

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XV

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2020

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<http://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>

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ISSN 1426-5435

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

- 9 Od redakcji
10 From the Editors

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

- FRANK L. HOLT
13 On Probability and Proof: Piecing Together the Puzzle of Alexander's Elephant Medallions
O prawdopodobieństwie i weryfikacji. Układając puzzle medalionów Aleksandra Wielkiego
- JERZY CIECIELĄG
21 The Temple on the Coins of Bar Kokhba – a Manifestation of Longing or a Political Programme? A Few Remarks
Świątynia na monetach Bar Kochby – manifestacja tęsknoty czy program polityczny? Kilka uwag
- TOMASZ BOCHNAK
37 A Celtic Stater of the Krakow Type from the Opatów Area (Opatów County, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship)
Celtycki stater typu krakowskiego z okolic Opatowa, pow. loco, woj. świętokrzyskie
- MELINDA TORBÁGYI, ISTVÁN A. VIDA
49 Some Remarks on Eraviscan Coinage
Kilka uwag na temat mennictwa Erawisków
- KAMIL KOPIJ
65 Mints Locations and Chronology of Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey's Bronze Coinage (RRC 471, 478 and 479): A Die Axes Study
Lokalizacja mennic i chronologia brązowych monet Gnejusza i Sekstusa Pompeuszów (RRC 471, 478 i 479). Studium rotacji stempli
- VITAL' SIDAROVICH
87 New Finds of Roman Republican Period Denarii in the Territory of Belarus
Nowe znaleziska denarów Republiki Rzymskiej na terytorium Białorusi
- ANTONINO CRISÀ
107 Farmers, the Police Force, and the Authorities: The "Calvatone (1911) Hoard" as Seen Through Archival Records (Cremona – Italy)
Rolnicy, siły policyjne i przedstawiciele władzy. Skarb „Calvatone (1911)” w świetle źródeł archiwalnych (Cremona, Włochy)

- 137 BARTOSZ AWIANOWICZ
CEREREM and IVNONEM. Why the Accusative Case? Two Rare Reverse Legends on Coins of Julia Domna (RIC IV Caracalla 378, 585, 596 and 599)
Dlaczego accusativus? Dwie rzadkie legendy rewersu na monetach Julii Domny (RIC IV Caracalla 378, 585, 596 i 599)
- 147 JAROSŁAW BODZEK, KRZYSZTOF TUNIA
New Finds of Roman Coins from the Kazimierza Wielka District, Southern Poland
Nowe znaleziska monet rzymskich z terenu powiatu Kazimierza Wielka, pld. Polska
- 167 ARKADIUSZ DYMOWSKI
Some Remarks on the Problem of Occurrence of *Denarii Subaerati* in Barbaricum
Kilka uwag na temat występowania denarii subaerati na terenie Barbaricum
- 179 EMILIA SMAGUR
Regulated Roman Coins and Their Imitations from India: Did Roman Coins Circulate as Money in the Subcontinent?
Standaryzacja monet rzymskich i ich imitacji w Indiach. Czy monety rzymskie funkcjonowały jako pieniądz na subkontynencie indyjskim?
- 211 ADAM KĘDZIERSKI, DOROTA MALARCZYK,
DARIUSZ WYCZÓŁKOWSKI
Recent Finds of Islamic Coins from the Old Town and Zawodzie Districts in Kalisz
Najnowsze znaleziska monet islamskich z terenu Starego Miasta i Zawodzia w Kaliszu
- 235 PAWEŁ MILEJSKI
Coins from the Streets of Racibórz
Monety z ulic Raciborza
- 275 AGNIESZKA SMOŁUCHA-SŁADKOWSKA
Pairing Antagonists: Pisanello's Medals of Niccolò Piccinino and Francesco Sforza
Zestawiając przeciwników. Medale Niccola Piccinina i Francesca Sforzy autorstwa Pisanella

