
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ИСТОРИЯ

УСЕАГУЛЬНАЯ ГІСТОРЫЯ

WORLD HISTORY

УДК 737(08)

БОГИНЯ СЕГЕТИЯ НА РЕВЕРСЕ МОНЕТ ИМПЕРАТРИЦЫ САЛОНИНЫ

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Отмечено, что древние римляне знали божество по имени Сегеста/Сегетия (*Segesta/Segetia*). В Галлии существовал культ богини Сегеты (*Segeta*). Связь между ними в современных интерпретациях фиксируется монетами типа DEAE SEGETIAE, которые использовались при Валериане и Галлиене и выпускались в честь императрицы Салонины (258–260 гг. н. э.). По мнению некоторых исследователей, фигурой на реверсах монет является Сегеста – богиня, которой поклонялись в Риме. Другие считают, что культ богини Сегеты происходил из Галлии. Сторонники обоих взглядов отмечают, что единственное определенное представление этого божества, известного по имени в денежной легенде, – это ее образ в иконографии монеты. Богиня Сегетия представлена на монетах как синкретическая фигура, обладающая широкими полномочиями, на это указывает и то, что она получила очень обширную иконографическую форму. Представлен обзор различных интерпретаций содержания монет типа DEAE SEGETIAE, выпускавшихся в честь Салонины Августы – жены римского императора Галлиена. За исключением данной серии монет имя Сегесты больше нигде не появляется в имперской чеканке, а образ этой богини на указанных монетах сочетает в себе несколько черт, которые чаще встречаются в представлениях других божеств.

Ключевые слова: *Segetia; Segeta; Segesta*; римские монеты; денежная иконография.

Образец цитирования:

Ключек АА. Богиня Сегетия на реверсе монет императрицы Салонины. *Журнал Белорусского государственного университета. История*. 2018;4:64–74 (на англ.).

For citation:

Kluczek AA. Dea Segetia on Reverse of Coins of Empress Salonina. *Journal of the Belarusian State University. History*. 2018;4:64–74.

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БАГІНЯ СЯГЕЦІЯ НА РЭВЕРСЕ МАНЕТ ІМПЕРАТРЫЦЫ САЛАНІНЫ

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Адзначаецца, што старажытныя рымляне ведалі бажства Сягеста/Сягеція (*Segesta* ці *Segetia*). У Галіі існаваў культ багіні Сягеты (*Segeta*). Сувязь паміж імі ў сучасных інтэрпрэтацыях фіксуецца манетами тыпу DEAE SEGETIAE, якія выкарыстоўваліся пры Валерыяне і Галіене і выпускаліся ў гонар імператрыцы Саланіны (258–260 гг. н. э.). На думку некаторых даследчыкаў, фігурай на рэверсах манет з'яўляецца Сягеста – багіня, якой пакланяліся ў Рыме. Іншыя лічаць, што культ багіні Сягеціі паходзіў з Галіі. Прыхільнікі абодвух поглядаў адзначаюць, што адзіная вызначаная выява гэтага бажства, вядомага па імені ў грашовай легендзе, – гэта яе вобраз у іканаграфіі манеты. Багіня Сягеція прадстаўлена на манетах як сінкрэтычная фігура, якая валодае шырокімі паўнамоцтвамі, пра гэта сведчыць тое, што яна атрымала шырокую іканаграфічную форму. Прадстаўлены агляд розных інтэрпрэтацый зместу манет тыпу Deae Segetiae, якія выпускаліся ў гонар Саланіны Аўгусты – жонкі рымскага імператара Галіена. За выключэннем адной серыі манет імя Сягесты больш нідзе не з'яўляецца ў імператарскай чаканцы, а вобраз гэтай багіні на згаданых манетах спалучае ў сабе некалькі рысаў, якія часцей сустракаюцца ў выявах іншых багоў.

Ключавыя словы: *Segetia*; *Segeta*; *Segesta*; рымскія манеты; грашовая іканаграфія.

DEA SEGETIA ON REVERSE OF COINS OF EMPRESS SALONINA

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The Ancient Romans knew a deity named Segesta and Segetia. In Gallia there was a cult of dea Segeta. A link between them in the contemporary interpretations became the antoniniani of DEAE SEGETIAE type issues under Valerian and Gallienus for empress Salonina (258–260 AD). According to some researchers, the figure on its reverses is Segesta/Segetia, a deity worshipped in Rome itself. Others suggest that dea Segeta, originates from Gallia. The advocates of both these views notice, however, that the only certain representation of this deity – known by name in the monetary legend – is her image in the coin iconography. Dea Segetia represented on the coins as a syncretic figure which possessed broad competences, all the more so that it received a very comprehensive iconographic form. The article is an overview of various interpretations put on the contents of aurei and antoniniani of DEAE SEGETIAE type, emitted for Salonina Augusta, the wife of the Roman Emperor Gallienus (253–268). Except for this case, the name of Segetia does not appear anywhere else in the imperial coinage while the image of the goddess on these coins combines several features more frequently found in the representations of other deities.

