

**University of Alberta**

The Visual Representation of Livia on the Coins of the Roman Empire

by

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**Dedication**

To Sean, Clair and Wendy

and

In Memoriam

Margaret Rose Neufeld,  
beloved grandmother and friend.

## **ABSTRACT**

Livia (58 BC-AD 29), wife of the first emperor Augustus and mother of his successor Tiberius, became the first Roman woman whose image held a substantial place on coins of the Roman Empire. While predecessors such as Fulvia and Octavia, wives of Marc Antony, were the first Roman women to appear on coins, not enough examples of such coins survive to give a clear picture of how these women were represented as part of a concerted visual program. While the appearance of Roman women on coins was not entirely revolutionary, having roughly coincided with the introduction of images of powerful Roman statesmen to coins in the late 40s BC, the degree to which Livia came to be commemorated on coins in the provinces and in Rome was unprecedented.

The coin images of Livia, when considered in tandem with representations of her in other visual media such as sculpture and cameos, reveal the detailed visual language that was developed for the promotion of Livia as the predominant female in the Roman imperial family. These images, whose visual elements were rooted in Hellenistic Greek and Roman Republican precursors, were customized to portray Livia in traditional gender roles as wife and mother, and eventually in her new role as priestess of the new imperial cult of the deified Augustus. Such images not only promoted Livia as the model elite Roman woman of the imperial family and the imperial realm as a whole, but they also symbolized the dynastic, socio-political and religious ideologies of the ruling regime. Livia's image ultimately set the standard by which all subsequent female imperial family members would be portrayed in Roman art.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*AJA* = *American Journal of Archaeology*

*AJAH* = *American Journal of Ancient History*

*AJPh* = *American Journal of Philology*

*ANS* = *American Numismatic Society*

Bartman = Elizabeth Bartman, *Portraits of Livia: imaging the imperial woman in Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

*BMC* = *British Museum Coins*

*BMCRE* = *British Museum Coins of the Roman Empire*

*BNF* = *Bibliothèque nationale de France*

*CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

*IGR* = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanes Pertinentes*

*ILS* = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*

*JRS* = *Journal of Roman Studies*

*LIMC* = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*

*MAAR* = *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*

*NC* = *Numismatic Chronicle*

*OCD*<sup>3</sup> = *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition.

*RG* = *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*

*RIC* I<sup>2</sup> = *Roman Imperial Coinage I*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. C.H.V. Sutherland (London: Spink and Son, 1984).

*RPC I* = *Roman Provincial Coinage I*, ed. Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, Père Pau Ripollès et al (London: British Museum Press, 1992-).

*RRC* = *Roman Republican Coinage*, ed. Michael Crawford, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

*SNG ANS* = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, American Numismatic Society*

*TAPA* = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*

## INTRODUCTION

### The Aim of this Study

The transition from Roman Republic to Roman Empire under Emperor Augustus (r. 27 BC – AD 14) resulted in the reinterpretation and redefinition of many Roman social, political, and religious traditions and ideals. One important aspect of these changes was the notable shift in the public persona of elite women, especially those who were related to men at the center of political power, namely the emperor and his successors.<sup>1</sup>

During most of the Republic, elite Roman women had been portrayed primarily as wives, mothers, and daughters and almost solely within the confines of funerary and religious art.<sup>2</sup> But under the late Republic and the new Augustan principate female imperial family members became intimately tied to the public domain when the social institution of the Roman family, in particular the ruling imperial family, came to symbolize the power, prosperity and perpetuation of the state.<sup>3</sup> Visual media, including coins and sculpture, played a vital role in the visualization and communication of the ideologies surrounding the changing roles

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<sup>1</sup> Mireille Corbier, "Male Power and Legitimacy through Women: the Domus Augusta under the Julio-Claudians," *Women in Antiquity: New Perspectives*, ed. Richard Hawley and Barbara Levick (London: Routledge, 1995) 178-193; Beth Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003) 232-250.

<sup>2</sup> Elaine Fantham et al., *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 219-220, 239-240.

<sup>3</sup> Severy, 153-165, 213-231.

of imperial women. The public image of Livia (58 BC-AD 29), wife of the first emperor Augustus and mother of his successor Tiberius, in many ways was emblematic of these shifts.<sup>4</sup>

The focus of my thesis is the role of coins in the visual communication of the public persona of Livia and how coins related the gender-infused socio-political and religious roles inherent in Livia's position as dominant female in the Augustan and Tiberian Roman imperial regime. Studies concerning gender in Roman art have been quite extensive in recent years with the focus being primarily on the sculptural medium and how elements such as dress (or lack of it), hairstyle, physiognomic features, pose and gestures provide considerable information about the construction of gender and gender roles in society.<sup>5</sup> That the images on coins were laden with gender related iconography and served as carriers of messages pertaining to gender roles has been acknowledged but not explored. As Boymel-Kampen states: "No thorough study of gender iconography has been done for Roman coins, but it is clear even from superficial study that the coins use women to express the programmatic concerns of the state and

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<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Bartman, *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) xxi; Severy, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Some noteworthy examples include: Teresa R. Ramsby and Beth Severy-Hoven, "Gender, Sex, and the Domestication of the Empire in the Art of the Augustan Age," *Arethusa* 40 (2007): 43-71; Eric R. Varner, "Transcending Gender: assimilation, identity, and Roman imperial portraits," *Role Models in the Roman World: identity and assimilation*, ed. Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008) 185-205; Glenys Davies, "Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society," *Role Models in the Roman World: Identity and Assimilation*, ed. Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008) 207-220.

emperor.”<sup>6</sup> The course of this thesis will reveal that the images presented through coins, like sculpture, were rooted in gendered designs, using an iconographic repertoire that not only communicated the gender-specific social roles of women, but also spoke volumes concerning the ideologies of power conceived through the minds of the men who issued them.

My research analyzes how the images on coins promoted and portrayed Livia within the broader context of Livia’s visual portrayal in other media such as sculpture, cameos and intaglios. Of all these different types of visual media bearing images of Livia, coins have received the least attention. Given the substantial number of Roman and provincial coins with images of Livia, which are comparable to the numbers of depictions of Livia in other media combined, there is a considerable gap in the scholarship on the artistic representation of Livia. This thesis, which looks at the entire body of coins that refer to Livia in relation to her representation in other visual media, aims to significantly reduce that gap and perhaps deepen our understanding of Livia, who in fame and influence, became the iconic Roman empress and role model for future imperial women.

Throughout this work, I examine the degree to which the visual program executed on coins was shared with other visual media and at the same time distinguish the features of the numismatic visual program which made it distinct. I begin my thesis with an introduction in Chapter 1 to the life of Livia and the

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<sup>6</sup> Natalie Boymel-Kampen, “Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art,” *Women’s History and Ancient History*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 242.

historical context in which her position and influence, much like the coins that commemorated her, developed and flourished. With the stage set, I then proceed onto the next chapter which details the semiotic and visual methodology which will provide the basis for the analyses presented throughout this dissertation. As will be shown, considerable work is being done by scholars such as Hölscher, Zanker and Hijmans to explore the overtly semantic nature of Roman art through visual semiotics, an approach which is still quite new to the field. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that very few scholars, as of yet, have taken such an approach in their analyses of Roman coins. Numerous iconographic studies have been conducted by scholars such as Grant and Toynbee, but few have explored how coin images functioned visually, particularly in the context of other visual media produced contemporaneously with the coins. Such an approach has the potential to tap into the multiple meanings behind various coin image types generated for Livia, which in turn can deepen our understanding of the complex ideology surrounding Livia's socio-political, religious and gender-specific roles.

Yet, in order to understand this visual program that was designed for Livia one must first seek out its origins. Chapter 3 of this thesis will explore how numismatic depictions of Livia developed within the broader context of the origins of the visual representation of Roman women as a whole, since others, in particular Octavia, made an appearance on coins before Livia. The chapter will explore the extent to which the images of Roman women, present in a variety of visual media in the years leading up to the fall of the Roman Republic, were influenced by earlier portraits executed for powerful women of the Hellenistic

Greek east, a culture with which Rome was in contest. Images of Hellenistic royal women, as well as the many representations of female divinities found on Greek, as well as Roman Republican coins, had a significant impact on the coin images designed for Livia. Such an examination inevitably leads us to the detailed analyses of Livia's coin images themselves and how they functioned as a distinct visual medium.

Once the foundations for the development of Livia's visual program have been explored, the actual "mapping" of Livia's visual program, as it exists in the body of numismatic evidence which survives, will span the length of Chapter 4. Here, the coin images of Livia will be examined according three dominant modes of representation that existed for Livia: facial portraits, female figure seated on a throne or chair, and female figure in a standing pose. The manner in which this "mapping" is conducted is outlined in Chapter 2, but the overall objective of this exercise is to trace the various patterns of visual representation that existed for Livia within the numismatic medium while taking into consideration closely similar patterns in other contemporary media. A comparison of the patterns of visual representation contained in coinage with those found in other media shows the degree to which the visual elements of coins transcended a broad visual milieu and thereby achieved a degree of depth not shared by other media. This depth is characterized by the mass media nature of the coins and their ability to share iconography, to adapt it, and to be part of a vast visual narrative which incorporated other coins, particularly when part of a coin series, and other media such as sculpture. Such "mapping" will facilitate the recognition of meaningful



patterns among co-occurring signs that were employed in numismatic images of Livia,<sup>7</sup> which in turn communicated visually various significant socio-political messages concerning the Julio-Claudian ruling regime to the widest audience possible.

My analysis will also take into consideration the degree of use of specific image types, as well as the variations of image elements in coin images of Livia that were produced at various provincial mints throughout the Roman Empire. Chapter 5 examines coin images of Livia within the context of the various provinces of the Roman Empire in which they were issued. The coin types issued in a particular province will be considered in relation to other artistic and epigraphic dedications to Livia (where they survive) in order to establish patterns and significance in the honorific traditions determined for Livia in that region. The chapter will address such issues as the apparent differences between the ways Livia was portrayed on coins in the eastern parts of the empire versus the western ones. I will also consider whether certain images were peculiar to specific regions of the empire thereby expressing messages and meanings relevant to local viewers while at the same time serving the ideological and propaganda interests of the central Roman imperial governing authority.

Chapter 6, the final chapter, explores key themes related to the results of this “mapping” of Livia’s numismatic iconographic repertoire, in particular Livia’s coin images as elements of concerted visual programs which inaugurated

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<sup>7</sup> Alexander A. Bauer, “Is what you see all you get? Recognizing meaning in archaeology,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2.1 (2002): 39.

new female and male representations of power, and promoted the socio-political and religious ideals of the imperial regime. The chapter examines the coin images of Livia as “gendered designs”, looking closely at such gender-infused image elements as hairstyle, in order to understand more fully how coin images communicated gender and gender roles. The coin images of Livia, and other female members of the Julio-Claudian imperial family, contributed to a redefinition and transformation of the ideologies associated with traditional gender roles of elite Roman women, and by extension men, in the early imperial period. My goal is not to write a comprehensive and definitive analysis of that redefinition, but to contribute to our understanding of it by looking at visually conveyed meanings and ideologies surrounding Livia as opposed to verbal ones obtained from literary and epigraphic sources. While such textual primary source evidence is also indispensable to our understanding of Livia’s public persona, each of these media (visual and verbal) had very different purposes and operated under very distinct criteria.<sup>8</sup>

This last chapter also explores how images of gender on coins, such as those of Livia, communicated power and status, not only the power and status of Livia, but also that of her male relatives, who together formed the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Here, I examine how Livia was portrayed on coins in conjunction with her male relatives in order to communicate the significance of familial relations with regard to the perpetuation of the ruling imperial family. Of special interest is how Livia, through her numismatic images and titles, was imbued with an

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<sup>8</sup> Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, “Semiotics and Art History,” *Art Bulletin* 73.2 (1991): 193-194.

ideological power and status that not only was unprecedented for Roman women, but also served as a potent symbol of male power and legitimacy.

The overall objective of my research is not to determine definitively what coins tell us about Livia, far less to produce a comprehensive analysis of ‘who Livia was’. Previous scholarship has taken considerable steps in detailing Livia’s portrayal in other visual media with most of its emphasis on sculpture, but this was only a part of the overall program. This thesis will examine what the coins as a significant and substantial body of archaeological evidence have to offer regarding the construction of the image of Livia while focusing on the social role of the visual. Analysis of numismatic and other imagery of Livia will contribute to our understanding of the transition from Republic to Empire and the role of imperial women therein. Also, this thesis will reveal the potential of Roman provincial coins, an invaluable source of information regarding provincial perspectives of Roman women, whose images and messages often contrast with those issued in the official mints of Rome itself. Such coins give us views of Livia that have only been discussed briefly, if at all in previous scholarship. Therefore, this work is a timely one and has the potential not only to shed light on an important part of Livia’s visual program, but also opens up the field of numismatics to new possibilities and approaches with regard to semiotic analysis and gender studies. My ultimate goal is to see a full integration of numismatic evidence into the various scholarly debates that deal with visual communication, gender studies, and Roman imperial history in general.

## CHAPTER 1

### Livia

#### 1.1 *Historical Background*

The period from Livia's birth to her marriage to the future first emperor of Rome was one of dramatic social and political change. The Roman Republic and its Senate, which had played a central role in Rome's governance since 509 BC, were teetering on the brink of collapse at the hands of a few aristocratic men who held the reins of military power and considerable wealth. This situation became readily apparent with the formation of the so-called First Triumvirate in which C. Julius Caesar, Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great) and M. Licinius Crassus formed a political alliance in order to fulfill their own political ambitions, which included consulships, governorships of provinces and military commands.<sup>1</sup> The alliance crumbled with the death of Crassus in Parthia in 53 BC and led to civil war between Pompey and Caesar, which resulted in the assassination of Pompey in Egypt shortly after his defeat by Caesar at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC. Caesar now assumed a position of virtual sole power and eventually was voted *dictator perpetuus* in 44 BC.<sup>2</sup> It was at this time that precedent setting portraits of Caesar first appeared on the coins of the mint of

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<sup>1</sup> M. Cary and H. H. Scullard, *A History of Rome Down to the Reign of Constantine*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Palgrave, 1975) 248-249; David Shotter, *The Fall of the Roman Republic* (New York: Routledge, 1994) 64-78.

<sup>2</sup> Cary and Scullard, 279ff. The main ancient sources for Caesar and his rise to power are App. *B Civ.* 2.37-117, Dio 41-44, Suet. *Iul.* and Plut. *Vit. Caes.*

Rome.<sup>3</sup> Prior to this no living individual's likeness had ever been placed on coins of this mint before, only those of distinguished deceased ancestors of the moneyers who authored the coins. The practice of commemorating distinguished living individuals continued long after Caesar's assassination in March 44 BC.

The death of Julius Caesar brought about further uncertainty and renewed threat of civil war. As a result, the more official Second Triumvirate (43-32 BC) of C. Julius Caesar Octavianus (Octavian), M. Aemilius Lepidus, and M. Antonius (Marc Antony), was formed which made these three legal rulers of Rome and various provinces.<sup>4</sup> Their goal was to bring stability back to the state, which could only be achieved through the destruction of Caesar's assassins Brutus and Cassius, who were defeated at the Battle of Philippi in 43 BC. At this point, Octavian and Antony held supreme power and they more or less split the empire amongst themselves with Octavian holding most of the west and Antony the east. Lepidus was ousted from his provinces in the west, but was granted the governorship of Africa by Octavian. When the time came in 37 BC to discuss the stipulations of the second five year term of the triumvirate, Lepidus was left out of the negotiations and eventually removed from the arrangement when he tried to take over Sicily.

Throughout the course of the Second Triumvirate relations between Octavian and Antony, the two key players, were always precarious given their

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<sup>3</sup> *RRC*, 480. Note that throughout this thesis all footnote references to coins from collections such as *RRC*, *RIC*, *RPC* and *BMC* refer to the number of the coin in the catalogue. Page numbers are not cited unless comments by the catalogue author/editor are being referred to.

<sup>4</sup> *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 1555, s.v. "triumvirate"; see also Cary and Scullard, 283-298. Main sources regarding the period of the Second Triumvirate include Dio 45-53, Suet. *Aug.*, Plut. *Vit. Ant.* and App. *B. Civ.* 3-5.

individual ambitions towards gaining power over Rome and its empire. It is within the scope of these power struggles that we see women related to these men of power playing a key role in the negotiation and promotion of that power. Antony's ambitions in the east brought him into an intimate, yet politically powerful relationship with Cleopatra VII of Egypt in 41 BC; their union brought forth twin children soon after. However, Antony's eastern ventures were put on hold when his brother, Lucius Antonius, rose against Octavian and his veterans but was defeated at Perusia in 40 BC.<sup>5</sup> During negotiations at Brundisium that same year, Antony agreed to marry Octavia, his co-ruler's sister, a manoeuvre undoubtedly intended to cement the renegotiation of their existing alliance.<sup>6</sup> The union proved quite promising at first, producing two children. And it was due, in part, to Octavia and her involvement in the negotiations at Tarentum in 37 BC, that the two rival triumvirs came to an agreement which saw the triumvirate renewed for another five year term.<sup>7</sup>

However, relations quickly deteriorated when Antony returned to the east to pursue his interests there, including a campaign against Parthia. He did not take Octavia with him, even going so far as turning her away when she came to meet him in 35 BC. To add insult to injury, he soon returned to his relations with Cleopatra, to great extent for political reasons. Antony divorced Octavia in 32 BC

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<sup>5</sup> App. B. Civ. 5. 32-49.

<sup>6</sup> Plut. Vit. Ant. 31; Susan Wood, *Imperial Women: a study in public images, 40 BC – AD 68* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 31.

<sup>7</sup> Dio 48.54.3-5. Dio states that the two were reconciled through the instrumentality of Octavia, but he does not state the specifics of the role she played.

at which point Octavian secured support in the Senate to have Antony's powers annulled and to have war declared against Cleopatra. The power struggle ended at Actium in 31 BC when Octavian and his naval forces defeated those of Antony and Cleopatra, who fled back to Alexandria.<sup>8</sup> Octavian entered Egypt and defeated Antony again at Alexandria in 30 BC. Antony, having lost all support from Rome and his forces, committed suicide. Cleopatra, realizing defeat, did likewise. Octavian took Egypt and turned it into a Roman province under his exclusive control.

While Octavia and Cleopatra seem to be the women at the forefront in the rivalry between Antony and Octavian which took place during the 30s BC, it was also during this time that Livia Drusilla, a member of one of Rome's most noble and politically eminent families, caught the attention of the young Octavian and became his wife. Livia seems to have remained in the shadows of these other women at this time, but Octavian's marriage to her was certainly very politically advantageous, and concessions were already being made in the 30s BC to distinguish Livia from other women of her class. Before turning to a discussion of these politically significant honours for Livia, I now turn to Livia's life and the social and political status of women during Livia's lifetime.

## **1.2 *Life of Livia***

Livia Drusilla was born January 30, 58 BC into the distinguished patrician *gens Claudia*, whose male members boasted numerous consulships, several dictatorships, as well as a series of triumphs and ovations over the course

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<sup>8</sup> Cary and Scullard, 295-298; Dio 50-51; Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 66-67.

of the Republic.<sup>9</sup> Her father M. Livius Drusus Claudianus was born a Claudian but had been adopted into the Livian family, most likely by M. Livius Drusus, a tribune of the plebs who had become popular with Italian communities but despised by the Roman Senate when he moved to enfranchise all Italians living south of the River Po.<sup>10</sup> Livia's mother Alfidia was from a wealthy, but less distinguished family from the country town of Fundi. Livia's father was heavily involved in the politics of the First Triumvirate, eventually becoming *praetor* in 50 BC. While he seems to have been a supporter of Caesar during this time, he turned after Caesar's assassination to the side of the tyrannicides, giving particular support to Brutus. Having been proscribed by the members of the Second Triumvirate (Octavian, Antony and Lepidus), Livia's father fled to join Brutus at Philippi where he committed suicide after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in battle by the young Octavian, Livia's future husband.<sup>11</sup>

In the years shortly after Caesar's assassination Livia entered into her first marriage with her kinsman Tiberius Claudius Nero by whom she had two sons: the future emperor Tiberius born in 42 BC and Drusus in 38 BC. Prior to their marriage, Tiberius Claudius Nero was a strong supporter of Caesar, having become *quaestor* in 48 BC and commander of Caesar's fleet in the Alexandrian War, but he too turned to support Brutus and Cassius after Caesar's assassination. As *praetor* in 41 BC, he sided with Lucius Antonius against Octavian at Perusia,

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<sup>9</sup> Anthony A. Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) 4; Suet. *Tib.* 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 877, s.v. "Livius Drusus (2), Marcus"; Barrett, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Barrett, 14.



but was forced to make an escape when the uprising was put down. He then joined another of Octavian's enemies, Sextus Pompeius, but after a disagreement joined Antony in Greece.<sup>12</sup> According to Tacitus, Tiberius was proscribed, but it is unclear when this happened.<sup>13</sup> Tiberius and Livia ended up exiled to Sparta, where the Claudii had long been patrons.<sup>14</sup> In 39 BC, Tiberius and Livia were able to return to Rome after the Treaty of Misenum was reached between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompeius concerning Sicily.