RECENZJE / REVIEWS

KAMIL KOPIJ

- 307 AGATA ALEKSANDRA KLUCZEK, *Primordia Romana. Mityczna przeszłość Rzymu i pamięć o niej w rzymskich numizmatach zakłeta*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2019, 564 pages, 166 illustrations, 2 maps, 21 tables, 3 charts; ISBN 978-83-226-3443-1

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 311 FRÉDÉRIQUE DUYRAT, *Wealth and Warfare. The Archaeology of Money in Ancient Syria*, Numismatic Studies 34, The American Numismatic Society, New York 2016, 619 pages, 73 figures, 37 maps; ISSN 0517-4048, ISBN 978-0-89732-346-1

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 318 THOMAS FAUCHER, ANDREW MEADOWS, CATHARINE LORBER (eds.), *Egyptian Hoards I. The Ptolemies*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 168, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire 2017, 579 pages, 236 plates; ISSN 0259-3823, ISBN 978-2-7247-0689-5

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 322 WOLFGANG R. FISCHER-BOSSERT, *Coins, Artists, and Tyrants. Syracuse in the Time of the Peloponnesian War*, Numismatic Studies 33, The American Numismatic Society, New York 2017, 371 pages, 27 plates; ISBN 978-0-89722-341-6

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 326 STEFAN KRMNICEK and HENNER HARDT (eds.), *A Collection in Context. Kommentierte Edition der Briefe und Dokumente Sammlung Dr. Karl von Schäffer*, Tübinger Numismatische Studien 1, Tübingen 2017, 199 pages, 56 illustrations; ISBN 978-3-947251-00-1; DOI: 10.15496/publikation-19401

KRONIKA / CHRONICLE

MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK

- 333 Kronika Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (2019)
340 The Chronicle of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow (2019)

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 349 Kronika Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie (2019)
351 The Chronicle of the Numismatic Section of the Commission on Archaeology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Krakow Branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences) (2019)

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Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume XV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* to you. In accordance with the principles that we have adopted, our texts are published in the conference languages with English and Polish abstracts. The whole of the present volume can be found as PDF's on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>), as are previously published volumes of the journal. The website also contains general information about the journal as well as information for prospective authors and reviewers.

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CEREREM and IVNONEM. Why the Accusative Case? Two Rare Reverse Legends on Coins of Julia Domna (RIC IV *Caracalla* 378, 585, 596 and 599)

ABSTRACT: Among the new coin legends that have appeared on Julia Domna's bronze and (very rare) silver coins throughout the reign of her son Caracalla (211–217) the most interesting seem to be two rare accusatives: CEREREM (dupondius and As RIC IV *Caracalla* 596) and IVNONEM (quinarius RIC IV *Caracalla* 378; sestertius RIC IV *Caracalla* 585; dupondius and As RIC IV *Caracalla* 599). This paper aims to place such accusatives in a literary and epigraphical context and argues that the accusatives on the reverses of Julia Domna's coins should depend on the verb form *consecravit* or *dedicavit* being understood, and the legends of the entire coins are to be read as IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG(usta) / CEREREM (or IVNONEM) [*consecravit/dedicavit*]. In the second part of the article, I discuss iconographic variants of types RIC IV *Caracalla* 596; BMCRE V *Caracalla* 220–222 and RIC IV *Caracalla* 585 and 599; BMCRE V *Caracalla* 208 and 224.