Key words: *Segetia*; *Segeta*; *Segesta*; Roman coins; monetary iconography.

The inscription DEAE SEGETIAE distinguishes itself from banal and topical epigraphs placed on the Roman imperial coins¹. It was used once only, on the reverses of *aurei* and *antoniniani*, emitted around the year 258–260 AD [1, p. 108, nos. 1, 5; 2, no. 902] (cf. fig. 1) struck for Salonina Augusta (Cornelia Salonina²), the wife of emperor Gallienus (P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus, 253–268 AD).

In the coinage related to the name of Salonina the number of deities is relatively small especially if compared to more numerous personifications [3, p. 240]. So the uniqueness of DEAE SEGETIAE coins attracts

even more the researchers' attention and the questions concerning the sense of the reverse contents and the motivation for such a choice of theme in connection with the person of Salonina often recur³. Still the circumstances in which the coins were emitted are only generally known as they are poorly elucidated in the sources.

The Ancient Romans knew a deity named Segesta and Segetia. The name of Segetia was mentioned by a few antique authors, who refer it to one of the old agrarian deities, worshipped by the Ancient Romans. Saint Augustine, the bishop of Hippo Regius (354–430 AD)

¹For analysis and discussion on the DEAE SEGETIAE type, see recent my study [4, p. 9–36], with further bibliography.

²Augusta from 254 AD [5, p. 71; 6, p. 180] or 253 AD [1, p. 14].

³The fact that DEAE SEGETIAE coins are rare is indicated in the works [1, p. 35; 6, p. 189; 7, p. 483; 8, p. 77]; as well as in other works quoted in this article. Cf. also the imitations with the name and the portrait of Tetricus I [9, p. 163, no. N165]. Earlier the coins of DEAE SEGETIAE type were attributed to Valerianus I and to Saloninus [10, p. 135–137] (VALERIANVS P F AVG / DEAE SEGETIAE and VALERIANVS CAES AVG / DEAE SEGETIAE); the *antoniniani* «SALONINA AVG / CERES SEGESTAE, Cérés dans un temple à quatre colonnes» [11, p. 499, no. 23, 500, note 1; 12, p. 108, note 1].



Fig. 1. Antoninianus of Gallienus for Salonina, Cologne, 258–260, P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London 1968, vol. 5.1, p. 108, no 5. Av.: SALONINA AVG, Diademed, draped bust; Rv.: DEAE SEGETIAE, Goddess in tetrastyle temple. Source: http://www.forumancientcoins.com/moonmoth/coins/pics/salonina/salonina_011.jpg

wrote, that the period of growth was presided over by Segetia (Aug. *De civ. D.* 4.8; cf. *ibid.* 4.24 and 6; 5.21). But the goddess alone was not enough to take care of the sown seeds and the collected corn. So among her companions there were also Seia, who protected the seed once sown in the earth, Volutina, the goddess in charge of the coverings of the follicles, Patelana – the goddess presiding over the follicles when the open so that the ears may emerge, Tutulina/Tutilina – the goddess who watches over the harvested and stored grain.

Macrobius (Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, IV/V century), the Roman erudite writer, also mentions the name of Segetia among other agrarian deities in *Saturnalia* (Macr. *Sat.* 1.16.8). On the other hand, the earlier author Pliny the Elder (C. Plinius Secundus, 23–79 AD) in his *Naturalis Historia* used the name Segesta in relation to the goddess in charge of the sprouting shoots. He also pointed to a long-standing presence of this deity in the traditional Roman beliefs and her widespread appeal (Plin. *Nat.* 18.2.7–8). The hypothesis concerning the existence of a Dea Segesta originating from the Sicilian town of Segesta is a current attempt to explain the variants of her name [12, p. 57].

One of the places of worship, connected with the cult of the agrarian deities in Rome, was in the space of Circus Maximus [13, p. 425–426; 14, p. 93–94]. Among them there were such deities as Messiae, Seiae, Tutilinae listed by Tertulian (Q. Septimius Florens Tertulianus, 160–220 AD) in *De spectaculis*. There was also the Segetia/Segesta, who watched over the harvests when they were sprung from the soil (Tert. *Spect.* 8.3). Some contemporary authors associate Segetia with Messia, still others sometimes see her as one of the embodiments or even an archetype of Ceres [10, p. 134; 15, p. 37; 14, p. 93; 16, p. 124]. There is also an interesting hypothesis that the significance of Segetia may have been broader than just taking care of the sprouting blades: together with other agrarian deities she may have symbolized the idea of Circus Maximus as

a place of transition and change [17, p. 62; 18, p. 75]. Yet the data concerning the representations of such a Segetia are rather scarce.

