

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVI

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

Kraków 2021

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Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie
ul. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego 12, 31-109 Kraków
tel. (+48) 12 433 58 50, e-mail: notae@mnk.pl
<http://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>

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PAWEŁ GOŁYŹNIAK

Engraved Gems and Propaganda in the Roman Republic and under Augustus,
Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 65, Archaeopress, Oxford 2020, 618 pages,
1015 figures; ISBN 978-1-78969-539-7

Is it correct to apply a modern term, such as “propaganda”, in iconological research about ancient glyptics? How might this term be defined in reference to ancient gems and cameos? To what extent was the development of the art of glyptics, and the spread of gems among ever larger segments of people at the end of the Republican Age, influenced by the need to convey propaganda messages? After all, the customer’s purposes were formulated in iconographic schemes, by the intervention of artists variously linked to politicians and rulers: what was the degree of acceptance and awareness of these messages among those who purchased the gems or received them as a gift? What, finally, was the circulation of the propaganda images, when engraved gems were exhibited in public ceremonies or spaces like *dactyliothecae*, or above all were impressed in order to seal documents?

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Paweł Gołyźniak tries to answer all of these complex questions. His extensive work, which is the result of years of doctoral research, focuses on the relationship between propaganda and glyptic art between the 3rd century BC and the early 1st century AD. It is a large and ambitious project, as the selected period saw glyptics become a commodity for people of urban communities (or people imagining themselves as urban), while remaining a luxury good in some productions. On the other hand, the author verifies and incorporates decades-long research about these themes, both on glyptics and iconology; he provides a broad confirmation of his theories in his book, introducing a specific didactic part and having many reminders on the state of research; he deals with the selected theme in an organic way and gives accounts for every step, so that both the readings and the interpretations are clearly expressed.

The book, equipped with a functional list of contents and indexes and a rich bibliography (Part V, 587–606), could be divided into two main sections, which inversely respond to the order in which the author worked.

The catalogue (Part V, 331–445) is the core of the research. We can see, collected and filed, about 3000 pieces, belonging to many subclasses: stone and glass intaglios, clay impressions, stone and glass cameos, cameo-glasses and miniaturised

sculptures. The author's laudable intention consists in providing an overview of all possible specimens, through a careful analysis of the available publications, even if sometimes it was evidently not possible.¹ The inclusion of some unpublished pieces and previews will be particularly appreciated by archaeologists: I am referring, for instance, to the set of rings with glass gems that probably belonged to a veteran of Octavian, and often mentioned in the text.²

The specimens are organised on both a chronological and iconographic-
-iconological basis, as well as on the purposes for which the glyptic iconography was elaborated and used. The groups are about ten, as indicated and explained in the Introduction chapters: Personal branding and self-promotion; Induction and manifestation of loyalty and support; Use of heritage, Promotion of family and oneself through *origo*; Promotion of faction; Commemoration; Promotion of abstract ideas (*ordo rerum*, *Pax Augusta* and *aurea aetas*); Religious, divine and mythological references; Political symbols. The expression 'propaganda' is evidently intended in a quite extensive way. It is a heterogeneous whole, in which the engraved gems of the title stand out for their number. The items and the related bibliographical sources are presented in an attentive way; the text is accompanied by an accurate iconographic apparatus with photographs that are clearly comprehensible: the usefulness for the scholar working on the theme of self-representation and on propaganda is therefore unquestionable.

The commentary which constitutes the heart of the first part of the book (Part III, *Evidence*, Chapters 6–10, 45–249) revolves around this established repertoire. The conclusions that many scholars, and especially Vollenweider, had reached mainly between the 60s and 70s of the last century, are reviewed and compared with the specific following researches in the glyptic field and with the new acquisitions of materials. In this way it is possible to read, in an organic and fluent work, a sort of register of contents and texts that are not easily available outside the specialised libraries in glyptics and numismatics. The author gives an account in his examination of almost every sample surveyed, favouring the iconographic and interpretative data but without neglecting the stylistic or technical (for large groups, workshops, styles). The analysis is documented as regards the attributions of the high quality glyptics, produced by artisans who signed their works. In this specific field the author gained

¹ Among the replicas of glass gems, I would like to point out a blue glass imitating nicolo, portraying Augustus with a mask and trophy, from Lons-les Saunier (France): GUIRAUD, ROULIÈRE-LAMBERT 1995: 395–397, no. 51. The glass gem is very close to GOŁYŹNIAK 2020: 375, Fig. 467, no. 461. Between the luxury gems, for instance, an amethyst depicting a couple of Tritons with children is missing: the image might obscure the family of a ruler like Mark Antony, Agrippa or Octavian (so I believe): Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. No. 14782; MAGNI 2003. However, the author has mentioned this intaglio in a new article: GOŁYŹNIAK 2019/20, 117, note 15.

² GRADEL forthcoming.

considerable experience during the edition of the collection of gems housed in the National Museum in Krakow, a fact which emerges in the discussion.³

In terms of its chronological lines of development, this section follows a path shared by many scholars of glyptics and to which the author critically refers. The impetus behind glyptics aimed at self-promotion came from the comparison with the Hellenistic rulers, already during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The late Republican age appears as a turning point, in which the figure of Sulla stands out for its aristocratic and philo-oriental vocation. From the next generation onwards (the age of Pompey and Caesar) the recourse to themes related to the above-mentioned propaganda functions becomes predominant. In the last decades of the Republic, the practice of using glyptics as a vehicle for propaganda messages was common. When Octavian became Augustus, he purified himself of his role as party leader: the images associated with his power were transfigured into a project (or a promise) of prosperity, wealth, and health.