KEY WORDS: accusative case, coin legends, Latin epigraphy, Julia Domna, Ceres, Juno

ABSTRAKT: *CEREREM* i *IVNONEM*. Dlaczego *accusativus*? Dwie rzadkie legendy rewersu na monetach Julii Domny (RIC IV *Caracalla* 378, 585, 596 i 599)

Wśród nowych legend monetarnych, które pojawiły się na brązowych nominałach Julii Domny i (bardzo rzadkich) monetach srebrnych za panowania jej syna Karakalli (211–217), na szczególną uwagę zasługują dwa rzadkie przypadki biennika (*accusativus*): *CEREREM* (dupondius i as RIC IV *Caracalla* 596) i *IVNONEM*

(kwinar RIC IV *Caracalla* 378, sesterc RIC IV *Caracalla* 585, dupondius i as RIC IV *Caracalla* 599). Celem niniejszego artykułu jest umieszczenie tych bierników w kontekście źródeł literackich i epigraficznych oraz ukazanie, że ten przypadek gramatyczny na rewersach monet Julii Domny powinien być zależny od domyslniej czasownikowej formy *consecravit* lub *dedicavit*, a całą legendę monetarną należy odczytywać jako PIA FELIX AVG (usta) / CEREREM (or IVNONEM) [*consecravit/dedicavit*]. W drugiej części artykułu omawiam warianty ikonograficzne typów RIC IV *Caracalla* 596, BMCRE V *Caracalla* 220–222 oraz RIC IV *Caracalla* 585 i 599, BMCRE V *Caracalla* 208 i 224.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: biernik, legendy monet, epigrafika łacińska, Julia Domna, Cerera, Junona

Among the new legends that have appeared on Julia Domna's bronze and (very rare) silver coins throughout the reign of her son Caracalla (211–217) the most interesting seem to be two rare accusatives: CEREREM (Pl. 1) and IVNONEM (Pl. 2) which appeared on reverses of dupondii and asses (RIC IV *Caracalla* 596; BMCRE V *Caracalla* 220–222: CEREREM and RIC IV *Caracalla* 599; BMCRE V *Caracalla* 224: IVNONEM), sestertii (RIC IV *Caracalla* 585; BMCRE V *Caracalla* 208: IVNONEM) and very rare quinarii¹ (RIC IV *Caracalla* 378; BMCRE V *Caracalla* 6: IVNONEM) struck in 212 or 213.²

H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham (RIC IV: 89) remark that these accusatives are rare and suggest that it is “probably the object of some verb like ‘posuit’ – ‘dedicated’ – understood.” H. Mattingly repeated this idea of understanding the legends in BMCRE V where he changed only the translation: “[t]he accusatives CEREREM and IVNONEM depend on some verbal notion, such as ‘posuit’ (‘set up’) understood” (BMCRE V: ccviii³). According to Ph. V. Hill who describes all iconographic variants of Domna's coins with the legend CEREREM and IVNONEM “[i]t is [...] very likely that we have in this type the representation of a statue erected by Julia”.⁴ Such an interpretation is very convincing because the accusative case cannot be used as a tag identifying the deity (in which a nominative should be used for this function) or as a dedication to Ceres or Juno (in this case a dative would be appropriate). However, names of deities in the identifying nominative case are well attested on Roman coins since the 2nd century BC,⁵ and in the possessive genitive

¹ There are only three-known examples, see KING 2007: 347, No. 7 a–c.

² For the chronology and context see DEL MAR ROYO MARTÍNEZ 2017: 316.

³ Cf. cxcvii (about the legend IVNONEM).

⁴ HILL 1987: 58; cf. also p. 60 (about the accusative case IVNONEM).

⁵ See RRC 308/1 dated to 108 or 107 BC (with the obverse legend PIETAS).

in the mid-1st century BC,⁶ in the dedicative dative case appearing at the end of the 1st century BC,⁷ while the legend in the accusative case emerges as late as in the second decade of the 3rd century. This leads to the question: was such a laconic legend without a verb understood correctly in Severan Period? Did Romans know that accusatives CEREREM and IVNONEM indicate statues of Ceres and of Juno that were erected or funded by Julia Domna?

To answer these questions, two issues need to be examined: 1. whether the name of a goddess or god was used in any ancient Roman sources as a metonymy for her or his statue, 2. is the verb ‘posuit’ (well attested in many dedicatory and funeral inscriptions, but not with deity names) the best verbal notion for the accusatives CEREREM and IVNONEM.