Former authors, while mentioning Segetia/Segesta, directed their attention to the valley of Circus Maximus. During the Republic the complex was adorned i. a. with columns topped with statues of various deities (cf. Val. Max. 4.4.8; Liv. 40.2.1–3; Obs. 5). In the materials concerning the period of the Roman Empire there definite information about it. These columns, erected *in circo (medio)* (Plin. *Nat.* 18.2.8; Prob. *Buc.* 6.31), or on the *spina*, formed «particular ornaments of the circus» (Tert. *Spect.* 8.3: *singula ornamenta Circi*; cf. Prob. *Buc.* 6.31). Among the statues of the deities placed on top of these columns there were Messiae, Seiae, Tutilinae (Tert. *Spect.* 8.3) as well as the statue, *simulacrum*, of Segesta, which *in circo videmus* (Plin. *Nat.* 18.2.8).

So there are grounds to believe that the representations preserved in Circus Maximus are the images of Segetia. In the Roman art, in the mosaics, reliefs of sarcophagi, on lamps we also find the *circenses* secenes, which among other elements include statues on columns [16, p. 280–283; 17, p. 267–268; 19, p. 197–201]. Some of them are interpreted as representations of agrarian deities e. g. Seia, Messia, Tutulina/Tutilina⁴. However, they are elements of secondary importance so their size is rather small and their details remain hard to identify. It is not always possible to determine whom a definite statue, in a given case, represents. Recognizing Segetia among the statues on the columns is all the more difficult, that she may basically be identified by the scope of her duties and by the connotations with her name and her duties: the name of Segetia *vel* Segesta was derived from *seges* (Plin. *Nat.* 18.2.8: *Segestam a segetibus appellabant*; cf. Aug. *De civ. D.* 4.24). Augustine wrote at length about the competencies of Segetia: «Nec saltem potuerunt unam Segetiam talem invenire, cui semel segetes commendarent, sed sata frumenta, quamdiu sub terra essent, praepositam voluerunt habere deam Seia; cum vero iam essent super terram et segetem facerent, deam Segetiam <...>. Cui non sufficere videretur illa Segetia, quamdiu seges ab initiis herbidis usque ad aristas aridas perveniret?» (Aug. *De civ. D.* 4.8). It was, however, difficult to find iconographic expression for the idea of protection of corn and other grain *supra terram* attributed to the deity and to transmit it through a gesture or an attribute characteristic exclusively for Segetia and, at the same time, different from the gestures and attributes of other agrarian deities. It causes problems by distinguishing the possible representations of the goddess from other deities that were also honoured with statues in Circus Maximus.

The relics, most probably relating to Segesta/Segetia, were detailed by Francesco Marcattili [16, p. 127–128]. They are a Campana plaque (Musée d'Art

⁴ See, e. g., relief, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense, Musei Vaticani (II century AD) [16, cat. 12; 17, p. 138–140, 177, 263–264], and Foligno relief, Museo di Palazzo Trinci (III century AD) [16, cat. 15; 17, p. 246–248, 277–278].

et Histoire, Genève), dating from the era of Augustus' reign [16, cat. 1; 17, p. 182; cf. fig. 2], a lamp with the inscription TERES (Antikesammlung Staatliche Museen, Berlin), dating from the years 30–70 AD [16, cat. 95; 17, p. 187; cf. fig. 3], and a sarcophagus with Erotes' racing chariots (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli), coming from the period of the Antonine dynasty [16, cat. 34; 17, p. 279; cf. fig. 4]. In the reliefs decorat-

ing these three relics there is, among other elements, a female figure in a long dress which personifies a deity. This *simulacrum* was set on an isolated column, whose position toward the other illustrated elements of the installations in Circus Maximus varies: on the plaque it is to the left of *delphini*, on the lamp – to their right, on the sarcophagus – between an obelisk and an altar (of the Sun?). A common element of all these variant images is a gesture made by the figure. She rises high up her right arm. It may be a way to illustrate Segetia as the protectress of grain sprouting through the soil.

A statue on a column with her arms raised high could also be found in the scene of a chariot race in the mosaic from Gafsa (Musée National du Bardo, Tunis), dating from VI century [16, cat. 86; 17, p. 244–246; 19, p. 204–205; cf. fig. 5]. In the figure, standing frontally with her arms outstretched and raised high up, like an acroterion of a small temple on the arena of a circus, some researchers see Segetia [16, p. 128; 20, p. 416–417, 451]. They believe, the figure on the reverse of DEAE SEGETIAE coins, assuming a similar posture and making a similar gesture, confirms their supposition and identification. However, it is only on coins that she received an identifying name: Dea Segetia. In other cases the identity ascribed to a definite representation is only a matter of interpretation.

On the other hand, the Maffei relief (IV century?), now missing, known from the drawing Vat. Lat. 3439 and Onofrio Panvini's engravings, shows three female deities on the podium erected before *aedicula* in Circus Maximus [16, cat. 17; 17, p. 246–248; 20, p. 407–408; 21, p. 24–26; cf. fig. 6]. They are identified as the triad of agrarian deities which may be in sequence: Sessa (or Seia), Segetia and Tutulina with a long spear indicating her function of watching over the collected and stored crops [16, p. 129–130; 22, tabl. 18.1].