Livia, while pregnant with her second son Drusus, caught the attention of the ambitious Octavian, who saw in Livia not only a suitable life partner, but also a most politically advantageous union. Octavian had recently divorced his wife Scribonia with whom he had produced a daughter, Julia. It is not clear when and how Octavian met Livia, but it may have been because of this meeting that Octavian's divorce from Scribonia took place.<sup>15</sup> According to Dio, the beginnings of Octavian's relationship with Livia may have taken place in 39 BC at a celebration Octavian held to mark the shaving of his beard. He kept himself clean shaven thereafter because he wanted to look his best for Livia with whom he was beginning to fall in love.<sup>16</sup> Both Suetonius and Dio indicate that Tiberius Claudius Nero willingly divorced his wife at Octavian's request, even giving

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<sup>12</sup>  *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 341-342, s.v. "Claudius Nero, Tiberius".

<sup>13</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 6.51.1.

<sup>14</sup> Barrett, 17.

<sup>15</sup> Barrett, 21.

<sup>16</sup> Dio 48.34.3.

Livia away at the ceremony as a father would.<sup>17</sup> Octavian and Livia were married on January 17, 38 BC.

Prior to the fall of Antony and Cleopatra, Octavia, not Livia, was the Roman woman at the center of the political scenario that unfolded between Octavian and Antony. She was certainly the pawn that sealed the deal at Brundisium when she was promised in marriage by her brother to Antony and she had played a significant role in the negotiations at Tarentum which renewed relations between the two triumvirs. And after Antony divorced her and he and Cleopatra were brought down by Octavian, Octavia proved herself to be the epitome of motherhood by not only raising her own children, but also those of Antony by Cleopatra.<sup>18</sup> Octavia obtained an almost heroine-like status on account of her devotion to her family and the state. But once Octavian became sole ruler of Rome and was given the honourific name “Augustus” in 27 BC, Livia gradually emerged as a figure-head and the most prominent female figure in the very dynastic Roman imperial family. Livia’s prominence can be seen in her growing influence and socio-political significance throughout his reign. Octavia continued to be an important female member of the imperial family as mother of Augustus’s first potential heir, Marcellus, her son by her first husband. Augustus had his own daughter Julia (by Scribonia) marry Marcellus in 25 BC. However, Octavia’s status and dynastic importance waned when Marcellus died in 23 BC.

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<sup>17</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 4.3; Dio 48.44; Vell. Pat. 2.79.2.

<sup>18</sup> Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 87.1.

Although Octavia no longer figured prominently in Augustus's dynastic plans, and despite the fact that by 17 BC Julia and her second husband Agrippa had produced two male heirs for Augustus, Livia's power and influence seemed to far outweigh that of her stepdaughter. According to Dio, Livia had some noteworthy influence on Augustus and his policies. One particular example is the case of Augustus's handling of the conspiracy against him led by Cornelius Cinna, grandson of Pompey, where he apparently took Livia's advice and forgave the man.<sup>19</sup> Livia has also been connected to a number of significant building projects in Rome including the Aedes Concordiae and Porticus Liviae (7 BC), a *macellum Liviae*, and the restoration of temples including the Temple of Bona Dea Subsaxana and the Temple of Fortuna Muliebris.<sup>20</sup> In addition, she figured prominently on a key monument commissioned by the Senate and Roman People in honour of Augustus and the imperial family: the Ara Pacis Augustae dedicated in 9 BC. On this monument Livia and Augustus are not only presented as the mother and father of the imperial family, but also mother and father of the Roman state.<sup>21</sup> The monument was dedicated on Livia's birthday in 9 BC.

With regard to the political arena, Livia's attentions seem to have been focused towards advancing the careers of her sons. Both Tiberius and Drusus had

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<sup>19</sup> Dio 55.14-22.2.

<sup>20</sup> Barrett, 199-205; Severy, 135-136; Marleen B. Flory, "Sic Exempla Parantur: Livia's Shrine to Concordia and the Porticus Liviae," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 33.3 (1984): 309-330. See also Ov. *Fast.* 5.147-158 re: Temple of Bona Dea; re: Temple of Fortuna Muliebris, see *CIL* 6.883. It is important to note that monuments and buildings such as the Porticus Liviae were often commissioned by prominent men, in this case by Augustus. But Livia most certainly was able to put funds into these monuments as a patron and is believed to have even provided input into their designs.

<sup>21</sup> Severy, 104-112, 136; Bartman, 89-90; Wood, 99-102.

been given commands in Pannonia and Germany respectively, but Augustus's plans were for the promotion of his grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar who were still just boys when Livia's sons were out on campaign. An opportunity to reinforce familial ties came in 11 BC when Augustus's political colleague and son-in-law Agrippa died, leaving Augustus's daughter Julia free to marry Tiberius, who was forced to divorce his beloved wife Vipsania in order to facilitate the marriage.<sup>22</sup> There is little doubt that Livia may have had a hand in this arrangement.<sup>23</sup> Now both of her sons were linked by marriage directly to Augustus: Tiberius via Augustus's daughter Julia and Drusus by Augustus's niece Antonia Minor.

Drusus's untimely death in 9 BC left Livia grief stricken.<sup>24</sup> She received public recognition as a grieving mother of state when the Senate voted statues be set up in her honour.<sup>25</sup> The death of Drusus certainly hindered Livia's dynastic plans, which were further compromised when Tiberius refused to take on an important eastern campaign given to him by Augustus and instead requested exile to the island of Rhodes. Why Tiberius took this course of action has been heavily debated, but nonetheless there were significant political implications seeing as Tiberius was Augustus's most successful military general. Livia begged Tiberius

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<sup>22</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 7.2-3.

<sup>23</sup> Barrett, 40.

<sup>24</sup> Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Dio 55.2.5.

not to go, but to no avail.<sup>26</sup> Tiberius would remain in exile until fate stepped in and robbed Augustus of his two key heirs to the throne: Lucius died in AD 2 and Gaius in AD 4, both while on campaign. At this point, Livia stepped in to ensure the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus in AD 4, thus making him primary heir the throne.<sup>27</sup>

Livia's political influence, status, and public image did not wane with the death of Augustus in AD 14, but seemed to increase significantly when her son Tiberius became emperor. Upon Augustus's death Livia was adopted into the *gens Iulia* and given the name *Iulia Augusta*. She also inherited one-third of Augustus's estate according to his will, which was more than was allowed by law.<sup>28</sup> Barrett argues that these measures taken by Augustus prior to his death were intended not only to elevate Livia's status by naming her a Julian, but would also further consolidate Tiberius's position as successor to the imperial throne.<sup>29</sup> According to Tacitus, the Senate even suggested that Tiberius be referred to as the 'son of Julia' as part of his formal titles, which Tiberius deemed inappropriate as it gave Livia an elevated status that potentially could overshadow his own.<sup>30</sup> Apparently, the Senate's desire to elevate Livia to a status beyond what was customary, and Livia's desire to aspire to it, did not sit well with Tiberius and was

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<sup>26</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 10.2, 13.2.

<sup>27</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 21.2. In order to ensure the future of the dynasty, Augustus also adopted Agrippa Postumus, one of Julia's sons by Agrippa. In turn, he made Tiberius adopt his nephew Germanicus, son of his brother Drusus and Antonia Minor.

<sup>28</sup> Dio 56.32.1; Suet. *Aug.* 101.2; Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.1.

<sup>29</sup> Barrett, 148-151.

<sup>30</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.14. 1-4.

the source of much tension between mother and son even up to Livia's death.<sup>31</sup> Yet, he did recognize the benefit of acknowledging Livia's status as widow of the former emperor and mother of the new one, as well as the Senate's desire to see Livia in a more formal and official public role when he allowed her to be appointed priestess of the deified Augustus.<sup>32</sup> Shortly after Augustus's death he was consecrated *Divus Augustus* and granted a priesthood as was fitting a state god and his cult. In addition, Livia and Tiberius together commissioned a temple for his worship.<sup>33</sup>

In AD 22 Livia became gravely ill.<sup>34</sup> Prayers invoking Livia's speedy recovery were decreed and Tiberius returned to Rome from Campania in case his mother should expire.<sup>35</sup> Upon Livia's recovery, the Senate decreed offerings and games of thanksgiving. Simultaneously, coins were issued bearing Livia's portrait and referring to her as *Salus Augusta*, the personification of Well-being (I.A1.2). Coins issued in various provincial cities bear a strikingly similar portrait (I.F1.4, I.K1.2, II.N1.7-8). Livia's image and popularity continued to her death in AD 29 at the age of eighty-six.

Tiberius honoured his mother with a simple funeral, although he himself was not in attendance. Livia's great-grandson and future emperor, Caligula, gave the funeral oration after which Livia's remains were placed in the Mausoleum of

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<sup>31</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.72.4, 5.3.1; Suet. *Tib.* 50.2-3; Dio 57.12.1-6.

<sup>32</sup> Vell. Pat. 2.75.3; Suet. *Tib.* 50.2-3; Dio 56.46.1 and 57.12; Barrett, 156-160.

<sup>33</sup> Dio 56.46.

<sup>34</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 3. 64.

<sup>35</sup> Barrett, 91-92.

Augustus.<sup>36</sup> Both Dio and Suetonius claim that Tiberius did not execute Livia's will and did not allow an arch voted by the Senate to be built in her honour.<sup>37</sup> The Senate also proposed divine honours for her, which Tiberius denied as well.<sup>38</sup> Tiberius's position regarding his mother at the time of her death may have been due to the tensions that existed between them, but it is likely a continuation of Tiberius's desire to keep exceptional honours for his mother in check, as he had done at the beginning of his reign.

**a) *Sources Regarding Livia: Texts, Sculpture, Cameos and Coins***

A wealth of information regarding the life of Livia can be found in a variety of media from literary texts to inscriptions to archaeological artefacts. Intriguingly, some ancient literary sources paint Livia in a rather favourable light, while others describe her as a rather sinister character. Ovid and Velleius Paterculus shower Livia with praise and compare her to divine figures such as Juno. Others, such as Tacitus, present Livia as an ambitious and sometimes ruthless seeker of power and influence who operated outside accepted social norms for the proper behavior of the traditional Roman matron. Ancient inscriptions, many from statue bases, celebrate Livia as wife of Augustus, mother of Tiberius and as a divine figure akin to great goddesses such as Juno/Hera and Ceres/Demeter. Artistic representations of Livia in sculpture, cameos and coins give us a sense of what Livia may have looked like, although surely idealized to great extent, but nonetheless symbolic of Livia's roles, status and influence in

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<sup>36</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 5.1.1-4; Dio 58.2.1-6.

<sup>37</sup> Dio 58.2. 1-6; Suet. *Tib.* 51.2.

<sup>38</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 5.2.1-2. Cf. p. 23.

Roman imperial society. While the artistic body of evidence will feature predominantly throughout this thesis, it is nonetheless necessary to be aware of the contextual value of what ancient authors have said regarding Livia.

Numerous ancient literary sources mention Livia and also shed light on the attitudes various authors held towards her. To cover every ancient author who mentions her is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is important to consider briefly the most extensive surviving passages, which have significantly shaped our modern perceptions of Livia.

Several ancient authors who lived as Livia's contemporaries presented her in a rather positive light, which aimed to flatter the empress and thereby gain her favour. The Roman poet Ovid (43 BC – AD 17), who was exiled in AD 8 for reasons that are still debated amongst scholars, heaped flattery upon Livia in his writings in hopes of being recalled to Rome.<sup>39</sup> Even before his exile he praised her in his *Fasti*, prophesying her deification<sup>40</sup> and stating that she alone was worthy to share the couch of Jove.<sup>41</sup> While in exile he refers to her as *femina princeps*<sup>42</sup> and even went so far as to state that she was equal to Augustus.<sup>43</sup> The historian Velleius Paterculus (c. 19 BC – AD 31) mentioned that Livia's son

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<sup>39</sup> Ov. *Pont.* 2.8.45. Here, Ovid prays for Livia's support and wishes her family well.

<sup>40</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 1.536.

<sup>41</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 1.637-650.

<sup>42</sup> Ov. *Tr.* 1.6.25-27.

<sup>43</sup> Ov. *Pont.* 2.8.29.



Tiberius grieved over the death of his mother and that her influence was always beneficial.<sup>44</sup>

Later historians of ancient Rome make a number of references to Livia in their writings, and while many of them attest to Livia's power and influence, they tend to portray Livia rather negatively as ambitious, power hungry and even murderous. The Roman historian Tacitus (AD 56 – 118) demonstrates in his writings a general hostility towards ambitious women of the imperial family, in particular those who were placed in positions of power and then used them for political ends.<sup>45</sup> He described Livia as having a female lack of control and indicated that she may have been involved in the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Agrippa Postumus, and even Augustus himself.<sup>46</sup> When speaking of her death, he acknowledged that she was of the highest nobility because of her familial ties both Claudian and Julian, and noted her adherence to traditional values.<sup>47</sup>

The biographer Suetonius (c. AD 70 – 130) mentioned Livia intermittently in the biographies of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Galba and Otho. He noted such things as Livia's wifely devotion in making Augustus's clothes<sup>48</sup> and Tiberius's anger towards his mother's demands to share power.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Vell. Pat. 2.130.4-5.

<sup>45</sup> Barrett, 239.

<sup>46</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.3-4, 1.4.5, 1.5, and 1.6.

<sup>47</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 5.1.1-4.

<sup>48</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 73.

<sup>49</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 50.2-3.

He also highlighted that the emperor Caligula referred to Livia, his great-grandmother, as *Ulixes stolatus*, “Ulysses in a stola”,<sup>50</sup> no doubt as a reference to Livia’s cunning.

The historian Cassius Dio (c. AD 164 – after 229) mentioned Livia quite frequently in his writings on the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. He too sheds considerable light on Livia’s power and influence and at times echoes Tacitus in bringing to bear Livia’s potential murdering inclinations. He stated that she was suspected in the deaths of Marcellus, Gaius and Lucius, as well as Augustus,<sup>51</sup> but also noted that she exercised influence over Augustus by playing the role of the proper Roman wife.<sup>52</sup>

While the ancient literary sources provide a mixed bag of praise, deprecation and rumor in their representation of Livia, the artistic portrayal of Livia, although highly idealized, paints a very different picture. As will be shown, the iconographic repertoire employed in visual representations of Livia was infused with multiple connotations that enabled the viewer to associate these images with Livia’s roles as wife and mother, priestess of the deified Augustus and eventually as a divine figure herself under Claudius. Both sculptures and cameos representing Livia will be discussed extensively in relation to Livia’s images on coins throughout the course of this thesis. Therefore, I will not go into great detail on this ancient evidence here. However, it is important to note that a

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<sup>50</sup> Suet. *Calig.* 23.2.

<sup>51</sup> Dio 53.33.4, 55.10a.10, 56.30.1-2.

<sup>52</sup> Dio 58.2.1-6.

number of Livia's portrait statues have survived and originate not only from Rome, but all parts of the empire. Elizabeth Bartman's *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome* is a comprehensive catalogue and analysis of Livia's sculptural and cameo portraits, which shows the progression of portrait styles, themes and types used in the representation of Livia in art from the time of Augustus through to her death under Tiberius, as well as her subsequent commemoration under the remaining Julio-Claudian emperors. Susan Wood's *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC – AD 68*, also discusses Livia's sculptural, numismatic and cameo portraits, as well as those of other women of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The portraits compiled by Bartman and Wood will provide an essential resource for my analysis of Livia's coin images, which aims to show that the visual attributes of coins were shared in the iconography of Livia's images in other media. This shared iconography facilitated the visual recognition of Livia on the part of the viewer and provided the potential for multiple meanings to be associated with Livia and her roles in society.

### ***1.3 Social Position of Elite Women in the Time of Livia***

It was during the political upheaval and uncertainty of the late Republic that Roman women began to make their mark as power players in Rome and parts of its empire, in particular the east. Women's status was not necessarily changing in legal terms, but they were becoming much more visible in public and even

more involved in political activity.<sup>53</sup> Since approximately the late third to early second century BC, Roman women, particularly those from the upper classes of society, had been accumulating wealth through inheritance, dowries and proficient management of financial affairs, and thereby gained an increased independence.<sup>54</sup> In 215 BC, at the height of the Second Punic War, the Oppian Law was passed in an effort to curb women's wealth and its ostentatious display at a time when Rome was struggling, militarily and financially, to overcome the invasion of Italy by the Carthaginian general Hannibal. Once the war had ended and Rome was on its way to recovery, the law was repealed in 195 BC after great numbers of Roman women demonstrated publicly against it.<sup>55</sup>

As a result of their increased status and wealth, women were able to assume the role of patron and provide financial benefits to the communities in which they lived. In return, their communities honoured them for their beneficence through the setting up of portrait statues and inscriptions.<sup>56</sup> There is ample evidence for the commissioning of statues for Roman women in the Greek

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<sup>53</sup> Phyllis Culham, "Women in the Roman Republic," *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, ed. Harriet I. Flower (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 155.

<sup>54</sup> Eve D'Ambra, *Roman Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 31-32; Suzanne Dixon, *Reading Roman Women: Sources, Genres and Real Life* (London: Duckworth, 2001) 78, 96-97. Dixon provides several examples of women and their savvy business sense, as in the case of Sulla's daughter Cornelia Faustus who bought an estate once owned by Marius and then later sold it for thirty times what she paid (Plut. *Mar.* 34.2).

<sup>55</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken, 1975) 177-181; Beryl Rawson, "Finding Roman Women," *Companion to the Roman Republic*, ed. Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010) 326-327. See also Livy 34.1-8 for Cato the Elder's speech criticizing women and the men who allowed women to behave so independently and extravagantly.

<sup>56</sup> Dixon, 89-90.

east regions of the Roman Empire during the last century of the Republic. Particularly noteworthy are the early first century BC statues of Baebia, Saufeia and Polla Valeria, the mother, wife and daughter respectively of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the pro-consul of Asia.<sup>57</sup>

Women achieved their status and influence through their connections to powerful and wealthy male relatives. Even women who held such prestigious priestly posts as Vestal Virgin were appointed by men, in this case the *pontifex maximus*, chief priest of Rome.<sup>58</sup> In addition, Roman men began to take advantage of the influence and impact their female relatives were making in Roman society. C. Gracchus often referred to the virtues of his mother Cornelia in his own political rhetoric, because he profited politically by doing so.<sup>59</sup> It also became politically advantageous to deliver public eulogies for distinguished female members of one's family.<sup>60</sup> Women from high-ranking senatorial families were sought after in marriage arrangements on account of their ancestral distinction and pedigree. Such women could bind political agreements between men of influence and accomplishment as was the case with Octavia.

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<sup>57</sup> Nancy L. Thompson, *Female Portrait Sculpture of the First Century BC in Italy and the Hellenistic East* (Diss. New York University, 1996) 38-40. The statues come from the area of Magnesia ad Maeandrum. The statues of Baebia and Saufeia are in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 605 and 606 and that of Polla Valeria is in the Izmir Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 579.

<sup>58</sup> Robin Lorsch Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins: a study of Rome's Vestal priestesses in the late Republic and early Empire* (London: Routledge, 2006) 46.

<sup>59</sup> Plut. *C. Gracch.* 4.3-4; Pomeroy, 182.

<sup>60</sup> Pomeroy, 182-183.

Wealthy women were taking the initiative to play a role and even speak in the political arena. Sempronia, the wife of a consul of 77 BC, became involved in the conspiracy of Cataline to overthrow the Republic.<sup>61</sup> In 42 BC Hortensia, daughter of Cicero's political rival Hortensius, spoke in the Roman Forum against a tax on women's wealth being imposed by the triumvirs Octavian, Antony and Lepidus. With the support of Octavia and Antony's mother, the amount of the tax was reduced and it was decreed that men with wealth greater than 100,000 sestertii had to also make significant financial contributions to the cause of the triumvirate.<sup>62</sup> Another woman, namely Antony's third wife Fulvia, made an even more significant political move by taking part in military ventures related to her husband's affairs when she teamed up with L. Antonius in a failed effort to oppose Octavian.

As men competed for political power and supremacy in Rome, their wives and daughters, distinguished on account of their familial heritage, good morals and chastity, brought them distinction and status as well. During the Second Triumvirate, both Marc Antony and Octavian began campaigns of vigorous self promotion at which point they began to experiment with the public relations value of their female relatives. Since the death of Caesar in 44 BC and the appearance of his portrait on coins of Rome that same year, there was an increase in the number of coins bearing the portraits of both Octavian and Antony.

Not only did portraits of the triumvirs make a prominent appearance on coins of Rome and the provinces, but those of women, in particular Antony's

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<sup>61</sup> Sall. *Cat.* 24.3-25; Pomeroy, 171-172; Rawson, 327.

<sup>62</sup> App. *B Civ.* 4.32-34; Val. Max. 8.3.3.

wives Fulvia followed by Octavia, emerged on coins.<sup>63</sup> The coins depicting Fulvia appeared sometime between 43-40 BC, while those of Octavia began around 39 BC. These female portraits did not appear on coins issued in Rome, but rather on coins issued by mints in provincial cities and traveling with Antony's armies. While coins issued in the cities of the Hellenistic Greek East had displayed portraits of royal women in the past, these portraits of Roman women were anomalies and significant indicators of the changing roles, political influence and social status of such women, particularly those who were intimately linked to men governing the Roman Empire.

