

# ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. LIII



HELSINKI 2019

## ARCTOS – ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

*Arctos* has been published since 1954, annually from vol. 8 (1974). *Arctos* welcomes submissions dealing with any aspect of classical antiquity, and the reception of ancient cultures in mediaeval times and beyond. *Arctos* presents research articles and short notes in the fields of Greek and Latin languages, literatures, ancient history, philosophy, religions, archaeology, art, and society. Each volume also contains reviews of recent books. The website is at [www.journal.fi/arctos](http://www.journal.fi/arctos).

### *Publisher:*

Klassillis-filologinen yhdistys – Klassisk-filologiska föreningen (The Classical Association of Finland), c/o Tieteiden talo, Kirkkokatu 6, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.

### *Editors:*

Martti Leiwo (*Editor-in-Chief*), Lassi Jakola (*Executive Editor and Secretary*), Anna-Maria Wilskman (*Review Editor*).

### *Editorial Advisory Board:*

Øivind Andersen, Therese Fuhrer, Michel Gras, Gerd Haverling, Richard Hunter, Maijastina Kahlos, Mika Kajava, Jari Pakkanen, Pauliina Remes, Olli Salomies, Heikki Solin, Antero Tammisto, Kaius Tuori, Jyri Vaahtera, Marja Vierros.

Correspondence regarding the submission of articles and general enquiries should be addressed to the Executive Editor and Secretary at the following address (e-mail: [arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi](mailto:arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi)). Correspondence regarding book reviews should be addressed to the Review Editor at the following address (e-mail: [arctos-reviews@helsinki.fi](mailto:arctos-reviews@helsinki.fi))

### *Note to Contributors:*

Submissions, written in English, French, German, Italian, or Latin, should be sent by e-mail to the Executive Editor and Secretary (at [arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi](mailto:arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi)). The submissions should be sent in two copies; one text version (DOCX/RTF) and one PDF version. The e-mail should also contain the name, affiliation and postal address of the author and the title of the article. Further guidelines can be found at [www.journal.fi/arctos/guidelines1](http://www.journal.fi/arctos/guidelines1).

### *Requests for Exchange:*

Exchange Centre for Scientific Literature, Snellmaninkatu 13, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.  
– e-mail: [exchange.centre@tsv.fi](mailto:exchange.centre@tsv.fi)

### *Sale:*

Bookstore Tiedekirja, Snellmaninkatu 13, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.  
– Tel. +358 9 635 177, fax +358 9 635 017, internet: [www.tiedekirja.fi](http://www.tiedekirja.fi)

ISSN 0570-734-X

Layout by Maija Holappa

Printed by KTMP Group Oy, Mustasaari

## INDEX

|   |  |   |     |
|---|--|---|-----|
|    | TOMMI ALHO                                       | In sulphuream Papistarum conspirationem exercitia: <i>Retelling the Gunpowder Plot at the King's School, Canterbury (1665–84)</i> | 9   |
|    | ANTONINO CRISÀ                                   | <i>After a Trip: The Effects of Augustus' Propaganda in Sicily through Historical, Numismatic and Archaeological Sources</i>      | 37  |
|    | URPO KANTOLA                                     | <i>Bemerkungen zu griechischen Inschriften mit römischen Namen</i>  | 69  |
|    | CHRISTIAN LAES                                   | <i>Lectors in the Latin West: The Epigraphical Evidence (c. 300–800)</i>  | 83  |
|    | JENNA RICE                                       | <i>"Just Rage": Causes of the Rise in Violence in the Eastern Campaigns of Alexander the Great</i>                                | 129 |
|    | RONALD RIDLEY                                    | <i>Vicit disciplina militaris, vicit imperii maiestas? Livy 8.30–35</i>   | 157 |
|    | OLLI SALOMIES                                    | <i>Latin Cognomina Ending in -illianus</i>  | 185 |
|   | HEIKKI SOLIN                                     | <i>Analecta Epigraphica 327–330</i>   | 211 |
|  | TOIVO VILJAMAA                                   | <i>Words or Sounds? Ancient Grammarians on Interjections</i>  | 219 |
|  | IAN WORTHINGTON                                  | <i>Augustus' Annoyance with Athens</i>  | 247 |
|   | <i>De novis libris iudicia</i>                   |   | 255 |
|   | <i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i> |   | 310 |
|   | <i>Libri nobis missi</i>                         |   | 313 |
|   | <i>Index scriptorum</i>                          |   | 316 |

## AFTER A TRIP

### The Effects of Augustus' Propaganda in Sicily through Historical, Numismatic and Archaeological Sources

ANTONINO CRISÀ

#### 1. Introduction

The *princeps* Octavian Augustus, who drove Rome from the Republican to the Imperial age, ruled for almost 40 years between 27 BC to 14 AD. He shaped a new empire, initiating a long phase of peace and prosperity, the so-called *Pax Romana*. During his reign, Augustus carried out cogent and clever propaganda, which embraced many aspects of Roman politics, religion, society, culture and art. The Republican tradition conveyed innovation and formed a new set of powers, civic and religious values, which defined the so-called 'Augustan era'. These aspects have been constantly and thoroughly studied by scholars, following wide-ranging perspectives and investigations of historical, literary and visual sources.<sup>1</sup>

We know that the effects of propaganda were diverse among the Roman provinces – including the new territories conquered by Augustus – in which local contexts and populations differed.<sup>2</sup> We also know that the *princeps* granted select cities the right to continue issuing their local coin issues.<sup>3</sup> However, historians have rarely investigated a more narrowed and 'localised' aspect of this theme, namely, the impact of Augustan propaganda in Sicily through numismatic evidence, as well as historical and epigraphic sources.

---

<sup>1</sup> Allen 1922, 250–66; Zanker 1988; Holliday 1990, 542–57; Barchiesi 2007, 281–305; Eder 2007, 13–33; Gruen 2007, 33–51.

<sup>2</sup> Woolf 2007, 106–29.

<sup>3</sup> West 1949, 19–20.

The term ‘propaganda’ might be misleading in some contexts; therefore, it is essential to provide a brief definition of the word, which we often use in our historical analysis. Since the Second World War, “this word has acquired a bad meaning, [that is] the systematic spreading of false report with the pretence of truth”.<sup>4</sup> In Roman history, including the reign of Augustus, coins can be considered a perfect means of propaganda.<sup>5</sup> In our contribution, we primarily consider ‘propaganda’ (from Latin *propago*, ‘to extend’) as the way of spreading a series of images and legends through inscriptions and coins, which may convey a more or less political meaning or deliberate messages. This, of course, implies an effective interconnection with a substratum of long-standing local traditions, which were certainly strong in Sicily in the late Republican and early Imperial age.

The main scope of this article is to analyse these themes. It aims to understand how coins can reveal the effects of Augustan propaganda in Sicily, the scene of civil wars and finally pacified by the *princeps*. The article, therefore, focuses on some targeted case studies and numismatic issues, dating from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. They undoubtedly form valuable (and often rare) historical evidence showing Augustus’ interest in numismatics as a main source for promoting his policy and especially founding a link with the local tradition of Sicilian centres. The subject is worthy of study for two essential reasons. First, Sicilian coins issued by Augustus represent a vital set of evidence that successfully merges historical data, political propaganda, iconography, tradition and innovation. Second, numismatic issues, together with other epigraphic sources, markedly join a dual side and scope represented by a ‘local’ dimension of the traditional heritage of the old Graeco-Roman *civitates* and *municipia* and a series of ‘state’ inclusions by Augustus, the *princeps* and peacemaker of the Sicilian province.

The article first provides a general overview on the historical context in Sicily, focusing on the effects of the civil wars between Sextus Pompeius and Octavian at the end of the Roman Republic. The period was crucial for the *provincia Sicilia*, affected by a long-standing state of war and impoverishment. It culminated in administrative reform and the foundation of some colonies by Augustus. This phenomenon can be proven by historical evidence, which we discuss in the following sections through a series of case studies (Fig. 1). First, *Tyndaris*

---

<sup>4</sup> Sutherland 1983, 73–74.

<sup>5</sup> West 1949, 19–20; Grant 1952, 84–85.