The above considerations show, that the representations identified with Segetia appear both in isolation – like a statue on a column situated in various places on the *spina* of the circus or a statue in a temple – and in context – within a group of deities on a podium. It is difficult to decide, how much fantasy and convention these images contain and to what extent they truly reflect the topography of Circus Maximus

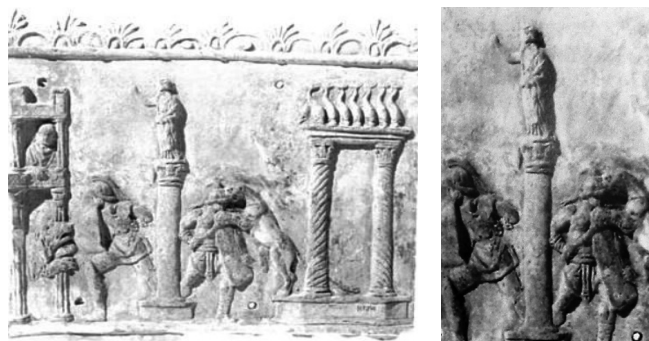


Fig. 2. Campana plaque, Geneva Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, detail. J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1986, fig. 86

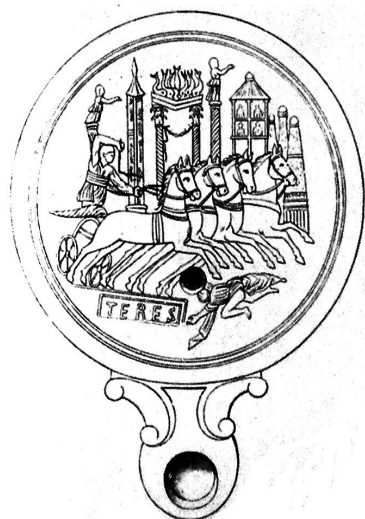


Fig. 3. Lamp, Antikesammlung Staatliche Museen, Berlin. *Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes*, cur. I. Lugli, [F. Grosso], Romae 1962, T. 8.20, tabl. 23.3



Fig. 4. Sarcophagus, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli





Fig. 5. Mosaic, from Gafsa, Musée National du Bardo, detail.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gafsa_cirque_Bardo.jpg

and the appearance of the decorative elements located in it.

It cannot be excluded, however, that some works, unknown to us – mentioned by Tertulian (*Spect.* 8.3) – may have been conducted around the statues on the existing columns already in the II/III century, which could explain another arrangement of the representations created in later times. It is believed that either the statue of Segetia remained on the column, [17, p. 268, 291] or, which seems less probable, an *aedicula* with columns and a statue of the deity was built [23, p. 415–417]. Yet it is only the iconography of Salonina coins which provides a trace that such an *aedicula* could have been erected. This architectural structure attracts attention of the researchers, who classify it as one of the building monuments of the Ancient Rome [15, p. 37; 24, no. 202].

By linking the data relative to Segetia, as one of the agrarian deities, with the representation of the goddess standing in a temple, an attempt was made to explain the meaning of *deae Segetiae* theme on Salonina coins. The empress supposedly erected a temple (*templum*) in Circus Maximus, as e.g. Giuseppe Lugli and

Fulvio Grosso remarked in their commentary to the coin: «Salonina dicitur Segetiae extruxisse templum» [22, p. 374, no. 484, note 1]. Similarly, Philippe V. Hill states that: «Segetia [...] had only an altar in the Circus Maximus <...>. Salonina may have built the shrine adjacent to the altar» [15, p. 37; 25, p. 62]⁵. However, Brigitte Klein [6, p. 189] rightly noted that apart from the image on the coin there are no other sources referring to that shrine. Trying to explain the motives behind this initiative attributed to the empress Percy H. Webb suggested that: «Segetia or Segestia presided over wheat and corn, and the empress having concerned herself in ensuring the food supply of the city of Rome is said to have erected there a temple to that deity» [1, p. 35]. Why did Segetia and not just Tutulina, who watched over the collected and stored crops, gained special attention of Salonina as the only one from among the agrarian deities of Circus Maximus? It is difficult to find reasons why just Segetia was singled out from the group of minor agrarian deities and honoured with a special emission of coins.

Also Jean Gagé pointed to a special relation between the empress Salonina and Segetia, which is suggested