#### **1.4 Honouring the First Empress**

The changing status of women like Octavia, and eventually Livia, was reflected in various unprecedented honours and privileges which were bestowed upon them in Rome only a few years after the coins depicting Octavia made their debut. Cassius Dio reports that in 35 BC, upon Octavian's return to Rome from campaigns in Illyria, he arranged for Octavia and Livia to be granted *sacrosanctitas*, a special consideration originally granted to tribunes of the plebs for security and protection against verbal insult. At the same time they were granted freedom from *tutela*, which gave them the right to administer their own estates without a male guardian.<sup>64</sup> This move by Octavian was an extraordinary

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<sup>63</sup> Note that there is some debate among scholars as to whether Fulvia is actually depicted on the coins, an issue which I deal with briefly below in Chapter 3.

<sup>64</sup> Dio 49.38.1. Although Dio does not specify the formalities, it is likely that these privileges were given with the Senate's approval. Barrett, 136 and Nicholas Purcell, "Livia and the Womanhood of Rome," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 32 (1986) 85-86 also

one given that no Roman woman, with the exception of Vestal Virgins, had ever been given this privilege before. These priestesses of Rome's most sacred cult already enjoyed *sanctitas*, a revered status of inviolability and purity.<sup>65</sup> The bestowal of such honours was significantly strategic on Octavian's part; by giving Livia and Octavia a level of status and prestige similar to the sacred Vestal priestesses, Octavian in turn enhanced his own position as the preeminent power in the state as opposed to Antony. In addition, both Caesar and Octavian had been granted *sacrosanctitas* to protect them from public attacks. Scholars have recognized this extension of tribunician *sacrosanctitas* to women as a remarkable, unprecedented act dripping with political potency and influence.<sup>66</sup> This dispensation can be viewed not only as a sign of the growing status and political importance of women in Rome during the late Republic, but also of the increasing awareness of men in power as to the advantages of associating themselves with their distinguished female relatives.

Dio also mentions that public statues ordered by senatorial decree were erected for Octavia and Livia around the same time, the first such honour bestowed upon Roman women.<sup>67</sup> The only other context in which portraits of

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suggest that these actions taken by Octavian were designed to facilitate a more public role for women. Note that Reinhold argues that Vestals themselves did not receive tribunician *sacrosanctitas* until later, on the model of Octavia and Livia. See Meyer Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History Books 49-52 (36-29 BC)*, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 72. Nonetheless, other sources (see Wildfang, 92) indicate that Vestal Virgins already held *sanctitas* by the tradition and religious authority of their priestly office.

<sup>65</sup> Wildfang, 92.

<sup>66</sup> Barrett, 136-138.

<sup>67</sup> Dio 49.38.1.



Roman women could be found during this time was in the private, funerary one. Portrait sculptures of Livia and Octavia dated from this time period and continued thereafter, a testimony to the growing status and prestige of these two women. Only one other prior example of a publicly commissioned statue for a woman is known whereby the people, not the Senate, granted a statue to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, sometime in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>68</sup> Not long after this time statues of female relatives of Roman magistrates in the provinces of the Greek east began to appear, set up by the local public assemblies to gain favour from their Roman rulers.<sup>69</sup> These statues not only commemorated the relationship of these women to their famous male relatives,<sup>70</sup> but also acknowledged these women as benefactors who had contributed substantial sums of money for public works while at the same time commemorating their traditional female virtues such as modesty, chastity and devotion to husband and family.<sup>71</sup> Scholars see these honourific statues as indicative of the private domestic sphere of women having come to overlap with public political life, thereby venturing into territory traditionally dominated by men.<sup>72</sup> Although the statues of Octavia and Livia

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<sup>68</sup> Plut. *C. Gracch.* 4.3; Plin. *HN* 34.31; Fantham et al., 265; Marleen B. Flory, "Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome," *TAPA* 123 (1993): 287. For the inscription on Cornelia's statue base in *Porticus Octaviae* see *CIL* 6.10043.

<sup>69</sup> Flory, "Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome," 291, who states, based on inscriptions, that the earliest examples of these statues date to either 98/7 BC or 94/3 BC.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Thompson, 23.

<sup>72</sup> Thompson, 24. See also R. van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," *Images of Women in Antiquity*, eds. Averil Cameron and Amélie Kuhrt (London: Croom Helm, 1983) 233-237.

erected in Rome in 35 BC cannot be directly linked to any particular public benefaction they may have made, we do know that both women made significant financial contributions to public causes over the course of their lifetimes.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, the statue dedication of 35 BC was most likely contrived to not only distinguish them from other Roman women of high and low status, but also to bring distinction to Octavian, the highest ranking male in Rome.

The extent to which such publicly decreed honourific statues for women continued over the course of Augustus's reign is difficult to establish in any concrete manner. We know that a series of statues were set up in Livia's honour in recognition of her grief at the death of her son Drusus.<sup>74</sup> She was honoured through the Ara Pacis Augustae not only through her depiction on it, but also through the dedication of the monument on her birthday. A number of sculptural portraits of Livia dating from this time survive, and they continued to be produced through to the reign of the emperor Claudius, but those without accompanying inscriptions make it difficult to determine which ones were of the statues decreed for Livia.<sup>75</sup> In addition, numerous inscriptions (not necessarily belonging to statues) attest to the many public honours devoted to Livia and to her popularity

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<sup>73</sup> For a detailed discussion of Livia's numerous public works see Barrett, 186-214. Regarding the Porticus of Octavia and the Porticus of Livia see Suet. *Aug.* 29.4.

<sup>74</sup> *Supra* note 19.

<sup>75</sup> Bartman's *Portraits of Livia* provides a thorough accounting of the sculptural portraits created for Livia from the time of Augustus through to Claudius and originating from various parts of the empire. Epigraphic evidence related to statues shows that both local governments and individuals, including magistrates and priests, set up statues for Livia. See Bartman's catalogue, pp. 146-187.

throughout the empire.<sup>76</sup> As has already been described above, she was praised very highly in the literary works of Ovid and Velleius Paterculus.

The death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius brought about a new set of particularly significant honours for Livia. Livia was appointed priestess of the newly established cult of the deified Augustus and was adopted into the *gens Iulia* and was henceforth referred to as *Iulia Augusta*. But it was also at this time that the Senate proposed honours that not only would heighten her status as mother of the imperial family, but also aimed to establish her as mother of the empire in an official sense. The Senate wished to give her the honorific title *mater patriae* (mother of the nation) or *parens patriae* (parent of the nation).<sup>77</sup> The title would have given Livia an unprecedented distinction by echoing Augustus's title *pater patriae*, which was given to him by the Senate and Roman people in 2 BC.<sup>78</sup> The title was such a particularly high honour that Augustus even refused it when offered to him on a couple of occasions prior to his accepting it. The philosopher Seneca, a tutor and advisor to the emperor Nero, also noted the gravity of the title as standing above any other and to let the *princeps* know that he had been entrusted with *patria potestas* over the state.<sup>79</sup> Thus, for Livia to be given a female title comparable to that which had been granted to Augustus would have formally acknowledged Livia's already obvious

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<sup>76</sup> Barrett provides a rather comprehensive, but not necessarily complete, catalogue of these inscriptions, 265-293.

<sup>77</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1-4; Dio 58.2. 1-6.

<sup>78</sup> *RG* 35.1; Suet. *Aug.* 58.

<sup>79</sup> Sen. *Clem.* 1.14.2.

public role in the state.<sup>80</sup> Livia was already active as “mother of the state” in very practical ways including funding the raising of children and providing dowries for impoverished brides.<sup>81</sup> However, Tiberius refused to allow these honours be granted to his mother. Interestingly, even though Tiberius denied the official bestowal of such titles on Livia in Rome, there is a strong indication that the Senate’s sentiment towards Livia as *mater patriae* was echoed throughout the empire.<sup>82</sup> The title appeared on coins of Lepcis Magna in North Africa (II.N1.6) and she was even referred to as *genetrix orbis* (mother of the world) on coins of Colonia Romula in Spain (III.P1.10). An inscription found at Anticaria in Baetica also refers to Livia as *genetrix orbis*.<sup>83</sup>

Livia’s new appointment as priestess of the deified Augustus was another unprecedented honour, since all major priesthoods in Rome, with the exception of the Vestal Virgins, were held by men.<sup>84</sup> As a symbol of her priestly status, she was granted a lictor (an official bodyguard), a privilege given to magistrates and Vestal Virgins.<sup>85</sup> Her position as priestess was praised by the Roman authors

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<sup>80</sup> Note that the title *mater patriae* would not have come with any legally binding power as in the case of Augustus’s *pater patriae*, which asserted his position as *pater familias* over the state and its accompanying legally recognized *potestas*.

<sup>81</sup> Dio 58.2.2-3. See also Severy, 137.

<sup>82</sup> Barrett, 157.

<sup>83</sup> *CIL* 2.2038.

<sup>84</sup> Barrett, 160.

<sup>85</sup> There seems to be some debate in the ancient literary sources as to whether or not Livia in fact was allowed a lictor. Dio 56.46 says she was allowed a lictor, while Tacitus 1.14.2 says Tiberius denied her this privilege.

Ovid and Velleius Paterculus.<sup>86</sup> It is during this first year of her son's reign that a case can be made for the first appearance of Livia on the coins of the official mint of Rome, which depict her as priestess, draped and veiled, holding a patera while seated on a chair or throne.

Despite Tiberius's apparent efforts to keep Livia's popularity and influence in check,<sup>87</sup> his successors saw the benefit of associating themselves with the distinguished and influential Livia. Tiberius's successor, Caligula, paid out Livia's bequests which Tiberius had opposed.<sup>88</sup> Caligula's successor, Claudius, deified his grandmother Livia in AD 41 and entrusted her worship to the Vestal Virgins.<sup>89</sup> He commemorated her deification on coins issued in Rome which name Livia as *Diva Augusta* and present her as a goddess seated on a throne in the guise of the goddess Ceres, bearing ears of grain and a torch (II.A1.9). Livia was later commemorated on coins issued by the emperors Nero, Galba, Titus and Trajan. Just as Augustus had been remembered on coins as the father and founder of the empire through to the time of Antoninus Pius, Livia was commemorated as wife and mother of Rome's first emperors.

Livia's image first made an appearance on coins issued in Rome's eastern Greek provinces during the reign of Augustus. As Livia's status and political influence grew in Rome, the number of coins issued to commemorate

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<sup>86</sup> *Ov. Tr.* 4.2.11 and *Pont.* 4.9.107; *Vell. Pat.* 2.75.3.

<sup>87</sup> *Dio* 57.12.1-6. Here Dio mentions that Tiberius tried to keep Livia and her unprecedented power and influence in check. He also states that Tiberius was irritated by the special honours that were proposed for her and even desired to remove her from public life.

<sup>88</sup> *Dio* 59.2.3.

<sup>89</sup> *Dio* 60.5.2.

Livia grew as well and culminated in the issue of coins in Rome that represented the empress in her roles as priestess and mother of the ruling imperial family. The chapters of this thesis that follow will examine the coins of Rome and its empire that bore images representative of Livia and how these images were conceived not only as a means of honouring Rome's most powerful woman, but also as a commentary on the socio-political conditions and gender-specific roles she signified.

### ***1.5 Conclusion***

While this chapter has been very biographical in nature it does not give an exhaustive account of Livia's life, a task which has already been done with great success by Barrett. It is intended rather to provide a sense of the broader historical context in which our main body of material evidence, the coins, existed and functioned. Given the changing roles and increased status of Roman women that took place during the late Republic, it is no surprise that also at this time we see a significant change in how women were represented in the various types of visual media. For example, we see an increase in the number of public honorific statues being set up for Roman women. The statue of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, was one of the early examples of such public honours for women in Rome, but we do see their growing presence in the Hellenistic provinces of the Greek east and eventually in Rome in the late Republic with the statues decreed for Octavia and Livia in 35 BC. It was only a few years prior to this that we also see the introduction of portraits of elite Roman women related to the ruling men

of Rome on coins of Rome and various provincial cities. As will be seen, female imperial family members became more and more key players in the perpetuation of dynasty and as such, came to have a place of prominence on Roman coins with Livia, the first lady of imperial Rome, setting the standard for their visual representation.

## CHAPTER 2

### Theory and Methodology

#### 2.1 *Coins as Visual Medium in the Context of Roman Art History*

While classical scholarship has drawn a wealth of information from the literary sources concerning Roman women in general and Livia in particular,<sup>1</sup> recently the importance of the visual in the Roman world has been increasingly emphasized. In particular, scholars have stressed the powerful communicative role of Roman art as a semantic system.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to the works of such scholars as Hölscher and Zanker, examinations of Roman art were conducted primarily from an historical perspective and in conjunction with literary sources. One example is Niels Hannestad's *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*,<sup>3</sup> which is an historical and chronological overview of Roman imperial art and in essence treats art as a way of illustrating history. Hannestad

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<sup>1</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975); Anthony A. Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Tonio Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, trans. Anthony Snodgrass and Anne-Marie Kunzl-Snodgrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988); Steven Hijmans, "Language, Metaphor, and the Semiotics of Roman Art," *BABesch* 75 (2000): 147-164.

<sup>3</sup> Niels Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*, (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1986), a reworking of his earlier publication *Romersk kunst som propaganda : aspekter af kunstens brug og funktion i det romerske samfund* (Berlingske, 1976).



does touch on the importance of symbolism in Roman art,<sup>4</sup> and he refers to codification in Roman art, but without any real analysis or attempt to clearly define such codification, he concludes that it contributes to a lack of creative imagination in Roman art.<sup>5</sup> Another example is Diana E. E. Kleiner's *Roman Sculpture*.<sup>6</sup> She acknowledges that a Roman statue or monument consists of a fusion of diverse iconographical elements and styles and she does provide a significant overview of these components as in the case of her discussion of female portraiture in the Republic.<sup>7</sup> However, she does not consider the presence of these iconographical components in other media nor does she explore how these components functioned semantically. Elements such as hairstyle may have had important connotations regarding socio-political and gender roles, but the study of such connotations is not undertaken by Kleiner. Brilliant too does not take an overtly iconographic approach to Roman art, but rather explores it chronologically whilst taking into consideration the development of Roman artistic style and eclecticism, particularly the impact of Greek forms and styles.<sup>8</sup> Brilliant's earlier work *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (1964),<sup>9</sup> for which he is most noted, does take a highly iconographic approach in his analysis of the use of

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<sup>4</sup> Hannestad, 105.

<sup>5</sup> Hannestad, 130-131.

<sup>6</sup> Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

<sup>7</sup> Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 10, 38-40.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Brilliant, *Roman Art from the Republic to Constantine* (London: Phaidon, 1974).

<sup>9</sup> Richard Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences, 1964).

gestures in Roman art and how these symbolize rank and status. However, his chronological approach and emphasis on Greek origins of the gesture motifs does not lend itself to a deeper understanding of the meaning and function of these motifs as part of a semantic system.

Tonio Hölscher's groundbreaking work, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, originally published in German in 1987 and translated to English in 2004, puts forward a theory of Roman art as a semantic system. He argues that Roman society in effect developed a means of visual communication possessing its own distinct syntax and grammar, and that this visual language had Greek roots and models.<sup>10</sup> He effectively demonstrated how different period styles (Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic) found in Greek art were used to portray different categories of subject matter in Roman art and thus conveyed particular meanings peculiar to Roman society. Zanker's renowned book *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988), which places particular emphasis on artworks generated under the Augustan regime, draws upon the methodology and theory of Hölscher. Zanker's book looks comprehensively at the body of art produced during Augustus's regime and attempts to reveal the visual language that was developed in order to communicate the social and political ideology of the era. He shows how these new images were rooted in earlier artistic traditions, in particular Classical and Hellenistic Greek, but also incorporated archaistic styles.<sup>11</sup> He also

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<sup>10</sup> Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 1-9.

<sup>11</sup> Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 240ff.

effectively demonstrates how certain visual motifs transcended multiple media and permeated different levels of society.

Since the publication of these works, scholars have continued to explore and expand on the methodologies developed by Hölscher and Zanker, but the question of how images convey meaning is a point of much discussion and contrasting methodologies. Rather than addressing this key question in their methodology, scholars painstakingly strive for that all encompassing, one and only definitive meaning that all ancient viewers must have perceived when contemplating a particular work of art. A characteristic example is the analyses of the so-called “Tellus” panel on the Ara Pacis Augustae, which has been interpreted as depicting either Venus,<sup>12</sup> Pax,<sup>13</sup> or Ceres,<sup>14</sup> to name a few of the possibilities proposed. Yet, scholars have recognized that a more polysemantic meaning may lie behind this “Tellus” image by considering the varied meanings behind the iconographical motifs present in the overall composition.<sup>15</sup>

Many seek to determine the meaning of images by trying to find associations between literary sources and artworks.<sup>16</sup> Scholars such as Zanker

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<sup>12</sup> Karl Galinsky, "Venus in a Relief of the Ara Pacis Augustae," *AJA* 70 (1966): 223-243; M. Thornton, "Augustan Genealogy and the Ara Pacis," *Latomus* 42 (1983): 619-628.

<sup>13</sup> N. de Grummond, "Pax Augusta and the Horae on the Ara Pacis Augustae," *AJA* 94 (1990): 663-677.

<sup>14</sup> Barbetta Stanley Spaeth, "The Goddess Ceres in the Ara Pacis Augustae and the Carthage Relief," *AJA* 98.1 (1994): 65-100.

<sup>15</sup> Karl Galinsky, "Venus, Polysemy, and the Ara Pacis Augustae," *AJA* 96 (1992): 457-475; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 96.

<sup>16</sup> A few examples include: Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 24, 149; C.H.V. Sutherland, *Roman History and Coinage, 44 BC – AD 69: Fifty Points*

and Hijmans have noted the dangers in precipitously drawing conclusions about the meaning of a work of ancient art by using evidence (literary, epigraphical, or other art) in isolation without taking into consideration the broader artistic, cultural, and archaeological contexts in which that work of art existed in antiquity.<sup>17</sup> The problems with literary sources have been duly noted: literature in antiquity was directed towards the elite members of society, most of it has not survived antiquity, and much of it was anything but objective.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the meanings encapsulated in ancient images, as with any image, often operate at a level of communication that is distinct from verbal communication.<sup>19</sup>

While traditional methodologies used by some scholars in the study of Roman art have sought to pinpoint iconographical motifs and styles and their linear chronological development along historical lines, the objectives of more recent scholarship has been to understand the interplay between social forces and their visual articulation.<sup>20</sup> Boymel-Kampen has argued that given the complexity of Roman society and the range of objects, media and typologies it produced, a closer and more focused examination on recognized communities and the cultural

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*from Julius Caesar to Vespasian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Barbette Stanley Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996) ch.6.

<sup>17</sup> Paul Zanker, "In Search of the Roman Viewer", *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*, ed. Diana Buitron-Oliver (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1997) 179-191. Cf. Hijmans, "Language, Metaphor and Semiotics in Roman Art," 147-148.

<sup>18</sup> Steven Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome* (Groningen: Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research, 2009) 59.

<sup>19</sup> Ian Hodder, *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) 66-79.

<sup>20</sup> Natalie Boymel Kampen, "On Not Writing the History of Roman Art," *Art Bulletin* 77.3 (1995): 376.

materials they created might help to answer such questions as who produced works of art, for whom and for what reasons.<sup>21</sup> Along these lines, scholars are increasingly taking into consideration specific contexts in which material culture objects are produced and taking up more focused themes such as gender and power in their analyses of Roman art.<sup>22</sup> Beard and Henderson's *Classical Art from Greece to Rome* rejects the chronological historical approach to art in favour of chapters devoted to themes such as sexuality and sensuality in art, as well as art and monuments emblematic of power.<sup>23</sup> Boymel-Kampen's own work has concentrated on the subject of gender and the communication of gender roles in Roman art, looking in particular at image design and iconography.<sup>24</sup> Such works tie into the concept of art as purveyor of socio-political roles which will play an integral part throughout this thesis.

The question of how images communicate messages, in particular from the perspective of intended and perceived meanings, is currently at the center of studies in Roman art history. The perspective of the ancient Roman viewer as gauged through theories of visibility and visual communication are essential to

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<sup>21</sup> Boymel Kampen, "On Not Writing the History of Roman Art," 377.

<sup>22</sup> Natalie Boymel Kampen, "On Writing Histories of Roman Art," *Art Bulletin* 85.2 (2003): 380.

<sup>23</sup> Mary Beard and John Henderson, *Classical Art from Greece to Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Natalie Boymel Kampen, "Social Status and Gender in Roman Art: The Case of the Saleswoman," *Roman Art in Context: An Anthology*, ed. Eve D'Ambra (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993) 115-132; Kampen, "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art," *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 218-248; Natalie Boymel Kampen et al., *What is a Man? Changing Images of Masculinity in Late Antique Art* (Portland: Reed College, 2002).

understanding the relationship between the production of a work of art and its reception.<sup>25</sup> For example, Jaś Elsner's works have been concerned primarily with ways of seeing as described by ancient Greek and Roman literary texts about viewing.<sup>26</sup> He explores the conceptual frameworks of interpretation in which art is viewed and by which meaning is determined, and emphasizes that modes of representation (e.g. naturalism), as well as the cultural and physical context of viewing, all have an impact on the meaning(s) generated by a work of art.<sup>27</sup> Zanker has also considered the physical context of viewing, including an examination of how representation of the architectural decoration of monuments on coins can tell us what features of a monument were perceived by the viewer as significant or not.<sup>28</sup> However, gauging meaning from the vantage point of the viewer does have its limitations given that the majority of ancient viewers are beyond our reach – their impressions of what they saw and perceived do not survive in any concrete form. Nonetheless, scholars still regard the role of the viewer as an important consideration in their discussions and debates on visual meaning.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Kampen, "On Writing Histories of Roman Art," 381.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Jaś Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: the transformation of art from the Pagan world to Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and *Roman Eyes: Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

<sup>27</sup> Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: the transformation of art from the Pagan world to Christianity*, 2-3.

