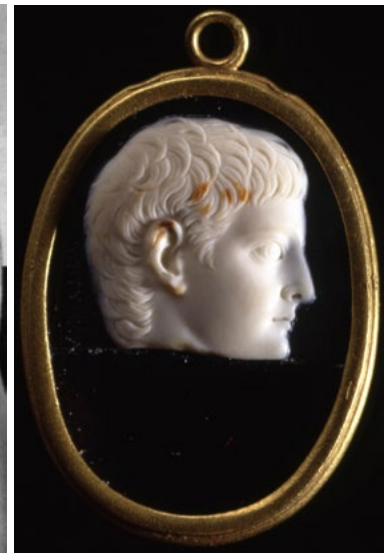


Figure 999



Figure 1000a



Figure 1000b



Figure 1001



Figure 1002



Figure 1003



Figure 1004



Figure 1005

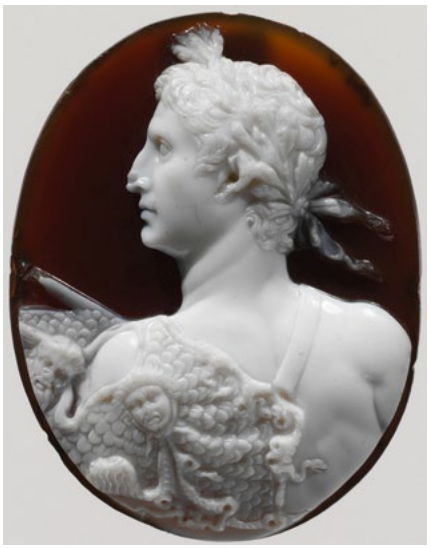


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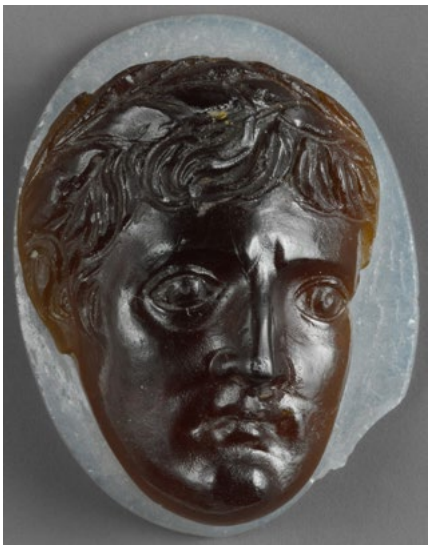


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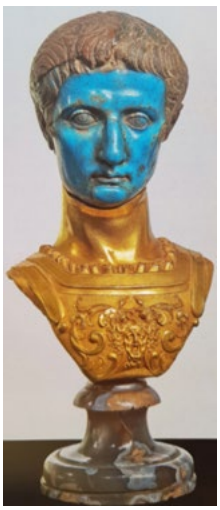


Figure 1008

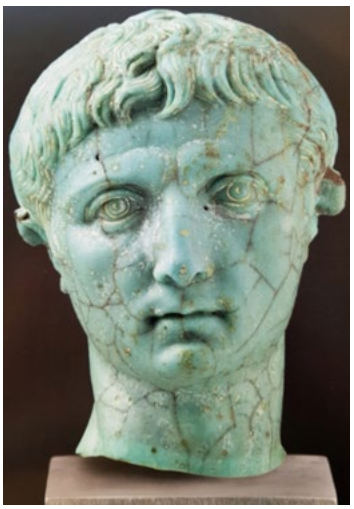


Figure 1009



Figure 1010



Figure 1011



Figure 1012



Figure 1013



Figure 1014



Figure 1015

Figure credits

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Fig. 6 (cat. no. 6.10), inv. 1872,0604.1155; **Fig. 13** (cat. no. 6.37), inv. 1987,0212.586; **Fig. 26** (cat. no. 6.93), inv. 1923,0401.823; **Fig. 30** (cat. no. 6.99), inv. 1814,0704.2216; **Fig. 39** (cat. no. 6.113), inv. 1814,0704.2563; **Fig. 50** (cat. no. 6.144), inv. 1923,0401.815; **Fig. 87** (Stater, 225-212 BC (*RRC* 28/1)), inv. 1867,0101.580; **Fig. 89** (cat. no. 6.300), inv. 1923,0401.678; **Fig. 90** (cat. no. 6.303), inv. 1814,0704.2488; **Fig. 95** (cat. no. 6.308), inv. SLAIntaglios.134; **Fig. 112** (cat. no. 7.13), inv. 1923,0401.380; **Fig. 113** (cat. no. 7.16), inv. 1923,0401.641; **Fig. 120** (cat. no. 7.26), inv. 1799,0521.70; **Fig. 128** (Denarius of L Calpurnius Piso Frugi, 90 BC (*RRC* 340/6c)), inv. 1939,0202.1; **Fig. 150** (cat. no. 7.91), inv. 1890,0601.60; **Fig. 151** (cat. no. 7.93), inv. 1814,0704.1452; **Fig. 166** (cat. no. 7.125), inv. 1814,0704.1357; **Fig. 168** (cat. no. 7.128), inv. 1814,0704.2101; **Fig. 175** (cat. no. 8.5), inv. 1913,0307.148; **Fig. 176** (cat. no. 8.11), inv. 1867,0507.389; **Fig. 192** (cat. no. 8.27), inv. 1814,0704.2525; **Fig. 198** (cat. no. 8.49), inv. 1923,0401.733; **Fig. 206** (cat. no. 8.65), inv. 1814,0704.2651; **Fig. 207** (cat. no. 8.66), inv. 1814,0704.2644; **Fig. 209** (cat. no. 8.73), inv. 1814,0704.1473; **Fig. 215** (cat. no. 8.84), inv. 1814,0704.2253; **Fig. 222** (cat. no. 8.97), inv. 1913,0307.145; **Fig. 223** (cat. no. 8.98), inv. 1867,0507.444; **Fig. 226** (cat. no. 8.105), inv. 1867,0507.474; **Fig. 236** (cat. no. 8.119), inv. 1873,1020.4; **Fig. 248** (cat. no. 8.132), inv. 1814,0704.2515; **Fig. 250** (cat. no. 8.136), inv. 1923,0401.843; **Fig. 258** (cat. no. 8.147), inv 1814,0704.1478; **Fig. 281** (Denarius of C. Antius Restio, 47 BC (*RRC*, no. 455/4)), inv. R.8906; **Fig. 284** (cat. no. 8.182), inv. 1867,0507.318; **Fig. 299** (cat. no. 8.205), inv. 1923,0401.803; **Fig. 336** (cat. no. 9.52), inv. 1867,0507.463; **Fig. 339** (cat. no. 9.55), inv. 1913,0307.250; **Fig. 346** (Denarius of Sextus Pompey, 42-40 BC (*RRC* 511/2a)), inv. 1860,0328.157; **Fig. 350** (cat. no. 9.77), inv. 1923,0401.699; **Fig. 355** (cat. no. 9.83), inv. 1867,0507.26; **Fig. 357** (cat. no. 9.85), inv.

1867,0507.27; **Fig. 366** (Aureus of Marcus Iunius Brutus and (Pedanius) Costa, 43-42 BC (*RRC*, no. 506/1)), inv. 1864,1128.226; **Fig. 371** (Aureus of Marcus Iunius Brutus and L. Plaetorius Cestianus, 43-42 BC (*RRC* 508/3)), inv. G3,RIG.11; **Fig. 375** (cat. no. 9.117), inv. 1872,0608.3; **Fig. 379** (cat. no. 9.127), inv. 1923,0401.804; **Fig. 380** (cat. no. 9.128), inv. 1923,0401.822; **Fig. 406** (Aureus of Mark Antony, 43 BC (*RRC*, nos. 492/1)), inv. R.9137; **Fig. 407** (Aureus of Octavian, 42 BC (*RRC* 497/1)), 1864,1128.237; **Fig. 415** (cat. no. 9.210), inv. 1814,0704.1484; **Fig. 418** (cat. no. 9.213), inv. 1814,0704.1485; **Fig. 420** (cat. no. 9.241), inv. 1814,0704.1483; **Fig. 427** (cat. no. 9.262), inv. 1799,0521.35; **Fig. 433** (cat. no. 9.280), inv. 1954,1106.1; **Fig. 434** (cat. no. 9.281), inv. 2001,0301.1; **Fig. 437** (Cistophora probably minted in Pergamun ca. 29-27 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 492)), inv. 1872,0709.370; **Fig. 447** (cat. no. 9.377), inv. 1923,0401.895; **Fig. 454** (cat. no. 9.425), inv. 1923,0401.813; **Fig. 463** (Aureus of M. Durmius, 19-4 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 316)), inv. R.5985; **Fig. 473** (cat. no. 9.505), inv. 1923,0401.687; **Fig. 478** (cat. no. 9.517), inv. 1923,0401.928; **Fig. 491** (cat. no. 9.540), inv. 1899,1201.71; **Fig. 497** (cat. no. 9.552), inv. 1923,0401.1156; **Fig. 501** (cat. no. 9.557), inv. 1923,0401.865; **Fig. 506** (Aureus of C. Vibius Varus, 42 BC (*RRC*, nos. 494/10)), inv. 1896,0608.4; **Fig. 510** (cat. no. 9.586), inv. 1814,0704.1475; **Fig. 511** (Aureus of Augustus, 29-27 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 273)), inv. 1844,1008.63; **Fig. 529** (Denarius of Augustus, 29-27 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 264)), inv. 1901,0407.459; **Fig. 551** (cat. no. 9.689), inv. 1923,0401.395; **Fig. 564** (Aureus of Augustus, 27 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 277)), inv. R.6015; **Fig. 585** (cat. no. 9.772), inv. 1923,0401.422; **Fig. 633** (Denarius of Augustus, 28-27 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 545)), inv. 1860,0328.115; **Fig. 635** (cat. no. 9.961), inv. 1923,0401.330; **Fig. 645** (cat. no. 9.996), inv. 1814,0704.1470; **Fig. 651** (Aureus of Augustus, 19-18 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 521)), inv. R.6017; **Fig. 672** (cat. no. 9.1133), inv. 1890,0601.37; **Fig. 684** (Aureus of Mark Antony, 41 BC (*RRC* 516/1)), inv. BNK,R.2; **Fig. 686** (cat. no. 9.1144), inv. 1867,0507.724; **Fig. 688** (Denarius of Mark Antony, 40 BC (*RRC*, no. 520/1)), inv. 1843,0116.161; **Fig. 694** (Aureus of Mark Antony, 34 BC (*RRC*, no. 541/1)), inv. 1896,0608.3; **Fig. 705** (Aureus of Mark Antony, 38 BC (*RRC* 533/1a)), inv. 1842,0523.1; **Fig. 721** (Aureus of Mark Antony, 32-31 BC (*RRC*, no. 544/2)), inv. 1867,0101.607; **Fig. 725** (cat. no. 9.1221), inv. 1923,0401.343; **Fig. 727** (Aureus of Mark Antony, 41 BC (*RRC*, nos. 516/1)), inv. BNK,R.2; **Fig. 729** (Quinarius of Mark Antony, 43-42 BC (*RRC* nos. 489/5)), inv. 1843,0116.167; **Fig. 732** (Aureus of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC (*RRC* 494/1)), inv. 1864,1128.11; **Fig. 736** (cat. no. 9.1250), inv. 1867,0507.495; **Fig. 738** (cat. no. 9.1258), inv. 1872,0604.1344; **Fig. 740** (cat. no. 9.1260), inv. 1799,0521.51; **Fig. 747** (cat. no. 9.1278), inv. 1867,0507.542; **Fig. 750** (cat. no. 9.1293), inv. 1923,0401.828; **Fig. 767** (cat. no. 9.1370), inv. 1890,0601.1; **Fig. 768** (cat. no. 9.1376), inv. 1814,0704.1874; **Fig. 769** (cat. no. 9.1377), inv. 1814,0704.1873; **Fig. 773** (cat. no. 10.1), inv. 1890,0601.50; **Fig. 774** (cat. no. 10.2), inv. 1923,0401.636; **Fig. 782** (Denarius of Augustus, 2BC-AD4 (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 210)), inv. 1925,0601.1; **Fig. 785** (cat. no. 10.27), inv. 1923,0401.821; **Fig. 786** (Aureus of Augustus, 19-18 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 31)), inv. 1907,0501.140; **Fig. 794** (cat. no. 10.55), inv. 1841,0726.282; **Fig. 796** (cat. no. 10.61), inv. 1976,0601.2; **Fig. 801** (Aureus of Augustus, 27 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 277)), inv. R.6015; **Fig. 807** (cat. no. 10.87), inv. 1923,0401.646; **Fig. 809** (Aureus of Augustus, 19-18 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 31)), inv. 1907,0501.140; **Fig. 821** (Denarius of Augustus, 32-29 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 263)), inv. R.6163; **Fig. 830** (Aureus of Augustus, 32-29 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 260)), inv. 1867,0101.590; **Fig. 842** (cat. no. 10.156), inv. 1814,0704.1489; **Fig. 864** (cat. no. 10.209), inv. 1921,0711.8; **Fig. 869** (Denarius of Augustus, 32-29 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 250b), inv. R.6155; **Fig. 881** (cat. no. 10.240), inv. 1872,0604.1302; **Fig. 888** (cat. no. 10.263), inv. 1923,0401.680; **Fig. 906** (cat. no. 10.372), inv. 1867,0507.288; **Fig. 909** (cat. no. 10.433), inv. 1923,0401.51; **Fig. 941** (Aureus of Augustus, 27 BC? (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 537)), inv. 1864,1128.21; **Fig. 953a-e** (cat. no. 10.678), inv. 1945,0927.1; **Fig. 959** (Aureus of Augustus, 27 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 544)), inv. 1897,0604.4; **Fig. 963** (cat. no. 10.701), inv. 1923,0401.1064; **Fig. 964** (cat. no. 10.703), inv. 1867,0507.491; **Fig. 981** (cat. no. 10.760), inv. 1981,0825.1; **Fig. 982** (Aureus of Augustus, 13 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus, no. 409)), inv. R.9242; **Fig. 985** (cat. no. 10.773), inv. 1923,0401.1157; **Fig. 986** (cat. no. 10.774), inv. 1923,0401.1201; **Fig. 996** (cat. no. 10.795), inv. 1867,0507.500; **Fig. 999** (cat. no. 10.803), inv. 1867,0507.496; **Fig. 1002** (cat. no. 10.834), inv. 1923,0401.806; **Fig. 1003** (cat. no. 10.853), inv. 1923,0401.1175; **Fig. 1005** (cat. no. 10.845), inv. 1867,0507.484; **Fig. 1012** (cat. no. 10.857), inv. 1814,0704.1546.