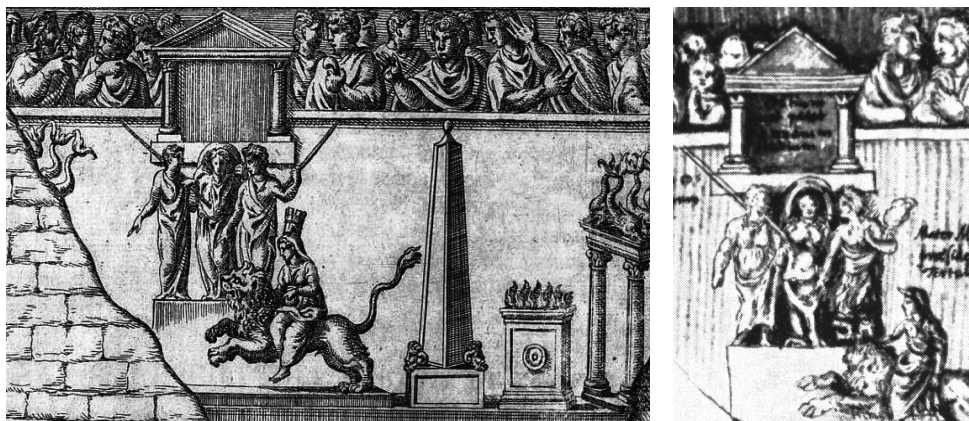


Fig. 6. Maffei relief, detail. Onuphrii Panvini Veronensis *De ludis circensibus libri II*, Venetiis 1600; G. Rodenwaldt, *Römische Reliefs. Vorstufen zur Spätantike*, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 55, 1940, Abb. 10

⁵See briefly [27, p. 133; 28, col. 1072; 29, p. 73]. According to Pennestrì [20, p. 415], *sacellum di Segetia* is a better designation than a *shrine* used by Hill [15, p. 37].

by the contents of DEAE SEGETIAE emissions. He abandoned the association of Segetia with an agrarian deity from Circus Maximus in Rome. In his theory Segetia was a *signum* of the empress, indicating her possible connection with a definite place in the territory of the Empire. It would not be, however, an allusion to the Sicilian town of Segesta but to Segesta/Segestika/Siscia – a town in the Danube Region (cf. Strab. 7.5.2). Although an imperial mint was established there at a later time, there may have been some connections between Salonina and this region. So, the researcher assumed, that it was the empress herself who was represented on the reverse iconography [26, p. 838]. Yet, his hypothesis remained isolated⁶.

Still, the idea of setting Dea Segetia, represented on Salonina coins, in the geographical scenery other than Rome, has many supporters. Their attention is drawn by the similarity of her name with that of a goddess, worshipped in Gallia, who preserved her 'native' name: Segeta [31, col. 1071–1072; 32, p. 74–79; 33, p. 94–99; 34, p. 317–320].

Segeta is known from three Roman inscriptions. In the first and the oldest one, founded in 1879, dating back to the 1st century and coming from Bussy-Albieux (Loire, near Boën-sur-Lignon), Segeta appears together with the goddess Dunisia: «(f)il(ius) A? (ci) vitat(is) (Segusiavi?) (pr)aeffecto tem(puli?) deae Segetae Fo(ri) allecto aquae (te)mpuli Dunisiae (pr)aeffectorio ma(ximo) ejusdem tem(puli) pag(us) ...blocnus» [35, CIL 13.1646]⁷. The inscription, though incomplete and rather unclear, suggest the existence of Segeta's shrine. The name 'Fori' which follows that of Segeta, should be referred to Forum Segusiavorum, chief city of Segusiavi, the present day Feurs, where – as suggested by the contents – supposedly Segeta's temple was located. Another inscription, referring to Segeta was found in 1525 in Feurs. It was a dedication engraved on a bronze weight of ten Roman pounds, dated from the II or III century. The inscription is the following: «Deae Seg(etae) F(ori) [or F(orensium?)] / p(on-do) X» [35, CIL 13.1641]⁸. The third inscription comes from Aquae Sege(s)tae, in the territory of the Senones, known in the Roman times and localized on Tabula Peutingeriana (1B5), a copy of the original IV century map⁹. This inscription was found in the early 1970's together with the statues of *matres* and Venus Anady-

omene, in the complex of monuments dated to the I century, consisting of a temple and a several water sanctuary comprising baths, canals, pools *etc.* During the excavations, a big marble disc was unearthed with an engraved dedication to Segeta on the obverse and schematic drawings of two vases, fish and waves on the reverse of a disk. The inscription reads: «Aug(us-tae) deae / Segetae / T(itus) Marius Priscinus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / efficiendum curav(i)t / Maria Sacra fil(ia)» [36, p. 423; 37, 304–305; 38, p. 192–193; 39, p. 11; 40, p. 56–57].

The remains revealed in Feurs and Sceaux-en-Gâtinais also testify to the existence of baths and water sanctuaries, that enjoyed great popularity in the Roman times [39, p. 7–12; 40, p. 50–66; 41, p. 54; 42, p. 109–164]. That, in turn, shows the significance of Segeta as the healing goddess, confirmed by the above mentioned dedications and by the anatomical ex-votos found in the sanctuaries. Yet this water goddess was also a goddess of action, deed and war according to the sense of her name, whose etymology, as Noémie Beck explains, connects it with the celtic *sego-* : «victory», «strength», and with the Indo-European *segh-* : «to subject», «to conquer», «to vanquish». The name of Segeta can be interpreted as «the Victorious One». The goddess is the one who ensures victory [34, p. 130, 317, 534]¹⁰. So, there is a *hiatus* between the meaning of her name as the goddess of victory and her function as the goddess of healing. It seems the *hiatus* reveals the complexity of Segeta's character but also points to the broadness of her competencies.