<sup>28</sup> Zanker, "In Search of the Roman Viewer," 179-183.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Bauer, "Is What You See All You Get? Recognizing meaning in archaeology," 43; Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome*, 66; John E. Robb, "The Archaeology of Symbols," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998): 341.

In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the meanings the Roman viewer may have perceived from an image, one needs to engage the issue of Roman art as a semantic system. The semantic nature of Roman art was central to the intelligibility of images produced by Roman society. Hölscher and Zanker have already been mentioned as among the first to demonstrate how images presented in Roman art and architecture functioned as part of a highly developed, intricately complex visual semantic system. This approach to Roman art has more recently been pursued and enriched by Boymel-Kampen, Hijmans and Dillon, who each examine specific bodies of material in an effort to detail thematic visual programs that were conceived by ancient Greek and Roman society for the purpose of conveying socio-political and religious messages.<sup>30</sup> The scholarly pursuits to delineate and interpret the language of Roman art has been aided significantly by semiotic theory, which has been deployed in the analyses of ancient literary and material culture sources alike. The semiotic theories of Suassure and Pierce (to be discussed at greater length below) combined with related traditions of sociological theory have provided a basic framework within which art historians can evaluate images as socially charged iconographic devices that promote social norms.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Sheila Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome* (2009); Natalie Boymel Kampen, *Family Fictions in Roman Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Jeremy Tanner, "Portraits, Power and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic," *JRS* 90 (2000): 22-24; Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome*, 52-56; Hijmans, "Language, Metaphor, and the Semiotics of Roman Art," 155.

While scholars are currently bringing to bear visual communication theory and semiotic theory in their analyses of Roman art and architecture, the same cannot be said of Roman coinage, or even ancient coinage as a whole. Generally, discussions surrounding images on coins have focused primarily on choice of coin types, who chose them (authority), for whom (audience), and why. While these are all important questions and significant contributions have been made to the field in these respects, most scholars are not concerned with how the coin images were designed or how they functioned, which may shed some light on the processes by which types were chosen.

The question of “who” chose imperial coin types is an important one, but scholars have tried to find answers to this question predominantly from a historical standpoint, looking at historical contexts derived from ancient literary sources.<sup>32</sup> The answer has also been simplified by drawing the logical conclusion that even though the Roman emperor was the ultimate authority for the issue of coins throughout the empire, it was highly unlikely that he could have possibly authored every single coin type.<sup>33</sup> Equal to or perhaps more important than the question of authorship is that of intended meaning(s) behind an image, which can be established by looking at the visual dynamics of an image and how it

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<sup>32</sup> Ada Cheung, "The Political Significance of Roman Imperial Coin Types." *Gazette numismatique Suisse* 191 (1998): 59-60; C.H.V. Sutherland, "The Purpose of Roman Imperial Coin Types." *Revue Numismatique* 24 (1983): 80-81.

<sup>33</sup> M. H. Crawford, "Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion," *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to Philip Grierson*, ed. C.N.L. Brooke, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 59; Christopher Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (London: Routledge, 1995) 70.



functioned, a matter to be discussed in section 2.3 “Methodology and Theory” below.

The communication of meaning is an important consideration when trying to isolate factors that influenced the selection and design of coin types, but many scholars have been especially concerned with their intelligibility amongst individuals from various levels of Roman society, as well as from diverse regions of the empire. Once again, the dynamics of the visual image and visual processes take a back seat to suppositions drawn from historical contexts. The controversial article by A.H.M. Jones which appeared in 1956 has sparked a debate on intelligibility of Roman coin types that has continued to recent times. Jones argued that numismatists have attached an exaggerated significance to coin types and legends given that the literary sources barely say anything about them at all.<sup>34</sup> In other words, if the ancient authors did not take note of coin images and legends, then there is little that today’s historian can derive from coins, since he has no way of knowing how the ancient viewer read and interpreted them. Jones further concludes that the limited literacy and the general apathy of most inhabitants of the empire means most coins went unread and had virtually no impact.<sup>35</sup>

Jones’s comments fuelled significant response from numismatists, as it prompted them to address the iconographic symbolism and meaning behind coin

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<sup>34</sup> A.H.M. Jones, “Numismatics and History,” *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*, ed. R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland (London: Oxford University Press, 1956) 14.

<sup>35</sup> Jones, 15-16.

types as a distinct visual medium. One of the first scholars to respond to Jones was C.H.V. Sutherland who commented extensively on the issue of intelligibility arguing that the degree of literacy, both linguistic and visual, was significantly more than Jones conjectured.<sup>36</sup> However, Sutherland addressed the issue of intelligibility from a socio-historical perspective leaving the matter of how coin images communicated messages untouched. Others such as Crawford, Wallace-Hadrill, and Cheung provide at least some evidence from ancient literary sources like Dio, Suetonius and Arrian that ancient viewers recognized and acknowledged coin types.<sup>37</sup> The semantic nature of the visual evidence on coins is recognized by scholars such as Ehrhardt, Toynbee and Hölscher who state that intelligibility of images was obtained in large part through visual codes found in a variety of media from sculpture to cameos to coins, codes that were developed and understood (to varying degrees) by members of Roman society.<sup>38</sup>

The first significant endeavour to examine the images on Roman coins as incorporating a form of visual language was J.M.C. Toynbee's article "Picture-

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<sup>36</sup> C.H.V. Sutherland, "The Intelligibility of Roman Imperial Coin Types," *JRS* 49 (1959): 49ff.

<sup>37</sup> Crawford, "Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion," 50-51; Cheung, 53-54; Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus," *JRS* 76 (1986): 66. See Arr. *Epict. diss.* 3.3.3-4; Suet. *Aug.* 94.12 and *Ner.* 25.3; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 4.73; Dio 44.4.4, 47.25.3.

<sup>38</sup> J.M.C. Toynbee, "Picture-Language in Roman Art and Coinage," *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*, ed. R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland (London: Oxford University Press, 1956) 205-226; Christopher T.H.R. Ehrhardt, "Roman Coin Types and the Roman Public," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 34 (1984): 49; Tonio Hölscher, "Die Bedeutung der Münzen für das Verständnis der politischen Repräsentationskunst der späten römischen Republik," *Actes du ix Congrès international de numismatique, Berne, septembre 1979*, I & II, ed. T. Hackens and R. Weiller (Luxembourg: Louvains-le-Neuve, Assoc. intern. De numismates prof., 1982) 271; Cheung, 54.

Language in Roman Art and Coinage” (1956). Toynbee contends that many of the images depicted in Roman art and coinage consists of motifs which make up the ‘vocabulary’ and ‘phrases’ of a visual language.<sup>39</sup> These motifs perform a variety of functions: allegorical, symbolic, metaphorical.<sup>40</sup> The most significant contribution of Toynbee’s work is pointedly stating the significant role that coins play in establishing the key components of visual language that permeated all areas of Roman visual media. Toynbee argues that coins are “the most abundant of all monuments and form the most completely-surviving series of works of art which we have.”<sup>41</sup> The fact that coins were mass produced in multiple regions of the empire and widely circulated amongst a socially and culturally diverse populace made them an ideal medium for presenting distinct images which, both collectively and individually, convey multiple messages. It is within the context of other forms of Roman art that the images on Roman coins should be analyzed.

While several scholars recognize the highly communicative aspect of coin image design,<sup>42</sup> the endeavour to analyze coin images as consisting of elements that belong to the body of visual language that pervades Roman art is still very much in its infancy. The research presented in this thesis will expand on the work of scholars such as Toynbee and Hölscher by exploring the highly semantic nature of coin images whilst taking into consideration semiotic and

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<sup>39</sup> Toynbee, 209.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Toynbee, 221.

<sup>42</sup> Ehrhardt, 49; Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 75; Cheung, 53.

visual theory. More specifically it will examine the images of Livia presented on coins and investigate how these images were developed, how they fit into the broader visual program that existed for Livia as conveyed in other media such as sculpture, and how these images functioned to arrive at meanings that had a significant impact on Roman imperial ideology in both a social and political sense.

## ***2.2 Scholarly Treatment of The Representation of Livia on Coins***

The origins for the promotion of key persons on Roman coins began during the Roman Republic. Rome began issuing its own coinage late in the fourth century BC, and senatorial families began exploiting coinage in the mid-second century BC for the purpose of promoting their political status and prestige. The practice of promoting oneself and one's distinguished ancestors through coins continued to develop and persist up until the establishment of the Roman Empire, at which point it became the exclusive domain of the emperors.<sup>43</sup> Under the empire, Rome had its official imperial mints, such as the ones in Rome and Lugdunum, but many provincial cities continued to issue coins independently from Rome. These mints produced a wide range of images related to the emperor and his family. Therefore, coins played a significant role in the visual representation of not only the emperor, but also his female relatives, both in Rome and in the cities of the empire. This explains why more than perhaps any other historical coinage system, Roman imperial coins deployed a complex visual

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<sup>43</sup> Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 67-68.

language of meaningfully constituted images for the purpose of disseminating official ideology.<sup>44</sup>

Recent scholarship in particular has become increasingly interested in how coins were exploited in the ancient world, and in particular the Roman Empire, for the purpose of distributing images infused with messages reflecting the socio-political ideology of the state.<sup>45</sup> As yet, however, no one has conducted a detailed analysis of how the numismatic images pertaining to any particular empress functioned as part of an overall program of the visual representation of that empress. In addition, no one has adequately addressed the question as to how those images were designed to communicate a variety of messages which helped shape ideologies and perceptions of the empress, other members of the imperial family, and women in Roman imperial society as a whole. Given the importance of numismatic images, such studies have the potential to significantly enhance our understanding of the overall visual program. In the case of Livia's public image and person this research is especially timely, because other parts of the visual program, in particular sculpture, are already well documented thanks to the studies of Gross, Bartman, Wood and Alexandridis.

Several scholars have explored the coins referring to Livia to varying degrees. The first substantial study of coins depicting Livia was conducted by Gross in his book *Iulia Augusta: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-*

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<sup>44</sup> Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 75; Cheung, 53.

<sup>45</sup> Christopher Howgego, Volker Heuchert and Andrew Burnett ed., *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

*Ikonographie* (1962), which attempted to compile and categorize the Livia coins in order to better identify, date, and categorize Livia's portraits in sculptural arts.<sup>46</sup> Gross gathers an impressive body of coins, but it is by no means comprehensive. He focuses mainly on coins of Livia from the Eastern provinces of the empire, while he barely mentions the coins issued in the west. In his analysis of the coins Gross pays close attention to detail; he describes hairstyles, isolates attributes, and compares particular coin images that were issued at a variety of mints. In the end, he does make a promising case for the role coins play with respect to analyzing the sculptural portraits of Livia and he does touch on the image elements shared between these two media,<sup>47</sup> but as for isolating how these images functioned in society and how they communicated messages, very little is said.

More recently, Wood has taken an analytical approach similar to Gross with respect to coins and sculpture, but has expanded the research to include all major female members of the imperial family during the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>48</sup> However, the coin evidence solicited is quite limited in comparison to Gross, since Wood argues that the quality of provincial coin images is not reliable enough to fix identifications for sculptural portraits.<sup>49</sup> Wood's method compares images of coins and other media (cameos) to sculpture in order to find similarities

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<sup>46</sup> Walter H. Gross, *Julia Augusta: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962).

<sup>47</sup> For example, see Gross, 102ff.

<sup>48</sup> Susan E. Wood, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC-AD 68* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

<sup>49</sup> Wood, 93.

and isolate portrait types. As for intended and perceived meanings of such images, Wood acknowledges that this lies with the viewer, but does not discuss at length how images communicated meaning.

Other scholars such as Bartman, Barrett, and Alexandridis have all touched on the iconographical significance of coins depicting Livia, but have only skimmed the surface. These scholars have focused primarily on the coins issued at the imperial mint of Rome (approximately only 10 coin types of Livia issued), leaving the large body of provincial coins (some 170 examples) unexamined. Barrett does at least compile a list of coins, both imperial and provincial, that apparently refer to Livia, but with little discussion or analysis.<sup>50</sup> By contrast, Alexandridis, in her catalogue of the images of Roman imperial women from Livia to Julia Domna, essentially ignores the coins, particularly provincial coinage, due to their large numbers.<sup>51</sup> Given that most recent scholarship has focused on art-historical and figural analyses of portrait types that exist in Livia's sculptural repertoire, this lack of interest in coin portraits is perhaps understandable. Bartman has questioned their value as a portrait medium given the small scale of the portrait and the preference given to a profile view of the subject.<sup>52</sup> Haward argues that they have much the same styles (hair styles, portrait features and iconographic attributes) as portrait sculpture, which means

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<sup>50</sup> Barrett, 295-302.

<sup>51</sup> Annetta Alexandridis, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses: Eine Untersuchung ihrer Bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Julia Domna* (Manz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2004).

<sup>52</sup> Bartman, 12.

that for her purposes coinage has little to offer beyond what has already been derived from sculpture.<sup>53</sup> However, this does not in any way diminish the importance of these coin portraits in terms of visual communication, in which Roman coins play a central role that requires and deserves close attention.

### ***2.3 Methodology and Theory***

#### **a) Semiotics and Visual Communication**

This study takes as its premise the semantic nature of Roman art and its methodology draws heavily on visual semiotics, which takes into account the complex processes of both the projection and reception of an image, thereby facilitating the development of methodologies that can reveal a multiplicity of meanings. This thesis takes into consideration the fact that any image has bound to it two different sets of meanings: 1) the intended meanings generated by the author of the image; and 2) the perceived meanings rendered by the viewer. While the intended meanings of Livia's coin images will be the particular focus of my analyses, the perceived meanings of the viewer will also be occasionally considered as they relate to and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the role these coins images played in communicating gender-specific socio-political and religious roles pertaining to Livia.

The revelation of these multiple meanings can only be accomplished by identifying the full range of visual elements that constitute an image and the 'grammar' by which they operate in order to communicate messages. Fully

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<sup>53</sup> Anne Haward, *Art and the Romans* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1999) 9.



understanding the value of such an examination as it relates to images of Livia on coins and the intended meanings behind them requires consideration of the role of visual semiotics in understanding the semantics of visual language. Images of Livia or images related to Livia as presented on coins are, in and of themselves, symbolic signs and thus, part of a semiotic system of signification. Roman coins, just as other media contained in the body of Roman art, could be understood through their iconography, attributes and context.<sup>54</sup> The semiotic models of Saussure and Pierce have been at the heart of studies relating to linguistics, art history and visual communication for quite some time,<sup>55</sup> but only recently have these theories begun to have an impact on various streams of classical studies, in particular those which deal with art and archaeology. While it is beyond the scope of this study to relate all terminology and definitions surrounding semiotics, I will briefly outline here only those aspects of visual and social semiotic theory that pertain to this study.

While most scholars agree that the theories of Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure regarding the sign and the relationship between the *signifier* and the *signified* paved the way for the modern study of sign systems, Charles Sanders Pierce's work is considered to be more conducive to the study of images and visual communication, because at its base lies the assumption that signs can relate

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<sup>54</sup> Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome*, 52.

<sup>55</sup> Bal and Bryson, 188-195. See also Sandra Moriarty, "Visual Communication as Primary System," *Journal of Visual Literacy* 14.2 (1994): 11-12; Ian Hodder, "Symbolism, Meaning, and Context," *Interpretive Archaeology: a reader*, ed. Julian Thomas (New York: Leicester University Press, 2000) 87.

meanings in a variety of ways.<sup>56</sup> Pierce's model is a tripartite system which includes: 1) the physical object; 2) the *representamen* or the form which a sign takes, i.e. word, photograph, or sound; and 3) the *interpretant* or sense made from the sign depending on the user's cultural experience of that sign.<sup>57</sup>

Pierce used another triad – iconic, indexical, and symbolic – to demonstrate how the connections between a sign and its object establish meaning. An iconic sign is mimetic of its object, the indexical an indicator or material trace of its object, while the symbolic is connected to its object solely by convention.<sup>58</sup> The level of meaning between sign and object is established through the practical cultural experience of the viewer, which Pierce referred to as *semiosis*.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, any given image is not restricted to one all encompassing meaning, but instead can have a range of potential meanings. As shall be seen over the course of this study, Livia's numismatic images were both iconic, presenting an idealized version of Livia's appearance, and symbolic, signifying abstract concepts pertaining to gender roles and ideologies related to the ruling imperial regime.

The purpose of this study is not to provide a comprehensive overview of all meanings associated with Livia's images as conveyed via coinage. Rather, its overall goal is to understand with greater depth and clarity how numismatic

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<sup>56</sup> Moriarty, "Visual Communication as Primary System," 11; Bauer, 38.

<sup>57</sup> Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: the Basics* (London: Routledge, 2002) 32; David Crow, *Visible Signs* (Crans-pres-Seligny, Switzerland: AVA Publishing, 2003) 24-25.

<sup>58</sup> Sandra Moriarty, "Visual Semiotics Theory," *Handbook of Visual Communication: theory, methods, and media*, ed. Ken Smith et al. (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005) 229-230. See also Robert W. Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006) 56-59.

<sup>59</sup> Crow, 36.

images of Livia were developed and how they functioned as part of a concerted visual program for Livia's portrayal in art, which in turn can reveal potential meanings and the ideologies surrounding them. The first step in this process is to understand the image as a whole by breaking it down into its individual component parts, which is the focus of Chapter 4. In ancient visual systems, as in modern ones, these image elements, or *paradigms*, were drawn from a large visual vocabulary, which, much like individual words in a sentence, have a limited impact and meaning on their own, but, once combined with other image elements/words, can have emphatic impact and significance. In semiotics, such a patterning of signs into a particular sequence to convey particular meaning(s) is referred to as a *syntagm*.<sup>60</sup> In other words, the arrangements and combinations of these image elements can contribute to the construction of a range of overall meanings or messages conveyed by an image.

Central to my analyses here is the semiotic process of 'entextualization' by which we recognize meaningful patterns among co-occurring signs.<sup>61</sup> The potential meanings inherent in an image can best be derived by an examination of the 'patterning' of individual image elements and the use of those image elements in varied media, and thus, in multiple contexts.<sup>62</sup> The Romans themselves recognized the existence of standard iconographic images consisting of iconographical elements arranged in specific formulaic patterns. Cicero points

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<sup>60</sup> Crow, 41.

<sup>61</sup> Bauer, 39.

<sup>62</sup> Bauer, 40-41.

out that even from a young age Romans recognized their gods by means of the insignia, age, and attire which artists had set out for them.<sup>63</sup> A significant case can be made for the visual relationship between coins and other media, in particular sculpture. As will be shown through my analysis, image elements such as hairstyle can be traced across the different types of media: coins, sculpture, cameos. That statues may have served as models for some coin types can be seen in a coin type issued at Caesaraugusta in Spain, which shows a statue group of Augustus and his grandsons/heirs Gaius and Lucius Caesar complete with statue bases.<sup>64</sup> Thus patterning, in which image elements transcending multiple media come together to create a meaningful composite whole, can help us to gauge the experience-based meanings conveyed by those who authored and perceived by those who viewed coin images depicting Livia.

The isolation of individual image elements in order to understand the meaning(s) behind the composition of the whole was used to great effect by Williamson in her study and analysis of visual codes in modern advertisements.<sup>65</sup> Here, she emphasized the advantage of identifying an image's component parts which each individually have a particular meaning, but when combined can transfer meaning to one another to create a distinct composition with new

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<sup>63</sup> Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.81-83. See also Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome*, 44-45.

<sup>64</sup> See *RPC I*, 120, no. 319. The relationship between the iconography in sculpture in the round and the iconography of coins may in fact be more complex than can be pursued over the course of this thesis given its emphasis on coins of Livia. A more detailed examination of these iconographic associations and their impact on visual communication in the Roman world will be addressed in a future study related to this work.

<sup>65</sup> Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (New York: Marion Boyers, 1978) 19.

meanings. More recently, in a study focusing on women as icons in visual media, Cross used a similar methodology in which she identified particular image elements, but also examined the complex arrangements of those elements, which serve to construct a particular type of image bearing specific meanings and messages.<sup>66</sup> In the case of Roman coins, Hölscher has shown how the individual elements that make up the images portraying various deities and divine personifications were interchangeable from one divine figure to the next in order to convey specific messages that were particularly relevant and intelligible to a Roman audience.<sup>67</sup>

As with any image, this methodology can be applied in the analysis of Livia's images on coins. In my analysis of the fundamental components of these images I have endeavoured to isolate not only basic image elements such as hairstyles, dress, adornment (jewelry) and attributes (scepters, diadems, ears of grain, etc.), but also those elements which are more heavily influenced by style such as facial and other physiognomic features, gestures, and the rendering of the image as a whole. Similarly, I have applied the same procedure to a selection of non-numismatic artefacts (sculpture, intaglios, etc.) depicting Livia, in order to determine the degree to which the visual semantic system upon which Livia's imagery was based was common to all modes of visual communication in the Roman world. Such an analysis has allowed me to isolate specific typologies or

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<sup>66</sup> Judith Leah Cross, "Icons as Ideology: a media construction," *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image: ten critical studies*, ed. Inger Lassen et al. (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2006) 174.