However, while the author stops his research at the end of the Augustan age, it is unquestionable and confirmed that the circulation of subjects that fall within the previously mentioned definitions of propaganda continued well beyond this point. The chronological limit is of considerable significance for historians, wherever the archaeologists highlight the continuity of themes and images. Nevertheless, field archaeologists will surely appreciate the chapters Part IV, 11–12, 250–308, in which the author re-discusses the collected materials from a quantitative and statistical perspective, once again patiently explaining every step in his thought process. He proposes a framework, albeit not revolutionary, and provides maps (unfortunately undefined, in some cases, as Gaul), statistics and conscious bases for declaring Italy as a privileged place for the production and diffusion of propaganda glyptics. The spread of these gems in the Mediterranean basin and beyond the Alps seems to follow the expansive policies of rulers, the movements of legionaries, the interests of the emerging classes: this phenomenon became clear from the Augustan age onward, when the immediate, political function of these artefacts was fading. The undoubtable value of the author's work consists in having rearranged and compared different research papers and studies, really *disiecta membra*, in an organic way; however, while my field of investigation is common glyptics, I would suggest some further research ideas.

A future work could consist in a structural revision of the data obtainable from the archives of the clay impressions of gems which are known to the author (who refers to Cyrenae and Zeugma as well as Artaxata in Armenia), but, in my opinion, are perhaps overlooked somewhat. I think that a better investigation of the complexes

³ GOŁYŹNIAK 2017.

of Late Hellenistic Age, like the private archive of Delos, ended in 69 BC,⁴ and the public archive of Seleucia on Tigris, working at least until the end of the 2nd century BC,⁵ could offer information about the spread of propaganda images for the generations preceding the Civil Wars. In fact, I agree with the reflection of Professor Invernizzi who, reviewing the valuable work of Dimitri Plantzos on Hellenistic gems some years ago, reiterated the absence of this fundamental perspective.⁶

Another point of reflection relates to the destiny of the gems of the “losers”. It seems that the pre-eminence of the Augustan gems could be also due to the elimination of the dangerous gems of his enemies in antiquity. The author gives an account of the risks encountered by those who bear gems with portraits,⁷ so there is certainly potential for the concealment of these gems (and therefore the lack of them); on the other hand, another possibility is provided by using “covered” images: so tried to demonstrate Erika Simon and Francesco Carotta about the iconography of three (then two) Heraklides.⁸ The emphasis given throughout the book to *virī militares* as recipients and owners of “propaganda gems” brings me to my last observation, which instead concerns a specific theme that I have been investigating for some time: that of the capricorn.⁹ It is, as repeatedly stated by Gołyźniak, one of the most diffused propaganda images linked to Octavian/Augustus. But for this reason some simplifications about this theme seem inappropriate. The link with Octavian’s horoscope (where Capricorn was the ascendant, or the sign of conception, not the sign of the birth) is much more complex than what is adduced. On the other hand, the polysemy of the message makes this fantastic creature quite attractive to ordinary people, not necessarily solely because of Augustan propaganda. The author shares this position, but the continuous reference to the link between the military and this glyptic subject is somewhat forced. At Aquileia, a beautiful gem with a capricorn was found, as referred by Annalisa Giovannini, in a female tomb from the 1st century AD;¹⁰ at Pompeii, a bronze ring with a capricorn, *sidus Iulium* and rudder was worn by a male victim.¹¹

On the other hand, a green chalcedony intaglio, very similar to another published by the author,¹² comes indeed from a military context of the Flavian Age (the thermal

⁴ BOUSSAC 1993.

⁵ INVERNIZZI 2004.

⁶ IDEM 2000: 470–471.

⁷ GOŁYŹNIAK 2020: 133.

⁸ CAROTTA 2013; MAGNI 2019: 23–26.

⁹ MAGNI, VERDURA and TASSINARI 2021.

¹⁰ GIOVANNINI 2009: 46–47, Figs. 10–11.

¹¹ The gem is published by the author: GOŁYŹNIAK 2020: 955, no. 394.

¹² *Ibidem*: 396, no. 996, Fig. 645.

baths of the Caerleon fortress, in Wales).¹³ The series to which these gems belong is characterised by the presence of a central fantastic creature which could be a capricorn or a hippocampus (as probably shown in the intaglio published by the author) accompanied by a dolphin, one or two birds or other animals, a cornucopia.¹⁴ Here, however, we enter another field of investigation, which pertains to symbolic and allegorical representations, whose survival clearly goes beyond the Augustan age (in use, if not as productions).¹⁵

The legacy of the “struggle by images” exceeded the establishment of the Augustan age: the work carefully conducted by Paweł Gołyźniak will be able to offer an adequate basis for these further investigations in such a fascinating area and on a theme that is still so current.

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¹³ ZIENKIEWICZ 1986: 129–130, Pl. 5: 7 (terminus: 75–85 AD).

¹⁴ Discussion: MAGNI, VERDURA and TASSINARI 2021: 24–25, Fig. 12.

¹⁵ MAGNI 2019; TASSINARI 2019; MAGNI, VERDURA and TASSINARI 2021.

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ALESSANDRA MAGNI

Independent Scholar

ORCID: 0000-0002-5377-8647

Author's address:

Alessandra Magni
via Tessitura 1/B, Osnago (Lecco), Italy
alessandra.magni@liceomanzonilecco.net