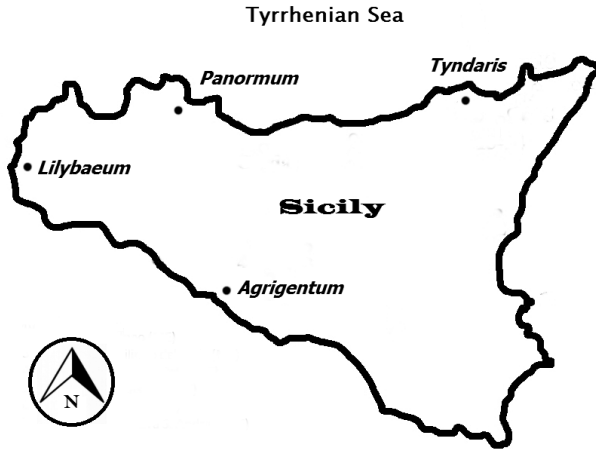


Fig. 1: Map of Sicily showing sites and mints here discussed.  
(Photo by the author.)

and *Panormum* offer a comparative set of historical and numismatic data on the effect of Augustus' propaganda; the *princeps* founded two *coloniae* there. Second, coinages of *Lilybaeum* and *Agrigentum* (both *municipia*) represent two additional, vital case studies, which, however, show analogies with the previous colonies, as we discuss in the following section. Lastly, we provide final considerations on the subject and assess data on numismatics and historical evidence.

## 2. After Sextus Pompeius: Augustus and Sicily

The *provincia Sicilia* was markedly involved in the civil war until 42 and 36 BC, when Octavian defeated Sextus Pompeius following the battle of Naulocos.<sup>6</sup> Some areas of Sicily, like the northern coastal area between Tindari and Messina and the east coast between the strait and Taormina, had probably been more affected than others. Although scholars have often disputed the aftermath in Sicilian centres and the real effects of war on the province itself, it is possible to

<sup>6</sup> Finley 1979, 148–51; Stone III 1983, 11–14; Manganaro 1988, 11–15; Manganaro 1992, 448–51; Welch 2012, 261–89.

outline a reconstruction of the crucial historical period between 36 BC and the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Sicily was then pacified as a new senatorial *provincia* by Augustus, and towns were rebuilt or abandoned. Generally speaking, Sicily lost most of its importance as a corn supplier for the Roman empire, especially after the battle of *Actium* (30 BC), when exportation of Egyptian grain overtook the Sicilian supplies. This evidently had an impact on the Sicilian economy (especially regarding agriculture), which was also affected by a presumed land distribution to Augustus' veterans within the foundation of new *coloniae*.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, those centres had to give a substantial indemnity of around 1,600 talents to Rome in order to pay for their alliance with the enemy. The people of *Tauromenium* (Taormina, Messina) were even deported, once Octavian decided to establish a new colony there. Other settlements, like *Morgantina* (Serra Orlando, Enna) and *Heraclea Minoa* (Cattolica Eraclea, Agrigento), show archaeological evidence of decline and destruction by fire. Stone III has interpreted the devastations as a punishment "by the delegates of Octavian" for *Morgantina*'s support of Sextus Pompeius.<sup>8</sup> However, although archaeological records are sometimes lacking for the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, excavations have proven that some towns underwent to a process of re-organisation in terms of constructions and urban expansion during the age of Augustus. This occurred, for instance, at some colonies (*Catana*, *Tauromenium*, *Thermae* and *Tyndaris*) and *municipia* (*Halaesa*), in which new public and private buildings were built or massively renovated.<sup>9</sup>

Historical sources can help us to understand how Sicilian settlements were organised in 21 BC, even if they report some informative incongruities. Thus, as Marino states,<sup>10</sup> it can be arduous speculating on the 'system' of prizes and punishments adopted by Augustus after the war because of these discrepancies among historical sources. When describing Sicily, Pliny the Elder provides us with information on the status of many Sicilian towns, a status which often changed from the end of the Roman Republican period until Octavian's action.

<sup>7</sup> Manganaro 1972, 457–58; Finley 1979, 149–50; Stone III 1983, 21–22; Manganaro 1988, 16; Wilson 1990, 33–34.

<sup>8</sup> Stone III 1983, 19; Wilson 1990, 33–34; Stone III 2002, 139–44.

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sic. 13,35,3; 16,70,6; Bejor 1983, 373–74; Stone III 1983, 15; Prag 2010, 305–6; Pfuntner 2013, 919–20.

<sup>10</sup> Marino 2007, 10.

Of course, the *Oratio in Verrem* by Cicero can provide useful information on this matter. For instance, *Tyndaris* changed its status from *civitas decumana* to *colonia*. There were also many *municipia* in Sicily before the civil wars, like *Agrirentum* (Agrigento), *Haluntium* (San Marco d'Alunzio, Messina), *Lipara* (Lipari, Messina) and *Tauromenium*. They can be considered as “fully privileged communities”, as reported by Wilson. Other towns are listed as *oppida civium Romanorum* (Messina), *cum civium Romanorum oppido* (Lipari); their inhabitants were sometimes considered as *cives stipendarii*.<sup>11</sup>

More importantly, especially for our discussion, we know that Augustus established some new colonies in 21 BC: Catania, Syracuse, Termini Imerese, Tindari and Taormina (the latter's foundation can probably be backdated to 36–35 BC). In addition, as reported by Strabo (6,2,1), Palermo was set up a bit later, probably between 21 and 14 BC. The foundation of such *coloniae* played a vital role in Augustan propaganda and in the effective peace-making of the *provincia Sicilia*. It is evident that Augustus' plan was to realise a successful 're-establishment' of previous main centres.

First, this could imply re-naming the centre (e.g. *Colonia Augusta Panhormitanorum*, *Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum*), linking the *princeps* to the local ethnic name, which appeared mainly on local official records – which did not survive –, coins and inscriptions. Second, *coloniae* would have caused the confiscation and re-distribution of lands, which became imperial assets in the *provincia*. This process probably occurred following the Augustus' trip to Sicily, as also happened in other provincial areas.<sup>12</sup> It likely determined the birth of vast *latifundia*, which would have formed the productive foundation for the huge Roman *villae*, like the one in Patti Marina (Messina). Moreover, this process probably entailed a sort of punishment for some towns that sided with Sextus Pompeius, as probably occurred at *Tyndaris*, occupied by the rebel during the civil war. Third, Augustus could spread propagandistic messages through legends, iconographies and symbols on coins. They were issued both by *coloniae* and *municipia*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Strab. 6,2,5–6; Plin. *NH* 3,88–93; Finley 1979, 152–54; Stone III 1983, 14–18, 21–22; Reid Rubincam 1985, 521–22; Manganaro 1988, 16–22; Wilson 1990, 35–38, 40–43; Manganaro 1992, 451–53; Stone III 2002, 146–47; Marino 2007, 11–12.

<sup>12</sup> *Res Gestae* 16; Manganaro 1972, 458; Stone III 2002, 146.

<sup>13</sup> Bejor 1983, 370–71; Wilson 1990, 35–40; Bejor 2007, 18–20; Marino 2007, 11–12; Gulletta 2011a,



### 3. A crucial case study: *Tyndaris*, the new *colonia* and Augustus

*Tyndaris* was founded in 396 BC by Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, who wanted to prevent any potential advance of the Carthaginians from the west part of Sicily. Soon, the centre expanded and its inhabitants built massive city walls and then a theatre, setting up a regular road system, which was still maintained with *cardines* and *decumani* in the Imperial period. The Romans conquered *Tyndaris* in 254 BC, becoming a *civitas decumana*. According to Cicero, who offers us a vivid depiction of Sicily in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, *Tyndaris*, a '*nobilissima civitas*', was prosperous. That is demonstrated by the dynamic and rich local society, a wealthy *nobilitas* which Verres could avidly oppress and impoverish. In addition, we also know that a man, originally called Philo, changed his name to Cn. Pompeius, revealing a political connection with Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106–48 BC), father of Sextus.<sup>14</sup>

Subsequently, once the civil war started in 42 BC, Sextus Pompeius occupied *Tyndaris* and most of the northern Sicily coastline area, including *Lipara*, which became a powerful base for his fleet. According to the assessment of historical sources, it can be argued that he took advantage of a favourable and non-hostile background at *Tyndaris*. The local *nobilitas*, which evidently favoured his father, would have accepted him and supported his actions. Accordingly, sources report the town was occupied by Sextus Pompeius and subsequently liberated by Octavian, who camped with 21 legions and knights (probably close to the promontory of Tindari) in 36 BC. It is evident that his deployment was substantial, probably to conquer a vast area of Sicily. At the same time, Agrippa defeated Pompeius' fleet and won at *Lipara* and *Mylae*.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, *Tyndaris* was subjected to a defeat. However, was the town worthy of being destroyed, abandoned and forgotten completely? Could Augustus undertake a re-establishment process for the centre without neglecting its actions during the civil wars? It was possible. Augustus chose to promote the colonial

---

46.