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Fig. 210 (cat. no. 8.74), inv. B174(CM); **Fig. 600** (cat. no. 9.814), inv. S22(CM); **Fig. 626** (cat. no. 9.912), inv. B236(CM), **Fig. 894** (cat. no. 10.284), inv. P 24(CM)/CG 197; **Fig. 972** (cat. no. 10.733), inv. CM.19.1967/CG 523.

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Fig. 169 (cat. no. 7.131), inv. 10606; **Fig. 202** (cat. no. 8.55), inv. 10629; **Fig. 244** (cat. no. 8.128), inv. 10793; **Fig. 286** (cat. no. 8.183), inv. 10673; **Fig. 298** (cat. no. 8.204), inv. 10698; **Fig. 301** (cat. no. 8.219), inv. 10697; **Fig. 337** (cat. no. 9.53), inv. 10604; **Fig. 382** (cat. no. 9.132), inv. 10589; **Fig. 394** (cat. no. 9.149), inv. 10690; **Fig. 428** (cat. no. 9.263), inv. 10694; **Fig. 438** (cat. no. 9.284), inv. 10728; **Fig. 558** (cat. no. 9.696), inv. 10705; **Fig. 674** (cat. no. 9.1135), inv. 10566; **Fig. 815** (cat. no. 10.97), inv. 10716; **Fig. 831** (cat. no. 10.131), inv. 10734; **Fig. 872** (cat. no. 10.225), inv. 10725; **Fig. 880** (cat. no. 10.239), inv. 10595; **Fig. 895** (cat. no. 10.285), inv. 10706; **Fig. 939** (cat. no. 10.637), inv. 10783; **Fig. 946** (cat. no. 10.668), inv. 10608; **Fig. 975** (cat. no. 10.738), inv. 10804.

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Fig. 777 (cat. no. 10.5).

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Fig. 7 (cat. no. 6.11), inv. GS-00129; **Fig. 16** (cat. no. 6.52), inv. GS-00402; **Fig. 57** (cat. no. 6.185), inv. GS-00096; **Fig. 60** (cat. no. 6.199), inv. GS-00131; **Fig. 62** (cat. no. 6.204), inv. GS-01154; **Fig. 68** (cat. no. 6.221), inv. GS-00132; **Fig. 74** (cat. no. 6.252), inv. GS-00125; **Fig. 85** (cat. no. 6.298), inv. GS-00195; **Fig. 97** (cat. no. 6.312), inv. GS-00095; **Fig. 114** (cat. no. 7.17), inv. GS-00282; **Fig. 127** (cat. no. 7.46), inv. GS-00093; **Fig. 136** (cat. no. 7.60), inv. GS-01153; **Fig. 162** (cat. no. 7.118), inv. GS-00302; **Fig. 270** (cat. no. 8.167), inv. GS-00327; **Fig. 271** (cat. no. 8.169), inv. GS-00217; **Fig. 273** (cat. no. 8.171), inv. M 1931/2.13; **Fig. 331** (cat. no. 9.30), inv. GS-00304; **Fig. 335** (cat. no. 9.42), inv. GS-00312; **Fig. 360** (cat. no. 9.90), inv. GS-00265; **Fig. 368** (cat. no. 9.101), inv. GS-00451; **Fig. 408** (cat. no. 9.168), inv. GS-00307; **Fig. 414** (cat. no. 9.216), inv. GS-00268; **Fig. 419** (cat. no. 9.243), inv. GS-00571; **Fig. 440** (cat. no. 9.303), inv. GS-00433; **Fig. 443** (cat. no. 9.379), inv. GS-00445; **Fig. 469** (cat. no. 9.471), inv. G2008/6.1980-zn24; **Fig. 500** (cat. no. 9.556), inv. GS-10787; **Fig. 504** (cat. no. 9.562), inv. G 2008/6.1976-zn5; **Fig. 505** (cat. no. 9.564), inv. G 2008/6.1979-zn13; **Fig. 507** (cat. no. 9.582), inv. GS-00313; **Fig. 528** (cat. no. 9.624), inv. GS-01043; **Fig. 550** (cat. no. 9.680), inv. GS-00401; **Fig. 568** (cat. no. 9.717), inv. GS-00306; **Fig. 583** (cat. no. 9.762), inv. GS-00308; **Fig. 586** (cat. no. 9.786), GS-00111; **Fig. 589** (cat. no. 9.787), inv. GS-00112; **Fig. 618** (cat. no. 9.868), inv. F 1894/9.5; **Fig. 622** (cat. no. 9.890), inv. GL 571; **Fig. 624** (cat. no. 9.903), inv. GS-10177; **Fig. 627** (cat. no. 9.918), inv. GS-00230; **Fig. 629** (cat. no. 9.923), inv. M 1931/2.9; **Fig. 634** (cat. no. 9.952), inv. GS-00091; **Fig. 637** (cat. no. 9.965), inv. GS-00696; **Fig. 640** (cat. no. 9.976), inv. GS-00622; **Fig. 643** (cat. no. 9.987), inv. GL 549; **Fig. 646** (cat. no. 9.1005), inv. GS-00567; **Fig. 659** (cat. no. 9.1096), inv. VF 861; **Fig. 663** (cat. no. 9.1118), inv. GS-00464; **Fig. 703** (cat. no. 9.1189), inv. GS-00314; **Fig. 728** (cat. no. 9.1225), inv. GS-00460; **Fig. 737** (cat. no. 9.1255), inv. GS-00311; **Fig. 744** (cat. no. 9.1267), inv. GS-00310; **Fig. 748** (cat. no. 9.1287), inv. GS-11381; **Fig. 760** (cat. no. 9.1340), inv. GS-00235; **Fig. 783** (cat. no. 10.19), inv. GS-00315; **Fig. 827** (cat. no. 10.128), inv. GS-00453; **Fig. 845** (cat. no. 10.178), inv. GS-00330; **Fig. 846** (cat. no. 10.179), inv. GS-00331; **Fig. 867** (cat. no. 10.222), inv. GS-00679; **Fig. 879** (cat. no. 10.238), inv. GS-00400; **Fig. 885** (cat. no. 10.253), inv. GS-00671; **Fig. 890** (cat. no. 10.267), inv. GS-00189; **Fig. 896** (cat. no. 10.321), inv. GS-00068; **Fig. 915** (cat. no. 10.462), inv. GS-00581; **Fig. 920** (cat. no. 10.497), inv. GS-00802; **Fig. 921** (cat. no. 10.506), inv. GS-00803; **Fig. 922** (cat. no. 10.518), inv. GS-00730; **Fig. 931** (cat. no. 10.551), inv. GL 576; **Fig. 934** (cat. no. 10.569), inv. GS-00570; **Fig. 943** (cat. no. 10.661), inv. GS-00150; **Fig. 965** (cat. no. 10.705), inv. GS-11092; **Fig. 973** (cat. no. 10.734), inv. GS-11046.

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Fig. 43 (cat. no. 6.138), inv. I1023; **Fig. 54** (cat. no. 6.156), inv. I1103; **Fig. 55** (cat. no. 6.167), inv. I1035; **Fig. 63** (cat. no. 6.207), inv. I1115; **Fig. 78** (cat. no. 6.277), inv. I1108; **Fig. 96** (cat. no. 6.310), inv. I1113; **Fig. 119** (cat. no. 7.25), inv. I909; **Fig. 191** (cat. no. 8.26), inv. I1047; **Fig. 197** (cat. no. 8.41), inv. I838; **Fig. 204** (cat. no. 8.62), inv. I901; **Fig. 245** (cat. no. 8.129), inv. I280; **Fig. 327** (cat. no. 9.22), inv. I103, after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 115.4 and 8; **Fig. 351** (cat. no. 9.79), inv. I755; **Fig. 385** (cat. no. 9.135), inv. I102, after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 101.5-6; **Fig. 442** (cat. no. 9.381), inv. I1039; **Fig. 446** (cat. no. 9.382), inv. I1045; **Fig. 457** (cat. no. 9.431), inv. I1063; **Fig. 462** (cat. no. 9.451), inv. I1061; **Fig. 468** (cat. no. 9.465), inv. I997, after Fossing 1929, no. 1199; **Fig. 470** (cat. no. 9.489), inv. I1021; **Fig. 477** (cat. no. 9.516), inv. I1054; **Fig. 479** (cat. no. 9.518), inv. I994; **Fig. 485** (cat. no. 9.529), inv. I995; **Fig. 533** (cat. no. 9.644), inv. I1118; **Fig. 536** (cat. no. 9.648), inv. I1119; **Fig. 545** (cat. no. 9.665), inv. I309; **Fig. 547** (cat. no. 9.676), inv. I86; **Fig. 562** (cat. no. 9.703), inv. I1124; **Fig. 565** (cat. no. 9.712), inv. I1060; **Fig. 620** (cat. no. 9.871), inv. I206; **Fig. 631** (cat. no. 9.937), inv. I737, after Fossing 1929, no. 1596); **Fig. 636** (cat. no. 9.962), inv. I737; **Fig. 653** (cat. no. 9.1048), inv. I118; **Fig. 656** (cat. no. 9.1057), inv. I166; **Fig. 657** (cat. no. 9.1075), inv. I336; **Fig. 710** (cat. no. 9.1204), inv. I829; **Fig. 720** (cat. no. 9.1215), inv. I1125; **Fig. 806** (cat. no. 10.83), inv. I1055; **Fig. 900** (cat. no. 10.342), inv. I1094; **Fig. 907** (cat. no. 10.394), inv. I937;

Fig. 908 (cat. no. 10.393), inv. I939; **Fig. 935** (cat. no. 10.577), inv. I733; **Fig. 937** (cat. no. 10.584), inv. I122.