We can see the strong identification between the goddess Ceres and her temple (at least the one at Henna in Sicily) already in Cicero’s speech *In Verrem* from 70 BC (Verr. 2.4. 108: *decemvirali sacerdotes populi Romani (...) non ad aedem Cereris sed ad ipsam Cererem proficisci viderentur* – “the *decemviri* priests of the Roman people seemed to be going not to the temple of Ceres, but to Ceres herself”).⁸ The metonymy, where the statue of god or goddess is replaced by his or her name, is present in several passages of *Historia Naturalis* by Pliny the Elder (23/24–79). The best example is here the sentences about Greek sculptors: Phidias (c. 480–430 BC), who “besides [the statue] of Olympian Zeus made also the ivory statue of Athena in Athens” (HN 34.54: *Phidias praeter Iovem Olympium (...) fecit ex ebore aequae Minervam Athenis*), about Baton (3rd century BC), who made “[statues of] Apollo and Hera” (HN 34.74: *Baton Apollinem et Iunonem*) and Sthennis of Olynthus (4th century BC) who “made [statues of] Demeter, Zeus and Athena which are in the Roman Temple of Concordia” (HN 34.90: *Sthennis Cererem, Iovem, Minervam fecit, qui sunt Romae in Concordiae templo*) and many others.⁹ We find, however, the closest analogy to Julia Domna’s reverse legends in the biography of Aurelian (270–275) in *Historia Augusta*, a work written in the late 4th or early 5th century.¹⁰ The “author” of the life, Flavius Vopiscus, quotes a letter by Aurelian to the urban prefect where the emperor writes among other things: “I have consecrated [a statue of] fostering Ceres” (47.3: *almam Cererem consecravi*). Even if the letter is not genuine and was written in

⁶ See RRC 442/1 dated to 49 BC (with the obverse legend SALVTIS) or RRC 449/4 dated to 48 BC (with the obverse legend LIBERTATIS).

⁷ See Augustus’ and M. Durmius’ aurei and denarii RIC I 311–313 and 315; BMCRE I 51–57 dated to 19/18 BC, with the obverse legend M DVRMIVS IIIVIR HONORI [emphasis by B.A.].

⁸ All translations from Latin, unless otherwise stated, are by B. Awianowicz. About rhetoric contexts of Cicero’s amplification see FRAZEL 2009: 84–85.

⁹ Cf. also HN 34.54, 57, 58, 59, 73–76 and 80.

¹⁰ About the dating and authorship problems see ROHRBACHER 2016: 4–10 and STOVER and KESTEMONT 2016.

the late 4th century, it shows the style of official documents of the Roman imperial era. Furthermore, we not only have here the name of Ceres in the accusative case, but also a proper verb: *consecravit*, so the third person form *consecravit* seems more convincing than the *posuit* that Mattingly suggested as the verb to be understood after accusatives CEREREM and IVNONEM.¹¹ The form *consecravit* or *consacravit* is also a better addition to the reverse legends of Julia Domna's coins because it is attested in a similar sense already in *Res gestae divi Augusti* (shortly before Augustus' death on the 19th August 14)¹²: "The Senate consecrated in honor of my return an altar to Fortuna Redux at the Porta Capena, near the temple of Honour and Virtue" and "the Senate voted in honor of my return the consecration of an altar to Pax Augusta in the Campus Martius"¹³ (11: *Aram Fortunae Reduci iuxta aedes Honoris et Virtutis ad portam Capenam pro reditu meo senatus consacravit* and 12: *aram Pacis Augustae senatus pro reditu meo consacrari censuit ad campum Martium*).¹⁴ Also Tacitus (c. 56–c. 120) testifies that the proper verb related to the foundation of statues and monuments was *consecrare*, not *ponere*. He writes about the statue (*effigies*) of Tiberius that had remained unharmed when everything around it was burning, and it was said that "the same had happened formerly to Claudia Quinta; whose statue, twice escaped from the fury of flames, our ancestors had dedicated in the temple of the Mother of the Gods"¹⁵ (*Ann.* 4.64.3: *evenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae eiusque statuam vim ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem Matris Deum consecravisse*). Another possible verb is *dedicare* attested in the context of dedicated statues especially by Suetonius,¹⁶ who writes, among others, about Germanicus' son who died in childhood: "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"¹⁷ (*Cal.* 7.1: *insigni festivitate*,