<sup>14</sup> Cic. *Verr.* 2,3,103; 2,4,17; 2,4,29; 2,4,48; 2,4,84–92; 2,5,108; 2,5,124; 2,5,133; 2,5,185; Coarelli – Torelli 2000, 385–86; Paoletti 2003, 1010; Lazzaretti 2004, 275–87; Crisà 2008, 239; Gulletta 2011b, 606–10.

<sup>15</sup> App. *B Civ.* 5,11,105; 5,12,109; 5,12,112; 5,12,116; Dio Cass. 48,17,4; 49,7,4; Finley 1979, 148–50; Coarelli – Torelli 2000, 386; Gulletta 2011b, 609; Welch 2012, 276–77.



Fig. 2: View of the insula IV Roman private houses (Tindari, Messina). (Photo by the author.)

establishment. Therefore, once he travelled in Sicily around 21–20 BC, Augustus had a good chance to found new colonies. This colonial foundation process, as far as it has been considered a sort of punishment for the recent alliance and backing of Sextus Pompeius,<sup>16</sup> can be judged by its convenient effects at the site and proven by the archaeological record.

Nevertheless, in a short-term period, following the end of the civil war, *Tyndaris* probably faced a brief (and expected) period of impoverishment, which occurred all across the northern coast of Sicily, although archaeological evidence of 36–22 BC is evidently unclear.<sup>17</sup> In that context, the inhabitants also suffered land confiscation. Subsequently, in a long-term period, Augustus' action, which can be considered as a re-establishment, allowed the reborn *Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum* to pass over its recent urban and economic decline. In fact, all archaeological evidence, confirmed also by recent excavations, proves that *Tyndaris* underwent a substantial urban expansion. This process, which also affected other Sicilian towns during the Augustan age, has been considered

---

<sup>16</sup> Stone III 2002, 138–40.

<sup>17</sup> Wilson 1990, 39.



Fig. 3: Colossal head of Augustus, preserved at the on-site Antiquarium (Tyndari, Messina).

“crucial” by Belvedere,<sup>18</sup> and it surely marked a starting point for further urban development during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.

Between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, *insula* IV (Fig. 2) was subjected to massive refurbishment and transformation, as new floors and decorative elements clearly testify. Old debris, probably related to the destruction that occurred during the civil war, was discharged for

filling some private cisterns. Similarly, Roman houses and a vast public building in the northern area of the site, the so-called “Contrada Cercadenari” quarter, were built and decorated with mosaics.<sup>19</sup> A huge marble head of Augustus (Fig. 3), part of a colossal statue of the *princeps*, has been discovered in the so-called Roman Basilica of Tyndaris and is currently kept at the local *Antiquarium*. It would represent one of a series of statues dedicated by the local community to the *gens Iulia* in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, if Augustus’ colonial foundation signalled a turning point for Tyndaris in terms of ‘re-birth’ of urban expansion, even without considering the possible land distribution to the veterans and new social élite, the event was evidently essential for the local community. Its name is crucial for understanding the *princeps*’ propaganda, condensed in three effective words: noun, adject-

<sup>18</sup> Belvedere 1998, 118.

<sup>19</sup> Plin. *NH* 3,90; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 205–9; Bernabò Brea and Fallico 1966, 865–68; Wilson 1988, 136–44; Belvedere and Termine 2005, 87; Spigo 2005, 42–50, 65–71; Leone and Spigo 2008, 57–62, 106–7.

<sup>20</sup> Spigo 2005, 81–82.

tive and ethnic name (as genitive). The centre not only obtained a new status (*colonia*) according to Augustus (*Augusta*), but also remained a 'possession' of its inhabitants (*Tyndaritanorum*), who were still strongly aware of their Spartan origins and their first foundation as a Syracusan colony.

Undoubtedly, coins represent essential historical evidence for understanding this aspect. Generally speaking, late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC coinage in Sicily presents some problems. First, the number of known numismatic specimens is not very large and sometimes they are not fully legible. This can make understanding the legends quite hard, and even the final attribution to the mint and the definitive dating can be problematic. In addition, the status of some Sicilian towns is still debatable among scholars, making the interpretation and attribution of numismatic issues complex.<sup>21</sup> It is evident that more research on this subject is needed to clarify these problematic aspects and to establish a more certain chronology. However, in this context, coins can be considered as a propagandistic means effected by Augustus through legends and iconography.

*Tyndaris* numismatics conveyed a series of iconographies from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, which are strictly related to the origin of the early settlers and the cult of the Dioscuri, sons of Zeus and Leda, wife of Tyndareus, to whom the Sicilian centre was evidently dedicated. One of the most recurring types is the caps of the Dioscuri, which still appeared on some numismatic issues of the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – although the attribution has been consistently controversial – including a clay token found in 1896 and a Roman mosaic in the *insula* IV quarter (still *in situ*). These coins report Latin legends with names of local magistrates, mostly *duoviri*, who oversaw the minting process.<sup>22</sup>

Following these coinages, *Tyndaris* issued coins in connection with Augustus.<sup>23</sup> In particular, one (Fig. 4) shows the portrait of the *princeps* on the ob-

<sup>21</sup> Bahrfeldt 1904, 1–119; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 165–67; Cutroni Tusa 1995, 363–74; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès – Carradice 2006, 28–29; Guzzetta 2007, 192–96; Amandry – Burnett – Ripollès – Spoerri Butcher 2014, 19–20; Ripollès – Burnett – Amandry – Carradice – Spoerri Butcher 2015, 53–55.

<sup>22</sup> Poole 1876, 235–36; Head 1911, 189–90; Gabrici 1927, 88–90, 104, 192–94; Mini 1979, 438–46; Calciati 1983, 79–83; Martini 1998, 666–70; Musti 2005, 141–43; Spigo 2005, 48–49, 53; Crisà 2006, 36–46; Crisà 2008, 244–53; Villemur 2016, 435–53; Crisà 2019, 63–77.

<sup>23</sup> It is worth stressing that one of these coins shows the head of Augustus (obverse) and the legend SISENNA PROCOS within a wreath (reverse). However, its attribution to the *Tyndaris* mint is still debatable (Gabrici 1927, 162, nos. 337–38; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 274; Campana 2001–2002, 81, n. 30;



Fig. 4: Tyndaris, Æ as, Augustus, post 22 BC: obv.:/AVGVSTVS TVNDAR, head of Augustus; rev.:/L·MVSSID(IVS) PR·COS, wreath. (Ex Naville Numismatics Ltd, Live Auction 20, 7 February 2016, lot n. 126.)

verse with the legend AVGVSTVS TVNDAR and the name of the proconsul L. Mussid(ius) on the reverse, who can probably be identified as the moneyer L. Mussidius Longus.<sup>24</sup> The obverse legend astutely links Augustus with *Tyndaris*' name, while the wreath is clearly a symbol of Apollo, a deity who played a significant role in the *princeps*' propaganda. On the whole, observing the iconographies, the coin is fully shaped according to common standards of contemporary Augustan portraits and numismatic series,<sup>25</sup> even if L. Mussidius took care of shaping the coin issue.<sup>26</sup>

What is the significance of this coin? Why is it remarkable? It can be argued that the issue followed the foundation of the *colonia* at *Tyndaris* in approximately 21 BC: the year can be considered a valid *terminus post quem* by which to date the coin. Undoubtedly, it carries a strong historical value, connecting Augustus (and his official portrait) to *Tyndaris* and the *provincia Sicilia* through L. Mussidius as *proconsul*.

---

Crisà 2008, 257–59; Ripollès – Burnett – Amandry – Carradice – Spoerri Butcher 2015, 55).

<sup>24</sup> Crawford 1974, 502, n. 494.

<sup>25</sup> Zanker 1988, 98–100.