<sup>67</sup> Hölscher, "Die Bedeutung der Münzen für das Verständnis der politischen Repräsentationskunst der späten römischen Republik," 269-282.

patterns of visual representation and thereby deduce the systematic formulation of Livia's image on coins.

### **b) Typology/Modes of Representation**

Isolating image elements and tracing patterns of overall image composition has allowed me to identify standard image types used for visually representing Livia, such as Livia's portrait with *nodus* hairstyle<sup>68</sup> or Livia with head veiled and seated on a throne, and thereby establish typologies, used for conveying specific subjects or themes related to Livia's images. I hypothesize that a number of typological categories existed for Livia, and that each one was designed to convey specific subjects, themes, and ultimately messages concerning Livia, the Roman imperial family, and even the roles of men and women in Roman society.

Such typologies were used to great effect by Hölscher who argued that a range of patterns of artistic representation existed in Roman art, many of which were rooted in specific earlier models (mainly Greek), and each employed to convey particular subjects such as Classical Greek style for scenes of religious

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<sup>68</sup> The *nodus* hairstyle was particularly fashionable among Roman women of status during the late Republic and early empire and was worn by other female members of the imperial family including Augustus's sister Octavia. The style is referred to as "nodus" on account of the bun or knot-like wrapping of a portion of the hair on top of the forehead. See L. Furnee-van Zwet, "Fashion in Women's Hair-dress in the First Century of the Roman Empire," *BABesch* 31 (1956): 3; Bartman, 38. However, Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Cleopatra and Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005) 155 has suggested that the *nodus* was modeled on the *uraeus*, an ornament depicting a female rearing cobra found on the front of Egyptian royal headdresses. She argues that from a distance this ornament resembles the top knot of the *nodus* hairstyle worn by Octavia and Livia and therefore was the inspiration for it. Without further iconographical analyses and supportive evidence, this strikes me as highly unlikely and is extremely hard to prove.

ritual or Hellenistic Greek styles for more dramatic battle scenes.<sup>69</sup> However, it is important to note that Hölscher makes an important distinction between individual typological categories, which he refers to as “modes of representation,” and style which is predominantly an expression of the general tastes and attitudes of a society.<sup>70</sup> My analysis incorporates a similar distinction between “mode of representation” and “style” and I will discuss issues of style and meaning further in the section that follows.

Such typologically-based inquiries have both benefits and limitations. Typology can help to trace patterns of representation within Livia’s portrait genre, but such an analysis does not acknowledge unique representations of Livia, which are often dismissed if they do not fall into any set category.<sup>71</sup> In addition, typological categories can be misleading, since most of Livia’s portraits are not clear cut candidates for any specific category, but incorporate elemental variations that transcend portrait categories.<sup>72</sup> In other words, a number of image elements, all interchangeable, were used for the purpose of constructing a portrait of Livia.

As Chapter 3 reveals, the modes for representing Livia were drawn from those developed for the depiction of women and female deities during the Hellenistic and late Republican periods. Earlier images of women, in particular those of Hellenistic queens, survive to a limited extent in the sculptural medium.

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<sup>69</sup> Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 14.

<sup>70</sup> Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 113.

<sup>71</sup> Bartman, 10.

<sup>72</sup> Bartman, 11.

The images of Ptolemaic queens, the first women in the Greco-Roman world to have a concerted visual program in sculpture and coins, were conceivably used as prototypes for the portrayal of Roman women on coins. Also, there is considerable evidence that Livia's representational modes also developed from those used for the depiction of particular goddesses such as Hera/Juno, Demeter/Ceres, Cybele and Vesta. The establishment of these typological prototypes has allowed me to identify a series of potential meanings linked to the numismatic images of Livia.

As a starting point for my typological analyses of Livia's image on coins and other media, I have explored how scholars in the past have examined Livia's images. I have found that particular emphasis has been given to Livia's sculptural portraits, as well as the use of hairstyle types in order to isolate portrait types for Livia.<sup>73</sup> Such emphasis on one particular iconographical attribute does not take into account all potential image elements such as facial features, body pose or dress. All image elements are part of a composite whole. The same problem of identification of portraits and portrait types of Livia can be found in sculpture as well as coins, an issue which I examine at length in Chapter 4. In my analyses for this thesis, I have established, in part, a new categorization of types conducive to a visual analysis of coins based on mode of representation rather than a particular image element and its styles. This new categorization of portraits can

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<sup>73</sup> Gross, 65-66; Rolf Winkes, *Livia, Octavia, Iulia: Porträts und Darstellungen*, *Archaeologia Transatlantica* 13 (Providence: Art and Archaeology Publications, 1995) 25-50; Bartman, 144-145. These scholars have all utilized a categorization of Livia's portraits based primarily on hairstyle.



be extended to sculpture as well, but to do so is not feasible here given the emphasis of my thesis on coins.

The modes of representation, or *syntagms*, which I have identified and explained at greater length in Chapter 4, were not exclusive to coins, but were deployed in other media depicting Livia. These modes include: Livia's facial portrait, Livia seated, and Livia standing. Furthermore, these modes were not used exclusively for representations of Livia, but also those of other Roman women, which indicates that these modes were used to convey particular messages concerning the socio-political and religious ideology surrounding women (and men) in Roman imperial society.

While such modes of representation may have been developed from previous models, which in their original contexts may have conveyed particular subjects with a range of possible meanings relevant to a particular time, place, and audience, the Romans nonetheless redefined these models to symbolize specific subjects and themes that would be relevant and intelligible to Romans and other culturally diverse inhabitants of their empire. But the question remains, how do we establish the potential meanings behind various modes of representation? Establishing these subjects or themes depends on determining various details of the broader iconographical context in which these modes of representation functioned. Such contextual information includes identifying patterns of usage, such as patterns of adoption and/or rejection of particular modes of representation, geographical or chronological patterns of occurrence of specific types, and so on.

When attaching meanings to such patterns, one must bear in mind that the significance of a particular image of Livia, its mode of representation, and even its individual attributes, such as a diadem or scepter, will depend upon its pattern of usage not only in Livia's visual repertoire, but in the system of Roman visual communication as a whole. Such patterns constitute multiple codes, which can be understood by members of society as part of a collective consciousness, which in turn can facilitate the interpretation of images.<sup>74</sup> Identifying such patterns of usage in a wider context has the potential to reveal a multiplicity of meanings inherent in the coin images of Livia and by extension how such meanings influenced ideologies surrounding Livia in regionally distinctive ways.

### **c) Style as Purveyor of Meaning**

The images on coins are often detailed enough that elements of style can potentially be drawn from them. Style, which reflects cultural attitudes and tastes, was undoubtedly part of the overall visual program and was therefore capable of conveying specific messages.<sup>75</sup> However, in contrast to identifying individual image elements, isolating an image's stylistic elements is by no means straightforward.

Style is basically defined as “a distinctive manner of expression” or “a particular manner or technique by which something is done, created or

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<sup>74</sup> Stephen Bann, “Meaning/Interpretation,” *Critical Terms for Art History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., eds. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) 128.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, *Social Semiotics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988) 79-80; Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 114.

performed.”<sup>76</sup> This makes distinguishing a particular style highly subjective and difficult to gauge precisely. Nevertheless, the communicative role of particular styles has been argued and documented, in particular by Hölscher (2004), and thus the isolation of patterns of style is a vital step in my visual analyses.

German scholars such as Zanker and Hölscher have examined style not in terms of ‘individual’ style of a particular artist, but rather as regards ‘period’ or ‘collective’ style which has the potential to broaden the socio-political and religious evidence embedded in images and thereby provide depth of meaning.<sup>77</sup> More specifically, Hölscher argued that in Roman art, particular temporal or period styles of earlier Greek art (Classical, Hellenistic, etc.) were employed by Romans to portray certain subjects in various artworks. Hölscher also established that such employment of style is interconnected with typological language of imagery.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, style cannot disseminate meaning on its own and must be analyzed jointly with typological modes of representation.

I will provide here a brief example to whet the appetite and give a preliminary idea of this two-pronged approach to analyzing and interpreting coin images of Livia. My research has uncovered a number of visual paradigms drawn from Hellenistic numismatic prototypes, one being the jugate portrait (one portrait set in profile behind another portrait), which became a common way for depicting

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<sup>76</sup> Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, accessed March 3, 2007.  
<http://209.161.22.50/dictionary/style>.

<sup>77</sup> Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 11-14; Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ch. 3, 79-100, but especially p. 89.

<sup>78</sup> Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 14.

Ptolemaic royal couples, but was later also used in the provinces of the Hellenistic Greek East for the depiction of Livia along with her husband Augustus. A comparison of a gold octodrachm (IV.S1.18) issued by Ptolemy II (c. 270-240 BC) with a bronze coin issued in the Roman provincial city of Smyrna (Province of Asia) circa 10 BC (VIII.C1.37) reveals that both royal couples are depicted in the jugate mode of representation, but a close examination of the individual portraits reveals that both sets of individuals are depicted using distinct styles. In particular, the hairstyles and facial features of Augustus and Livia are manifestly Roman, along with the visual attribute of the laurel crown that Augustus is wearing. Even though these coins use the same modes of representation, the styles used in each are not only culturally specific, but are symptomatic of different messages intended for different audiences. The jugate portrait representational mode is a culturally instituted visual formula deemed suitable and appropriate for the portrayal of the quintessential royal couple.

But, how does style transmit meanings and what types of meanings does it exude as distinct from mode of representation? Roland Barthes identified multiple levels of signification, which he referred to as *denotation* and *connotation*.<sup>79</sup> *Denotation* is “what” is being pictured, while *connotation* is “how” it is being pictured, as in the use of particular textures, colours, and shapes, which, by cultural convention and depending on the viewer’s cultural experience,

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<sup>79</sup> Roland Barthes as cited by Crow, 56; see also Theo van Leeuwen, “Semiotics and Iconography,” *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, eds. Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (London: Sage, 2001) 98.

trigger particular generally understood meanings.<sup>80</sup> While mode of representation can be a signal of “what” is being represented, style is in essence “how” it is being portrayed and thus can take an image to an entirely different level of culturally charged meanings. Van Leeuwen refers to *connotation* as the “second layer of meaning” (as opposed to *denotation* = “first layer”), which is “the layer of broader concepts, ideas and values which the represented people, places and things ‘stand for’ and ‘are signs of’”.<sup>81</sup>

The presence of divergent styles in Roman art produced within the same geographical and chronological context is indicative of the sensitivity of Roman society to the messages that these styles conveyed. While aesthetic appeal may have played a factor in choice of style it was certainly not the only one. The presence of multiple styles in Etruscan art, from the archaic to the classical, has been well noted.<sup>82</sup> The Romans too, drawing upon the traditions of the Etruscans, utilized a “catalogue” of styles that could be deployed for the purpose of conveying specific socio-political messages, a practice which continued down to the time of Augustus. The decoration of Augustus’s new Temple of Apollo boasted both Archaic and Classical Greek styles, which associated Augustus’s rule with the notions of piety, optimism and moral superiority that high Greek culture symbolized.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Crow, 57.

<sup>81</sup> van Leeuwen, 96.

<sup>82</sup> Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome*, 38-39.

<sup>83</sup> Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 89.

#### **d) Context and Logonomic Systems**

The meaning(s) inherent in an image are given added significance and substance pertinent to the social and physical contexts in which they functioned. The aspects of context that can affect meaning are numerous, including such things as use or function of an image or object (as in a votive offering), who used an image or object, and even the physical make-up of an object. A specific aspect of context that deserves special consideration is the role played by the medium (sculpture, coins, cameos, etc.), which adds another level of meaning(s) to images peculiar to that medium. We can liken the function of medium to what in social semiotics is known as a “logonomic system.” Basically, a logonomic system is the set of ideologically inspired, generally unwritten rules or norms prescribing the conditions for production and reception of meanings and social semiotic behaviors at points of production and reception.<sup>84</sup> The basic principle is straightforward: an image of a Roman woman on a coin has a very different set of meanings from an identical image of the same woman on a private funerary relief. Each medium (coinage, cameos, sculpture) carries with it its own ‘logonomic system’ of rules or norms that direct and restrict the process of interpretation of images carried by that medium. In effect, we deal with visual messages on two levels: at the primary level are the messages conveyed by the actual image, but at the secondary level we must give due weight to the set of messages that constitute the logonomic system of the medium of the image.

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<sup>84</sup> Hodge and Kress, 4.

How do we attempt to understand the logonomic systems which governed coins, in particular those depicting Livia? Coins as a distinct medium were governed by a specific set of logonomic rules. In the early Roman Empire the issuing of coins was the responsibility of the local authority or government, all of which, whether provincial city or the city of Rome itself, ultimately came under the authority of the emperor. Therefore, there were social agencies under the influence of the central governing authority which controlled the appearance of the messages conveyed by coins in accordance with established norms. The coin image as a visual text has an institutionalized legitimacy and authority.<sup>85</sup> This distinct authoritative aspect of coins and their images would have had a significant impact on their reception. Such medium-specific, logonomic rules help to codify sets of messages that illustrate the status of social relations between the dominant and dominated groups in society – in this case the relations, albeit ideological, between the ruler (Roman emperor) and the ruled (inhabitants of empire).

But how did logonomically constituted codes facilitate the communication of messages between dominant and dominated groups? Thus far, the assertion that the establishment of meaning is dependent upon cultural experience has been alluded to several times; this includes not only the cultural experience of the author and designer of an image, but also that of the viewer. What one's cultural experience may have been in the Roman Empire two thousand years ago is difficult to determine in any kind of definitive way, but we

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<sup>85</sup> Hodge and Kress, 9.

are nonetheless able to distinguish between the cultural experiences of the inhabitants of Rome and the empire based on variables such as social position and status. Therefore, an understanding of potential cultural experience by way of the broader historical context in which the numismatic images of Livia functioned is important in establishing meanings. While it can be maintained that style and typology each play a role in the composition of meaning(s), how these aspects of visual systems operated in conjunction with the broader social, economic and physical environment, i.e. context, is essential to the establishment of potential meanings.<sup>86</sup>

Coins were an exceptionally versatile form of visual media given that they were highly tangible, markedly mobile, and often produced in large quantities. Given that the meaning of an image changes once it is duplicated and allowed to move,<sup>87</sup> this aspect of coin images makes the meanings they potentially convey quite fluid. Fortunately, we are often able to narrow down in which city, or at the very least, what region a coin was issued and/or circulated, giving us a partial geographical context. Also, as a medium of economic exchange issued by a central governing authority, coins had a very official and public function, and a clearly defined source or ‘author’, further limiting the potential meanings of any particular coin image.

Placing Livia’s numismatic images into the broader context of Roman art means not only placing them within the context of images of Livia found in other

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<sup>86</sup> Hodge and Kress, 37.

<sup>87</sup> Cross, 178.



visual media such as sculpture, but also takes into consideration artworks (including coins) depicting other men and women. Such an approach enables us to understand past meanings of objects through definition of the context within which an object has associations which contribute to its meaning.<sup>88</sup> Coins as archaeological objects, but more specifically as art objects, must be analyzed in relation to the specific contexts in which they functioned. Such contextual analyses include taking into consideration individual coins that were issued alongside others as part of a series, which is often the case with many of the coins issued with representations of Livia.

The images of Livia that were created for coins were designed to be versatile, easily inserted into many different contexts, and to be analogous to images in other media.<sup>89</sup> The ability of coins to move from context to context means that the meanings wrapped up in a coin image are never fixed. This contextual diversity had an impact on the formation of ideologies surrounding Livia, especially given that context(s) in and of itself carries meanings. Therefore, my contextual analysis will situate the coins depicting Livia within the broader context of Roman art in general, but will also include: geographical context; chronological context; context of production; context of function (method of economic exchange, ritual, commemorative, etc.); and context of consumption (audience/viewer).

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<sup>88</sup> Hodder, "Symbolism, Meaning and Context," 86-96.

<sup>89</sup> Alexandridis, 44-45.

Context also has the potential to reveal the role of the audience in attributing intended meaning to an image. Numismatists have recognized that certain series of coins were likely minted for particular groups or audiences, such as the army or the elite, based on the denominations minted, where they were minted, and the images contained on them.<sup>90</sup> For example, high denominations like the gold aureus circulated primarily amongst the elite, whether civic or military, while the silver denarius and bronze sestertius were predominantly used by troops and the lower classes.<sup>91</sup> However, even though a particular series of coins and their images may initially have been intended for a particular audience such as the army, it is important to keep in mind that coins, in particular silver and bronze denominations, were intended primarily as a medium of economic exchange. Therefore, many coins reached a subsequent or secondary audience. This secondary audience may not have been the initial target behind the design of the coin images, but these images would still have had an impact on those handling and viewing the coins. These audiences from different parts of the empire and a range of social strata assigned various meanings to the images based on their social and cultural experiences.

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<sup>90</sup> C.H.V. Sutherland, "Compliment or Complement? Dr. Levick on Imperial Coin Types," *NC* 146 (1986): 85-93; Barbara Levick, "Messages on the Roman Coinage: Types and Inscriptions," *Roman Coins and Public Life Under the Empire: E. Togo Salmon Papers II*, ed. George M. Paul (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999) 46; Cheung, 56-58; Ehrhardt, 45-46.

<sup>91</sup> Peter Herz, "Finances and Costs of the Roman Army," *A Companion to the Roman Army*, ed. Paul Erdkamp (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011) 308ff. Here, Herz outlines the pay scales of the Roman army in sestertii and makes clear that rates of pay also reflected rank and even social status. Therefore, silver and even gold denominations would have been common among the higher ranking officers, which explains the issue of gold and silver coins at mints such as Lugdunum, an imperial mint in the vicinity of Roman legions.

### e) Pictorial Image versus Word Image on Coins

The creators and commissioners of most artistic works (including coins) did not leave any systematic annotation or textual records to accompany them. However, many coin images were designed with accompanying legends, which can assist (or hinder) the modern viewers' understanding of the intended meaning(s) behind such images. While this thesis focuses primarily on the pictorial images of the coins, it is important to consider the impact that the accompanying word images had on the potential messages of a coin as a textual whole.

Pictorial images alone have the potential to convey a number of potential meanings. Words or "labels" that often accompany images help to reduce or limit the number of possible interpretations, which can anchor and help to stabilize an image.<sup>92</sup> Words can significantly transform the meaning of an image which, on its own, could mean something else entirely.<sup>93</sup> Take for instance a representation of a female figure with head veiled seated on throne and holding ears of grain and a scepter or torch. In Greek and Roman art the ears of grain and scepter are standard iconographic attributes of Demeter/Ceres. Coins issued by the Roman provincial city of Sardis show on their reverse a seated figure with ears of grain, but the accompanying legend in Greek refers to Livia (VIII.C1.36). Without the legend, the viewer might readily interpret the figure as Demeter/Ceres, but the

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<sup>92</sup> Sean Hall, *This Means This, This Means That: A User's Guide to Semiotics* (London: Laurence King, 2007) 98.

<sup>93</sup> Bo Bërgstrom, *Essentials of Visual Communication* (London: Laurence King, 2008) 135.

presence of Livia's name provides an added level of potential meanings for the image including Livia as Demeter/Ceres or Livia associated with Demeter/Ceres.<sup>94</sup>

Although words can help to simplify or further clarify images on the one hand, on the other there is the potential to complicate both the intended and perceived meanings tied to an image. There are instances where the text does not necessarily correspond directly to what is being depicted. During the reign of Tiberius, coins (I.A1.6-7) were issued depicting a seated female figure along with the legend S C (*senates consulto* = by decree of the Senate). The S C does not refer to the seated female figure in any direct way. Rather, it refers to the Senate's authority (even if in name only) in the issuing of that particular coin.

In both of the above mentioned examples of coins with accompanying word images, the role of the word images in conjunction with the pictorial images, and the intended/perceived meanings which such combinations convey, can only be established through the cultural experience of the author of the coins on the one hand and that of the viewer on the other. The viewer's ability to read the words and abbreviations on coins will undoubtedly affect her interpretation, but a viewer's inability to read them does not mean that she is completely lost on perceiving the intended meanings behind a coin's pictorial image, as in the case of the seated female figure as Livia coin type. As will be shown, the presence of such seated female figures in other media helps to reinforce the interpretation of this visual configuration as Livia.

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<sup>94</sup> Tomasz Mikocki, *Sub specie deae: le impératrices et princesses romaines assimilées à des déesses, étude iconologique* (Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1995) 15-16.

## ***2.4 Images, Social Meanings, Ideology: Gender Roles and Male vs. Female Power Relations***

The examination of the potential social meanings that can be extracted from the coin images designed for Livia can facilitate a more extensive and deeper understanding of the social, political and gender ideologies communicated by Livia's visual repertoire as a whole. Visual images, such as in sculpture and on coins, are not "mirrors" of society, but work to enforce social ideals.<sup>95</sup> Hölscher argues that Roman state art as a whole served not simply to record historical reality, but communicated historical reality as imagined abstractions in order to convey general models of political and social conduct.<sup>96</sup> Recent scholarship has discussed socio-political and religious ideologies as they relate to Livia's gender-based roles, which include Livia as priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus, as mother of the new imperial dynasty, and as mother and patron of the subjects of empire. Some scholars have explored the literary and epigraphic representations of Livia's roles,<sup>97</sup> while others have considered the visualization of these roles through artistic media such as sculpture.<sup>98</sup> The current study reveals that the numismatic representations of Livia also promoted

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<sup>95</sup> Mary D. Sheriff, "How Images Got Their Gender: Masculinity and Femininity in the Visual Arts," *A Companion to Gender History*, ed. Teresa E. Meade and Mary E. Wiesner-Hanks (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004) 149; Henrietta Moore, "Bodies on the Move: Gender, Power and Material Culture," *Interpretive Archaeology: a reader*, ed. Julian Thomas (New York: Leicester University Press, 2000) 319; Alexandridis, 39.