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Fig. 25 (cat. no. 6.86), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 2; **Fig. 37** (Dodrans of M. Caecilius Metellus, 127 BC (RRC, no. 263/2)); **Fig. 59** (cat. no. 6.198), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 10; **Fig. 66** (cat. no. 6.214), Pauvert.88; **Fig. 123** (cat. no. 7.35), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 13; **Fig. 137** (cat. no. 7.59), Pauvert.151; **Fig. 171** (cat. no. 8.1), Chabouillet.1870; **Fig. 173** (cat. no. 8.3), inv.58.1526bis; **Fig. 174** (cat. no. 8.4), Pauvert.163; **Fig. 201** (cat. no. 8.54), inv.58.1815; **Fig. 227** (cat. no. 8.107), Pauvert.152; **Fig. 238** (cat. no. 8.123), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 16; **Fig. 289** (cat. no. 8.186), inv.58.2062; **Fig. 293** (cat. no. 8.200), de Clercq.3207; **Fig. 325** (cat. no. 9.16), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 22; **Fig. 334** (cat. no. 9.40), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 25; **Fig. 387** (cat. no. 9.138), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 20; **Fig. 390** (cat. no. 9.147), after Richter 1971, no. 471; **Fig. 393** (cat. no. 9.148), inv.56.566; **Fig. 429** (cat. no. 9.273), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 47; **Fig. 444** (cat. no. 9.349), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 37; **Fig. 488** (cat. no. 9.535), de Clercq.3216; **Fig. 514** (cat. no. 9.593), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 36; **Fig. 557** (cat. no. 9.695), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 45; **Fig. 601** (cat. no. 9.815), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 46; **Fig. 691** (cat. no. 9.1151), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 29; **Fig. 697** (cat. no. 9.1161), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 32; **Fig. 709** (cat. no. 9.1201), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 31; **Fig. 716** (cat. no. 9.1209), Camée.221; **Fig. 755** (cat. no. 9.1303), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 92; **Fig. 770** (cat. no. 9.1379), after Lapatin 2015, pl. 111; **Fig. 780** (cat. no. 10.9), inv.58.1637; **Fig. 803** (cat. no. 10.77) after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 52; **Fig. 851** (cat. no. 10.186) after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 53; **Fig. 957** (cat. no. 10.682), after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 61; **Fig. 966** (cat. no. 10.709), inv.58.2080; **Fig. 979a-b** (cat. no. 10.758), camée.246; **Fig. 980** (cat. no. 10.759) after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 72; **Fig. 984** (cat. no. 10.769) after Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, no. 75.

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Fig. 29 (cat. no. 6.98), after Campagnolo and Fallani 2018, no. IX.3.i, p. 159; **Fig. 51a-b** (cat. no. 6.152), inv. C 1031; **Fig. 109** (cat. no. 7.10), inv. MF 2800; **Fig. 131a-b** (cat. no. 7.49), inv. MF 2673; **Fig. 195** (cat. no. 8.32), inv. MF 3485; **Fig. 233** (cat. no. 8.115), inv. 020897; **Fig. 234** (cat. no. 8.117), inv. MF 2969; **Fig. 242** (cat. no. 8.126), inv. MF 2880; **Fig. 275** (cat. no. 8.173), inv. MF 2644; **Fig. 321** (cat. no. 9.10), inv. MF 1592; **Fig. 349** (cat. no. 9.64), inv. MF 3119; **Fig. 367** (cat. no. 9.99), inv. MF 2923; **Fig. 372a-b** (cat. no. 9.111), inv. MF 3001; **Fig. 378** (cat. no. 9.124), inv. MF 2920; **Fig. 388** (cat. no. 9.139), inv. MF 2962; **Fig. 417** (cat. no. 9.209), inv. 007242; **Fig. 424a-b** (cat. no. 9.258), inv. MF 2977; **Fig. 445** (cat. no. 9.356), inv. MF 2950; **Fig. 465** (cat. no. 9.454), inv. MF 2418; **Fig. 471** (cat. no. 9.490), inv. MF 2784; **Fig. 474a-b** (cat. no. 9.508), inv. MF 2783; **Fig. 483** (cat. no. 9.527), inv. MF 2928; **Fig. 490** (cat. no. 9.539), inv. MF 3024; **Fig. 508** (cat. no. 9.584), inv. MF 2987; **Fig. 512** (cat. no. 9.587), inv. 010818; **Fig. 556** (cat. no. 9.694), inv. MF 2813; **Fig. 561** (cat. no. 9.701), inv. MF 3173; **Fig. 563** (cat. no. 9.704), inv. MF 2811; **Fig. 690a-b** (cat. no. 9.1149), inv. MF 2982; **Fig. 699** (cat. no. 9.1168), inv. MF 2729; **Fig. 706** (cat. no. 9.1196), inv. MF 2401; **Fig. 708** (cat. no. 9.1198), inv. MF 2249; **Fig. 724** (cat. no. 9.1219), inv. MF 3133; **Fig. 726** (cat. no. 9.1224), inv. A 1998-0043; **Fig. 733** (cat. no. 9.1228), inv. MF 2975; **Fig. 735** (cat. no. 9.1231), inv. MF 2405; **Fig. 752** (cat. no. 9.1297), inv. MF 2991; **Fig. 816** (cat. no. 10.99), inv. 007243; **Fig. 913** (cat. no. 10.454), after Campagnolo and Fallani 2018, no. X.6.i, p. 297; **Fig. 929** (cat. no. 10.533), inv. MF 3161; **Fig. 993** (cat. no. 10.785), inv. 007221.

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Fig. 35 (cat. no. 6.110), inv. IX B 340, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 165; **Fig. 36** (cat. no. 6.112), inv. IX B 633, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 408; **Fig. 52** (cat. no. 6.154), inv. XI B 499, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 947; **Fig. 86** (cat. no. 6.295), Inv. IX B 899, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1098; **Fig. 220** (cat. no. 8.95), inv. IX B 1550; after Zwierlein-Diehl 1988, fig. 1, p. 3646; **Fig. 235** (cat. no. 8.118), inv. XII 919, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 799; **Fig. 247** (cat. no. 8.131), inv. IX B 398, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1460; **Fig. 252** (cat. no. 8.139), inv. IX B 837, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1092; **Fig. 259** (cat. no. 8.148), inv. IX 2105, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 553; **Fig. 261** (cat. no. 8.149), inv. XI B 495, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 926; **Fig. 272** (cat. no. 8.170), inv. IX B 1590, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 528; **Fig. 290** (cat. no. 8.189), inv. IX B 711, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 350; **Fig. 295** (cat. no. 8.201), inv. IX B 754, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 345; **Fig. 374** (cat. no. 9.116), inv. IX B 772, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no.

347; **Fig. 410** (cat. no. 9.188), inv. XI B 569, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 809; **Fig. 411** (cat. no. 9.189), inv. XI B 508, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, ill. 70; **Fig. 430** (cat. no. 9.274), inv. IX 2602, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 607; **Fig. 475** (cat. no. 9.514), inv. XI B 500, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 811; **Fig. 476** (cat. no. 9.515), inv. IX B 807, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 520; **Fig. 480** (cat. no. 9.521), inv. IX B 451, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 38; **Fig. 489** (cat. no. 9.536), inv. IX B 712, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 405; **Fig. 499** (cat. no. 9.555), inv. IX B 600, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 509; **Fig. 520** (cat. no. 9.616), inv. IX A 55, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 458; **Fig. 530** (cat. no. 9.625), inv. XI B 199, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, ill. 32; **Fig. 541** (cat. no. 9.660), inv. IX B 760, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 507; **Fig. 542** (cat. no. 9.661), inv. IX B 378, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 416; **Fig. 554** (cat. no. 9.692), inv. XI B 575, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 582; **Fig. 575** (cat. no. 9.744), inv. IX B 370, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1096; **Fig. 597** (cat. no. 9.807), inv. IX B 311, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 413; **Fig. 701** (cat. no. 9.1172), inv. IX B 327, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1202; **Fig. 731** (cat. no. 9.1227), inv. IX B 727, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 358; **Fig. 797** (cat. no. 10.66), inv. IX A 67, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 7; **Fig. 800** (cat. no. 10.76), inv. IX A 26, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 4; **Fig. 808** (cat. no. 10.88), inv. XI B 329, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, ill. 33; **Fig. 812** (cat. no. 10.92), inv. IX A 56, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 5; **Fig. 834** (cat. no. 10.137), inv. IX A 54, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 3; **Fig. 850** (cat. no. 10.185), inv. IX A 30, after Lapatin 2015, pl. 113; **Fig. 860** (cat. no. 10.202), inv. IX B 421, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 402; **Fig. 861** (cat. no. 10.203), inv. XI B 387, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 580; **Fig. 863** (cat. no. 10.206), inv. IX B 740, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 419; **Fig. 928** (cat. no. 10.532), inv. XI B 521, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 941; **Fig. 949** (cat. no. 10.674), inv. IXa 86, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, ill. 156; **Fig. 961** (cat. no. 10.687), inv. XII 1083, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1034; **Fig. 991** (cat. no. 10.783), inv. IX B 836, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 520; **Fig. 995** (cat. no. 10.791), inv. IX A 30, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 9; **Fig. 998** (cat. no. 10.802), inv. IX B 1408, after Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, no. 517; **Fig. 1011** (cat. no. 10.856), inv. IX A 95, after Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, no. 8.

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Fig. 101 (cat. no. 7.1), inv. 14439; **Fig. 141** (cat. no. 7.69), inv. Currié 326, after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 22.1-3; **Fig. 297** (cat. no. 8.202), inv. 270, after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 112.1-3; **Fig. 448** (cat. no. 9.394), inv. 1179, after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 146.10; **Fig. 452** (cat. no. 9.403), inv. 993, after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 151.16; **Fig. 592** (cat. no. 9.797), inv. 85, after Vollenweider 1966, pl. 54.1; **Fig. 670** (cat. no. 9.1131), after Vollenweider 1966, pl. 21.4; **Fig. 677** (cat. no. 9.1138), inv. 14441, after Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 29; **Fig. 696** (cat. no. 9.1158), inv. 913, after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 132.5; **Fig. 824** (cat. no. 10.122); **Fig. 871** (cat. no. 10.224), inv. 14495; **Fig. 873** (cat. no. 10.226), inv. 14444; **Fig. 884** (cat. no. 10.252), inv. 14578, after Tondo 1996, no. 216; **Fig. 924** (cat. no. 10.525), inv. 72544, after Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 166; **Fig. 974** (cat. no. 10.736), inv. 14549; **Fig. 1008** (cat. no. 10.850), after Conticelli, Gennaioli and Paolucci (eds.) 2016, no. 9; **Fig. 1015** (cat. no. 10.860), inv. 14533.

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Fig. 405 (cat. no. 9.165), after Agostini, Bidoli and Lavarone (eds.) 2004, no. 283.

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Fig. 274 (cat. no. 8.172); **Fig. 719** (cat. no. 9.1214).

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Fig. 160 (cat. no. 7.110), inv. com. 1555; **Fig. 212** (cat. no. 8.77), inv. com. 1727; **Fig. 251** (cat. no. 8.137), inv. com. 1514; **Fig. 279** (cat. no. 8.177), inv. com. 1708; **Fig. 280** (cat. no. 8.178), inv. com. 1722; **Fig. 308** (cat. no. 8.242), inv. com. 1437; **Fig. 309** (cat. no. 8.243), inv. com. 1362; **Fig. 333** (cat. no. 9.35), inv. com. 1345; **Fig. 362** (cat. no. 9.92), inv. com. 1699; **Fig. 461** (cat. no. 9.449), inv. com. 1327; **Fig. 472** (cat. no. 9.492), inv. com. 1301; **Fig. 486** (cat. no. 9.530), inv. com. 1229; **Fig. 532** (cat. no. 9.626), inv. com. 1371; **Fig. 569** (cat. no. 9.720), inv. com. 1355; **Fig. 584** (cat. no. 9.767), inv. com. 1350; **Fig. 655** (cat. no. 9.1052), inv. com. 1621; **Fig. 665** (cat. no. 9.1124), inv. com. 1711; **Fig. 759** (cat. no. 9.1321), inv. com. 1330; **Fig. 886** (cat. no. 10.254), inv. com. 1456.

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Fig. 23 (cat. no. 6.78), inv. 25085, after Lapatin 2015, pl. 47; **Fig. 103** (cat. no. 7.3), inv. 25839, after Dacos, Giuliano and Pannuti 1973, pl. IV (cat. no. 3); **Fig. 104** (cat. no. 7.4), inv. 25891, after Dacos, Giuliano and Pannuti 1973, pl. IV (cat. no. 4); **Fig. 517** (cat. no. 9.613), inv. 26086/248, after Pannuti 1994, no. 128; **Fig. 519** (cat. no. 9.615), inv. 26051, after Lapatin 2015, pl. 95; **Fig. 573**

(cat. no. 9.741), inv. 26070, after Lapatin 2015, pl. 93; **Fig. 579** (cat. no. 9.755), inv. 26168/329, after Pannuti 1994, no. 125; **Fig. 610** (cat. no. 9.844), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 452; **Fig. 616** (cat. no. 9.860), inv. 26092/254, after Pannuti 1994, no. 183; **Fig. 671** (cat. no. 9.1132), inv. 25846/14, after Pannuti 1994, no. 166; **Fig. 673** (cat. no. 9.1134), inv. 25844/12, after Pannuti 1994, no. 148.

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Fig. 460 (cat. no. 9.448), inv. AMS-3352.