<sup>26</sup> *Tyndaris*, Æ as, Augustus, 22 BC–14 AD: obv.:/AVGVSTVS TVNDAR, head of Augustus right; rev.:/L(ucius)-MVSSID(IVS) PR(o)-CO(n)S(ul) inside wreath (Gabrici 1927, 162, nos. 337–38; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 269; Martini 1991, 66–70, nos. 111–33; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, n. 627; Campana 2001–2002, 81, n. 30; Martini 2001, 347, n. 1364; Crisà 2008, 253–56).

| Date                        | Epigraphic text  | Reference                    |
|-----------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> century AD? | [ <i>colonia</i> ] AVG( <i>usta</i> ) [ <i>Tyndaritanorum</i> ]                                      | CIL X 7480                   |
| 138–61 AD                   | COL( <i>onia</i> ) AVG( <i>usta</i> ) TYNDA( <i>ritanorum</i> )                                      | CIL X 7474                   |
| 161–69 AD                   | [ <i>colonia a</i> ]VG( <i>usta</i> ) TYNDAR( <i>itanorum</i> )                                      | CIL X 7475                   |
| 209–12 AD                   | R( <i>es</i> ) P( <i>ublica</i> ) COL( <i>onia</i> ) AVG( <i>usta</i> )<br>TY( <i>ndaritanorum</i> ) | Manganaro 1989,<br>163, n. 9 |
| 222–35 AD                   | RES ( <i>ublica</i> ) COL( <i>onia</i> ) AVG( <i>usta</i> )<br>TYNDAR( <i>itanorum</i> )             | CIL X 7478                   |
| Unknown                     | COL( <i>onia</i> ) AVG( <i>usta</i> ) TYN( <i>daritanorum</i> )                                      | CIL X 7476                   |

Table 1: List of texts showing the name of Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum.

In addition to this, a pivotal series of inscriptions (Table 1) forms an additional, vital source on the colonial foundation at *Tyndaris*. They essentially report standard formulas and abbreviations. The main ones are COL·AVG·TYND and COL·AVG, although sometimes the ethnic name is coherently associated with the local *res publica*. However, it can be inferred that the origin of these legends has to be found on coin legends (especially COL·TYND or COL·TVN), which could be dated before the inscriptions listed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Luckily, our epigraphic finds testify to a long-standing status for the *colonia* until the late Imperial period, when *Tyndaris* was still a *colonia Augusta*.

#### 4. A comparative case study: The Roman *colonia* of *Panormum*

*Tyndaris*, including all its essential historical sources, forms an important case study, which helps us to understand the effects of Augustus' actions and propaganda in Sicily. But what happened among the other Sicilian centres, irrespective of whether they were *colonia* or *municipia*? May we underline differences or similarities in terms of coin iconographies, legends and propagandistic aims? The following two sections aim to outline some Sicilian towns and their coinages between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, focusing on a series of issues fully connected with Augustus' policy in Sicily.

First of all, we can consider *Panormum* as a similar case study, which presents many analogies with *Tyndaris*. The ancient town of Palermo was born as a Punic foundation in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC and soon became a rich emporium on the northern coast of Sicily. The Romans conquered the city in 254 BC. *Pan-*



Fig. 5: View of Roman houses at Piazza della Vittoria (Palermo). (Photo by the author.)

*ormum* was *civitas sine foedere immunis et libera* during the Republican period; Cicero stated that Verres oppressed its rich citizens, like Diocles Phimes. As said, the status changed at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, once the city became a colony and was re-founded by Augustus (*Colonia Augusta Panhormitanorum*). Archaeology gives evidence that the settlement undertook a substantial urban expansion in the early Imperial period, as the Roman houses at Piazza della Vittoria clearly testify (Fig. 5). Strabo defined the city as *κατοικία* ('colony') in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, although Pliny called it *oppidum*. However, the status of colony is further confirmed by epigraphic sources. In particular, an inscription, dated to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, reports the formula *Col(onia) Aug(usta) Panhorm(itanorum)*, which fits perfectly into the standard epigraphic code documented at *Tyndaris*. Again, the colony's name is linked to the settlement's status and ethnic definition, and the formula still survived during the Roman Imperial age.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cic. *Verr.* 2,3,29; Plin. *NH* 3,88; *CIL* X, 7279; Gabrici 1921, 182–204; Giardina 1987, 226–37;

Similar to the aforementioned coins of *Tyndaris*, *Panormum's* coinage had a long-standing tradition and the city constantly issued coins until the Imperial age. The mint of Palermo was very productive for centuries and ended its activity in the age of Tiberius. We can mention Demeter, Hermes, the Dioscuri, Jupiter, Janus, eagles and prows among the most represented iconographies, including the Greek ethnic name's legend and some Latin personal names, like NASO and Q-FAB.<sup>28</sup>

However, late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD coinage offers a very substantial record and evidence of Augustan propaganda. It is explicitly put into effect through symbolic elements and traditional images, already used and successfully combined by the mint of *Panormum*. In particular, we can mention a coin (Fig. 6) showing the ethnic name and the head of Augustus on the obverse, and a large *triskeles-Gorgoneion* on the reverse, including three corn ears between the legs.<sup>29</sup> The Greek ethnic, which does not appear in Latin language,



Fig. 6: Panormum, Æ as, Augustus, 22 BC–14 AD: obv.:/IANOPMITAN; head of Augustus; rev.:/ Triskeles with Gorgoneion face and three corn ears. (Ex Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auktion 237, 7 March 2016, lot n. 1625.)

Wilson 1988, 153–58; Tamburello 1994, 205–41; Paoletti 2003, 1010; Spatafora – Montali 2006, 133–51.

<sup>28</sup> Poole 1876, 121–29; Bahrfeldt 1904, 3–117; Head 1911, 161–64; Gabrici 1927, 153–62; Mini 1979, 332–76; Calciati 1983, 329–68; Cutroni Tusa 1987, 275–88; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 170–73.

<sup>29</sup> *Panormum*, Æ as, Augustus, post 22 BC (?): obv.:/IANOPMITAN(ων); head of Augustus right;



is a strong traditional element, like all the other iconographies. The *triskeles* powerfully symbolises the *provincia Sicilia*, which still provided grain and food supplies for the Empire. This iconography had already appeared on late Republican coinage a few years previously. For instance, a silver *denarius* of Caesar (Fig. 7), probably minted in Sicily, associated the head of Venus on the obverse with Trinacrius holding a *triskeles* and standing on a prow on the reverse.<sup>30</sup>

The mint of *Panormum* was still operating during the reign of Tiberius. As an important and strategic Sicilian centre, *Panormum* maintained the right to issue coins, which again carried on elements of Augustan traditional propaganda. A remarkable coin (Fig. 8) conveys the most traditional aspects of Augustan portraiture, presenting the *princeps* on the obverse and Livia veiled on the reverse.<sup>31</sup> Legends (PANORMITANORVM/AVGV) efficaciously establish a cross-



Fig. 7: Sicilian mint, AR denarius, Julius Caesar, 47 BC: obv.:/IMP·COS·ITER C·CAESAR, head of Venus; rev.:/PRO·COS A·ALLIENVS, Trinacrius holding a triskeles. (Ex Nomos AG, *Obolos* 4, 21 February 2016, lot n. 506.)

rev.:/Triskeles with Gorgoneion face and three corn ears among legs (Poole 1876, 125, n. 42; Gabrici 1927, 162, nos. 333–35; SNG Sweden 1974, 36, nos. 488–89; Mini 1979, 344, n. 31a; Calciati 1983, 334, nos. 20–21; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 269; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 172, n. 641).

<sup>30</sup> Sicilian mint, AR *denarius*, Julius Caesar (49–44 BC), 47 BC: obv.:/IMP(erator)-CO(n)S(ul)-ITER C(aius)-CAESAR, diademed head of Venus right, dotted borderline; rev.:/PRO-CO(n)S(ul) A(ulus)-ALLIENVS, Trinacrius standing left on a prow, holding a *triskeles* in his right hand (Sydenham 1952, 170, n. 1022; Crawford 1974, 471, n. 457/1).

<sup>31</sup> *Panormum*, Æ *as*, Tiberius, 14–37 AD: obv.:/PANORMITANORVM, head of Augustus right; rev.:/AVGV(sta), veiled head of Livia right (Poole 1876, 125, nos. 43–44; Gabrici 1927, 161–62, nos. 325–31; SNG Euphratis 1970, XV, nos. 570–71; Mini 1979, 343–44, n. 27; Calciati 1983, 336–37, nos.

Fig. 8: Panormum, Æ as, Tiberius, 14–37 AD: obv.:PANORMITANORVM, head of Augustus; rev.:AVGV, head of Livia. (Ex Pecunem – Numismatik Naumann, Auktion 41, 6 March 2016, lot n. 384.)



ing connection between Augustus (the founder of the *colonia*), the local community of *Panormum* and Livia, who is depicted as Demeter, a traditional Sicilian goddess related to agriculture and (again) grain.