<sup>96</sup> Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 88-89.

<sup>97</sup> Barrett 146ff, 186ff; Severy 232ff.

<sup>98</sup> Bartman, 81ff, 102ff; Wood, 87ff; Charles Brian Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) chapters 1-5.

ideologies corresponding to Livia's gender roles. I will focus on how Livia's numismatic image was deployed in relation to two key aspects of Roman ideology: a) Livia as representative of the social ideals and roles specific to gender; and b) Livia as expression of male and female power and authority.

Similar to modern advertisements, Livia's image existed in multiple media. The popularity of Livia's image created a sort of independent "fabricated" reality, or "ideology",<sup>99</sup> which can reveal aspects of women's roles and relationships in Roman imperial society. Potentially significant is the degree to which the ideology surrounding the social and political roles of imperial women such as Livia was shared by women of other social strata as well. In other words: did Livia serve as an icon or model of specific gender roles such as mother to which other women of the empire aspired? Although Roman women had been traditionally associated with the private, domestic sphere in their role as mother, Livia's image transformed this maternal role into a more dynamic, multi-dimensional one that functioned within the public political realm of Roman society, as well as the private.

My analysis will emphasize the role of coins in Livia's portrayal as icon and will be situated within the framework of recent gender theory. I will investigate what role these coin images played in redefining and transforming the ideology surrounding traditional gender roles of elite Roman women, and perhaps even men, in the early imperial period. Scholars have recognized that the coins depicting imperial women express the socio-political and religious concerns of the

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<sup>99</sup> Williamson, 11.

issuing authority, whether it be emperor or provincial city. However, no thorough study of gender iconography has been conducted for Roman coins.<sup>100</sup> Livia's coin images, similarly to her sculptural images, were constructed with visual components that served as gender markers, namely hair, dress, and youthful female facial features. Such markers brought to the mind of the viewer particular gender roles. For example, a particular hairstyle could symbolize gender-specific social roles as in the case of the *nodus* being indicative of the Roman *matrona*.

Intrinsically connected to gender as social construct is the concept of power. Gender stems from social relationships based on perceived differences between sexes thus making it a primary way of signifying relationships of power.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, it will be necessary to situate Livia's gender-based numismatic images within the context of the genderized portrayal of power in the early empire.<sup>102</sup> The construction of gender in Roman society cannot be separated from power relations, which reveal social hierarchies and ideologies.<sup>103</sup> Past scholarship surrounding gender-based social roles and relationships has been

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<sup>100</sup> Natalie Boymel-Kampen, "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art," 242.

<sup>101</sup> Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91.5 (1986): 1067; Raewyn Connell, *Gender: in world perspective* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 10-11.

<sup>102</sup> See Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, and Cathy E. King, "Roman Portraiture: Images of Power?" *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire*, ed. George M. Paul (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999) 123-136.

<sup>103</sup> René Rodgers, "Female Representations in Roman Art: Feminizing the Provincial 'Other,'" *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, eds. Sarah Scott and Jane Webster (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003) 73; Natalie Boymel-Kampen, "Gender Theory in Roman Art" *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, eds. Diana E.E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996) 14.

rooted in 19<sup>th</sup> century gender ideology, which focused predominantly on the concept of male domination in society.<sup>104</sup> Within the field of classical studies, scholars have made the assumption based on literary sources that women derived their identity from their relationship to one or more prominent men and that, whatever their achievements, they were subordinate to that defining relationship.<sup>105</sup> Looking from the standpoint of the image and the viewer, scholars such as Brown and Osborne have emphasized the argument that images of women were generated under a system of male dominance and sexism and that the men were the predominant viewers of such images.<sup>106</sup>

However, recent work has questioned and is beginning to re-conceptualize male hierarchical models of power.<sup>107</sup> While it can generally be agreed that the dominant groups in societies tend to develop their own sets of images and beliefs,<sup>108</sup> is it not possible that elite Roman women could be one of those ‘dominant’ groups in Roman society and that men acknowledged this power

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<sup>104</sup> Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, “Gendering Power,” *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. Tracy L. Sweeley (London: Routledge, 1999) 177.

<sup>105</sup> Ariadne Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins: sex and category in Roman religion* (London: Routledge, 1998) 161.

<sup>106</sup> Shelby Brown, “‘Ways of Seeing’ Women in Classical Antiquity.” *Naked Truths: Women, sexuality and gender in classical art and archaeology*, eds. Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow and Claire L. Lyons (London: Routledge, 1997) 17; Robin Osborne, “Looking On – Greek Style. Does the sculpted girl speak to women too?” *Classical Greece: ancient histories and modern archaeologies*, ed. Ian Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 81-96.

<sup>107</sup> Spencer-Wood, 178; Sarah Milledge-Nelson, “Rethinking Gender and Power,” *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. Tracy L. Sweeley (London: Routledge, 1999) 185.

<sup>108</sup> Susan Fischler, “Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of the Imperial Women at Rome,” *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, ed. Léonie J. Archer, Susan Fischler, and Maria Wyke (London: Routledge, 1994) 115.



and influence and even used it to their own advantage? Scholars such as Corbier<sup>109</sup> have explored the evidence in literary sources which seem to indicate that the male members of the imperial family did take advantage of the influence and status held by their female relatives who were key players in the maintenance of dynasty.

Boymel-Kampen and Scheer have argued that Roman imperial women's prominent place on coins indicates that they were symbols reflecting important current political issues, particularly issues of dynasty.<sup>110</sup> Given their influential status it is possible that women such as Livia played a role in establishing the images and beliefs that reflected the ideologies surrounding their roles in Roman society. Also, images of gender reinforce and explain the power-relationships between men and women.<sup>111</sup> My research highlights diverse representations and interpretations of Livia's position and role within Roman imperial society that either have not yet been explored or have been mentioned only briefly in previous scholarship. One especially significant issue is the contrast between Livia's portrayal on the coins of Rome and those in the provinces, especially coins from

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<sup>109</sup> Mireille Corbier, "Male Power and Legitimacy through Women: the *domus Augusta* under the Julio-Claudians," *Women in Antiquity: New Perspectives*, eds. Richard Hawley and Barbara Levick (London: Routledge, 1995) 178-193.

<sup>110</sup> Boymel-Kampen, "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art," 242; Tanja S. Scheer, "Bilder der Macht? Repräsentationen römischer Kaiserinnen," *Images and Gender: Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art*, ed. Silvia Schroer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006) 300.

<sup>111</sup> Fischler, "Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of the Imperial Women at Rome," 116.

the Greek East,<sup>112</sup> which seem to portray Livia in a manner one would expect to see in images of her husband and son. During Augustus's reign coins of cities such as Methymna (Lesbos) (VI.C1.27) and Pergamum (VII.C1.32) often refer to Livia as divine and graphically associate her with goddesses such as Hera, whereas there appears to be no explicit connection of Augustus to gods such as Zeus. It is true that Augustus had refused such divine honours when they were offered to him, but nonetheless the fact that they were allowed for Livia's image is significant and possibly has wider implications not only concerning the way Livia was perceived in Rome as opposed to the provinces, but also how Livia was viewed in relation to her male relatives.

## ***2.5 Conclusion***

The preceding discussion not only helps to frame the following chapters within the context of the broader Roman art history, it also shows that coins, as a distinct and valuable visual medium, deserves extensive and critical consideration which other media such as sculpture duly have been given. I have postulated and will show that coins as a visual medium functioned in accordance with a semantic visual language that possessed visual codes that corresponded with those found in other media. While there are numerous approaches that can be taken in an effort to understand these codes and the rules by which they communicated messages,

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<sup>112</sup> The first coins commemorating Livia occurred in the early years of Augustus's reign, but in the provinces of the Greek East. These coins were issued in the mid-20's BC at Ephesus in Asia Minor. *RPC I*, 432 suggests a possible date early in Augustus's reign based on the names of magistrates which appear on coins, but the style of portraiture also makes plausible a later date of between 20 and 10 BC.

my methodology simply aims to lay a foundation for a new approach to understanding semiotically the semantic nature of coin images. My methodology, which delineates Livia's numismatic visual program according to paradigmatic elements, will draw out some of the ideological messages embedded in these coin images and thereby enrich our understanding of the complex discourse pertaining to the socio-political and gender-specific roles that Livia's iconic image embodied.

The following chapters are in essence a case study outlining the numismatic visual codes as they existed for the representation of Livia, which will demonstrate the depth of information that numismatic images can provide. While coins of Livia have been addressed by other scholars at various points within the last fifty years none have looked at the entire body of coins that existed for her. Therefore, the study which will unfold in the following pages will almost certainly shed new light on how significant Livia was as one of the earliest female media icons of the Roman world.

### CHAPTER 3

#### Origins of the Commemoration of Roman Women on Coins

The first appearance of the portrait of a living Roman woman on coins took place shortly after the portrait of Julius Caesar first appeared on the coins of Rome in 44 BC.<sup>1</sup> This new form of public accolade was the pinnacle of over a century and a half of Roman statesmen promoting themselves and their distinguished families for political ends on the coins of the mint of Rome. The first Roman woman to have her portrait placed on coins was Fulvia, Marc Antony's third wife, who was depicted in the guise of the female personification Victoria on an *aureus* of Rome issued by the moneyer C. Numonius Vaala in 43 BC. On the surface this event may seem revolutionary to some in terms of Roman coin imagery, and many scholars have questioned the Fulvia identification.<sup>2</sup> There is no disputing the fact that the portrait of Octavia, Antony's fourth wife and sister of his fellow triumvir Octavian, appeared on coins just a few years later and then Livia about ten to fifteen years after that, albeit almost exclusively on provincial coins. From this point on, the program for the

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<sup>1</sup> *RRC*, 480-481. Note that throughout this thesis all footnote references to coins from collections such as *RRC*, *RIC*, *RPC* and *BMC* refer to the number of the coin in the catalogue. Page numbers are not cited unless comments by the catalogue author/editor are being referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Bartman, 69, n. 31. Here Bartman cites Toynbee, Grueber, and Head as doubtful that the coin represents Fulvia.

numismatic commemoration of Roman imperial women developed gradually with Livia's coin images serving as models for those of later empresses.

But why do the portraits of Roman women suddenly make a debut on coins of the 40s BC? Or was it as sudden as it seems? This chapter examines the origins of the portrayal of Roman women on coins. As will be shown, the practice of the depiction of women on coins had been developing in the Hellenistic Greek east for at least the last two centuries prior to the appearance of Fulvia and Octavia. Under the Republic, although the occurrences are much less frequent than on Greek coins, the depictions of women of myth and ancestral distinction nonetheless made their mark on coins of Rome. It is in the traditions of these earlier numismatic representations of women that those of Livia developed.

Scholars readily recognize and emphasize a marked Hellenistic influence in the sculptural portrait types developed for Roman women, types which may have served as the models for the portraits presented on coins.<sup>3</sup> However, few have explored in detail the equally undeniable Roman elements present in such visual forms, whether sculptural or numismatic.<sup>4</sup> The overall purpose of this chapter is to examine the earliest representations of Roman women on coins in order to establish the visual codes and modes used to portray these women, who

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 77; Jane Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008) 22; Haward, 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> The following scholars all acknowledge that there are Roman elements, but focus more so on Hellenistic aspects of Roman portraiture: Beard and Henderson, 221-230; Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art* (2004); Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 11-14; Alexandridis, 39.

ultimately were the prototypes for Livia's eventual depiction on coins, both Roman and provincial. While it is beyond the scope of this work to detail the entire iconographic program for the coins of women that were produced prior to those of Livia, what I aim to do in the following pages is set out some of the general iconographic concepts that either served as prototypes or influenced the visual program that was eventually conceived for Livia.

### ***3.1 Designs of Distinction: The Tradition of Self-Promotion and Self-Representation on Roman Republican Coins***

While no precedent for the appearance of portraits of living Roman men and women on coins existed in Rome prior to 44 BC, the concept of the public honourific portrait was very familiar to Romans. Since the early years of the Roman Republic and perhaps even earlier, Roman nobility used portraits or masks called *imagines* to commemorate ancestors who had achieved political or military distinction.<sup>5</sup> Ancient literary sources tell us that the practice of setting up public honorific statues in Rome was in effect at least as early as the mid-4th century BC when the Senate set up statues in honour of the consuls Camillus and Maenius for their military accomplishments.<sup>6</sup> The production of portrait images continued to progress and develop in Roman culture down to the time of the late Republic and beyond.

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<sup>5</sup> Harriet I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 4-5, 60-78.

<sup>6</sup> Fejfer, 20, n.9.

The conveyance of a senatorial elite family's political and military distinction required the utilization of a high-status medium such as sculpture. However, sculptures were somewhat limited in their communicative ability due to their static nature. While the Romans originally adopted coinage as a medium of economic exchange, they eventually came to appreciate and exploit to the full the highly mobile and visually dynamic nature of coins, a medium on which images could be generated in a rather short period of time and then widely circulated.

Rome began producing its own coins – in the tradition of Greek coinage – at the end of the fourth century BC.<sup>7</sup> The mint of Rome was administered by the *triumviri monetales*, a board of three moneyers. Responsible for the design and issue of the coins, they were appointed by the consuls, who often chose relatives or clients to fill the position.<sup>8</sup> The choice of types for early Republican coins was quite conservative, adhering to traditional types that promoted Roma, the female personification of the Roman city-state, and other key gods and goddesses of Rome's pantheon. Around the beginning of the second century BC, moneyers began promoting themselves, placing their names on the coins. Towards the end of that century, the limits of self-promotion were pushed further when much more explicit coin types were issued which used not only the family name, but also commemorated famed ancestors or gods associated with their

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<sup>7</sup> Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, 80. The office of moneyer was not part of the formal *cursus honorum* during the Republic, but was held by young men before they reached the age at which they were eligible to run for the quaestorship, the first step in the series of offices leading to the consulship.

respective *gentes*.<sup>9</sup> One example, a denarius issued by moneyer C. Minucius Augurinus in 135 BC, recalls his family's connection with a significant grain distribution carried out by his ancestor L. Minucius,<sup>10</sup> while another issued by M. Caecilius Q.f. Q.n. Metellus in 127 BC commemorates the Macedonian victory in 148 BC by the moneyer's father Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus through the depiction of a Macedonian shield.<sup>11</sup>

The period of the late Roman Republic (c. 100 BC to the reign of Augustus) was a tumultuous time in Rome's history, fraught with conflicts between the elite families of Rome. The power struggles of the last decades of the Republic led to civil wars between Rome's most powerful military leaders including Julius Caesar versus Pompey the Great, and Marc Antony versus Octavian. During these campaigns to gain supreme governing authority over Rome and its growing empire, the contenders took advantage of coins as the most effective medium for promoting themselves as icons of power. By the 80s BC portraits of historically significant ancestors began to appear. A coin type of L. Titurius L.f. Sabinus from 89 BC bore the portrait of Tatius, legendary king of the Sabines.<sup>12</sup> In 54 BC, the moneyer Q. Pompeius Rufus commemorated his paternal and maternal grandfathers – Q. Pompeius Rufus (consul 88 BC) and L. Cornelius Sulla (also consul in 88) – which marked the first time the portraits of

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<sup>9</sup> Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 67-68.

<sup>10</sup> *RRC*, 242/1.

<sup>11</sup> *RRC*, 263/1a.

<sup>12</sup> *RRC*, 344/1a.



deceased Romans of more recent history appeared.<sup>13</sup> The exploitation of an individual's prestige through coin imagery culminated in 44 BC when Julius Caesar, having achieved supremacy in Rome and control of the mints,<sup>14</sup> became the first living person to have his portrait minted on Roman coins. Not long after his assassination that same year, both Marc Antony and Octavian followed Caesar's lead and began issuing coins with their own portraits.

However, the moneyers of coins commemorating Marc Antony extended the scope of individual representation on coins when they placed on them the portraits of the important women in Antony's life, namely his wives Fulvia and Octavia, as well as his consort in power the Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra VII. Such coins were a continuation of the recent innovation of placing male portraits on coins and thus put these women directly into the public realm of Roman politics and propaganda as symbolic of the power and authority Antony had gained through these relationships. Furthermore, there are indications that these women were beginning to have power and influence in their own right. Eventually, female members of Rome's imperial families were portrayed as key players in the perpetuation of dynasty.

While the representation of living Roman men and women on the coins of Rome was quite innovative, the visual program for such depictions was less so. Visual representational modes rooted in Hellenistic Greek and Roman Republican

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<sup>13</sup> *RRC*, 434/1.

<sup>14</sup> C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy, 31 BC – AD 68* (London: Methuen, 1951) 11.

artistic traditions were employed in the development and implementation of visual programs for depicting politically and socially significant individuals in late republican and early imperial Roman society. In the next section, I will discuss the Hellenistic iconographic and visual prototypes for the representation of women on coins, which preceded and to a degree inspired the later representations of Roman women on coins.

### ***3.2 Hellenistic Prototypes: The Conception of the Visual Canon***

The practice of putting an individual's portrait on a coin was not very unfamiliar to the Roman viewer when the Romans themselves began placing portraits of their own rulers on coins during the last decades of the Republic. Prior to this time, the Hellenistic kings and successors of Alexander the Great had been issuing coins with ruler portraits for two and a half centuries. Romans from the ruling class must have been aware of the fact that Hellenistic kings had been placing their images on coins. In fact, the portrait of one of their own, the Roman general T. Quinctius Flaminius, appeared on gold stater coins struck somewhere in Greece circa 196 BC, shortly after his defeat of Philip V of Macedon the year prior (IX.S3.18).<sup>15</sup> It is generally agreed that Flaminius did not initiate the issue himself, but that the Greeks struck the coins in honour of Flaminius.<sup>16</sup> Similarly

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<sup>15</sup> *RRC*, 548/1.

<sup>16</sup> Crawford, *RRC*, 544; R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) 126.

Julius Caesar's likeness had appeared on provincial coins before its debut in Rome.<sup>17</sup>

While an exhaustive and comprehensive examination of the depiction of Hellenistic rulers and their families on coins is beyond the scope of this study, I will explore several examples which illustrate the specific visual iconographic elements and formulas that were employed to create a standard female image on coins. An understanding of the visual design of these early coin portraits provide a basis and a context from which we can later examine and analyze the visual design of the coin portraits of Fulvia, Octavia and eventually the corpus of coins depicting Livia.

An important question to address is why Hellenistic rulers felt the need to place their images on coins, especially when there had been no occurrence of such a phenomenon on Greek coins prior to this. Certainly the argument can be made that these coins bearing their portraits were symbolic of independent royal status very much in the tradition of the Persian kings whom these Macedonian generals had conquered. Persian rulers, including satraps, had placed images of themselves on coins prior to late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC when Alexander's successors began issuing coins first with Alexander's portraits and then their own soon after.<sup>18</sup> But

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<sup>17</sup> Pompey the Great's portrait may have appeared on coins of Pompeiopolis (Asia Minor) as early as 66 BC (*BMC Lycaonia* pl. 27.2), but Smith 128 states the identification is not certain. Also, Caesar's portrait had appeared on coins of Nicaea in 48/7 BC (*BMC Pontus* pl. 31.13) and Corinth in 46/4 BC (*BMC Corinth*, pl. 15.2).

<sup>18</sup> Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 46-47. See also John H. Kroll, "The Emergence of Ruler Portraiture on Early Hellenistic Coins: The Importance of Being Divine," *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context*, ed. Peter Schultz and Ralf von den Hoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 114-115.

perhaps a more pressing question for the purposes of this study is what inspired and influenced the design of these new Hellenistic coin portraits. What follows is a brief discussion of the visual elements that were incorporated into the initial design of Hellenistic coin portraits with a particular emphasis on Hellenistic queens whose images inspired, at least in part, the coin images of Roman women such as Fulvia and Octavia which appeared in the last years of the Roman Republic.

In order to understand the artistic traditions in which Hellenistic ruler portraits were designed on coins, we must first look at the development of their portraits in sculpture, which served as models for the portrait images on coins. The prototypes for Hellenistic ruler portraiture in sculpture were drawn from the extensive visual repertoire that existed for images of gods and goddesses, but infused with the individualized features of a person.<sup>19</sup> A fusion of the iconographic traditions for the gods with the personal physiognomic features of an individual can be found in sculptural portraits of men and women that existed in the late Classical period, namely philosopher and funerary portraits.<sup>20</sup> This same fusion of iconographic elements and styles from two visual categories or traditions of representation, that of gods on the one hand and of individuals on the other, played a role in the visual program for Hellenistic kings and their family members.

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<sup>19</sup> Kroll, 113.

<sup>20</sup> Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 104.