According to Daniel Nony [23, p. 244–246; 48, p. 64–65], the identification of Segetia with a celtic deity Segeta is more satisfying than associating the goddess represented on Dea Segetia coins with an enigmatic deity from Circus Maximus in Rome. This view is more widely accepted and relatively older [10, p. 133–135; 29, p. 77; 32, p. 74–79; 33, p. 94–99].

The place where Salonina coins were struck and a broader look at the whole series to which they belonged, are crucial for the present considerations. The Imperial mint was localized in the west, by some in Colonia Claudia Agrippina Augusta (Cologne)¹¹, by others in Lugdunum (Lyon)¹². On the coins struck there (cf. table 1) Gallienus, Augustus *iunior*, who was in charge of the West of the Roman Empire and whose military vic-

⁶For discussion see [6, p. 179, 189; 8, p. 77; 30, p. 102].

⁷Cf. [43, p. 102].

⁸Cf. [10, p. 135; 44, p. 75]. Cf. also [42, p. 109–164].

⁹Aquis Segete, between Forum Segusiavorum (now Feurs) and Segodunum (now Rodez): Tab. Peut. 1B5, http://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/1_gallia/gaul_7_3.html, or Aquae Segetae – now Saint-Galmier, Montbrison (Loire) – cf. [6, p. 135; 48, p. 166] or – more exactly – Moingt, Saint-Galmier – cf. [23, p. 244; 38, p. 192; 42, p. 159; 45, p. 173–174]. Aquis Segeste between Agedincum (now Sens) and Cenabum (now Orléans): Tab. Peut. 1A4 [Electronic resource]. URL: http://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/1_gallia/gaul_6_2.html (date of access: 27.04.2017). Aquae Segestae – now Sceaux-du-Gâtinais – cf. [10, p. 135; 38, p. 192; 40, p. 51, 65; 46, p. 166]: Aquis Segeste. Cf. [47, p. 1–15].

¹⁰Cf. [23, p. 244; 49, p. 4].

¹¹E. g. [23, p. 245; 29, p. 73; 50, p. 9–17 and 24–25, nos 96, 99; 51 p. 47, p. 99–100; 51, tabl. 26; 59, p. 124, no. 202]. The mint worked from 256 AD [52, p. 415–418; 10, p. 251; 11, p. 244–245]. Cf. Gallic mint opened at Treveri (Trier) – e. g. [55, p. 23–25].

¹²E. g. [1, p. 17, 108; 10, p. 138–139; 20, p. 415].

tories, e. g. *Germanicus maximus V, victoria Germanica*, were also noted, was named *restitutor Galliarum* while his father Valerianus I, Augustus *senior*, was associated with the victory over the Persians. There are more military references, e. g. *fides militum* and *Gallienus cum exercito suo*. Both these Augusti were endowed with the *virtus* of fortitude, courage and bravery (*virtus Augustorum, virtus Gallieni Augusti*) and the period of their rule induced (or required) stunning with prosperity slogans, e. g. *securitas perpetua, felicitas publica, felicitas Augustorum*). There are also numerous references to deities on the coins of the emperors and *caesares*, e. g. *Oriens Augustorum, Deo Volcano, Deo Marti, Iovi*

Crescenti, Iovi Victori and on Salonina coins: *Deae Segetiae, Venus Felix, Venus Victrix, Vesta*.

Within this short overview of the following issues emerge: the use of original slogans and mottoes, the introduction of local geographic themes and motifs, the creation of a complete image of potential and actual deeds of dynasty members, additionally supported by the presence of gods and deities. Besides, the series composed of Valerianus I, Gallienus and Salonina coins distinguishes itself by introducing three gods, their names preceded with *deo/deae* and their statues placed in *aediculae*: DEO MARTI¹³, DEO VOLKANO¹⁴ and DEAE SEGETIAE¹⁵.

Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne): 1st and 2nd emissions

Em.	Valerianus I	Gallienus	Salonina	Valerianus junior	Saloninus
1	GALLIENVS CVM EXER SVO (Ant: G 867) ORIENS AVGG (Ant: G 868) SALVS AVGG (Ant: G 880) SECVRIT PERPET (Ant: G 869) VICT PARTICA (Ant: G 881)	FIDES MILITVM (Ant: G 871) GERMAN MAX TER (Ant: G 883) GERMANICVS MAX V (Ant: G 872) IOVI VICTORI (Ant: G 870) RESTIT(VTOR) GAL- LIAR(VM) (Ant: G 876–879) VICT(ORIA) GERMANICA (Ant: G 873–875) VIRTVS AVGG (Ant: G 882)	VENVS FELIX (Au/ Ant: G 898) VENVS VICTRIX (Ant: G 899) VESTA (Ant: G 900, 901)	IOVI CRESCENTI (Au/Ant: G 907) PIETAS AVGG (Ant: G 908) PRINC IVVENT- VTIS (Ant: G 905, 906)	
2	DEO VOLKANO (Au/ Ant: G 884, 885) ORIENS AVGG (Au/Ant: G 886) VIRTVS AVGG (Au/Ant: G 887)	DEO MARTI (Ant: G 889) P M TR P VII COS III PP (Ant: G 888) VICT GERMANICA (Au/Ant: G 891–893) VIRT GALLIENI AVG (Ant: G 890)	DEAE SEGETIAE (Au/Ant: G 902) FELICITAS PVBLICA (Au/Ant: G 903) VENVS VICTRIX (Au/Ant: G 904)	CONSACRATIO (Ant: G 909–912)	FELICITAS AVGG (Ant: G 916) PRINCIPI IV- VENTVTIS (2Au/ Au/Ant: G 913) PIETAS AVG (2Au/ Ant: G 914) SPES PVBLICA (Ant: G 915, 917)