More importantly, one of the last issues of *Panormum* (Fig. 9) fully combines all iconography, legends and characteristics of Augustan coinage, although, like the previous one, it can be dated to the Tiberian age.<sup>32</sup> The obverse shows a radiate head of Augustus associated with the ethnic Latin name and a thunderbolt, while the reverse has the name of a local *duovir* (probably the moneyer), a Capricorn and a *triskeles*. Again, official portraits, symbols and legends were probably established by the central authority in Rome and then approved by local magistrates. The coin celebrated the *Divus Augustus*: the radiate crown is, of course, a *terminus post quem* to date the coin to the Tiberian period. This issue evidently closed the activity of the *Panormum* mint. Traditional and propagandistic elements are multiple: the ethnic name now in Latin; the *triskeles*, a symbol of Sicily; and the Capricorn, which is a common symbol in the iconographic Augustan repertory.<sup>33</sup>

37–38; Cutroni Tusa 1987, 279–80; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 270; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 172, n. 642).

<sup>32</sup> *Panormum*, Æ *dupondius* (?), Tiberius, 14–37 AD: obv.:PAN(H)ORMITANORVM, radiate head of Augustus left, thunderbolt and above a star; rev.:CN(aei) DO(mi) PROC(uli) A-LAETO(R) II-VIR, Capricorn on the right and below a *triskeles* (Poole 1876, 125, nos. 45–46; Gabrici 1927, 162, nos. 339–40; Mini 1979, 345, n. 36; Calciati 1983, 337, n. 39; Cutroni Tusa 1987, 280; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 270, 274; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 172, n. 644).

<sup>33</sup> Zanker 1988, 48–49.

### 5. Non-colonial centres: *Lilybaeum* and *Agrigentum*

What happened among the non-colonial centres in terms of Augustan propaganda? Can we find similarities between coinages of *coloniae* founded by the *princeps* and other settlements? In this section, I will present two case studies of some numismatic issues of two Sicilian cities whose status was not that of a colony.

First of all, *Lilybaeum* (Marsala, Trapani) (Fig. 10) provides numismatic evidence of Augustus in the western part of Sicily. The city, founded by the Punic exiles of Motya, who had been expelled by Dionysus I of Syracuse in 397 BC, based its economy on maritime commerce, considering its strategic position in Sicily. Once it became a Roman city in 241 BC, *Lilybaeum* gained political relevance, because one of the two *quaestores* of Sicily was based there, while the second one was in Syracuse. Cicero was based in Marsala in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The status of *Lilybaeum* after the civil war is not so clear. As Wilson pointed out, it can be argued that Augustus established a *municipium* as a punishment for having supported Sextus Pompeius. Accordingly, a Latin inscription mentions a *genius municipii Lilybaitanorum*. However, we also know that the settlement became a colony (*Colonia Helvia Augusta Lilybaitanorum*) probably between the



Fig. 9: Panormum, Æ dupondius (?), Tiberius, 14–37 AD: *obv.*:PAN(H)ORMI-TANORVM, *head of Augustus*; *rev.*:CN DO PROC A-LAETO(R), *Capricorn and triskeles*. (Ex *Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Auction 90, 2 February 2016, lot n. 3219.*)



Fig. 10: View of Marsala (Trapani). (Photo by the author.)

late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Therefore, it was not an Augustan colonial foundation, like *Tyndaris* and *Panormum*.<sup>34</sup>

Like *Tyndaris* and *Panormum*, *Lilybaeum*'s coinage also included a series of bronze issues, showing traditional and symbolic iconographies from the so-called 'periodo romano' (according to Gabrici's general chronology) until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The most common iconography was certainly Apollo and the lyra, associated with the ethnic name both in Greek and in Latin.<sup>35</sup>

Regarding the age of Augustus, a remarkable coin (Fig. 11) is decisive for our discussion. The coin depicts Augustus on the obverse and the head of Apollo together with Q. Terentius Culleo's legend on the reverse. Considering the other issues already discussed, we notice that the obverse not only shows a standard portrait of Augustus in terms of stylistic criteria, but also reports a new legend (CAESAR AVGVSTVS), while the ethnic name LILVB is differently

<sup>34</sup> *CIL* X, 7223, 7225, 7228; Bovio Marconi 1961, 627–30; Wilson 1988, 97–8, 158–67; De Vido 1991, 42–76.

<sup>35</sup> Poole 1876, 95; Head 1911, 150–51; Gabrici 1927, 144; Mini 1979, 270–73; Calciati 1983, 261–64; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 175–76; De Vido 1998, 47–48; Campana 1999, 339–50.



Fig. 11: Lilybaeum, Æ as, Augustus, post 21 BC (?): obv.:/CAESAR AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus; rev.:/Q TERENTIO CVLLEONE, head of Apollo. (Ex Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 64, 17 May 2012, lot n. 2372.)

impressed on the reverse and associated with the *proconsul* name. Nevertheless, Augustus cleverly accepted the reverse type of Apollo as a favourable god and a well-known image of *Lilybaeum*'s coinage, including also other symbolic iconography, like the lyra. It is evident that the *princeps* gained profitable iconographic material from the local tradition, but opted for a standardised, official portrait.<sup>36</sup>

The last case study is *Agrigentum*, the ancient Greek colony (called *Akragas*) founded in 581 BC. Conquered by the Romans in 210 BC, the city grew markedly in terms of population and urban extension. Archaeologists are still investigating the public areas and extensive private sectors. Organised by regular *cardines* and *decumani*, the city became a *municipium* after the civil war between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius and remained a prosperous centre even until the Byzantine period.<sup>37</sup>

As is well known, coinage of *Akragas* (and then *Agrigentum*) reveal a varied record of iconography from local fauna, like the crab and eagle, which are

<sup>36</sup> *Lilybaeum*, Æ as, Augustus (27 BC–14 AD), post 21 BC (?): obv.:/CAESAR AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus right; rev.:/Q(uinto) TERENTIO CVLLEONE PRO-CO(n)S(ule) LILVB(*itanorum*), laureate head of Apollo right (Gabrici 1927, 144, nos. 19–23; Mini 1979, 272–73; Calciati 1983, 264, n. 16; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 273–74; Manganaro 1988, 86, n. 4; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 176, n. 657; Campana 1999, 346–47, n. 5). Regarding local iconographies, see, for instance, the cithara/lyra on well-known late 1<sup>st</sup>-century BC coin of *Lilybaeum* (Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 176, n. 656). Apollo, who is often associated with the lyra, is a constant iconography in the coinage of *Lilybaeum* as well (Calciati 1983, 262–63, nos. 1–12). Less frequent is the tripod, which however is still associated with Apollo (Calciati 1983, 263–64, nos. 13–15).

<sup>37</sup> Wilson 1988, 177–85; De Miro 2009; De Miro – Fiorentini 2011.

probably the most represented fauna on silver and bronze coins. The city issued coins until the early Imperial age.<sup>38</sup>

A coin of Augustus (Fig. 12),<sup>39</sup> however, is essential to our investigation and offers historical data on the city at the very end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. As seen elsewhere, the obverse has the head of Augustus, although it appears less stylistically accurate in comparison with the portraits discussed above. Again, the legends clearly link the *princeps* (AVGVSTO), including his representation, with the ethnic name (AGRIGENTI*orum*). The abbreviated form *P(atri) P(atriciae)* is a persuasive dating element for this issue and can be used as *terminus post quem*. In fact, since Augustus became *Pater Patriae* in 2 BC,<sup>40</sup> the coin can very plausibly be dated after this date. Compared with previous Augustan coins, the reverse is completely unusual: there is no iconography, but a series of legends only, furthermore not very coherently organised in the field. They report names of two *duoviri* (Salassus Comitialis and Sextus Rufus) and the proconsul (L. Clodius Rufus). How can we assess this reverse? It may perhaps be inferred that this



Fig. 12: Agrigentum, Æ as, Augustus, post 2 BC: obv.:/AVGVSTO P-P AGRIGE(N) TI(N), head of Augustus; rev.:/SALASSO COMITIALE. (Ex *Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale 78, 14 May 2008, lot n. 1154.*)

<sup>38</sup> Poole 1876, 5–23; Head 1911, 119–24; Gabrici 1927, 112–19; Westermarck 1979, 3–17; Cutroni Tusa 2001–2003, 305–18.

<sup>39</sup> *Agrigentum, Æ as, Augustus (27 BC–14 AD), post 2 BC: obv.:/AVGVSTO P(atri)-P(atriciae) AGRIGE(N)TI(N)(orum), head of Augustus right; rev.:/SALASSO COMITIALE SEX(tus)-RVFO II VIR, L(ucio)-CLODIO/RVFO PRO-CO(n)S(ule) in the field, sometimes with plow countermark (Poole 1876, 22, n. 160; Gabrici 1927, 119, n. 158; Calciati 1983, n. 153; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 268–69; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 177, n. 660; SNG Agrigento 1999, 42, nos. 468–69).*

<sup>40</sup> Eder 2007, 27–28.

coin issue was created and shaped locally under the supervision of the two *duo-viri*, who were fully authorised by the central authority in Rome to opt for that particular, unusual reverse model.