¹¹ Attested in inscriptions dedicated to deities such verbs or phrases as *dedicat* (or *dedicavit*), *donum dedit* (often in abbreviated form DD) *faciundum* (or *faciendum*) *curavit* or *fecit* are less probable here too, since the deity's name in epigraphical sources with these predicates is usually in the dative case (see especially inscriptions from Rome: CIL VI 18, 22, 25, 44, 54, 57, 66, 67, 69, 70, 77, 83, 85, 88, 95, 100, 101, 123, 131, 134, 135, 172, 173, 175, 180, 182 etc.). For *consecravit* see for instance CIL VI 8.

¹² For the date see WALLACE 2000: xii–xiii.

¹³ Translation by SHIPLEY 1924.

¹⁴ See also a fragment of Augustus' *Commentarii de vita sua* about his act of consecration of the *Sidus Iulium* (cited by Pliny the Elder, *NH* 2.93): *Eo sidere significari vulgus credidit Caesaris animam inter deorum immortalium numina receptam, quo nomine id insigne simulacro capitis eius, quod mox in foro consecravimus.*

¹⁵ Translation by JACKSON 1986: 113–115.

¹⁶ See *Iul.* 61.1: *cuius etiam instar pro aede Veneris Genetricis postea dedicavit*; *Aug.* 31.5: *statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit* and 57.1: *pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus vicatim dedicabat, ut Apollinem Sandaliarium et Iovem Tragoedum aliaque*; *Tib.* 70.2: *imagines publicis bibliothecis inter veteres et praecipuos auctores dedicavit*; *Cal.* 7.1: *effigiem habitu Cupidinis in aede Capitolinae Veneris Livia dedicavit* Tacitus refers the verb *dedicare* to temples and other buildings – see *Ann.* 2.49. 1 and 6.45. 1; *Hist.* 3.72.2 and 3.

¹⁷ Translation by ROLFE 1914. Emphasis by B.A.

cuius effigiem habitu Cupidinis in aede Capitolinae Veneris Livia dedicavit, Augustus in cubiculo suo positam, quotiensque introiret, exosculabatur). The sentence shows the difference between the verb *dedicare* used in the context of sacred statue and *ponere* in the sense of a simple act of setting it in a private space.

Therefore, we can assume that the grammatical construction: the accusative of the deity's name + an adequate form of the verb *consecrare* (or alternatively *dedicare*)¹⁸ was so well known at the beginning of the 3rd century AD that the implicit verb in the coin legends was rather intuitively recognized by literate citizens, and the reverse legend of the coins RIC IV *Caracalla* 378, 585, 596 and 599 should be read together with the obverse titulature and interpreted as follows: IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG(usta) / CEREREM (or IVNONEM) [consecravit] – “Julia Pious and Fortunate Augusta [consecrated (or: dedicated) the statue of] Ceres (or Juno)”.

Such an interpretation of the legend in the context of the above mentioned examples of the use of accusative with *consacravit* or *consecravit* indicates that the discussed coins of Julia Domna were associated with the foundation of particular, truly existing statues of Juno and Ceres by the empress. For this reason, we should expect the same iconography of both goddesses on reverses struck from all known dies of the types with the legends CEREREM and IVNONEM. However, we can observe at least two variants of dies with Ceres and with Juno:

1. The reverse of one type or variant depicts Ceres, draped and veiled, standing slightly left, holding corn ears downwards in right hand and sceptre in left, at her feet, left, modius with corn ears (BMCRE V 220–221; Pl. 1, Fig. 1), the other shows the goddess with long torch in left hand instead of sceptre (BMCRE V 222;¹⁹ Pl. 1, Fig. 2); the second reverse has a variant with thin torch or sceptre with a flame-shaped top (Pl. 1, Figs. 3–4).