Antikensammlung, Berlin (©Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, fig. 811 – photo by Isolde Luckert, Figs. 315, 525, 543, 605, 613, 950a-c, 960 and 962 – photos by Johannes Laurentius, Figs. 76, 188, 354, 358, 580, 606 and 741 – photos by Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Figs. 42, 64, 83, 84, 115, 138, 167, 200, 229, 241, 276, 323, 361, 364, 449, 450, 484, 494, 535, 537, 567, 572, 667, 689, 702, 742, 746, 798, 847, 876, 882, 887, 911, 927 and 930 – photos by Bernhard Platz):

Fig. 42 (cat. no. 6.133), inv. 32.237, 142; **Fig. 61** (cat. no. 6.200), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 1156; **Fig. 64** (cat. no. 6.210), inv. 32.237, 43; **Fig. 76** (cat. no. 6.262), inv. FG 6498; **Fig. 81** (cat. no. 6.281), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 1140; **Fig. 83** (cat. no. 6.290), inv. 32.237, 531; **Fig. 84** (cat. no. 6.291), inv. 32.237, 327; **Fig. 93** (cat. no. 6.306), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 4400; **Fig. 115** (cat. no. 7.18), inv. 32.237, 553; **Fig. 138** (cat. no. 7.62), inv. 32.237, 264; **Fig. 144** (cat. no. 7.71), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 1887; **Fig. 155** (cat. no. 7.98), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6561; **Fig. 157** (cat. no. 7.102), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 2045; **Fig. 167** (cat. no. 7.127), inv. 32.237, 568; **Fig. 188** (cat. no. 8.21), inv. FG 6536; **Fig. 200** (cat. no. 8.52), inv. 32.237, 17; **Fig. 203** (cat. no. 8.56), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6882; **Fig. 213** (cat. no. 8.83), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6189; **Fig. 229** (cat. no. 8.108), inv. 32.237, 527; **Fig. 241** (cat. no. 8.125), inv. 32.237, 685; **Fig. 267** (cat. no. 8.159), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 3390; **Fig. 276** (cat. no. 8.174), inv. 32.237, 652; **Fig. 315** (cat. no. 9.1), inv. FG 6984; **Fig. 318** (cat. no. 9.2), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 2332; **Fig. 323** (cat. no. 9.13), inv. 32.237, 24; **Fig. 354** (cat. no. 9.82), inv. FG 6256; **Fig. 358** (cat. no. 9.88), inv. FG 354; **Fig. 361** (cat. no. 9.91), inv. 32.237, 149; **Fig. 364** (cat. no. 9.93), inv. 32.237, 572; **Fig. 397** (cat. no. 9.156), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 2330; **Fig. 398** (cat. no. 9.157), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6985; **Fig. 399** (cat. no. 9.158), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6986; **Fig. 413** (cat. no. 9.197), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 7121; **Fig. 449** (cat. no. 9.395), inv. 32.237, 358; **Fig. 450** (cat. no. 9.399), inv. 32.237, 576; **Fig. 458** (cat. no. 9.437), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 3374; **Fig. 484** (cat. no. 9.528), inv. 32.237, 146; **Fig. 494** (cat. no. 9.546), inv. FG 11611; **Fig. 524** (cat. no. 9.619), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6215; **Fig. 525** (cat. no. 9.620), inv. FG 2451; **Fig. 535** (cat. no. 9.646), inv. 32.237, 320; **Fig. 537** (cat. no. 9.652), inv. 32.237, 162; **Fig. 538** (cat. no. 9.656), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 3458; **Fig. 543** (cat. no. 9.662), inv. FG 7262; **Fig. 567** (cat. no. 9.714), inv. 32.237, 288; **Fig. 572** (cat. no. 9.740), inv. 32.237, 515; **Fig. 580** (cat. no. 9.756), inv. FG 6713; **Fig. 588** (cat. no. 9.778), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6084; **Fig. 602** (cat. no. 9.816), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6234; **Fig. 605** (cat. no. 9.823), inv. FG 11062; **Fig. 606** (cat. no. 9.824), inv. FG 4123; **Fig. 613** (cat. no. 9.857), inv. FG 11068; **Fig. 625** (cat. no. 9.910), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 2747; **Fig. 648** (cat. no. 9.1008), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6055; **Fig. 660** (cat. no. 9.1090), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 5814; **Fig. 667** (cat. no. 9.1126), inv. 32.237, 75; **Fig. 668** (cat. no. 9.1128), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 5731; **Fig. 689** (cat. no. 9.1147), inv. 32.237, 432; **Fig. 702** (cat. no. 9.1186), inv. 32.237, 433; **Fig. 717** (cat. no. 9.1210), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 2926; **Fig. 741** (cat. no. 9.1261), inv. FG 1873; **Fig. 742** (cat. no. 9.1262), inv. 32.237, 232; **Fig. 743** (cat. no. 9.1266), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 2333; **Fig. 746** (cat. no. 9.1274), inv. 32.237, 659; **Fig. 798** (cat. no. 10.71), inv. FG 11211; **Fig. 811** (cat. no. 10.91), inv. FG 11074; **Fig. 825** (cat. no. 10.123), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 3571; **Fig. 826** (cat. no. 10.124), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6738; **Fig. 838** (cat. no. 10.143), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 3558; **Fig. 839** (cat. no. 10.145), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6740; **Fig. 840** (cat. no. 10.146), after Furtwängler 1896, no. 6739; **Fig. 847** (cat. no. 10.181), inv. 32.237, 695; **Fig. 876** (cat. no. 10.231), inv. 32.237, 145; **Fig. 882** (cat. no. 10.245), inv. 32.237, 165; **Fig. 887** (cat. no. 10.257), inv. 32.237, 395; **Fig. 911** (cat. no. 10.449), inv. 32.237, 65; **Fig. 927** (cat. no. 10.531), inv. 32.237, 495; **Fig. 930** (cat. no. 10.536), inv. 32.237, 650; **Fig. 950a-c** (cat. no. 10.675), inv. FG 11362; **Fig. 960** (cat. no. 10.686), inv. FG 11057; **Fig. 962** (cat. no. 10.694), inv. FG 11066.

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Fig. 5 (cat. no. 6.9), inv. K.O, after AGDS IV Hannover, no. 53; **Fig. 14** (cat. no. 6.24), inv. K 1765; **Fig. 24** (cat. no. 6.85), inv. K 788; **Fig. 69** (cat. no. 6.227), inv. K 1323; **Fig. 72** (cat. no. 6.235), inv. K 1007; **Fig. 106** (cat. no. 7.7), inv. K 775; **Fig. 107** (cat. no. 7.8), inv. K 748; **Fig. 117** (cat. no. 7.21), inv. K 489; **Fig. 189** (cat. no. 8.22), inv. K 745; **Fig. 324** (cat. no. 9.15), inv. K 824d; **Fig. 409** (cat. no. 9.184), inv. K 1379; **Fig. 416** (cat. no. 9.206), inv. K 1279; **Fig. 422** (cat. no. 9.250), inv. K 804; **Fig. 459** (cat. no. 9.444), inv. K 1411; **Fig. 509** (cat. no. 9.585), inv. K 65; **Fig. 549** (cat. no. 9.678), inv. K 665; **Fig. 571** (cat. no. 9.737), inv. K 1752; **Fig. 593** (cat. no. 9.798), inv. K 797; **Fig. 598** (cat. no. 9.812), inv. K 219; **Fig. 604** (cat. no. 9.822), inv. K 787; **Fig. 631** (cat. no. 9.937), inv. K 1189; **Fig. 641** (cat. no. 9.981), inv. K 1754; **Fig. 649** (cat. no. 9.1012), inv. K 499; **Fig. 704** (cat. no. 9.1194), inv. 1972,34d; **Fig. 756** (cat. no. 9.1304), inv. K 1338; **Fig. 849**

(cat. no. 10.184), inv. K 1644; **Fig. 874** (cat. no. 10.230), inv. K 971; **Fig. 889** (cat. no. 10.266), inv. K 563; **Fig. 903** (cat. no. 10.368), inv. K 712; **Fig. 904** (cat. no. 10.369), inv. K 1691; **Fig. 925** (cat. no. 10.526), inv. K 1446; **Fig. 942** (cat. no. 10.660), inv. K 1106.

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Fig. 108 (cat. no. 7.9), after AGDS I.2, no. 990; **Fig. 146** (cat. no. 7.75), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 32.1; **Fig. 199** (cat. no. 8.50), after AGDS I.2, no. 1256; **Fig. 217** (cat. no. 8.91), after AGDS I.2, no. 924; **Fig. 313** (cat. no. 8.251), after AGDS I.2, no. 1796; **Fig. 383** (cat. no. 9.133), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 101.1-3; **Fig. 421** (cat. no. 9.245), after AGDS I.3, no. 3452; **Fig. 467** (cat. no. 9.461), after AGDS I.3, no. 3352; **Fig. 482** (cat. no. 9.525), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.10; **Fig. 523** (cat. no. 9.618), after AGDS I.3, no. 3258; **Fig. 526** (cat. no. 9.621), after AGDS I.3, no. 3198; **Fig. 527** (cat. no. 9.622), after AGDS I.3, no. 3200; **Fig. 540** (cat. no. 9.658), after AGDS I.3, no. 2339; **Fig. 544** (cat. no. 9.663), after AGDS I.3, no. 2320; **Fig. 555** (cat. no. 9.693), after AGDS I.3, no. 3354; **Fig. 570** (cat. no. 9.736), after AGDS I.2, no. 1742; **Fig. 619** (cat. no. 9.869), after AGDS I.3, no. 2222; **Fig. 666** (cat. no. 9.1125), after AGDS I.3, no. 2267; **Fig. 763** (cat. no. 9.1359), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 164.7; **Fig. 764** (cat. no. 9.1365), after AGDS I.3, no. 2197; **Fig. 789** (cat. no. 10.39), after AGDS I.3, no. 3334; **Fig. 832** (cat. no. 10.132), after AGDS I.3, no. 2733; **Fig. 905** (cat. no. 10.371), after AGDS I.2, no. 972.

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Fig. 246 (cat. no. 8.130), after Weiβ 1996, no. 213; **Fig. 723** (cat. no. 9.1217), after Weiβ 1996, no. 446; **Fig. 926** (cat. no. 10.527), after Weiβ 1996, no. 418.

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Fig. 67 (cat. no. 6.219), inv. G 214; **Fig. 617** (cat. no. 9.863), inv. G 296; **Fig. 661** (cat. no. 9.1093), inv. G 641.

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Fig. 132 (cat. no. 7.50); **Fig. 133** (cat. no. 7.51); fig. 647 (cat. no. 9.1007); **Fig. 466** (cat. no. 9.456).

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Fig. 147 (cat. no. 7.81), inv. 212-N.1; **Fig. 578** (cat. no. 9.754), inv. 39-I Ba 3; **Fig. 883** (cat. no. 10.249), inv. 71-I A 1.

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Fig. 77 (cat. no. 6.273), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 425; **Fig. 124** (cat. no.7.41), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 536; **Fig. 185** (cat. no. 8.18), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 488; **Fig. 232** (cat. no. 8.114), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 489; **Fig. 381** (cat. no. 9.131), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 537; **Fig. 487** (cat. no. 9.531), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no 560; **Fig. 498** (cat. no. 9.553), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 154; **Fig. 680** (cat. no. 9.1141), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 538; **Fig. 681** (cat. no. 9.1142), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 542; **Fig. 687** (cat. no. 9.1146), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 539; **Fig. 698** (cat. no. 9.1167), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 541; **Fig. 805** (cat. no. 10.81), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 561; **Fig. 862** (cat. no. 10.205), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 479; **Fig. 866** (cat. no. 10.211), after Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 301; **Fig. 978** (cat. no. 10.757), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 498; **Fig. 989** (cat. no. 10.782), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 521.

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Fig. 566 (cat. no. 9.713), inv. 72,153; **Fig. 1004** (cat. no. 10.840), inv. 70,3; **Fig. 1009** (cat. no. 10.851), inv. 64.33.

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Fig. 88 (cat. no. 6.299), inv. Ж 4548; **Fig. 178** (cat. no. 8.13), inv. ГР-21665; **Fig. 224** (cat. no. 8.99), inv. Ж 293; **Fig. 231** (cat. no. 8.110), inv. Ж 3558; **Fig. 317** (bronze bust of a Roman, possibly Sextus Pompey), inv. ГР-11234; **Fig. 332** (cat. no. 9.31), inv. Ж 1463; **Fig. 356** (cat. no. 9.84), inv. Ж 4521; **Fig. 369** (cat. no. 9.103), inv. Ж 6466; **Fig. 384** (cat. no. 9.134), inv. Ж 6475; **Fig. 503** (cat. no. 9.561), inv. Ж 3564; **Fig. 515** (cat. no. 9.612), inv. И 9623; **Fig. 594** (cat. no. 9.800), inv. Ж 1253; **Fig. 599** (cat. no. 9.813), inv. Ж 26; **Fig. 608** (cat. no. 9.830), inv. Ж 1405; **Fig. 692** (cat. no. 9.1153), inv. И 8780; **Fig. 762** (cat. no. 9.1350), inv. Ж 1257; **Fig. 765** (cat. no. 9.1369), inv. Ж 1745; **Fig. 779** (cat. no. 10.8), inv. Ж 1229; **Fig. 784** (cat. no. 10.20), inv. Ж 4875; **Fig. 813** (cat. no. 10.93), inv. Ж 263; **Fig. 858** (cat. no. 10.195), inv. Ж 246; **Fig. 897** (cat. no. 10.323), inv. Ж 6656; **Fig. 951** (cat. no. 10.676), inv. Ж 361; **Fig. 968** (cat. no. 10.717), inv. Ж 308; **Fig. 969** (cat. no. 10.723), inv. Ж 267; **Fig. 971** (cat. no. 10.731), inv. Ж 1225; **Fig. 1014** (cat. no. 10.859), inv. Ж 149.