## 6. Conclusion

We have considered a set of exemplar sources on Sicilian history, which help us understand the impact of Augustan propaganda between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. As said, the historical context in which Augustus acted was strongly marked by the results of a long-standing and sometimes ‘draining’ civil war. It affected some Sicilian towns and encouraged Augustus to reform the political and administrative assets of the *provincia*. This certainly impacted both the island’s local economy – for instance, facilitating the *latifundia*’s system – and local settlements. *Morgantina*, for example, suffered destructions and fires between the 40s and 30s BC and was progressively abandoned.<sup>41</sup> However, the foundation of new *coloniae* evidently allowed Augustus to distribute lands to the veterans and re-found some centres like *Tyndaris*, which became a *Colonia Augusta*. On the other hand, some settlements gained the status of *municipium*.

But what can we actually learn about his propaganda from numismatics? Is it possible to trace specific patterns in the numismatic record, which link coins issued both by *coloniae* and *municipia*? And lastly, how could we evaluate these coins and why have they been issued by those centres?

As seen, the coins of Augustus are useful historical tools to demonstrate how the *princeps* effected his propagandistic output in Sicily and established relations with local contexts and communities after the civil wars. In addition, as numismatic sources, they offer us much information on iconography, legends as well as political aspects. First, the spread of the Augustan portrait plays a leading role in his propaganda. We have learned that the *princeps* chose a quite standard representation, which mostly shows a bare head right with the same hair and profile. This novel portrait was very popular and was therefore also spread in Sicily. The image can easily find strict comparisons in contemporary numismatic portraits, especially on *asses* and *dupondii*. The ‘political style’ of the portrait, as

<sup>41</sup> Wilson 1990, 34; Bell III 2010, 725; Stone III 2014, 119–21.

defined by Zanker, is clearly observable on Sicilian issues (both from *coloniae* and *municipia*) and evidently it follows a tangible attempt by the central authority to standardise coinages in the island for propagandistic reasons, displaying a peacemaker *princeps* who restored order in Sicily, which became a grain producer again after the civil war.<sup>42</sup> However, this does not occur on the coin of *Agrigentum*, which discloses a portrait stylistically inferior to the canonical one and probably represents a peripheral/provincial artistic output.<sup>43</sup>

Accordingly, the standardisation of models and visual outputs can be also seen in the effective selection of symbolic associations of images and legends. As seen, for instance, the community ethnic name is often written in Latin and connected with the portrait on the obverse, together with the AVGVSTVS legend. This ethnic/portrait union is markedly strong and testifies to a successful attempt to link the *princeps* to the local tradition. On the other hand, the use of Greek for the ethnic name (mostly in genitive case), like ΠΑΝΟΠΜΙΤΑΝ or ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ,<sup>44</sup> should not be underestimated and still reveals the 'retention' of a linguistic background by Augustus. Above all, the Greek language was an expression of local identity in Sicily.<sup>45</sup> Again, no distinction in terms of standardisation can be observed between colonial or municipal numismatic issues.

We have revealed a manifest regularisation of portraiture models and ethnic legends on the obverses. Furthermore, various iconographies and symbolic elements played a significant role especially on the reverses. They show a systematic and coherent selection of components, obtained by a centuries-old local coinages tradition. On the same level, Augustus did not leave out more regional – or, even better, 'provincial' – iconographies, like the *triskeles* and the spikes (*Panormum*), which have always represented Sicily as a three-sided/legged island producing grain. Again, it is important to stress how crucial the victory of Octavian was over Sextus Pompeius, who had impeded Rome to easily obtain grain supplies from Sicily. The 'noble' role of *provincia Sicilia* was finally restored – even though with less relevance after the conquest of Egypt. Strikingly, those symbolic representations of Sicily also appear on later archaeological evidence,

<sup>42</sup> Zanker 1988, 100; Zanker 1989, 106–7.

<sup>43</sup> Cutroni Tusa 1988, 276.

<sup>44</sup> For the coin of *Agrigentum*, which we did not extensively debate here, see: Cutroni Tusa 1988, 268; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 176, n. 658.

<sup>45</sup> Korhonen 2011, 20–21.



testifying to widespread images also on a local base. The mosaic of the Roman baths in the *insula* IV at Tindari, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, is very exemplary and shows a *triskeles*.<sup>46</sup>

In addition, Augustus made use of other elements and iconographies which were very common and widespread on his coinages and often refer to his propagandistic aims. For instance, we have found the wreath enclosing legends in the fields (*Tyndaris*), a very ordinary component, or the Capricorn (*Panormum*), clearly linked to the *princeps*' mythological frameworks and heritage, as Zanker favourably defined them.<sup>47</sup> More importantly, as seen on a remarkable coin of *Lilybaeum*, Apollo is not only associated with the ethnic name (a local element) and the proconsul (a provincial authority) on the reverse, but also cleverly connected to the *princeps* Augustus on the obverse, who traditionally identified himself with this god (a component of his religious background). As previously observed, colonial and municipal numismatic issues do not present substantial differences but follow standard criteria of iconographic composition. Therefore, it can be argued that these patterns were established by the central authority in Rome and then combined with traditional elements of the local centres; furthermore, the process was supervised and 'approved' by the local magistrates (e.g. *duoviri*).

One aspect of Sicilian provincial coinages of Augustus is still controversial. What was the purpose of these issues? It is possible to formulate some hypotheses, which, however, can only be confirmed by archaeological research. In fact, substantial sets of numismatic finds from Sicilian excavations are still unpublished, and our knowledge of the island's coin circulation remains overall quite fragmentary and unclear regarding the period between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Nevertheless, we do benefit from rare published data from some archaeological excavations which include numismatic finds. It seems that no Sicilian provincial coins of Augustus have been found in *Kamarina* (Santa Croce Camerina, Ragusa), *Lilybaeum* (necropolis) and *Entella* (Contessa Entellina, Palermo).<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, coins of *Panormum* (Au-

---

<sup>46</sup> Spigo 2005, 52.

<sup>47</sup> Zanker 1988, 48.

<sup>48</sup> *Kamarina*: Lucchelli – Di Stefano 2004; *Lilybaeum* (necropolis): Frey-Kupper 1997; Frey-Kupper 1999, 395–457; *Entella*: Frey-Kupper 2000 (excavations 1984–97); Frey-Kupper – Weiss 2010, 91–100; Frey-Kupper – Weiss 2011, 97–104 (excavations 2007–08). Furthermore, some archaeologi-

gustus/Livia, Augustus/Capricorn, etc.) and *Tyndaris* (AVGVSTVS/L·MVSSIDI) have been discovered at *Morgantina*, while a specimen of *Agrigentum* (Augustus/Sextus Rufus) was also found at the same site. More significantly, archaeologists have also found around 40 coins of Augustus and Tiberius at *Iatai* (S. Giuseppe Iato, Palermo), especially issued by *Panormum*, which was the predominant Sicilian mint at the time before its closure after 37 AD.<sup>49</sup>

Of course, this picture is not complete and definitive, but we can speculate that these coins were not massively widespread, circulating mainly in Sicily together with the more common Roman coins (especially *asses*).<sup>50</sup> Coin production at *Panormum* and *Lilybaeum*, allowed by Rome (and Augustus) in the early Imperial period, would have been limited to provide small currency and avoid further supply from the main Roman mint, as Frey-Kupper coherently argues.<sup>51</sup> The frequent use of countermarks would testify to a legal attempt to legalise this currency and make it equivalent with the new Roman *as* metrological system.<sup>52</sup>

However, Grant proposed that the coin of *Tyndaris* (AVGVSTVS/L·MVSSIDI PR·COS) was a foundation issue to celebrate the new *Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum*, established by Augustus in 21 BC.<sup>53</sup> The *Roman Provincial Coinage* opts for a 21 BC *terminus post quem*, but does not necessarily consider it a celebrative issue for that event.<sup>54</sup> As far as we can speculate, Grant's hypothesis could be accepted, but it can also be argued that the issue would have probably addressed a potential lack of money circulation at *Tyndaris* and neighbouring areas after the civil war. Surely, an undeniable gap

---

cal excavations at Agrigento did not discover coins of Augustus. In particular, see: Macaluso 1995, 303–23 (necropolis *sub-divo*).