The prototypes for ruler portraiture on Hellenistic coins developed in much the same way as they did for ruler portraits in sculpture with portrait models being drawn from the extensive visual repertoire that existed for images of gods and goddesses, but with visual elements and styles adapted to show the depiction of a person rather than a god.<sup>21</sup> Since the beginnings of coinage in Greece in the 6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, Greek city states often placed portraits of their patron deities on their coins as a mark of state identity and authority, as well as civic piety. Athenian coinage, for example, was known for its portraits of Athena and those of Elis, the portraits of Zeus. Hellenistic kings developed their coin portraits with a desire not to break completely with the Greek convention of infusing the obverses of coins with religious and civic significance through divine images. At the same time it was necessary to convey individual identities through the display of distinct physiognomic attributes. Therefore, a new hybrid portrait image was conceived which joined visual elements from the portrait genres that had been developed for gods with those of men. This hybrid portrait image was found in sculpture,<sup>22</sup> as well as on coins,<sup>23</sup> and was designed in response to the need to separate royal personages from their subjects and competitors.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Kroll, 113. Kroll has argued that despite the fact that Hellenistic Greek portrait sculpture continued very much in the stream of 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century traditions, no such precedent existed for the portrayal of living men on coins except the convention of depicting the heads of gods on the obverses of coins. Kroll's argument is somewhat problematic, given the plausibility that sculptural portraits of the gods also influenced the design of coin images representing individuals.

<sup>22</sup> Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 113-114.

<sup>23</sup> Kroll, 116-118 and 121.

<sup>24</sup> Smith, 46.

The first coin portraits of Hellenistic rulers, namely Ptolemy I of Egypt and his early successors, along with their respective queens, were designed specifically and intentionally with this fusion of divine and mortal iconography in mind. The first ever Hellenistic royal portrait to make an appearance on coins was that of Ptolemy I himself on a gold stater of Alexandria issued shortly after he assumed the royal title of *basileus* (king) in 305/4 BC (I.S1.1). Up to this point most successors of Alexander the Great had taken a reserved approach with the images that were placed on the coins, preferring to depict a portrait of Alexander the Great in the guise of Heracles or with other divine attributes such as the *aegis* (protective garment/breastplate) that linked the dead and deified conqueror with Zeus and Athena. But after more than two decades of fighting over Alexander's empire in an effort to consolidate it under one ruler, the territories were divided as each successor began to assert his own independent royal status. Coin portraits were seen as a convenient means of asserting such independent authority and became the norm for many of these newly established Hellenistic royal dynasties.<sup>25</sup>

Ptolemy I's new coin portrait is distinct from previous idealized portraits of gods and even those of Alexander the Great in that his facial features are much more individually distinct. Also, it is in this portrait that we see the first attempts to meld distinctive mortal facial features with traditional iconographical attributes of the gods. The portraits of gods and even the divine Alexander have facial features that are youthful, flawless, and highly standardized in that one cannot tell

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<sup>25</sup> Smith, 13.

one face from the next.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, Ptolemy I's portrait has some facial features that are clearly distinct from those of the gods or his predecessor Alexander. Overall, we see a mature man, perhaps in his fifties or sixties, the approximate age of Ptolemy when the coin was issued.<sup>27</sup> Yet, in a desire to remain loyal to the Greek numismatic tradition of representing the divine on the obverses of coins,<sup>28</sup> this individually distinct image of Ptolemy was infused with divine attributes. First of all, his curly, wind-swept locks are similar to that seen in portraits of Alexander the Great, while his simple circular band diadem is symbolic of his royal status. Secondly and most notable is the fact that he is wearing the *aegis*, which was also seen in coin images of Alexander. This hybrid obverse coin type, which appeared on other denominations besides this gold stater, thus set a new portrait design standard for coins where clearly defined and distinctly individual facial features are fused with divine attributes.

The development of numismatic portraits of Hellenistic queens emerged virtually contemporaneously with male ones and along very similar lines that included the incorporation of divine attributes and specific styles. The first coin portraits of a Hellenistic queen belong to Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenike I. The first coins bearing her portrait were silver and bronze coins of

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<sup>26</sup> Robin Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 221-223. Osborne argues that such standardized/similar portrait features provided the benefits of the comparable achievements of the figures depicted to be conveyed.

<sup>27</sup> See Smith, 164, nos. 46 and 47, plate 34. Note that Smith, 90 states that he thinks the portrait is of a man 35-40 years old, but the hardness of the features and the fullness of the neck indicate an older man.

<sup>28</sup> Kroll, 113 and 116.

Ephesus issued c. 289/8-280 BC (IS1.2) under the authority of her then husband Lysimachus, who had been a commander under Alexander the Great and was now ruler of the city. The reason for this issue is not certain, but it likely was in honour of the occasion when Lysimachus enlarged the city and renamed it Arsinoea after his wife.<sup>29</sup> This particular coin is remarkable in that it was the first numismatic portrait of a living woman. In contrast, many subsequent numismatic portraits of Ptolemaic female family members were posthumous images until Cleopatra I (r. 180-176 BC), who was serving as regent for her son Ptolemy VI.

Before Arsinoe II there is no hard evidence for the appearance of female royal portraits either in sculpture or on coins.<sup>30</sup> The prototypes for Hellenistic female portraits likely stemmed from portraits of goddesses, not unlike those modeled after the gods in the case of male royal portraits. Sculptural evidence has shown that the head types used for Hellenistic female portraits were similar to those used in representations of the goddesses, with portraits of the goddess Aphrodite providing the best visual parallels.<sup>31</sup> As female beauty was considered to be an important female attribute, images of Aphrodite provided a practical model given the popularity of her image in Classical and Hellenistic Greek

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<sup>29</sup> Otto Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea*, ed. Philip Grierson and Ulla Westermark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 93.

<sup>30</sup> Smith, 65.

<sup>31</sup> Sheila Dillon, "Portraits of Women in the Early Hellenistic Period," *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context*, ed. Peter Schultz and Ralf von den Hoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 77.



sculpture. I will now turn to discuss briefly the development of the individual visual components that went into the representations of royal women on coins.

### **a) Facial Features**

In the case of early sculptural portraits of Hellenistic queens, the facial features tend to be quite standardized and based on the stylized facial features of goddesses in general which have perfectly symmetrical, but soft, lines and curves. As in the case of male portraits, in female representations there is a desire to fuse this standardization of goddess-like facial features with the individualized facial features of the subject being portrayed. Portraits of Hellenistic queens seem to have been more idealized along the lines of representations of goddesses. In contrast coin portraits of Hellenistic royal women tend to present more individualized facial features in a number of cases. Nonetheless, Hellenistic female portraits across multiple media displayed a particularly idealized physiognomic homogeneity contrary to portraits of men, who generally had more individualizing features so as to be readily identifiable.<sup>32</sup>

The Ephesus coin portraits of Arsinoe II (I.S1.2) show a youthful, but mature woman with a slightly arched brow, large almond-shaped eyes, slender nose, pointed chin and slightly plumped lips. Overall, her face is rather wholesome with round, full cheeks and slightly fleshy neck. A similar portrait type with a more refined style was executed in the posthumous portraits of Arsinoe II that appeared on gold octodrachms and silver tetradrachms of Alexandria after her death in 270 BC (I.S1.3-4). Her facial features are

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<sup>32</sup> Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 131.

comparable to the portrait that appears on the Ephesus coins, but here they are much more clearly articulated and in a more elegant style. While the portrait of the gold octodrachm (I.S1.3) is more natural looking with such details as “Venus” rings (wrinkle lines across the neck) clearly visible, the silver one seems to have slightly more stylized facial features, closely resembling portraits of the goddesses found both in coins and sculpture with its rather streamlined and generic features.

Some later coin portraits of Ptolemaic queens have facial features similar to those of Arsinoe II, but some variances do occur. Coin portraits of Berenike II (246-221 BC) (II.S1.5-6) have an almost archaistic style. Another variance in style can be seen in the case of a gold octadrachm of Berenike II (II.S1.7), which appears to have more individualized and natural looking facial features. In examples such as these, the ideal of youthful beauty was the norm.

The numismatic portraits of Bactrian royal women seem to break from the ideals of youthfulness and feminine beauty typical of those from other Hellenistic kingdoms. Bactrian portraiture in general is untypical of contemporary royal portrait styles and is characterized by a distinct, individualized realism.<sup>33</sup> A tetradrachm of King Eucratides I (r. 171-145 BC) (III.S1.13) depicts the jugate portraits of his parents Heliocles and Laodice. Laodice’s portrait exhibits fuller and more mature facial features that bear a strong resemblance to those of her husband. The mature style portrait is continued in coins of Agathoclea (III.S1.14) that were issued while she was regent to her son Strato I (c. 135-125 BC).

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<sup>33</sup> Smith, 113.

The concept of realism was also adopted for portraits of the Kingdom of Pontus, although they lack the Bactrian hardness. A tetradrachm (III.S1.15) featuring the jugate portraits of King Mithridates and his queen Laodice are stunning for their attention to individual detail, particularly in the king's beard and the queen's "Venus" rings upon her neck. The resemblance between the portrait features of these two individuals are much more explicit than those of Eucratides' parents discussed above.

The differences in style used in the rendering of facial features helped to communicate status and social roles. The implementation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC of a more individualized and harder looking female image reflected the queens' more masculine roles in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> For example, Cleopatra Thea, daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometer and Cleopatra II, ruled the Seleucid Kingdom jointly with a series of husbands and sons from 150-121 BC, while Agathoclea of Bactria and Cleopatra I of Egypt both served as regents for their sons. The use of more individualized, yet youthfully idealized facial features became the norm on Roman coin portraits of the late Republic and early Roman Empire and also influenced the design of Livia's numismatic portraits.

#### **b) Hairstyles**

The hairstyles of Hellenistic queens appear to have been based on those worn by the goddesses, particularly those styles which mimic the hair curled up in loose waves about the face and then drawn back into a bun. Although some slight variances from the classical divine standard can be found, the hairstyles

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<sup>34</sup> Smith, 94.

incorporated into women's portraits, whether numismatic or sculptural, were nonetheless drawn from the portrait repertoires of the goddesses. This adoption of divinely inspired hairstyles was not just a matter of convenience, but more so to liken the portrait subject to various goddesses, such as Hera, Demeter and Aphrodite thereby elevating the subject's status and linking them to specific social and political roles. Not only were portraits of Hellenistic royal women infused with such hairstyles inspired by the coiffures of goddesses, but the portraits of priestesses too bore hairstyles that mimicked those of the goddesses they tended.<sup>35</sup>

On Arsinoe II's coin portrait from Ephesus (I.S1.2), the hair is styled in neat, tightly wound rows of hair that extend back along the crown and sides of the head leading under a veil and most likely meeting in a bun. The example of her portrait from Alexandria (I.S1.3-4) shows a similar hairstyle, but with somewhat more loosely wrapped rows of hair about the forehead and face extending back into a wrapped bun that is visible through the veil. Also, small individual accent curls peak out from the hairline of each wrapped row of hair. This particular hairstyle seems to have set a standard style that was repeated in the coin portraits of Ptolemaic queens from Berenike I (IV.S1.16) and Berenike II (II.S1.5-7) down to Cleopatra VII (IV.S1.18) in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

At the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and into the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC the rows of tightly waved hair become even more markedly relaxed in a style strongly reminiscent of the hairstyles of the goddesses. Examples include the coin

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<sup>35</sup> Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 82 and 126. Here, Dillon gives examples where women, such as Nikeso, priestess of Demeter, wear hairstyles similar to goddesses, a sort of divine imitation that linked a woman to the goddess she served.

portraits of Arsinoe III of Egypt (II.S1.9) and Philistis of Syracuse (III.S1.12). Occasionally, locks of hair even drop down below the ear and about the neck in the more provocative style sometimes seen on goddesses such as Aphrodite and Demeter (compare with IV.S2.1-3), such as in one portrait example of Cleopatra Thea of the Seleucids (III.S1.11).

There are some instances in which royal women wear rather unique and seemingly innovative hairstyles that do not seem to follow either the Ptolemaic or goddess-like styles. While Cleopatra Thea's early hair styles most likely extend from her Ptolemaic roots (III.S1.10-11 and note similarities), her later portraits (II.S1.8) sport distinctive tightly wound curls that drape down over the forehead and about the ears, perhaps an echo of the tightly wound curls or braids typical of the coiffure of the goddess Isis.<sup>36</sup> Agathoclea of Bactria also wore a distinctive style (III.S1.14), which consisted of the hair drawn in loose waves or curls about the face with the length of it running down the back of the neck in a twist or braid.

This exploration of hairstyles worn by Hellenistic royal women has revealed that only a small number of hairstyles were used in portraits of women, a trend echoed in the sculptural medium as well.<sup>37</sup> A clear standardization of hairstyles drawn from the visual program of goddesses endeavoured to idealize and assimilate these women to the beauty, fertility and sexuality of goddesses.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Smith, 75 and 88. Smith's research indicates that the ringlet hairstyle of Isis can be found in a number of sculptural portraits of Hellenistic queens.

<sup>37</sup> Dillon, "Portraits of Women in the Early Hellenistic Period," 77. Dillon's work of Hellenistic female portraits in sculpture shows that hairstyles were very similar to those found on coins.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

Such adoption of the hairstyles of goddesses would eventually be employed in the portraits of Roman women, including Livia, as will be shown in Chapter 4 below.

### c) Headdress and Other Attributes

Specific attributes drawn from the iconographic repertoire of key goddesses were incorporated into the visual repertoire of Hellenistic queens. These royal women were depicted with a variety of attributes including headdress (veil and/or *stephane*), scepter and other symbols which have divine associations. The numismatic portrait of Arsinoe II from Ephesus (I.S1.2) presented her with head veiled, the front edge of the veil situated on top of the head about half way back from the hairline, revealing the ears and the forepart of the hairstyle. The veil is echoed on the coin from Alexandria (I.S1.3), but here she is also wearing an ornate diadem or *stephane*. Just visible at the top of the head (clearly evident in many other examples) is the scepter symbolic of Isis (a sun disc between two horns). Another example of the image type on a silver tetradrachm of c. 260 BC (I.S1.4) shows clearly a ram's horn curling about her ear, a symbol of divinity likely linked to the Egyptian god Amun and often seen on numismatic portraits of the deified Alexander.<sup>39</sup>

The ornate *stephane* worn by several Ptolemaic queens, as well as Cleopatra Thea of the Seleucid Kingdom (II.S1.8), seems to have been inspired by the numismatic iconography employed for images of Hera (IV.S2.1), which assimilated these Hellenistic queens to the queen of all the gods. The circular

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<sup>39</sup> Karsten Dahmen, *The Legend of Alexander the Great on Greek and Roman Coins* (London: Routledge, 2007) 42. The ram's horn motif was particularly popular on portrait images of Alexander featured on coins of Lysimachus.

band diadem which was worn either alone or with veil is a common feature of portraits of Aphrodite (IV.S2.2), while the veil was often seen in portraits of Demeter (IV.S2.3). The wearing of jewelry, as seen on a coin portrait of Cleopatra Thea (III.S1.10), was standard for many goddesses.

What we have seen thus far regarding the iconographic attributes indicates that these coin images of Hellenistic royal women were influenced by those of the goddesses Hera, Aphrodite and Demeter, who all had a long tradition of visual representation in a variety of media produced by Greek culture. It is clear from the examples I have given (and there are many more I don't cite here) that this iconography became standard for Hellenistic queens, dead and deified at first, followed by a number of living queens in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. As we shall see in Chapter 4 such divinely-inspired iconographic attributes, drawn from the visual programs of Rome's equivalent to the Greek goddesses Hera, Aphrodite and Demeter (Juno, Venus and Ceres respectively), became signifiers of high social status for women. Such attributes were also employed to varying degrees in numismatic representations of Livia.

### *Summary*

To summarize my discussion on these first numismatic portraits of women, we have seen that the coin portraits of both men and women were adapted from the iconographical and stylistic repertoires that had been developed for representing gods and goddesses. While there were some specific stylistic elements that set one kingdom's portraits apart from another, there were similarities in iconographical attributes and to some extent hairstyles and

adornment which indicate that images developed in a common artistic tradition. Also, specific portrait styles, in particular standardized divine versus individualized realistic portrait features, were each incorporated into the portraits of Hellenistic queens in order to convey the various roles they played in their society. The presence of these various styles has been duly noted in the sculptural medium.<sup>40</sup> However, the numismatic portraits of Hellenistic queens are better preserved than sculptural ones and provide a more comprehensive record of the various styles produced for individual queens. However, no detailed study of Hellenistic royal coinage has been conducted,<sup>41</sup> which once completed will hopefully shed more light on the issues presented here and others. As will be demonstrated in the next section of this chapter, these Hellenistic portrait traditions made a significant impact on the development of Roman portraits of women during the late Republic especially with respect to their appearance on coins.

### ***3.3 Republican Precursors***

The study of the commemoration of Roman women during the Republican period has only recently garnered the attention of scholars. However, the focus has been mainly on sculptural representations of women, while coin images have been mentioned mostly in passing. Prior to the appearance of the first living Roman women on coins, posthumous images of Roman women

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<sup>40</sup> Thompson, 33; Smith, 48.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, 12-13.



appeared in coins and other media such as sculpture. The influence of Hellenistic Greek traditions can be traced in the image types developed for the visual representation of Roman women.<sup>42</sup> Despite these Hellenistic inspirations, the Romans employed image elements that were undeniably Roman and communicated Roman identity. The following two sections will examine the beginnings of the coin images of Roman women in the context of the sculptural and numismatic art traditions in which they were developed.

**a) Designing Roman Women: The Hellenistic Impact on Representations of Roman Women in Sculpture**

First of all, it is important to discuss briefly the sculptural traditions that existed for the representation of Roman women during Republic. Contrary to the Greek East, the appearance of women in publicly commissioned commemorative art was exceedingly rare in Rome. There is literary and epigraphic evidence that publicly decreed honourific statues of women were erected in Rome during this time and perhaps even prior. Ancient Roman authors refer to Republican statues of Roman women, such as Cloelia and Tarpeia, who were perhaps more mythical than real historical figures.<sup>43</sup> Also, ancient sources indicate that statues of famous Roman women, such as Quinta Claudia (who received the cult of Magna Mater into Rome) and Cornelia (mother of the Gracchi), may have been set up in Rome

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<sup>42</sup> Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 31-39.

<sup>43</sup> Livy 2.13.6-11, Plin. *HN*, 34.28; see also Harriet I. Flower, "Were Women Ever 'Ancestors' in Republican Rome?," *Images of Ancestors*, ed. Jakob Munk Højte, (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002) 169, n. 38-40.

as early as the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>44</sup> Julia, the daughter of Caesar, may have been commemorated by a public statue in the Campus Martius around the time of her death in 54 BC.<sup>45</sup> In contrast to publicly commissioned works of art, there were numerous examples of the depiction of women in private art during the Republican period, particularly funerary monuments.<sup>46</sup>

As early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC statues of Greek women were becoming more and more common in the cities of the Hellenistic Greek east. These women were members of urban elite families, who had been making financial contributions as patronesses to fund public works and events in their communities.<sup>47</sup> In honour of these benefactions, portrait statues with accompanying inscriptions were dedicated by the local magistrates. Some of the earliest surviving examples of sculptures portraying Roman women come about in the Hellenistic Greek East during the last century of the Republic. As Roman magistrates and businessmen in these Roman provinces became members of the urban elite, their wives and other female family members also took on public roles as *patronae*.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Plut. *C. Gracch.* 4.3; Flower, "Were Women Ever 'Ancestors' in Republican Rome?," 172, n. 45 and 50.

<sup>45</sup> Flower, "Were Women Ever 'Ancestors' in Republican Rome?," 170, n. 42.

<sup>46</sup> Hans G. Frenz, *Römische Grabreliefs in mittel-und süditalien* (Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1985). See also Diana E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977).

<sup>47</sup> Thompson, 23; van Bremen, 225.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

Analyses of these early portrait sculptures of Roman women have shown that several portrait modes existed for their representations: Women, regardless of age, could appear either youthful or more mature and aged.<sup>49</sup> One example illustrating the latter category comes from Delos (IX.S4.1) and dates to roughly the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. This portrait wears a variant of a Hellenistic, melon-coiffure hairstyle where the hair is twisted and pulled back in rows, much like that seen in some earlier portraits of Ptolemaic queens (IV.S1.16). But, the facial features of this portrait appear more aged and hard than the typically youthful sculptural portraits of Hellenistic women, given the very distinctive and prominent cheek bones, the aquiline nose and thin, taut lips, not to mention the obvious Venus rings upon the neck.<sup>50</sup> In contrast to the Delos portrait, examples of three statues from Magnesia on the Maeander, in particular one that has been identified as the Roman woman Baebia (X.S4.2), has facial features that are more youthful and thus inspired by portrait style types of Hellenistic queens and goddesses.<sup>51</sup>

Portraits of women in Roman Italy also seem to demonstrate the young versus mature portrait modes explained by Thompson. The Torlonia Maiden (X.S4.3) from Vulci northwest of Rome (1<sup>st</sup> century BC) presents an image of

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<sup>49</sup> Thompson, 84.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Thompson, 40.

adolescent beauty.<sup>52</sup> The features of this portrait are heavily stylized with the geometrically symmetrical almond-shaped eyes, the curves of the brow and the fine lines of the nose. This particular portrait mode shows stylistic characteristics reminiscent of those featured on Ptolemaic coins showing portraits of Berenike II (II.S1.5-6) issued after her death. Interestingly, the Torlonia maiden is likely a funerary portrait as well, depicting a woman in the prime of her youth.<sup>53</sup> In contrast, a roughly contemporary portrait from Palombara Sabina dating to c. 43 BC (X.S4.4) depicts an old woman with distinctive facial features that reflect her maturity, in particular the puffiness under the eyes and the creases about the nose and lips. This woman was very likely a prominent member of a Roman household, whose experience and authority is demonstrated through the maturity of her facial features.