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Fig. 574 (cat. no. 9.743), inv. 2761; **Fig. 611** (cat. no. 9.851), inv. 2755; **Fig. 614** (cat. no. 9.858), inv. 2746; **Fig. 865** (cat. no. 10.210), inv. 2774.

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Fig. 10 (cat. no. 6.18), Acc. no. 81.6.23; **Fig. 82** (cat. no. 6.289), Acc. no. 41.160.486; **Fig. 92** (cat. no. 6.305), Acc. no. 41.160.693; **Fig. 193** (cat. no. 8.29), Acc. no. 81.6.96; **Fig. 239** (cat. no. 8.124), Acc. no. 11.195.6; **Fig. 676** (cat. no. 9.1137), Acc. no. 10.110.1; **Fig. 288** (cat. no. 8.185), Acc. no. 50.43; **Fig. 328** (cat. no. 9.23), Acc. no. 11.196.3; **Fig. 370** (cat. no. 9.106), Acc. no. 21.88.48; **Fig. 553** (cat. no. 9.691), Acc. no. 81.6.118; **Fig. 644** (cat. no. 9.993), Acc. no. 41.160.969; **Fig. 654** (cat. no. 9.1050), Acc. no. 41.160.757; **Fig. 749** (cat. no. 9.1289), Acc. no. 74.51.4236; **Fig. 758** (cat. no. 9.1319), Acc. no. 07.286.124; **Fig. 810** (cat. no. 10.90), Acc. no. 29.175.4; **Fig. 828** (cat. no. 10.130), Acc. no. 41.160.712; **Fig. 843** (cat. no. 10.164), Acc. no. 81.6.101; **Fig. 852** (cat. no. 10.189), Acc. no. 81.10.143; **Fig. 859** (cat. no. 10.200), Acc. no. 81.6.105; **Fig. 868** (cat. no. 10.214), Acc. no. 41.160.765; **Fig. 910** (cat. no. 10.439), Acc. no. 17.194.36; **Fig. 912** (cat. no. 10.453), Acc. no. 81.6.33; **Fig. 987** (cat. no. 10.776), Acc. no. 81.6.145; **Fig. 1006** (cat. no. 10.846), Acc. no. 42.11.30; **Fig. 1007** (cat. no. 10.847) Acc. no. 74.51.4297.

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Fig. 3 (cat. no. 6.6), Acc. no. 98.1121; **Fig. 21** (cat. no. 6.74), Acc. no. 98.727; **Fig. 22** (cat. no. 6.76), Acc. no. 27.709; **Fig. 27** (cat. no. 6.95), Acc. no. 27.714; **Fig. 28** (cat. no. 6.96), Acc. no. 27.715; **Fig. 102** (cat. no. 7.2), Acc. no. 27.750; **Fig. 134** (cat. no. 7.52), Acc. no. 23.591; **Fig. 135** (cat. no. 7.53), Acc. no. 21.1217; **Fig. 253** (cat. no. 8.140), Acc. no. 99.113; **Fig. 291** (cat. no. 8.192), Acc. no. 99.112; **Fig. 320** (cat. no. 9.9), Acc. no. 62.1152; **Fig. 373a-b** (cat. no. 9.113), Acc. no. 98.744; **Fig. 389a-b** (cat. no. 9.144), Acc. no. 98.743; **Fig. 436** (cat. no. 9.283), Acc. no. 27.733; **Fig. 548** (cat. no. 9.677), Acc. no. 98.747; **Fig. 609** (cat. no. 9.840), Acc. no. 27.731; **Fig. 707a-b** (cat. no. 9.1197), Acc. no. 64.490; **Fig. 775** (cat. no. 10.3), Acc. no. 27.707; **Fig. 776** (cat. no. 10.4), Acc. no. 27.713; **Fig. 799** (cat. no. 10.74), Acc. no. 63.1554; **Fig. 814** (cat. no. 10.95), Acc. no. 02.276; **Fig. 994** (cat. no. 10.799) Acc. no. 27.752; **Fig. 1001** (cat. no. 10.832), Acc. no. 98.757; **Fig. 1013** (cat. no. 10.858), Acc. no. 99.109.

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Fig. 2 (cat. no. 6.3), inv. 81.AN.76.162; **Fig. 4** (cat. no. 6.7), inv. 81.AN.76.122; **Fig. 80** (cat. no. 6.280), inv. 85.AN.370.49; **Fig. 302** (cat. no. 8.225), inv. 84.AN.992; **Fig. 352** (cat. no. 9.80), inv. 85.AN.370.78; **Fig. 377** (cat. no. 9.119), inv. 85.AN.444.6; **Fig. 435** (cat. no. 9.282), inv. 96.AN.290; **Fig. 502** (cat. no. 9.559), inv. 2017.2; **Fig. 603** (cat. no. 9.818), inv. 2016.97; **Fig. 612** (cat. no. 9.856), inv. 84.AN.989; **Fig. 675** (cat. no. 9.1136), inv. 2001.28.1; **Fig. 955a-d** (cat. no. 10.680), inv. 84.AF.85; **Fig. 956a-e** (cat. no. 10.681), inv. 85.AF.84; **Fig. 976** (cat. no. 10.751), inv. 81.AN.101.

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Fig. 19 (cat. no. 6.71), inv. 29-128-900; **Fig. 154** (cat. no. 7.97), inv. 29-128-943, after Berges 2002, no. 105; **Fig. 216** (cat. no. 8.87), inv. 29-128-520; **Fig. 560** (cat. no. 9.698), inv. 29-128-1959; **Fig. 621** (cat. no. 9.875), inv. 29-224-300; **Fig. 632** (cat. no. 9.947), inv. 29-128-1611, after Berges 2002, no. 115; **Fig. 664** (cat. no. 9.1123), inv. 29-128-886; **Fig. 795** (cat. no. 10.60), inv. 29-128-264; **Fig. 878** (cat. no. 10.235), inv. 29-128-1882.

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Fig. 650 (cat. no. 9.1025), inv. Burton Y. Berry Collection, 66.36.18; **Fig. 754** (cat. no. 9.1299), inv. Burton Y. Berry Collection, 66.36.20; **Fig. 793a-b** (cat. no. 10.54), inv. Burton Y. Berry Collection, 64.70.67; **Fig. 818** (cat. no. 10.106), inv. Burton Y. Berry Collection, 66.36.37.

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Fig. 58 (cat. no. 6.196), inv. no. 906.12.156.

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Fig. 31 (Denarius of L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC (RRC, no. 316/1), inv. ANS 1947.2.35); **Fig. 38** (Denarius of C. Servilius M. filius, 136 BC (RRC, no. 239/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.419); **Fig. 44** (Denarius of Pompey the Great and Varro, 49 BC (RRC, no. 447/1a), inv. ANS 1937.158.246); **Fig. 45** (Denarius of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio and P. Licinius Crassus Iunianus Damasippus, 47–46 BC (RRC, no. 460/2), inv. ANS 1944.100.3307); **Fig. 46** (Denarius of L. Pomponius Molo, 97 BC (RRC, nos. 334/1), inv. ANS 1937.158.59); **Fig. 47** (Denarius of C. Marcius Censorinus, 88 BC (RRC, no. 346/1a), inv. ANS 1981.165.26); **Fig. 48** (As of C. Marcius Censorinus, 88 BC (RRC, no. 346/3), inv. ANS 1944.100.953); **Fig. 49** (Denarius of Pompey the Great and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, 49 BC (RRC, no. 446/1), inv. ANS 1969.222.60); **Fig. 53** (Denarius of C. Minucius Augurinus, 135 BC (RRC, nos. 242/1), inv. ANS 1941.131.65); **Fig. 79** (Denarius of L. Manlius Torquatus, 113-112 BC (RRC, no. 295/1), inv. ANS 1937.158.9); **Fig. 91** (Denarius of P. Licinius Nerva, 113-112 BC (RRC 292/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.598; **Fig. 94** (Denarius of anonymous moneyer, 115-114 BC (RRC, no. 287/1), inv. ANS 2015.47.2); **Fig. 99** (Denarius of F. Cornelius Sulla, 56 BC (RRC, no. 426/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.2609); **Fig. 100** (Denarius of Faustulus Cornelius Sulla, 56 BC (RRC,