Note: Au = aureus, Ant = antoninianus, G = R. Göbl. *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Valerianus I., Gallienus, Saloninus (253/268), Regalianus (260) und Macrianus, Quietus (260/262)*. Wien 2000.

It is a really unconventional composition, all the more striking that contrary to Mars, whose image appeared frequently in the Roman coinage¹⁶, the representation of Vulcan was simply rare¹⁷. And Segetia was a novelty in this company. We can find local embodiments corresponding to each deity of the triad. Dea Segetia was identified with the local Segeta. Such a solution offers a possibility of defining a deeper sense of the whole series, which was – through the presence of these local deities – to evoke the idea of power as such, war and fight as well as wealth, abundance, health and success. In this way, a turn of the Ro-

man emperors toward Gallia provinces of the Empire and their recognition of the importance of regional culture was announced¹⁸.

Unfortunately, an iconographic representation of Segeta remains unknown to me. However, in Gallia the representations of Vulcan and Mars are put together, which can be seen in the reliefs from Paris [56, p. 228–230, no. 3147], and in Vien-en-Val (Loiret), stone pillars were decorated with the representations of several deities [48, p. 65; 57, p. 211–220; 58, p. 195–210]. On the first pillar they are Apollo, Minerva, Hercules and Sirona and on the second we can see Jupiter, Mars, Vulcan

¹³[1, p. 69, no. 10; 51, no. 889].

¹⁴[1, p. 38, nos. 1, 5; 51, nos. 884–885].

¹⁵[1, p. 108, nos. 1, 5; 51, nos. 902].

¹⁶Cf. [44, p. 115–121, 283–291]. Cf. also the inscriptions: [35, CIL 12.1566, 5832, CIL 13.209–213, 420, 3103, 6540 (Mars), CIL 13.1676, 2940 (Mars, Vesta, Vulcan)].

¹⁷See, e.g., [59, nos. 262.2, 266.2, 298, 314; 60, p. 1312, no. 2; 61, vol. 2, p. 35, no. 65; 64, no. 838]. Cf. [59, no. 415.1 (anvil, pincers, hammer, cap of Vulcan)]. Cf. also the inscriptions [35, CIL 12.1342, CIL 13.1676, 2940, 3106, 3164, 6454]. The cult of Vulcan in Gallia and Germania [38, p. 69–79; 62].

¹⁸Cf. [8, p. 208; 23, p. 245–246; 29, p. 71–87; 32, p. 74–79; 48, p. 63–65].

and Venus with a Cupid. On the third pillar, however, there are Virtus, Mars, Vulcan and a goddess, adorned with with a diadem and a veil, holding a cornucopia, referred to as «Abundantia». So, Mars and Vulcan have female companions here yet the associations evoked by the iconography of these feminine characters do not fall into the category of war or healing within which Segetia was placed.

The image of *aedicula* devoted to Segetia can be found on DEAE SEGETIAE coins. Conventionally outlined, shown frontally, the structure is raised on two blocks and supported by four columns (*tetrastylum*) with clearly marked capitals, scarcely decorated with balls at the top and in the acroterions, with a semicircular pediment over a recessed space (niche) where the goddess' statue is placed. The statue is disproportionately large and overfills the space.

Dea Segetia is a feminine figure, standing frontally. Robert Göbl [51, no. 902] described her as Aphrodite standing in the temple. The details of her appearance, including her garment and her attributes seem fairly elaborated. Hill [15, p. 37] noticed that: «the archaic form of the statue seems to indicate some accuracy in its treatment»¹⁹.

Still, there are obscurities regarding certain elements of the representation and different comments on the iconographic details. She stands with her arms outstretched and uplifted in a gesture of prayer²⁰. On some variants of the coins she holds such attributes as an apple²¹ or may be ears of wheat²². Dea Segetia is clad in a long robe whose hem, in some variants, falls down onto her feet. The goddess appears with her head *capite velato*²³, usually surrounded by a *nimbus*²⁴. She is depicted with the crescent of the moon above her forehead, yet there are some representations without it. There is a drape or a cloak floating (*velificans*) on her shoulders²⁵. An interpretation like that can only be applied to certain samples of DEAE SEGETIAE coins (cf. fig. 7).