<sup>49</sup> For *Morgantina* see: Buttrey – Erim – Groves – Ross Holloway 1990, 112, nos. 276, 278, 280 (mint of *Panormum*), 429 (mint of *Tyndaris*). For *Iatai* see: Frey-Kupper 1991, 290–91 (coins of *Panormum* from archaeological contexts of Tiberian age); Frey-Kupper 2013, 719–20 (in particular, we mention nos. 499–528; PANORMITANORVM/Livia; nos. 487–91: CN DOM PROCV/Capricorn). For *Agrigentum* see: De Miro 2000, 211, n. 1062 (coin of Augustus/*Sextus Rufus*) (sacred area between the temple of Zeus and 'Porta V').

<sup>50</sup> Cutroni Tusa 1988, 275–76.

<sup>51</sup> Frey-Kupper 1991, 286.

<sup>52</sup> Manganaro 1972, 460–61; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 166–67.

<sup>53</sup> Grant 1946, 237.

<sup>54</sup> Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 168.

in the published numismatic materials makes it difficult to prove or contradict this hypothesis.<sup>55</sup>

Lastly, our historical, numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological sources have demonstrated how the intervention of Augustus in Sicily after the civil war left some essential evidence of his propaganda, showing a good range of positive effects in terms of urban development, especially for *Tyndaris*, our first case study. Coins reveal much information on the propagandistic patterns chosen by Augustus, who returned Sicily to local communities after the war and restored a 'new order' while respecting old traditional backgrounds at the same time. Undoubtedly, much information is still fragmentary. Further research is much welcomed to obtain a full picture on Sicilian settlements between 36 and 22 BC and more in-depth knowledge on the island's coin circulation in the Augustan age. This could help clarify the immediate aftermath following the civil war and better understand the production, function and circulation of Augustan numismatic issues.

*Ghent University*

---

<sup>55</sup> Leone – Spigo 2008: for instance, this recent, pivotal work on *Tyndaris* excavations does not provide any report on numismatic finds.

## Bibliography

- K. Allen 1922. "The *Fasti* of Ovid and the Augustan propaganda", *AJPh* 43, 3: 250–66.
- M. Amandry – A. Burnett – P. P. Ripollès – M. Spoerri Butcher 2014. *Roman Provincial Coinage. Supplement 3*, New York.
- M. Bahrfeldt 1904. *Die römisch-sicilischen Münzen aus der Zeit der Republik*, Genf (extracted from *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 12: 331–445).
- A. Barchiesi 2007. "Learned eyes: poets, viewers, image makers", in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion of the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, 281–305.
- G. Bejor 1983. "Aspetti della romanizzazione della Sicilia", in Scuola Normale Superiore (ed.), *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche. Atti del Convegno di Cortona, 24–30 maggio 1981. Collection de l'École Française de Rome*, 67, Pisa, 345–74.
- G. Bejor 2007. "Insediamenti rurali in Sicilia tra Repubblica e Impero", in C. Micciché – S. Modeo – L. Santagati (eds.), *La Sicilia romana tra Repubblica e Alto Impero. Atti del Convegno di studi, Caltanissetta, 20–21 maggio 2006*, Caltanissetta, 14–26.
- M. Bell III 2010. s.v. "Serra Orlando", in G. Nenci – G. Vallet (eds.), *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, 18, Pisa – Rome, 724–51.
- O. Belvedere 1998. "Aspetti dell'urbanistica romana in Sicilia", *Rivista di Topografia Antica* 8: 111–20.
- O. Belvedere – E. Termine 2005. "L'urbanizzazione della costa nord-orientale della Sicilia e la struttura urbana di Tindari", in S. T. A. M. Mols – E. M. Moorman (eds.), *Omni pede stare. Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Joes de Waele*, Naples, 89–91.
- L. Bernabò Brea – M. Cavalier 1965. "Tindari. Area urbana. L'insula IV e le strade che la circondano", *Bollettino d'Arte* 50, 1–2: 205–9.
- L. Bernabò Brea – A. M. Fallico 1966. s.v. "Tindari", *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale*, Rome, 3: 865–68.
- J. Bovio Marconi 1961. s.v. "Lilibeo", *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale*, Rome, 4: 627–30.

- A. Burnett – M. Amandry – P. P. Ripollès 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage. I. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, London – Paris.
- A. Burnett – M. Amandry – P. P. Ripollès – I. Carradice 2006. *Roman Provincial Coinage. Supplement 2*, New York.
- T. V. Buttrey – K. T. Erim – T. D. Groves – R. Ross Holloway 1990. *Morgantina Studies II. The Coins*, Princeton.
- R. Calciati 1983. *Corpus Nummorum Siculorum: la monetazione di bronzo*, Mortara.
- A. Campana 1999. “*Corpus Antiquae Italiae*, III. Sicilia: Lilybaion (ca. 200–7 d.C.)”, *Panorama Numismatico* 16, 134: 339–50.
- A. Campana 2001–2002. “*Corpus Antiquae Italiae*, III. Sicilia: Tyndaris (ca. 354–21 a.C.)”, *Panorama Numismatico* 18–19, 150, 152, 159: 63–86.
- F. Coarelli – M. Torelli 2000. *Guide Archeologiche: Sicilia*, Bari.
- M. H. Crawford 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge.
- A. Crisà 2006. “Tyndaris: storia, studi numismatici e iconografia monetale dei Dioscuri”, *Cronaca Numismatica* 18, 186: 36–46.
- A. Crisà 2008. “La monetazione di Tindari romana con segni di valore e legende in lingua latina”, *RIN* 109: 235–68.
- A. Crisà 2019. “A rare clay token in context: a fortunate and recorded discovery from the necropolis of Tindari (Messina, 1896)”, in A. Crisà – M. Gkikaki – C. Rowan (eds.), *Tokens: Culture, Connections, Communities*, London, 63–77.
- A. Cutroni Tusa 1987. “La zecca di Panormo nella prima età imperiale”, *Kokalos* 33: 275–88.
- A. Cutroni Tusa 1988. “Il ritratto monetale di Augusto in Sicilia”, in N. Bonacasa – G. Rizza (eds.), *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato. Atti della II conferenza internazionale sul ritratto romano, Roma 1984*, Rome, 267–76.
- A. Cutroni Tusa 1995. “La documentazione numismatica”, *Kokalos* 41: 363–74.
- A. Cutroni Tusa 2001–2003. “La zecca di Agrigento durante la seconda guerra punica”, *Scienze dell’Antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia* 11: 305–18.
- E. De Miro 2000. *Agrigento. I. I santuari urbani: l’area sacra tra il tempio di Zeus e Porta V*, Rome.
- E. De Miro 2009. *Agrigento. IV. L’abitato antico. Il quartiere ellenistico-romano*, Rome.

- E. De Miro – G. Fiorentini 2011. *Agrigento. VI. Agrigento romana: gli edifici pubblici e civili*, Pisa.
- S. De Vido 1991. s.v. “Lilibeo”, in G. Nenci – G. Vallet (eds.), *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, 9, Pisa – Rome, 42–76.
- W. Eder 2007. “Augustus and the power of tradition”, in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion of the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, 13–33.
- M. I. Finley 1979. *Ancient Sicily*, London.
- S. Frey-Kupper 1991. “La circolazione monetale a Monte Iato sotto la dominazione romana fino all’età tiberiana”, in L. Biondi – A. Corretti – S. De Vido (eds.), *Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull’Area Elima, Gibellina 19–22 settembre 1991*, 1, Pisa, 281–97.
- S. Frey-Kupper 1997. “Note preliminari sul materiale numismatico proveniente dalla necropoli punica di *Lilybaeum* (1987–1991)”, in *II Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull’Area Elima, Gibellina 22–26 ottobre 1994*, 2, Pisa, 711–28.
- S. Frey-Kupper 1999. “I ritrovamenti monetali”, in B. Bechtold (ed.), *La necropoli di Lilybaeum*, Palermo, 395–457.
- S. Frey-Kupper 2000. “Ritrovamenti monetali da Entella (scavi 1984–1997)”, in *III Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull’Area Elima, Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina 23–26 ottobre 1997*, 1, Pisa, 479–98.
- S. Frey-Kupper 2011. “7. Entella. I ritrovamenti monetali antichi e medievali dai SAS 19, 25 e 30 (2007–08)”, *NSA (Rassegna archeologica del LSATMA. Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa* 5, 3/2, supplement), 97–104.
- S. Frey-Kupper 2013. *Die antiken Fundmünzen vom Monte Iato 1971–1990: Ein Beitrag zur Geldgeschichte Westsiziliens*, Lausanne.
- S. Frey-Kupper – C. Weiss 2010. “4. Entella. I ritrovamenti monetali antichi e medievali scoperti nelle aree del palazzo fortificato (SAS 1) e del Pizzo della Regina (2007–08)”, *NSA (Rassegna Archeologica del LSATMA. Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa* 5, 2/2, supplement), 91–100.
- E. Gabrici 1921. “Ruderi romani scoperti alla Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo”, *MonAL* 27: 182–204.
- E. Gabrici 1927. *La monetazione del bronzo nella Sicilia antica*, Palermo.
- A. Giardina 1987. “Il quadro storico: Panormo da Augusto a Gregorio Magno”, *Kokalos* 33: 225–55.