no. 426/3), inv. ANS 1941.131.257); **Fig. 110** (Denarius of L. Farsuleius Mensor, 75 BC (RRC, no. 392/1b), inv. ANS 2002.46.395); **Fig. 118** (Denarius of L. Aemilius Buca, 44 BC (RRC, no. 480/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.3607); **Fig. 121** (Aureus of Sulla, 84-83 BC (RRC, nos. 359/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.64169); **Fig. 126** (Denarius of C. Norbanus, 83 BC (RRC, no. 357/1a), inv. ANS 1951.61.9); **Fig. 140** (Denarius of C. Numonius Vaala, 41 BC (RRC, no. 514/2), inv. ANS 1937.158.346); **Fig. 142** (Denarius of C. Coelius Caldus, 51 BC (RRC, nos. 437/4b), inv. ANS 1944.100.3253); **Fig. 153** (Denarius of M. Volteius M. f., 78 BC (RRC, nos. 385/2), inv. ANS 1937.158.125); **Fig. 156** (Denarius of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, 81 BC (RRC no. 374/1), inv. ANS 1957.172.27); **Fig. 159** (Denarius of Q. Titus, 90 BC (RRC, nos. 341/1), inv. ANS 1941.131.139); **Fig. 161** (Denarius serratus of Q. Crepereius Rocus, 72 BC (RRC, nos. 399/1a), inv. ANS 1944.100.2049); **Fig. 163** (Denarius serratus of C. Mamilius Limetanus, 82 BC (RRC, no. 362/1), inv. ANS 1937.158.102); **Fig. 165** (Denarius of L. Marcius Censorinus, 82 BC (RRC, no. 363/1d), inv. ANS 1950.103.34); **Fig. 170** (Denarius of P. Satrienus, 77 BC (RRC, nos. 388/1b), inv. ANS 1977.214.1); **Fig. 214** (Denarius of Pompey the Great and Varro, 49 BC (RRC, no. 447/1a), inv. ANS 1944.100.3273); **Fig. 218** (Denarius of L. Hostilius Saserna, 48 BC (RRC, no. 448/3), inv. ANS 1944.100.3279); **Fig. 225** (Denarii of L. Plautius Plancus, 47 BC (RRC, nos. 453/1c), inv. ANS 1937.158.259); **Fig. 237** (Denarius of L. Aemilius Buca, 44 BC (RRC, no. 480/6), inv. ANS 1957.172.238); **Fig. 240** (Denarius of P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, 50 BC (RRC, no. 439/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.3255); **Fig. 249** (Denarii of L. Hostilius Saserna, 48 BC (RRC nos. 448/2a), inv. ANS 1961.37.1); **Fig. 257** (Denarius of Julius Caesar, 46-45 BC (RRC, no. 468/2), inv. ANS 1974.26.84); **Fig. 260** (Denarius of T. Carisius, 46 BC (RRC, no. 464/3a), inv. ANS 1947.2.209); **Fig. 262** (Denarius of C. Considius Paetus, 46 BC (RRC, no. 465/1a), inv. ANS 1944.100.3328); **Fig. 263** (Denarius of (Lollius) Palicanus, 45 BC (RRC, no. 473/1a), inv. ANS 1944.100.3528); **Fig. 283** (Denarius of Julius Caesar, 49-48 BC (RRC, no. 443/1), inv. ANS 1974.26.48); **Fig. 285** (Denarius of Juba II, 25 BC-AD 23, inv. ANS 1944.100.81078); **Fig. 294** (Denarius of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, 41 BC (RRC, no. 519/2), inv. ANS 1944.100.4801); **Fig. 296** (Denarius of Decimius Iunius Brutus, 48 BC (RRC, no. 450/3a), inv. ANS 1944.100.3290); **Fig. 304** (Denarius of C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, 49 BC (RRC, no. 445/1a), inv. ANS 1937.158.243); **Fig. 305** (Denarius of P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, 50 BC (RRC, no. 439/1), inv. ANS 1937.158.235); **Fig. 306** (Denarius of Eppius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, 47-46 BC (RRC no. 461/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.3309); **Fig. 310** (Denarius of Mn. Acilius Glabrio, 49 BC (RRC, no. 442/1a), inv. ANS 1948.19.217); **Fig. 314** (Denarius of P. Licinius Crassus, 55 BC (RRC, no. 430/1), inv. ANS 1937.158.219); **Fig. 316** (Aureus of Sextus Pompey, 42-40 BC (RRC, no. 511/1), inv. ANS 1967.153.34); **Fig. 319** (Aureus of Sextus Pompey, 42-40 BC (RRC, no. 511/1), inv. ANS 1967.153.34); **Fig. 340** (Denarius of Sextus Pompey and Q. Nasidius, 44-43 BC (RRC, no. 483/2), inv. ANS 1944.100.3642); **Fig. 344** (Denarius of Sextus Pompey, 42 BC (RRC, no. 511/3a), inv. ANS 1937.158.341); **Fig. 347** (Denarius of Sextus Pompey, 42-40 BC (RRC 511/4a), inv. ANS 1937.158.343); **Fig. 359** (Denarius of Sextus Pompey and Q. Nasidius, 44-43 BC (RRC, no. 483/2), inv. ANS 1944.100.3642); **Fig. 363** (Denarius of Sextus Pompey, 42-40 BC (RRC 511/4a), inv. ANS 1937.158.343); **Fig. 386** (Denarius of Q. Cassius Longinus, 55 BC (RRC, nos. 428/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.2631); **Fig. 391** (Denarius of Marcus Iunius Brutus 54 BC (RRC, no. 433/1), inv. ANS 1937.158.224); **Fig. 392** (Denarius of Marcus Iunius Brutus and L. Plaetorius Cestianus, 43-42 BC (RRC, no. 508/3), inv. ANS 1944.100.4554); **Fig. 402** (Denarius of M. Mettius, 44 BC (RRC, no. 480/2a), inv. ANS 1944.100.3629); **Fig. 403** (Denarius of P. Sepullius Macer, 44 BC (RRC, no. 480/5a), inv. ANS 1937.158.291); **Fig. 425** (Denarius of Octavian, 28 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 275a), inv. ANS 1944.100.39163); **Fig. 431** (Bronze coin of Octavian, 38 BC (RRC, nos. 535/2), inv. ANS 1937.158.358); **Fig. 451** (Denarius of L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC (RRC, no. 494/29), inv. ANS 1921.56.8); **Fig. 522** (Denarius of Octavian and L. Pinarius Scarpus, 31 BC (RRC, nos. 546/6), inv. ANS 1944.100.6927); **Fig. 531** (Denarius of A. Allienus, 47 BC (RRC, no. 457/1), inv. ANS 1948.19.230); **Fig. 534** (Denarius of Octavian, 32-29 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 256), inv. ANS 1944.100.39145); **Fig. 615** (Denarius of Augustus, 29-27 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 271), inv. ANS 1947.2.412); **Fig. 642** (Cistophorus of Augustus, Ephesus, 25 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 477), inv. ANS 1944.100.39181); **Fig. 682** (Denarius of P. Sepullius Macer, 44 BC (RRC, no. 480/22), inv. ANS 1937.158.297); **Fig. 683** (Denarius of Mark Antony, 43 BC (RRC, nos. 488/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.4486); **Fig. 711** (Denarius of Eppius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, 47-46 BC (RRC no. 461/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.3309); **Fig. 714** (Denarii of Mark Antony and L. Pinarius Scarpus, 31 BC (RRC, no. 546/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.6917); **Fig. 722** (Denarius of Mark Antony, 40 BC (RRC, no. 520/1), inv. ANS 1944.100.4802); **Fig. 766** (Denarius serratus of A. Postumius Albinus, 81 BC (RRC no. 372), inv. ANS 1010.1.89); **Fig. 802** (Denarius of Augustus, 19-18 BC (RIC I2 Augustus, no. 36a), inv. ANS 1937.158.407); **Fig. 822** (Aureus of Augustus, 29-27 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 268), inv. ANS 1944.100.39147); **Fig. 829** (Denarius of Augustus, 25-23 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 1b), inv. ANS 1969.222.1277); **Fig. 844** (Aureus of Augustus, 19-18 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 514), inv. ANS 1944.100.39174); **Fig. 854** (Denarius of Augustus, 9 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 201a), inv. ANS 1944.100.39111); **Fig. 875** (Denarius of Augustus and C. Antistius Vetus, 16 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 367), inv. ANS 1944.100.38338); **Fig. 936** (Aureus of Augustus, 18-17 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 125), inv. ANS 1955.191.11); **Fig. 945** (Aureus of Augustus, 15-13 BC (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 166a), inv. ANS 0000.999.16777); **Fig. 990** (Aureus of Augustus, 2BC-AD 4 (RIC I^2 Augustus, no. 206), inv. ANS 1944.100.39118).

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Horster 2018, no. 8; Fig. 591 (cat. no. 9.794), after AGDS III Kassel, no. 88; **Fig. 595** (cat. no. 9.802), after Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 9; **Fig. 596** (cat. no. 9.806), after Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 8; **Fig. 607** (cat. no. 9.826), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 149.14; **Fig. 628** (cat. no. 9.921), after Khachatrian 1996, fig. 30; **Fig. 630** (cat. no. 9.935), after Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 99; **Fig. 638** (cat. no. 9.967), after Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 148; **Fig. 639** (cat. no. 9.974), after Dimitrova-Miličeva 1981, no. 224; **Fig. 669** (cat. no. 9.1130), after Jenkins and Sloan 1996, no. 111; **Fig. 678** (cat. no. 9.1139), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 129.1-3; **Fig. 679** (cat. no. 9.1140), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 130.1; **Fig. 695** (cat. no. 9.1156), after Neverov 1996, fig. 1, pp. 375-376; **Fig. 700** (cat. no. 9.1169), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 132.4; **Fig. 713** (cat. no. 9.1207), after Henig 2017, fig. 13, pp. 28-29; **Fig. 715** (cat. no. 9.1208), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 136.4; **Fig. 734** (cat. no. 9.1230), after Neverov 1996, fig. 2, pp. 375-376; **Fig. 739** (cat. no. 9.1259), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 125.7; **Fig. 745** (cat. no. 9.1271), after Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 182; **Fig. 751** (cat. no. 9.1296), after Hedqvist 2007, no. 58; **Fig. 753** (cat. no. 9.1298), after Neverov 1996, pl. 82.5; **Fig. 757** (cat. no. 9.1315), after Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003, no. 193.5; **Fig. 771** (cat. no. 9.1383), after Martin and Höhne 2005, no. 36; **Fig. 790** (cat. no. 10.44), after Furtwängler 1900, vol. I, pl. XLVII.60, vol. II, p. 228; **Fig. 791** (cat. no. 10.45), after Spier 2010, no. 31; **Fig. 792** (cat. no. 10.53), after Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 189; **Fig. 817** (cat. no. 10.100), after Denizhanoğllari, Önal and Altinok 2007, no. 024; **Fig. 819** (cat. no. 10.114), after Guiraud 2008, no. 1137; **Fig. 823** (cat. no. 10.121), after Vollenweider 1972-1974, pl. 152.12 and 18; **Fig. 835** (cat. no. 10.138), photo in Public Domain, source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cross_of_Lothair#/media/File:Augustus_kameo.jpg; **Fig. 836** (cat. no. 10.140), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 513; **Fig. 837** (cat. no. 10.141), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 514; **Fig. 841** (cat. no. 10.150), after Middleton 1991, no. 114; **Fig. 855** (cat. no. 10.192), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 519; **Fig. 857** (cat. no. 10.194), after Smith and Hutton 1908, no. 338; **Fig. 870** (cat. no. 10.223), after Furtwängler and Lehmann (eds). 2013, no. 58; **Fig. 892** (cat. no. 10.281), inv. 42.1186, after Boardman *et al.* 2009, no. 681; **Fig. 898** (cat. no. 10.325), after Maaskant-Kleibrink 2017, fig. 4f; **Fig. 899** (cat. no. 10.339), after Platz-Horster 1987, no. 194; **Fig. 947** (cat. no. 10.671), after Bagot 2012, no. 329; **Fig. 952a** (cat. no. 10.677), after del Bufalo 1973, fig. 16; **Fig. 952b** (cat. no. 10.677), after Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, ill. 644a-b; **Fig. 954** (cat. no. 10.679), photo source: http://www.artfixdaily.com/artwire/release/bonhams-uncovers-rare-imperial-roman-glass-vase; **Fig. 958** (cat. no. 10.685), after Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003, no. 152; **Fig. 967** (cat. no. 10.712), after Willers and Raselli-Nydegger 2003, no. 172; **Fig. 983** (cat. no. 10.764), after Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, no. 68; **Fig. 988** (cat. no. 10.781), after Moret 1997, no. 262; **Fig. 992** (cat. no. 10.784), after Wünsche, Steinhart and Weiß 2010, no. 66; **Fig. 1010** (cat. no. 10.854), after Henig and Heslop 1986, p. 149, fig. 1. (Great Cameo St. Albans).

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Index

Historical figures (including moneyers)

A. Postumius Albinus 129, 212, 344, 584
Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus 67
Agathokles 50
Agrippa 159–160, 188, 217, 236, 244–246, 312–313, 318
Alexander the Great 29–30, 34, 50–51, 53–54, 63, 83, 95–99, 103, 105–109, 117, 122, 131, 152, 159–161, 186–187, 202, 204–206, 216–217, 220, 222, 225, 312, 323
Antiochos VIII Grypos 76
Antonia Minor 244, 265, 315
Aristomenes 50
Atia 89, 160, 173–174, 178, 184, 186, 188, 232–233, 239, 241, 249
Augustus v, 1, 6, 8, 10–13, 16–17, 20–23, 26–30, 33–39, 41–42, 44–45, 49, 55–57, 63, 67, 71–72, 78–79, 94–96, 106–107, 110, 112–113, 122–123, 126–127, 142, 144–145, 150–153, 156, 159–161, 164–168, 171–178, 180–195, 199, 209–210, 212, 214–252, 255–256, 265–266, 268, 270, 292–296, 298, 306–319, 321–329, 577
Bocchus 69–70, 79
C. Antius Restio 81, 125, 576
C. Claudius Marcellus 129, 584
C. Considius Nonianus 104
C. Heius 111–112, 126–127
C. Mamilius Limetanus 91
C. Norbanus Balbo 82
C. Numonius Vaala 87
C. Servilius M. *filius* 59, 583
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus 129, 355, 584
Cn. Calpurnius Piso 59, 60, 101, 583
Cato Censorius 92
Claudius 116–117, 129, 244, 246–247, 251, 320
Cleopatra VII 50, 204, 213, 242, 244, 306
Domitian 91, 147, 310
Drusus Maior 225–226, 246
Fabius Maximus 58, 66, 78
Faustus Cornelius Sulla 69–70, 77–78, 97, 104–105
Gaius Caesar 240, 246
Gaius Coelius Caldus 88
Gaius Lucullus 85
Gaius Marius 20, 74, 79–83, 87, 110, 204, 238
Gaius Minucius Augurinus 61, 583
Gaius Norbanus 87, 238
Galba 57, 216
Germanicus 224–225, 244, 246, 249, 328
Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo 147
Gnaeus Pompey 94, 133, 135, 143, 265
Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo 102, 105
Juba I 96, 127, 135, 193
Juba II 55, 127, 135, 194, 209, 211, 215, 295, 311, 315, 317
Juguurtha 27, 29, 69-70, 79-80, 82, 204, 312, 321
Julia daughter of Augustus 210, 408
Julius Caesar 11, 14, 17, 20, 25, 29–30, 35–36, 38, 42–43, 55, 57, 66, 72, 75, 79, 82, 93, 97, 101–104, 108, 110–128, 130, 132–133, 135, 140–141, 144, 146–157, 159, 162–163, 165, 167–169, 171, 175–176, 178–181, 185, 187, 189, 191–193, 199–200, 202–203, 206–208, 214, 216, 221–222, 224, 227–228, 230–231, 234, 237, 241, 251, 265–266, 270, 278–280, 294–295, 300, 304–306, 310, 312, 315–326
L. Aemilius Buca 77–78, 115, 121
L. Aurelius Cotta 91
L. Caecilius Metellus 90
L. Calpurnius Piso 576
L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi 576
L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus 129
L. Farsuleius Mensor 75
L. Manlius Torquatus 67
L. Marcius Censorinus 76, 91
L. Marcius Philippus 65
L. Minucius 61
L. Munatius Plancus 112, 200
L. Plaetorius Cestianus 146–147, 149, 577
L. Plautius Plancus 112
Lentulus Sura 25, 129, 318
Livia 72, 96, 126, 132, 151, 168, 179, 181, 209–210, 212, 214, 225, 238, 240–244, 246–247, 249, 270, 310, 315, 318–319, 324, 327–328, 438
Lucius Antonius 175, 198, 207
Lucius Caesar 11, 240, 245–246
Lucius Cornelius Sulla 20, 45, 69
Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus IV 87
Lucius Iunius Brutus 61, 145, 148
Lucius Licinius Lucullus 17, 20, 50, 57, 83, 85, 299–300, 303
Lucius Scipio 25, 30, 57, 312, 318
Lucius Vinicius 153
Lucius Vorenus 153
M. Caecilius Metellus 59, 579
M. Claudius Marcellus 129
M. Porcius Cato 89, 92
M. Volteius M. *filius* 90
Mn. Acilius Glabrio 130, 584
Maecenas 160, 188, 215, 245, 311, 313, 318
Marcellus 55, 116–117, 129, 151, 214, 239–240, 244–245, 310, 319
Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (triumvir) 151, 171, 192, 208, 270, 289, 306, 322, 405, 577
Marcus Aemilius Scaurus 55, 71, 94, 126, 310
Marcus Claudius Marcellus 116–117
Marcus Iunius Brutus 11, 144–150, 179, 195, 266, 270, 306, 316, 320, 324, 577
Marcus Licinius Crassus 93, 102–103, 118, 131–132
Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis 117
Marcus Tulius Cicero 22, 25, 59, 81, 93, 101, 108, 113–114, 128–129, 137, 151, 157, 257, 318, 355
Mark Antony 11–13, 25–30, 32, 36, 40, 43, 52, 58, 96–98, 132, 135, 137, 143–144, 150–153, 157, 160–161, 164, 167, 169–173, 175–176, 178–179, 181, 183–184, 186–187, 192–213, 215–216, 218, 226, 228, 235, 241–242, 266, 270, 287–288, 305–306, 308, 315–317, 320, 322–324, 326, 577, 585
Menander 84
Mithridates VI Eupator 27, 30, 53–55, 70–71, 75, 83, 93–95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 110–111, 157, 193, 266, 310, 327
Octavian 5, 11–13, 17, 22, 26–30, 32, 36, 42–43, 55, 57, 60, 62, 76, 96, 111–114, 117–118, 122, 127, 130, 132–133, 135, 137–138, 140–141, 143–145, 148–193, 195–206, 208–222, 226–231, 235–237, 239–242, 244, 251–252, 256, 265–266, 268, 270, 285–287, 294–295, 297–298, 300, 305–307, 311, 314–325, 327, 329, 577
Octavia 158, 168, 171, 179–181, 188, 196, 198, 200–201, 209–210, 212, 214, 228, 239–241, 270, 315, 319, 322