Comparing different variants of reverse designs we can see that the bottom element of a tympanum, slightly curved to form of an arch and seemingly intended as an architectural element, sometimes turns into to a floating «cloak» (*velificans*)²⁶. It seems that was the actual direction of change, and not *vice versa*. So the detail described as a 'drap' or a 'cloak' (*velificans*) developed from an overdrawn semicircular, more and more embowed construction element of the *aedi-*



Fig. 7. DEAE SEGETIAE antoniniani. Rv. (detail): Goddess in tetrastyle temple

¹⁹Cf.: «La gaucherie de la présentation laisserait supposer une absence de tradition iconographique» [23, p. 245]; «...das Bild ist konventionell: eine Frau, die ihren Schleier mit beiden Händen über dem Kopf hält» [28, col. 1072].

²⁰E. g. «...with both hands raised in prayer» [15, p. 37; 25, p. 62]; «Elle (scil. Segetia) a l'attitude de Pietas, le bras ouverts pour la prière» [29, p. 72].

²¹«hält in beiden Händen seitlich ausgestreckt je einen Apfel» [50, no. 96]; cf. [55, p. 163, N165].

²²«probabilità delle spighe» [20, p. 416]; «les mains levées tiennent chacune un fruit rond (un grain?)» [10, p. 133].

²³«Segetia steht capite velato v. v. in einem Tempel mit je einem Apfel in beiden ausgestreckten Händen» [55, p. 163, N165]; «eine Frau, die ihren Schleier mit beiden Händen über dem Kopf hält» [28, col. 1072].

²⁴«Ségétia <...> nimbée, tenant des deux mains son voile au-dessus de sa tête» [11, 500, no. 35]; «elle (scil. Segetia) est nimbée» [29, p. 72]; «un nimbo spigato» [20, p. 416]; «un crescendo lunare sopra il fronte, un nimbo intorno al capo» [16, p. 128; 63, p. 17].] «Elle (scil. Segetia) possède une coiffure à coque ou à auréole, hérissée de rayons (faut-il y voir des épis?)» [23, p. 245. «La coiffure comporte-t-elle des épis dressés? Nous n'osons l'affirmer, mais cela n'aurait rien de très étonnant pour une déesse dont le nom évoque pour tout esprit cultivé par sa racine même la céréaliculture» [48, p. 64].

²⁵«il mantello sollevato sulle spalle (velificans)» [16, p. 128]; «il mantello velificans» [63, p. 17]; «Der wehende Schleier» [64, p. 705].

²⁶See, for an example: «...les deux bras levés: tiennent-ils une pomme ou, plus probablement, retiennent-ils un voile qui, au-dessus de la tête, a fait disparaître la barre de l'entablement du fronton?» [23, p. 245]; «C'est vraisemblablement pour mettre en valeur ce nimbe de Segetia que l'architrave de son temple est interrompue par une arcature» [29, p. 73]; «...the architrave is broken. In lieu of the architrave is a curved line above her (scil. goddess) head that denotes an aureola» [27, p. 122].

cula. It is difficult to say if the effect was intentionally introduced by the ancient engravers or just resulted from their inaccuracy or misinterpretation of the image.

On the one hand our considerations show that there are certain difficulties in identifying the elements composing the image of Dea Segetia in the coin iconography. Not only are the small objects, held by the goddess, defined in various ways but, for some researchers, the elements of her garment become a component part the temple architecture. On the other hand, Segetia was attributed with such iconographic features which make that she is perceived as an aquatic, solar, lunar, chthonic deity and at the same time as the one responsible for good harvest and healing. Some iconographic solutions applied and found on the coins can actually link her with some deities of the Roman art which appear in *circenses* scenes, therefore with Segesta/Segetia. Besides, the crescent moon adorning her forehead and a windblown coat evoke similarity with Luna, known from *tondo* of the Arch of Constantine in Rome (IV century) or from a bronze statuette (1st century, Staatliche Museen, Berlin). Her frontal orientation and her gestures also resemble that of Tarpeia, pictured on the Basilica Aemilia frieze

in the Forum Romanum. There were no attributes nor gestures typical solely for Segetia. Quite on the contrary: she shared certain iconographic features with other deities. Moreover, on the coins, where she appears incidentally after all, her iconographic scheme was treated quite freely. Her pose and the gesture of the raised hands belong to the canon of her representations.

A distinguishing characteristic of the deity remains her name: Dea Segetia. Its form could have been the result of, either intended or unintended, wrong transcription of the name of the goddess from Gallia or a repetition of the name of the goddess from Rome, introduced into the imperial coinage just because it resembled the name of Segeta. From an iconographic viewpoint this rather unspecific Dea Segetia offers a number of possibilities, which all together make her a deity known by many attributes, which become unproportionally extensive in relation to Segesta/Segetia's relatively narrow competencies; they are also compatible with Segeta's prerogatives. Such a Dea Segetia successfully conveys the ideas of abundance resulting from a good harvest, associated with health, welfare as well as success and victory in war.

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Received by editorial board 24.09.2018.