- M. Grant 1946. *From imperium to auctoritas: a historical study of aes coinage in the Roman Empire, 49 B.C.–A.D. 14*, Cambridge.
- M. Grant 1952. “Roman coins as propaganda”, *Archaeology* 5, 2: 79–85.
- E. S. Gruen 2007. “Augustus and the making of the Principate”, in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion of the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, 33–51.
- M. I. Gulletta 2011a. s.v. “Taormina”, in G. Nenci – G. Vallet (eds.), *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, 20, Pisa – Rome, 42–112.
- M. I. Gulletta 2011b. s.v. “Tindari”, in G. Nenci – G. Vallet (eds.), *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, 20, Pisa – Rome, 606–54.
- G. Guzzetta 2007. “La monetazione in Sicilia in “età romana””, in C. Micciché – S. Modeo – L. Santagati (eds.), *La Sicilia romana tra Repubblica e Alto Impero. Atti del Convegno di studi, Caltanissetta, 20–21 maggio 2006*, Caltanissetta, 185–98.
- V. H. Head 1911. *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, Oxford.
- P. J. Holliday 1990. “History, and ritual on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*”, *ABull* 72, 4: 542–57.
- K. Korhonen 2011. “Language and identity in the Roman colonies of Sicily”, in R. J. Sweetman (ed.), *Roman Colonies in the First Century of their Foundation*, Oxford, 7–31.
- A. Lazzeretti 2004. “Furti d’arte ai danni di privati nelle Verrine di Cicerone: città, derubati, opere d’arte”, *Kokalos* 46, vol. 1: 261–305.
- R. Leone – U. Spigo 2008. *Tyndaris 1. Ricerche nel settore occidentale: campagne di scavo 1993–2004*, Palermo.
- T. Lucchelli – C. Di Stefano 2004. *Monete dall’agorà di Camarina. Campagne di scavo 1983–1995*, Milan.
- R. Macaluso 1995. “Le monete”, in R. M. Bonacasa Carra (ed.), *Agrigento. La necropoli paleocristiana sub-divo* (Studi e materiali 100), Rome, 303–22.
- G. Manganaro 1972. “Per una storia della Sicilia romana”, in *ANRW. Von den Anfängen Roms bis zum Ausgang der Republik*, I.1, Berlin – New York, 442–61.
- G. Manganaro 1988. “La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano”, in *ANRW. Politische Geschichte. Sizilien und Sardinien*, II.11.1, Berlin – New York, 3–90.

- G. Manganaro 1989. "Iscrizioni latine nuove e vecchie della Sicilia", *Epigraphica* 51: 161–96.
- G. Manganaro 1992. "La provincia romana", in E. Gabba – G. Vallet (eds.), *La Sicilia antica. II, 2. La Sicilia romana*, Palermo, 415–61.
- A. Marino 2007. "Centralità e/o marginalità della Sicilia tra la crisi della *res publica* e i primi anni dell'impero", in C. Micciché – S. Modeo – L. Santagati (eds.), *La Sicilia romana tra Repubblica e Alto Impero. Atti del Convegno di studi, Caltanissetta, 20–21 maggio 2006*, Caltanissetta, 8–13.
- R. Martini 1991. *Monetazione provinciale romana. I. Sicilia. Le emissioni tardo-repubblicane di Atratinus e le serie con ritratto di Octavianus Augustus e Tiberius (36 a.C.–37 d.C.)*, Milan.
- R. Martini 1998. "Emissione duumvirale della colonia (?) di Tyndaris a firma dei legati (?) di Sextus Pompeius A. Pomponius M. f. Vic(tor) ed A. (Flaminius?) Flamma", *Annotazioni Numismatiche* 8, 29: 666–70.
- R. Martini 2001. *Caesar Avgvstvs. Collezione Veronelli di monete di bronzo: catalogo critico*, Milan.
- A. Mini 1979. *Monete di bronzo della Sicilia antica*, Palermo.
- D. Musti 2005. "Tindari. La città dei gemelli", *Sicilia Antiqua* 2: 141–43.
- M. Paoletti 2003. "Verre, gli argenti e la *cupiditas* del collezionista", in AA.VV., *IV Giornate Internazionali sull'Area Elima. Erice, 1–4 dicembre 2000*, 2, Pisa, 999–1027.
- L. Pfuntner 2013. "The vanishing Sicilian city: identity, connectivity, and urban abandonment in a Roman province", in L. Bombardieri – A. D'Agostino – G. Guarducci – V. Orsi – S. Valentini (eds.), *SOMA 2012. Identity and Connectivity. Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012* (BAR International Series 2581), 2, Oxford, 919–26.
- R. S. Poole 1876. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Sicily*, London.
- J. W. Prag 2010. "Sicilia Romana tributim discripta", in M. Silvestrini (ed.), *Le tribù romane. Atti della XVIe Rencontre sur l'épigraphie, Bari 8–10 ottobre 2009*, Bari, 305–311.
- C. Reid Rubincam 1985. "The chronology of the punishment and reconstruction of Sicily by Octavian/Augustus", *AJA* 89, 3: 521–22.



- A. Ripollès – A. Burnett – M. Amandry – I. Carradice – M. S. Spoerri Butcher 2015. *Roman Provincial Coinage. Consolidated Supplement. 1–3 (1992–2015)*, New York.
- SNG Agrigento 1999. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, Agrigento*.
- SNG Evelpidis 1970. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Greece. Collection Réna H. Evelpidis Athènes*, London.
- SNG Sweden 1974. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Stockholm, Kungl. Myntkabinettet (Sweden)*, Stockholm.
- F. Spatafora – G. Montali 2006. “Palermo: nuovi scavi nell’area di Piazza della Vittoria”, in M. Osanna – M. Torelli (eds.), *Sicilia Ellenistica, Consuetudo Italica. Alle origini dell’architettura ellenistica d’Occidente. Atti delle giornate di studio, Spoleto 5–7 novembre 2004* (Biblioteca di ‘Sicilia Antiqua’ 1), Rome, 133–51.
- C. V. H. Sutherland 1983. “The purpose of Roman Imperial coin types”, *RN* 25: 73–82.
- U. Spigo 2005. *Tindari. L’area archeologica e l’Antiquarium*, Milazzo.
- S. C. Stone III 1983. “Sextus Pompey, Octavian and Sicily”, *AJA* 87, 1: 11–22.
- S. C. Stone III 2002. “Sextus Pompeius, Octavianus and Sicily”, in A. Powell – K. Welch (eds.), *Sextus Pompeius*, London, 135–65.
- S. C. Stone III 2014. *Morgantina Studies. Volume VI. The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton.
- E. A. Sydenham 1952. *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London.
- I. Tamburello 1994. s.v. “Palermo”, in G. Nenci – G. Vallet (eds.), *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, Pisa – Rome, 13, 205–41.
- P. Villemur 2016. “De quelques émissions coloniales romaines en Sicile: retour à Tyndaris”, in P. G. Van Alfen – G. Bransbourg – M. Amandry (eds.), *FIDES: Contribution to Numismatics in Honor of Richard B. Witschonke*, New York, 435–53.
- K. Welch 2012. *Magnus Pius: Sextus Pompeius and the Transformation of the Roman Republic*, Swansea.
- L. West 1949. “Imperial publicity on coins of the Roman emperors”, *CJ* 45, 1: 19–26.

- U. Westermark 1979. "The fifth century bronze coinage of *Akragas*", in Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici (ed.), *Le origini della monetazione di bronzo in Sicilia e in Magna Graecia. Atti del 6. Convegno del Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici, Napoli, 17-22 aprile 1977*, Rome, 3-17.
- R. J. A. Wilson 1988. "Towns of Sicily under the Roman Empire", in *ANRW. Politische Geschichte. Sizilien und Sardinien*, II.11.1, Berlin - New York, 90-206.
- R. J. A. Wilson 1990. *Sicily under the Roman Empire*, Warminster.
- G. Woolf 2007. "Provincial perspectives", in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion of the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, 106-29.
- P. Zanker 1988. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor.
- P. Zanker 1989. *Augusto e il potere delle immagini*, Turin.