P. Accoleivs Lariscolus 58
P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus 116, 129
P. Licinius Crassus 60, 131
P. Sepullius Macer 152, 195–196, 201
Pompey the Great 11, 14, 16–17, 20, 26–27, 29–30, 35, 42, 44, 55, 57, 60, 70–72, 77, 84, 93–101, 103, 106–107, 109–110, 113–115, 117–118, 121–122, 125–129, 131–137, 139–141, 143, 151, 153, 157, 160, 179, 186, 192–193, 207, 211, 214, 218, 231, 239, 266, 270, 277–278, 294–295, 297, 300, 304, 310, 312, 315–316, 318–321, 323, 326–328
Ptolemy II 55, 205, 309
Ptolemy IV 50
Ptolemy IX Soter II 50, 83
Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus 51
Publius Servilius Geminus 59
Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius 60, 90, 103, 203
Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio 60, 103, 203
Q Marcius Philippus
Q. Metellus Scipio 130
Q. Pompeius Rufus 72–73, 87
Q. Salvidienus Rufus 141
Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus 80
Quintus Cassius Longinus 11, 144, 146, 148, 195, 266, 270, 306, 320
Quintus Crepereius Rocus 56, 91
Quintus Pompeius 74, 101
Quintus Pompeius Rufus 74
Quintus Servilius 59
Quintus Titius 90
Scipio Aemilianus 47
Scipio Barbatus 45
Seleucus XII of Syria 55
Servilius Ahala 145
Sextus Pompey 12, 14, 17, 28, 32, 36, 42, 57, 96–100, 104, 133–146, 148–150, 154, 156–158, 160–161, 163–164, 166–167, 171–172, 175, 179, 183, 195, 202–203, 206, 212, 226, 265, 270, 295, 305, 311–312, 314–321, 323–324, 329, 576
Spurius Minucius 61
T. Carisius 120, 123–124, 584
Tiberius 49, 61, 78, 189, 219, 224–225, 232, 243–244, 246–249, 312, 315, 317–319, 327
Tiberius Minucius Augurinus 61, 583
Titus Quinctius Flamininus 35, 52
Varro 60, 110

Gem engravers index

Agathangelos 134–140, 156
Agathopus 96–97, 100, 129, 135
Antheros 185
Apollonios 54, 180, 237
Apollophanes 53–54, 95–96
Aspasios 96, 127, 193, 195
Aulos 127, 135, 168, 215, 223, 232
Daidalos 52–54
Diodotos 95
Dioscurides 57, 95, 107, 112–113, 142, 152, 157, 159–161, 173, 185–187, 215–217, 219, 222–223, 225, 231, 240, 244, 246–248, 256, 294–295, 306, 313
Epityncanos 216, 222, 245-246
Eutyches 112, 216, 227
Felix 104, 215, 231, 263
Gnaeus 40, 54, 93–94, 101–102, 105, 127, 133–139, 141, 143–145, 147, 194–196, 211, 215, 231, 265, 270, 295
Heius 111–112, 126–127, 137, 194, 257, 295
Herakleidas 51
Hérophilos 216, 246Hyllos 142, 183, 216, 225, 227–228, 232, 237
Kleon 174
Lykomedes 54
Menophilos 52, 54, 198
Moschos 185
Nikandros 54
Pamphilos 95, 106–107, 212
Philon 145–146
Protarhos 54
Pyrgoteles 34, 50, 54, 83, 95, 217
Rufus 72–75, 87, 112, 122, 141, 159, 245
Skopas 85–86
Skylax 58
Solon 54, 95–96, 128, 156–159, 161, 167–168, 171, 173–174, 181, 183–186, 195, 202–203, 212, 215–216, 227–228, 231–232, 256, 348
Sosis 54
Sosokles 95
Sostratos 193–195, 201–202, 207, 215, 223, 306
Teukros 195, 203, 401
Thamyras 159, 215
Theokritos 54

Subject issue and event index

Deities and personifications

Apollo 5, 28–29, 36, 43, 67, 71, 75–76, 78–79, 82, 102, 118, 123, 127, 145, 149, 158–160, 164, 169, 172–175, 178, 180, 182–184, 187–188, 190, 200, 203, 211, 214, 216, 218, 221, 224–227, 232–235, 237, 239–242, 247–249, 299, 310, 323–324
Apollo punishing Marsyas 76, 173
Athena/Minerva 90–91, 130, 177, 228
Cupid 61, 71, 194, 222, 228, 236, 240, 328
Diana 58, 78, 109, 111–112, 158, 167–168, 172, 179–182, 209–212, 224, 228, 237, 239, 262, 315
Diana Siciliensis 172, 179
Dionysus 27–30, 46, 48, 55, 60, 82, 167, 172–173, 175, 178, 183, 193, 198, 201–204, 206, 209, 213, 216, 228, 240–242, 306, 309, 324
Eros 46, 48, 71, 194
Galene/Selene 56, 91, 347
Jupiter 29–30, 55, 60–61, 64, 79, 93–94, 110, 112, 123–125, 129, 131–132, 144, 148, 163, 179, 182–183, 186–187, 192–193, 205, 214, 219–220, 222–227, 233, 235–236, 242, 247–249, 310, 324, 327–328
Libertas 75, 78, 82, 145, 149
Mars 5, 12, 49, 59–60, 63–64, 70, 75, 104, 120, 168, 176–177, 179–182, 185, 205, 222, 226–229, 232–234, 237, 244, 247–248, 324
Mercury 28, 59–60, 81, 104, 109, 149–150, 155, 158, 166–167, 170, 176, 179, 181–183, 187–188, 191–192, 200, 206, 212, 224, 228, 235
Neptune 28, 30, 36, 62, 83, 104, 110, 122, 131, 135, 139–140, 142–144, 153, 158, 163, 170–172, 175–177, 179, 182–183, 189, 200, 203, 215, 221, 224, 228, 231, 242, 245, 318, 321, 323–324
Pan 2, 222, 251
Personification of the East 224, 418
Personification of Germania 224, 419
Roma 65, 67, 173–174, 224–225, 229–231, 233, 580
Satyr 46, 48, 173, 204, 331, 333, 404, 441

Venus 27, 30, 36, 55, 61, 70–73, 75, 77–78, 82, 104–105, 108, 111, 113–115, 118, 122–123, 125–126, 130–132, 154, 158–160, 163–164, 168–169, 175, 178–179, 181–182, 198–199, 203, 209, 212, 214, 221–223, 228–231, 233–237, 239–245, 249, 265, 299–300, 305, 310, 315, 317–319, 323, 328
Venus Epithragia 245
Venus Pelagia 198, 229, 245
Venus Victrix 104, 114, 118, 122, 130, 154, 159–160, 168–169, 178, 199, 223, 228, 239, 323
Victory 45, 62, 67, 74–77, 81–82, 84, 87–88, 90, 92, 112, 120, 125, 132, 145, 149–150, 173–174, 177, 179, 181–182, 191, 194, 205, 211–212, 220–224, 226–229, 233, 236, 246
Virgo 92, 230

Mythological figures and scenes

Achilles 46, 59, 63, 95, 106–108, 157, 160, 184, 186–187, 203, 224, 241
Aegeus and Theseus (Julius Caesar and Octavian?) 157, 159, 185
Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius/Iulus 42, 71, 167–169, 228, 230-232, 240, 354, 379, 422-423, 437
Amazonomachy 106, 240
Cassandra 10, 123, 159, 232–233, 324
Diomedes 8, 62, 75, 78, 104, 106–107, 112, 159, 167–168, 175, 184, 194, 215, 226, 228, 231–232, 245, 324
Diomedes stealing Palladion 8, 63, 106, 159, 167, 175, 215, 231–232, 332, 343, 378, 411, 412, 423, 428
Heracles 13, 27, 38, 41, 46, 58–59, 68, 75–78, 82, 90, 102, 104–106, 109, 118, 123, 127, 130–131, 160, 172, 177–178, 184–187, 192, 194–195, 198–200, 202–203, 205–207, 209, 215, 235–237, 306, 319, 323–324
Heracles killing Amazons 106
Heracles releasing Prometheus 105, 349
Medea 108, 123
Scylla 141–142, 172
Telephus 226

Family symbols and orgio references

Ancus Marcius Numa Pompilius and their sons (multiple *gentes*) 59–62, 335
Ant (M. Porcius Cato) 89
Boar (*gentes* Caelia Volteia and Cassia) 90
Bull (*gens* Thoria) 58, 335
Dioscuri (*gens* Servilia Geminia) 225
Diana of Ephesus (*gens* Aemilia) 58, 335
Elephant (*gens* Caecilia Metelia) 90, 246
Fly (*gens* Sempronia) 89, 246
Galene/Selene (Quintus Crepereius Rocus) 91
Head of Africa (Q Metellus Scipio) 103, 130, 357
Heracles (multiple *gentes*) 58–58, 335
Horologium (*gens* Marcia) 60–61, 319, 336
Marsyas (*gens* Marcia) 76, 91–92, 347
Minucii Monument (*gens* Minucia) 61
Pegasus (*gens* Titus) 90–91, 319, 346–347
Salus/Valetudo/Hygiea and Aesculap (*gens* Acilia) 130, 357
Triskeles (*gentes* Marcellia and Lentelia) 129, 319, 356
Ulysses (*gens* Mamilia) 36, 91, 347
Venus Victrix (*gens* Julii Caesares) 104, 114, 118, 169, 357
Victoria Virgo (*gens* Porcia) 347
Vulcan (*gens* Caecilia) 36, 59, 335
Roman legends:
Caput Oli 67
Lupa romana 67, 191, 233, 325
Marcus Curtius falling into abyss 67
Oath-taking scene 67, 324
Rhea Silvia 89, 232-233, 324
Romulus 123, 233-234

Human figures (warriors horse riders athletes etc)