2. In the case of Juno, most dies depict the goddess standing facing, head left, holding patera in outstretched right hand and vertical sceptre in left; at feet to left, peacock standing left (Pl. 2, Figs. 1–2), but some show the peacock standing left with head turned right²⁰ (Pl. 2, Figs. 3–5).

¹⁸ The form *posuit* as the verb to the deity's name as the object has its analogies only in Greek inscriptions with the verb *ἀνέθηκε* (‘set up’) – see for instance IG II² 1261 (302/1 BC) honouring an Athenian general who, among others, “set up [a statue of] Demeter Homonoia” (18–20: ἀνέθηκε τὴν / Δήμητρα Ομόνοιαν).

¹⁹ RIC IV does not distinguish between these two variants. H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham differentiate only between two types of Julia Domna's bust: diademed (a) and without diadem (b). In fact, there should be at least three variants: (a1) diademed bust of Julia / Ceres with torch, (b1) bust of Julia without diadem / Ceres with torch and (b2) Julia without diadem / Ceres with sceptre, because variant (a1) diademed bust of Julia / Ceres with torch is not attested yet.

²⁰ BMCRE V and RIC IV do not discriminate between these variants, but RIC IV distinguishes (as in the case of types with the legend CEREREM) between two types of Julia Domna's bust: diademed (a) and without diadem (b). Here also there should be more variants: (a1) diademed bust of Julia / Juno with peacock standing left, (a2) diademed bust of Julia / Juno with peacock standing left, turned right, (b1) bust of Julia without diadem / Juno with peacock standing left and (b2) Julia without diadem / Juno with peacock standing left, turned right.

Accordingly, it is difficult to decide how the statues consecrated by the empress looked: was Ceres holding a sceptre or a torch in her left hand? Was Juno accompanied by a peacock with his head turned left or right?

On earlier Roman imperial coins Ceres almost always appeared holding a torch.²¹ F. Schmidt-Dick²² mentions only one reverse of aurei and denarii (RIC 404 A and B minted c. 141–161 for deified Faustina I) with the goddess holding a sceptre, because she misinterprets the type RIC IV *Caracalla* 596 (= CERES f1A/03) as representing Ceres only with corn ears and a torch. In my opinion, variants in which Ceres is represented with a much rarer attribute could be closer to the real statue funded and consecrated by the empress, while the peacock looking left or right on the reverse with the legend IVNONEM cannot be used as an argument in favor of one or another variant as a better illustration of the statue of Juno.²³

In summary, Julia Domna's coins with the accusatives: CEREREM (dupondius and as RIC IV *Caracalla* 596) and IVNONEM (quinarius RIC IV *Caracalla* 378; sestertius RIC IV *Caracalla* 585; dupondius and as RIC IV *Caracalla* 599) are the first Roman imperial coins in which this grammatical case indicates the fact of consecration of a statue of a god or goddess. The use of the accusative case dependent on the verb *consecravit* or *dedicavit* ('consecrated, dedicated') to be understood, was one of the innovations in Roman imperial coinage under Severan Dynasty²⁴ and after Julia Domna, an analogous type of reverse appeared only under Gordian III in 243–244.²⁵ Moreover, these reverses suggest that they possibly present an iconography of real statues, even if we cannot be sure whether the statue of Ceres was holding a torch or a sceptre and in which direction the head of the peacock of Juno was turned.

ABBREVIATIONS

BMCRE I = H. MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. I: *Augustus to Vitellius*, London 1923, (lithographic reprint) 1965 and 2005.