Athletes 46-47, 61, 64, 171, 208
Biga 65, 75, 78
Bull sacrifice (*ver sacrum*) 49
Celtomachy 66, 81-82, 119, 224
Craftsmen 47, 49
Gem engraver or carpenter 47
Haruspex 49
Horse rider/s 65-67
Horse rider galloping and seen from behind 65
Hunter 46-47,
Man washing hair 46
Roman general/imperator/dictator:
with *parazonium* 63
with a trophy 63, 177, 223, 227, 239
with *spolia* 64
armed 64, 67, 75, 130, 199
standing next to his horse 108, 199
equestrian statue 66
Vestal virgin 208
Warrior/s 60, 63-64, 66

Portraits (busts and heads)

Agrippa 245Antonia Minor 244Augustus 216-219
Busts/heads of priests/augurs 47-48,
Cato the Younger 128Cicero 128Cleopatra VII 211
Cleopatra Selene 211
Divus Augustus 247–249
Drusus Maior 246
Female portraits 62
Gaius Caesar 245
Gaius Marius 80-81
Germanicus 246Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo 147
Gnaeus Pompey 135, 143, 265
Gnaeus or Sextus Pompey 136, 138, 144, 265
Hellenistic princes? 113
Juba II 209Julia daughter of Augustus 210
Julius Caesar (not laureate) 114-115
Julius Caesar (laureate) 115-116
Julius Caesar (as a senator or consul) 116-117
Julius Caesar (posthumous) 152-153
Livia 210, 243
Livia as priestess of Augustus 243, 249
Livia and Augustus 249
Livia and Tiberius 249
Lucius Caesar 245–246
Lucius Licinius Lucullus 84
Marcellus 244–245Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (triumvir) 208
Marcus Iunius Brutus 146-148
Mark Antony (bearded) 195-196
Mark Antony (youthful) 196-197
Mark Antony (schematic) 197
Mark Antony (uncertain) 197-198
Octavia 210
Octavian (without symbols) 161-162
Octavian (with Caesaris astrum/sidus Iulium) 153
Octavian (with ring of adoption) 153-155

Octavian (as a senator or consul) 155
Octavian (with office symbols) 155-156
Octavian (bearded) 156
Octavian (with *modius*) 162-163
Octavian (with dolphins cornucopiae globe clenched fist etc) 163-164
Octavian (with a balance) 164
Octavian (with crab) 164
Octavian (in bucolic context) 164
Octavian (with legionary symbols) 164-165
Octavian (with spears rudder trophy and shield) 165
Octavian (with astrological signs) 165
Octavian (with inscriptions) 166
Octavian (sealings) 166
Octavian (cameos) 166-167
Octavian and Octavia 168Pompey the Great 114-117
Pompey the Great (posthumous) 139-140
Quintus Cassius Longinus 148Roman matrons 42, 62, 88, 132, 168, 179, 209, 211
Roman statemen portraits (Hellenistic) 50-54
Roman statemen portraits (Roman) 61-62
Sextus Pompey 135-139
Sulla 72-74
Tiberius 246-247

Objects

Aerarium 155, 162–163, 235, 372
Altar of Venus 125, 229, 355
Burning altar 187, 236, 333, 354, 393, 394, 415, 419, 433
Caesaris astrum/sidus Iulium 152–153
Capricorn 12–14, 41, 68, 104, 155, 165, 172, 176, 187, 189–191, 218, 220–224, 226, 229–230, 235–236, 251, 317, 325
Cista mystica 236, 432
Cockerel on altar 400

Combination
Augural symbols 78
Caduceus bee ruder and globe 109, 124–125
Caduceus dolphin and eagle 110
Club bow and arrow 68
Cornucopia bundle of thunderbolts and wreath 78–79, 432
Cornucopia globe and other symbols 125, 375, 387, 396
Cornucopia globe and palm branch 354
Fountain with symbols 236, 433
Hand holding cornucopia and corn ear 206
Heracles' attributes 109
Palm tree cornucopiae 63
Rudder and dolphin 82–83, 110, 144, 189, 344, 351
Sceptre dolphin and eagle 110
Symbols of Apollo 187-188
Symbols of Neptune 144
Dextrarum iunctio 121–123, 165, 170, 182, 187, 190, 222, 235, 353, 354, 366, 367, 379, 386, 391, 396, 401, 431
Goat cornucopia and globe 191
Pharos of Messana 142, 144
Plough 82
Ring of adoption 154, 159, 318, 364
Rhyton 82
Sella curulis 82
Ship 139, 142, 144, 172, 189, 233, 332, 334, 341, 361, 380, 381, 395, 423, 429
Sphinx 155, 160, 161, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 223, 228, 245, 313, 317, 318, 325, 332, 365, 366, 386, 389, 392, 393, 394, 420
Tripod of Apollo 187-188
Trophy 342, 343, 376

Animals

Bull 189, 335, 353, 389, 436, 437
Crab 149, 164, 237, 366, 374, 377, 589
Eagle 219, 222, 236, 243
Eagle stands on an altar keeping a *lituus* in its left leg flanked by two dolphins tridents and Capricorns 189-190
Eagle stands on a globe 190
Eagle stands on altar 190-191
Fly 89
Heifer 236, 237, 367, 433, 436, 597
Hound 331
Lion 71, 77, 90, 97, 98, 103, 104, 202, 205, 207, 249, 335, 342, 349, 377, 404, 405, 419, 445, 585
Parrot 344
Shewolf (predatory) 92
Sparrowlike bird 82
Stork 165, 207, 375, 405

Issues

Collecting of gems 33–34, 55–56, 71, 83, 94–95, 111, 126–128, 134, 144, 193, 214-215, 255, 260-267, 300, 310–311
Diplomatic gift 83
'Dream of Sulla' 77–78, 121, 343
Employment of gem engravers 34, 54, 71, 95-97, 111-113, 126-128, 134-135, 145, 157-159, 193-195, 215-216, 311Family symbols (general disscussion) 56–61
Gems and coins close relationships 56-61, 66-71, 89, 92, 98-101, 109-110, 123, 129-130, 135-141, 143, 145-148, 152-153, 161-167, 187-192, 195-198, 205-208, 216-217, 234-238
Greek hero as *exemplum virtutis* 185, 230
Imitatio Alexandrii 13, 83, 96–99, 108–109, 123, 160, 186–187, 193, 202, 205, 216–217, 222, 247, 323, 350, 404

Important private seals

Sulla 69-71
Pompey the Great 97-98
Julius Caesar 113-114
Sextus Pompey 133
Octavian 159-161
Mark Antony 193
Augustus 216-217
Luxury objects (state cameos vessels etc) 110, 126, 144, 150, 192, 207-208, 238-241, 326-328

Political factions

Optimates faction 102-103
Populares faction 118-119

Political programmes

Sulla's political programme 78-79
Julius Caesar's political programme 123-126
Octavian's political programme 187-192
Augustus' political programme 234-238

Veneration of deities and mythological figures and identification with them

Achilles (Pompey the Great) 106-108
Achilles (Octavian) 184
Aeneas (Augustus) 231
Agathe-Tyche (Julia daughter of Augustus) 212

Apollo (Sulla) 75-76
Apollo (Julius Caesar) 123 123
Apollo (Octavian) 183-184
Apollo (Augustus) 226-227
Athena/Minerva (Augustus) 228
Cassandra (Julius Caesar) 123
Diana (Octavia) 167
Diana Siciliensis (Octavian) 179-180
Diomedes (Pompey the Great) 106
Diomedes (Augustus) 231-232
Dionysus (Gaius Marius) 82
Dionysus (Mark Antony) 203-204
Heracles (Sulla) 76-77
Heracles (Gaius Marius) 82-83
Heracles (Pompey the Great) 105-106
Heracles (Octavian) 184-185
Heracles (Mark Antony) 202-203
Isis (Cleopatra VII) 213
Jupiter (Augustus) 227
Libertas (Sulla) 78
Mars (Octavian) 180-181
Mars (Mark Antony) 205
Mars (Augustus) 227-228
Meleager (Octavian) 185
Mercury (Marcus Iunius Brutus) 149-150
Mercury (Quintus Cassius Longinus) 149-150
Mercury (Octavian) 181-183
Mercury (Augustus) 224
Neptune (Pompey the Great) 104
Neptune (Sextus Pompey) 139-141, 143
Neptune (Octavian) 179
Osiris (Mark Antony) 204
Roma (Augustus) 229-230
Telephus (Augustus) 226
Theseus (Octavian) 185-186
Venus (Sulla) 78
Venus (Pompey the Great) 104-105
Venus (Julius Caesar) 122-123
Venus (Octavian) 180-181
Venus/Venus Epithragia/Venus Pelagia (Augustus) 228-229
Venus (Livia) 242-244
Victory (Sulla) 76
Victory (the *republicans*) 150
Victory (Octavian) 181
Victory (Augustus) 229
Virgo (Augustus) 230

Events

Punic Wars 66, 68
Greek and Macedonian Wars 66
Teutons and Cimbri War 66
Social War (BC) 65–66, 68, 75, 81–82, 91, 102
Triumphs and gems 17, 20, 27, 33, 55, 64–65

Commemoration

Sulla and Quintus Pompeius Rufus consulship 74
Sulla's triumph over Mithardates VI Eupator 70, 71, 75
Lucius Licinius Lucullus' victory at Lemnos in BC 84
Lucius Licinius Lucullus war with Mithridates VI Eupator 83-84
Pompey the Great's triumph in 61 BC 93–94
Pompey the Great's victory over Africa 103, 237
First Triumvirate 103, 121–122, 353
Julius Caesar's campaigns in Gaul 119
Julius Caesar's campaigns in Spain 102, 120
Battle of Thapsus 133
Marcus Licinius Crassus and his son departure for the war with Parthians 357
Battle at *Scylleum* 142
Lucius Iunius Brutus consulship 61, 145, 148
Assassination of Julius Caesar 36, 130, 145–149, 156, 159, 300, 320, 363
Battle of Naulochus 151, 164, 171–172, 175–176, 179, 185, 242, 245
Battle of Naulochus or Battle of Actium 171-172
Battle of Actium 107, 151, 158–160, 164–165, 169, 171–179, 181, 183–184, 186–187, 189–190, 192–194, 204–206, 208, 221, 224, 227–228, 239, 242, 300, 314, 324
Second Triumvirate 151, 163, 165, 170, 182, 187, 190, 192, 196, 199–200, 256
Brundisium Treaty 171, 200
Octavian's consulship 178
Octavian's priesthood to Apollo 178-179
Octavian's marriages 179
Mark Antony's marriages 198
Mark Antony's augural office 200-201
Mark Antony's military victories 200-202
Augustus and Princeps titles granted to Augustus 216-217, 219-220
Retrieval of legionary standards from Parthians 222-223
Augustus victory over Armenia 223-224
Roman victory over Germans or Pannonians (*Gemma Augustea*) 13–14, 28, 183, 224–225, 238–239, 260, 311, 317, 326
Pontifex maximus title granted to Augustus 225
Transvectio equitum (Augustus) 226
Gaius and Lucius Caesar as *principes iuventutis* 245-246
Gaius Caesar as *princeps iuventutis* 246

Engraved Gems and Propaganda in the Roman Republic and under Augustus deals with small, but highly captivating and stimulating artwork – engraved gemstones. Although in antiquity intaglios and cameos had multiple applications (seals, jewellery or amulets) the images engraved upon them are snapshots of people believes, ideologies, everyday life occupations and thus, they might cast some light at self-advertising and propaganda actions performed by Roman political leaders, especially Octavian/Augustus, their factions and all the people engaged in politics and social life in the past. Gems are plausible to show both, general trends (the specific showpieces like State Cameos) as well as individual and private acts of being involved in politics and social affairs, mainly through a subtle display of political allegiances, since they were objects of strictly personal use. They enable us to analyse and learn about Roman propaganda and various social behaviours from a completely different angle than coins, sculpture or literature. The miniaturism of ancient gems is in inverse proportion to their cultural significance. The book presents an evolutionary model of use of engraved gems from self-presentation (3rd-2nd century BC) to personal branding and propaganda purposes in the Roman Republic and under Augustus (until 14 AD). The specific characteristics of engraved gems, their strictly private character and the whole array of devices appearing on them are examined in this book in respect to their potential propagandistic value and usefulness in social life. This analysis is performed in the wide scope providing first comprehensive picture covering many aspects of Roman propaganda and a critical survey of overinterpretations of this term in regard to the glyptic art too. The ultimate achievement is incorporation of this class of archaeological artefacts into the well-established studies of Roman propaganda as well as the Roman society in general because of the discussions full of interconnections to ancient literary sources, as well as other categories of Roman art and craftsmanship, notably coins, but also sculpture or relief.

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