BMCRE V = H. MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. V: *Pertinax to Elagabalus*, second edition prepared by R.A.G. CARSON and Ph.V. HILL, London 1975 and 2005.

CIL VI = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. VI, part 1: *Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae*, E. BORMANN and W. HENZEN (eds.), Berlin 1876.

²¹ SCHMIDT-DICK 2002: 30–33.

²² *Ibidem*: 32 (CERES f1B/03).

²³ These two variants of peacock's presentation are well attested already in the coinage of Faustina II and Lucilla. Cf. SCHMIDT-DICK 2002: 63–66, who does not discuss the direction in which Juno's peacock is looking.

²⁴ For some other innovative ideas in the coinage under the Severans see ROWAN 2012: *passim* and MANDERS 2012: 225–252 (iconography of Caracalla's imperial coins).

²⁵ See his antoniniani, aurei and sestertii: RIC IV 147, 162 and 333: MARTEM PROPVGNATOREM.

- IG II² = *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, 2nd edition, Part I, 1–2, J. KIRCHNER (ed.), Berlin 1913–1916.
- RIC I = C.H.V. SUTHERLAND and R.A.G. CARSON, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. I: *From 31 BC to AD 69*, London 1984.
- RIC IV = H. MATTINGLY and E.A. SYDENHAM, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV, part I: *Pertinax to Geta*, London 1936; H. MATTINGLY, E.A. SYDENHAM and C.H.V. SUTHERLAND, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV, part II: *Macrinus to Pupienus*, London 1938; H. MATTINGLY, E.A. SYDENHAM and C.H.V. SUTHERLAND, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV, part III: *Gordian III – Uranius Antoninus*, London 1949.
- RRC = M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, vols. I–II, Cambridge 2001.

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PLATE 1

Fig. 1. Julia Domna (193–217), AE, as, Rome, AD 212. *Rv.* CEREREM / S – C. BMC V *Caracalla* 220; RIC IV *Caracalla* 596
Photo: Leu Numismatik, Auction 1, 252

Fig. 2. Julia Domna (193–217), AE, dupondius, Rome, AD 212. *Rv.* CEREREM / S – C. BMC V *Caracalla* 222; RIC IV *Caracalla* 596 var.

Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 456, 409

Fig. 3. Julia Domna (193–217), AE, as, Rome, AD 212. *Rv.* CEREREM / S – C. BMC V *Caracalla* 220 var.; RIC IV *Caracalla* 596 var.

Photo: B. Awianowicz

Fig. 4. Julia Domna (193–217), AE, dupondius, Rome, AD 212. *Rv.* CEREREM / S – C. BMC V *Caracalla* 220 var.; RIC IV *Caracalla* 596 var.

Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 135, 127

PLATE 2

Fig. 1. Julia Domna (193–217), AE, sestertius, Rome, AD 213. *Rv.* IVNONEM / S – C. BMC V *Caracalla* 208a; RIC IV *Caracalla* 585a

Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 54, 493

Fig. 2. Julia Domna (193–217), AE, as, Rome, AD 213. *Rv.* IVNONEM / S – C. BMC V *Caracalla* 224b; RIC IV *Caracalla* 599b

Photo: Gorny and Mosch, Auction 215, 1075

Fig. 3. Julia Domna (193–217), AE, as, Rome, AD 213. *Rv.* IVNONEM / S – C. BMC V *Caracalla* 224b var.; RIC IV *Caracalla* 599b var.

Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 209, 384

Fig. 4. Julia Domna (193–217), AE, sestertius, Rome, AD 213. *Rv.* IVNONEM / S – C. BMC V *Caracalla* 208a var.; RIC IV *Caracalla* 585a var.

Photo: Münzkabinett Berlin

Fig. 5. Julia Domna (193–217), AE, sestertius, Rome, AD 213. *Rv.* IVNONEM / S – C. BMC V *Caracalla* 208b var.; RIC IV *Caracalla* 585b var.

Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 109, 681



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