These two stylistic modes, youthful and more mature/aged, could be found to varying degrees in the sculptural representations of Hellenistic Greek women.<sup>54</sup> And, as we have seen above, both modes were most certainly employed in the depiction of Hellenistic royal women on coins. More distinctive and individualized facial features were employed for images of women who were in more public and political positions of authority, power and influence as in the case of regents. It is quite plausible that the same criteria were being employed

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<sup>52</sup> Eve D'Ambra, *Art and Identity in the Roman World* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1998) 29.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 113-114.

for sculptural portraits of Roman women in an effort to convey specific ideologies.

Just as the portraits of Hellenistic queens employed specific modes of representation with distinct iconographic attributes, the portraits of Roman women both at home and abroad seem to have been rendered according to various stylistic modes that were designed to convey specific messages and ideologies. While the two Roman female portraits just discussed exhibited facial features symbolic of separate stylistic modes, the latter portrait exhibited a particular iconographic element that was distinctly Roman as opposed to Hellenistic: the *nodus* hairstyle. This signature hairstyle, which had no Hellenistic or Etruscan forerunners, was worn by fashionable and distinguished Roman matrons in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. It is thus named on account of the sort of knot or bulge of hair which rests upon the top of the forehead and from which often extends a pleat of hair or braid that runs lengthwise along the center of the crown. The remainder of the hair is swept into a bun at the back. This particular style emerged rather suddenly in the 40s BC<sup>55</sup> and continued to be popular well into the Augustan age. The fact that it was worn by women of diverse social strata marked it as a potent cultural symbol of Rome itself - a badge of Romanness.<sup>56</sup> Just as the toga was the principle garment of the freeborn Roman male, the *nodus* was the mark of the Roman matron.

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<sup>55</sup> Furnée-van Zwet, 3.

<sup>56</sup> Bartman, 38.

So, if these formulas for visual representation were manifest in sculpture, did they play a role in the development of images for the depiction of Roman women on coins? To answer this question I will now turn to Roman coins and the first references made to Roman women prior to the debut of Antony's wives Fulvia and Octavia on coins of the 40s and 30s BC.

### **b) Designing Roman Women: Early Images of Women on Coins**

While the first portrait of a living Roman woman, Fulvia, appeared on coins of western mints of Rome and Lugdunum, the majority of the early coin portraits of Roman women, including those of Livia from the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, were issued by the eastern Greek mints of the Roman Empire, not the mint of Rome itself. Evidence from Greek coin hoards indicates that Romans of the 1st century BC dwelling in the eastern Greek provinces of the Roman Empire would most plausibly have come into contact with coins bearing the portraits of Hellenistic royal women, given that coins of Hellenistic rulers from the 4th to the 2nd centuries BC have been found in coin hoards dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>57</sup> While the number of coin portraits of Hellenistic queens was not nearly as prolific as those of their male counterparts, we know that such coin portraits continued to be issued down to the time of Cleopatra VII of Egypt (r. 51-30 BC). I shall show that image types and image elements drawn from the visual

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<sup>57</sup> Margaret Thompson et al., *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1973). Some examples include: Greece p. 51, no. 332; Macedonia p.86, no. 622 and p. 88, no. 643; Thrace p. 123, no. 958; Asia Minor p. 179, no. 1336, p. 183, no. 1384, and p. 199, no. 1477; Egypt p. 241, no. 1722. Note that some coin hoards also include Roman Republican coins.

iconographic repertoire of Hellenistic queens influenced the design of the portraits of Roman women on coins.

Coin portraits for Roman women developed in part along the lines of Hellenistic Greek numismatic portrait traditions for the representation of royal women. Nonetheless, Roman iconographic elements persisted to facilitate the communication of Roman identity and Roman socio-political ideals. By the time a Roman woman first appeared on coins in 43/2 BC, there had been several references to women on Roman coins, although these women were not living and were acknowledged simply as part of a mint magistrate's noble past. The moneyer L. Titurius Sabinus in 89-88 BC issued silver denarii commemorating his Sabine past. One denarius issued depicts the legendary rape of the Sabine women (V.S3.1), as well as the killing of Tarpeia (V.S3.2), the woman who revealed to the Sabine men a secret way into the Roman citadel when they came to avenge the capture of their women. A denarius of 58 BC issued by M. Aemilius Lepidus (V.S3.3), the future triumvir with Antony and Octavian, depicts a female ancestor on the obverse, the Vestal Aemilia, who was the mother of Romulus and Remus according to one variant of the myth concerning the foundation of Rome.<sup>58</sup> This portrait echoes those of Ptolemaic queens (compare to II.S1.7 and III.S1.12), but the iconography likely stems from images of so-called "mother" goddesses such as Ceres.<sup>59</sup> These coins simply convey images of

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<sup>58</sup> Flower, "Were Women Ever 'Ancestors' in Republican Rome?," 166-167; see also Plut. *Rom.* 2.

<sup>59</sup> Compare with representations of the goddess Ceres on the coins of Q. Caepio Brutus and L. Sestius, *RRC* I, 502/2 and 502/3.

women in Rome's mythological past rather than telling us anything specific about the roles of women at the time when the coins were issued. However, the latter coin is an example of a Roman magistrate who wanted to promote his family's distinguished ancestry via a distant female relation who played a role in the foundation of Rome.

**i) *Fulvia as Victoria***

The first coins depicting Marc Antony's wife Fulvia were issued in 43 BC at the mint of Lugdunum (VI.S3.4), which had come under Antony's control in 43 BC.<sup>60</sup> Later, around 41 BC the mint of Rome issued an aureus under the moneyer C. Numonius Vaala (VI.S3.5) which depicts an obverse image very similar to that found at Lugdunum. Around that same time (41-40 BC), the Phrygian city of Eumenea (VI.S3.6), which had recently been renamed "Fulvia", issued coins depicting Fulvia.<sup>61</sup> The obverses of these coins show a bust of Fulvia as Victory with very individualized portrait features.

The obverse of the aureus issued in Rome by the moneyer C. Numonius Vaala depicts a female bust with wings behind, an attribute of Victory. The features of the face and iconographical elements are those of an individual as opposed to a goddess, who is often depicted as a flawless beauty and with signature divine attributes. This is readily obvious when one compares the Fulvia as Victory coins with earlier Republican issues depicting the goddess (VI.S3.7-9), which date from around 108 to 46-45 BC. On the majority of these coins the

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<sup>60</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 150.

<sup>61</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 508 states that the city of Eumenea's name was changed to "Fulvia" around the time of Antony's journey to the east in 41 BC.



goddess Victory is shown with wide eyes that gaze forward. The nose line usually extends straight down from the forehead and lips appear slightly plump and pursed. The neck is porcelain smooth. Concerning attributes, the coiffure is one commonly featured on goddess portraits. The hair is pulled back into a bun or wavy ponytail and wrapped into waves along the sides of the head from which small ringlets extend. She most often appears to wear earrings and a beaded necklace with the drapery of clothing visible just below it. The hairstyle and jewelry were the customary attributes of goddesses.

In contrast, the portrait features of the Vaala coin are not examples of divine perfection. For example, the facial features of the Fulvia type tend to be fleshier. The cheeks are fuller and she even sports a double-chin. The neck has the so-called “Venus rings,” the fine wrinkles which circle the neck. Her nose also has a very significant ridge or bump, while the lips are more thin than plump. The hair of the figure is of the distinctive Roman *nodus* style. Finally, no jewelry or drapery is visible. Such adornment is absent from virtually all the supposed representations of Fulvia.

The individualized features of the “Victory” coins of 43-40 make a strong case that a living woman is being represented in these types.<sup>62</sup> If this were not convincing enough, the portrait on the coins has the standard *nodus* hairstyle of the Roman matron, which confidently identifies the figure as a Roman woman,

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<sup>62</sup> Some scholars such as Grueber (as cited by Wood, p. 42) feel that it is unlikely that Fulvia should grace such coins, since Antony himself had not yet received such an honour. However, the mint in Gallia Cisalpina and Transalpina began issuing coins with the portrait of Antony in 43 BC, with the mint of Rome following soon after in 42 BC (Crawford, *RRC*, 498f).

since this hairstyle is not found in Roman goddess portraits. Also, the connection of the mints (Lugdunum and Eumeneia/Fulvia) to Antony further strengthens the identification of this female figure as Fulvia. Therefore, it is very probable that the figure is Fulvia in the guise of "Victory". Such assimilation to divine figures was not without precedent, as has been shown above in the earlier Hellenistic coins depicting royal women with divine attributes such as the stephane of Hera and the scepter of Isis. In addition, coins of Pompey the Great depict him with the attributes and features of the gods Janus and Neptune.<sup>63</sup> Later Roman women were at times depicted with the attributes of some goddess or personification, as in the case of Livia as Salus in AD 22-23, which I will discuss later in this thesis.

What is the significance of this Fulvia as Victory type and why would it have been issued? There is evidence that Fulvia was an influential woman who showed leadership and was involved in military affairs while in Gaul. She played an active role in the management of Antony's politics after he had taken charge of affairs in the East. She supported his cause in Italy by joining his brother Lucius in opposing Octavian.<sup>64</sup> Her involvement in military affairs is related by Cassius Dio who claims that when she went to Praeneste with her children, she armed herself with a sword and issued military orders.<sup>65</sup> If Fulvia was acting on her husband's behalf during his absence from Italy by becoming involved in the

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<sup>63</sup> Crawford, *RRC*, 748, n. 6. See also Wood, 43.

<sup>64</sup> *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, sv "Fulvia". See also Diana Delia, "Fulvia Reconsidered," *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 197-217, who discusses at length the extent of Fulvia's political power.

<sup>65</sup> Dio 48.10.

Perusine War with Antony's brother, perhaps the coin portraits were necessary for proclaiming the legitimacy of her actions.

Still the question remains as to why the figure was represented with no accompanying legend to explicitly label it. The appearance of a man's name and portrait on the coins was still very new (Caesar was the first in 44 BC). For a woman to be so boldly represented on mass-produced public media such as coinage would in a sense make official and even legitimize her public role, putting her on par with powerful men of state. Therefore, the lack of identifying legend would have allowed for a multiplicity of interpretations including Victory, Fulvia, or perhaps some other Roman woman and may have been employed to "test the waters" to see how such an individualized depiction of a woman on coins would be received. No Roman woman was displayed with portrait and name on coinage of the mint of Rome until early in the reign of the emperor Caligula when he commemorated his mother Agrippina Maior.

Regardless, Fulvia's political and military activities paved the way for Roman women's role in the public sphere.<sup>66</sup> It was initially Antony who felt it especially advantageous politically to exploit his relationship with his wives, since both of his subsequent wives, Octavia and Cleopatra, were commemorated on coinage. Octavia, the sister of Antony's fellow triumvir and colleague in power Octavian, was the next woman to hold a place on coinage. It is important to note that coins presenting Octavia were only issued in the Greek East, while the mint of Rome was silent concerning her. Nevertheless, her depiction on coinage was

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<sup>66</sup> Bartman, 59.

much more explicit than that of Fulvia and her portrayal set the standard by which future empresses would be promoted through coinage.

**ii) Octavia: Roman Matron and Antony's Ariadne**

Late in 40 BC and after Fulvia's death, Antony and Octavian met in Brundisium to renegotiate the conditions of their alliance. Fulvia's and Antony's brother Lucius's machinations against Octavian had left the alliance in a very delicate situation. As part of their reconciliation and to "seal the deal", Octavian had his sister Octavia marry Antony. To commemorate the marriage, mints moving with Antony in the Greek East from 39-37 issued gold aurei (VII.S3.10a, b) depicting his portrait along with his titles on the obverses, while the reverses bear a beautifully executed portrait of Octavia. Here, the portrait is arranged in profile facing right and framed by a circular border of dots. The figure wears the *nodus* hairstyle, symbolic of Roman matronly status. The bottom of the neck shows a small portion of the drapery of her garment.

As in the Fulvia portrait, the facial features in this coin portrait of Octavia are individualized. She appears as a youthful beauty (she was about 30 years old). She has a slight forehead. Her eyes are partially opened, while the nose extends with a slight outward curve from the forehead, has a slight bump towards the top and extends down to a delicate and dainty tip. The lips are thin and pursed and the chin is small and slightly pointed. The jaw line, neck and defined cheeks exude a gentle fullness. The neck demonstrates the slight appearance of "Venus" rings. A comparison of this coin portrait with sculptural portraits of Octavia (X.S4.5) bear a strong enough resemblance to deduce that the

woman depicted on this coin is Octavia.<sup>67</sup> The woman in this coin portrait is not endowed with any divine attributes, which immediately rules out the possibility that this figure represents a specific goddess. Also, the presence of the *nodus* hairstyle marks the figure clearly as a Roman woman. Therefore, this coin marks the first time that a living Roman woman as just that, a Roman woman, graced the face of a coin.

The identity of the portrait can further be confirmed by comparing it to coin portraits of Octavia's male family members, Octavian and Antony. The effort made by die engravers, as well as sculptors, to illustrate family resemblance was done to ensure that the viewer could easily recognize not only the family relationship, but also the identity of the individual portrayed. The portrait of Octavia on the aureus described above looks similar to contemporary numismatic portraits of Octavian (VII.S3.11). Here, both have defined and delicate facial features. Octavian also has the small ridge on the nose and defined cheek bones. They both have the small lips and the slightly pointed chin and their eyes are similarly shaped.

In the following year, 38 BC, another aureus (VII.S3.12) was issued under Antony's authority in which Octavia's portrait assumes facial features which more closely resemble Antony as opposed to Octavian. Here, Octavia's nose, chin, and eyes look strikingly similar to Antony's. Her appearance is also

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<sup>67</sup> Rose, 61 makes the comparison as well and is convinced that the iconography of these coins of Antony matches sculptural portraits of Octavia. He mentions a portrait of Octavia from the dynastic group at Glanum (Plate 166), as well as another found at Velletri (Plates 41-42). Rose points out that very little literary or epigraphic evidence for her portraits survive. He cites one statue base, p. 61, n. 40.

full and fleshy like Antony's. She still wears the *nodus* hairstyle, although it is slightly varied from that depicted on the aureus the year before. Such resemblance was part of the visual code designed for Octavia, which further emphasized her marriage to Antony and its political significance as the glue holding together the alliance between Antony and Octavian. It is remarkable that the bond between Octavia and Antony, and between Octavia and Octavian, was summarized in these images through semblance of features even though they likely did not look alike in reality.

Octavia's role in securing the alliance between Antony and Octavian, was promoted through coin types in which Octavia's portrait was arranged in close relationship to her male counterparts on the obverses of coins. While the portraits of these coins maintain their particular Roman features, such as the *nodus* hairstyle for Octavia and the wispy, yet close-trimmed locks fashionable for Roman men, they are nonetheless arranged in a format that coincides with the traditions for the depiction of Hellenistic royal families on coins. The most popular portrait arrangement is the jugate-style. This portrait arrangement was employed extensively in Ptolemaic Egypt and other parts of the Hellenistic world where royal couples were seen as essential to the harmony and stability of the state (IV.S1.17). The arrangement usually has the male portrait partially superimposed over the female portrait with both portraits facing right. Also, one can readily see a family resemblance through the obvious facial features shared by both portraits.

This stylistic mode was adopted for Antony and Octavia on the obverses of silver cistophoric coins issued at the mint of Miletus (or possibly Ephesus)<sup>68</sup> around 39 BC (VIII.S3.13). Antony's portrait is superimposed over that of Octavia. He is depicted wearing the ivy wreath which associates him with his patron god Dionysus. Octavia is seen behind him with the front part of her *nodus* coiffure still visible. Her facial features strongly resemble those of Antony and the placement of her image behind her husband relegates her to the secondary, yet supportive position of the wife. It is important to note that the jugate portrait format was later employed by the mint of Ephesus for depicting Augustus alongside Livia.

The connection between Antony and Dionysus is further emphasized through the association of Octavia's portrait image with religious symbols sacred to the cult of the god. A cistophorus also issued in 39 BC (VIII.S3.14) shows a diminutive version of her portrait situated above a *cista mystica* (sacred box) with snakes coiling up on either side. Both the *cista mystica* and the snakes were objects sacred to Dionysus. The Dionysiac references on both cistophori were possibly designed to associate Antony with Dionysus and Octavia with one of the god's consorts, namely Ariadne.<sup>69</sup> Although Octavia's portrait is small it is still identifiable by means of the *nodus* coiffure, facial features and overall shape which resemble those of the portrait depicted on the aureus mentioned earlier, as well as the fact that her husband is depicted on the obverse wearing the ivy

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<sup>68</sup> Wood, 48 asserts that these coins were issued at Miletus, while *RPC I*, 377 suggests Ephesus.

<sup>69</sup> Wood, 48.

wreath. Regardless of her secondary position on these coins, she still maintains her status as a key factor in the alliance between Antony and Octavian.

In contrast to the cistophoric coin just described, coins were issued at unknown mints which portray Octavia in an unprecedented and innovative way as having a status almost equal to her male family members. A bronze sestertius of Antony issued around 37-35 BC by an uncertain Achaean mint (VIII.S3.15) depicts on its obverse the portraits of Antony and Octavia facing each other, while the reverse supposedly shows the loving couple as Neptune and Amphitrite<sup>70</sup> embracing each other as they ride in a quadriga drawn by hippocamps. This coin type is quite bold in that it implies that Antony and Octavia are equal partners in a marriage that had profound political implications. Similarly, a bronze tressis (VIII.S3.16) issued at approximately the same time depicts on its obverse the jugate portraits of Antony and Octavian (Antony is in the foreground) facing right towards a portrait of Octavia facing left. Here, Octavia's position perhaps alludes to her role as mediator between Antony and Octavian.<sup>71</sup> In 37 BC, Octavia assisted in the negotiations which led to the Pact of Tarentum in which Antony provided Octavian with ships from his fleet in return for legionaries for Antony's Parthian campaign.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Diana E.E. Kleiner, "Politics and Gender in the Pictorial Propaganda of Antony and Octavian," *Echos du monde classique* 11 (1992): 363.

<sup>71</sup> Kleiner, "Politics and Gender in the Pictorial Propaganda of Antony and Octavian," 363.

<sup>72</sup> Dio 48.54.3-4. See also Kleiner, "Politics and Gender in the Pictorial Propaganda of Antony and Octavian," 363.



Despite the fact that Octavia's image is easily identified on these coins as a result of standardized iconographic features, such as her *nodus* hairstyle or her resemblance to male relatives, she is never referred to by name.<sup>73</sup> In contrast, her male counterparts are always readily depicted with corresponding nomenclature. In a sense, the coins in and of themselves were viewed as official public monuments/documents which conveyed the messages of the issuing authority. The consistent presence of Octavian's and Antony's names on the coins marked them as the legal issuing authority. The absence of Octavia's name could imply a desire for a degree of ambiguity to linger, but visually speaking Octavia's portrait images make slim the possibility that they could be perceived as anyone else. The presence of Octavia's portrait on coins acknowledged Octavia's power, socio-political role and influence in Roman society. One could argue that her image alone could be enough to suggest an official public role as counterpart to Antony. There is a strong possibility that Antony had a direct influence in the design of these types, considering Octavia as a way of expressing his power and political influence.<sup>74</sup> It is important to keep in mind also that none of these coin types were issued by the senatorial run mint in Rome, which possibly had reservations about placing women in such a position of status. After all, the coins issued in Rome at this time were likely still considered the primary vehicle by which senators promoted themselves and their political careers. Nevertheless, it is plausible that the absence of a Roman woman's name made the statement that her

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<sup>73</sup> Wood, 44.

<sup>74</sup> King, 128.

status extended from her male relatives, thereby making her nomenclature unnecessary.

### **3.4 Conclusion: Signature Symbols and Standard Types**

Throughout the course of this chapter I have traced the development of the visual representation of women on coins whilst taking into consideration the corresponding rendering of women in other media such as sculpture. The commemoration of women on coins clearly began with the Ptolemaic queens of Egypt, who were depicted with a fusion of divine and non-divine elements just as their male counterparts. The purpose of this amalgamation of iconographic elements was to make the individuals from ruling royal families readily recognizable to their subjects, while at the same time marking their status and position in society as distinct and definable along visual terms.

The numismatic images developed for the depiction of Hellenistic royal women have shown that portrait styles and iconographic elements were employed for the purposes of conveying specific messages concerning the ideological, socio-political and religious roles these women held in society. Iconographic attributes such as the scepter of Isis and the stephane of Hera linked these women with key divine figures thereby highlighting their roles as wives and mothers with an air of ruling authority. This was particularly the case with Ptolemaic queens ruling alongside their husbands in the tradition of the Egyptian kings of the past. The facial features of Hellenistic royal women could be adapted to resemble those

of their husbands and other male relatives to emphasize familial ties, stylized to give the notion of divine status, or masculinized to highlight their ruling authority.

The development of the visual program used for the depiction of Roman women on coins can be seen as having found inspiration and models in these numismatic portrayals of Hellenistic women. The fact that the numismatic portraits of Roman women did not exclusively find their beginnings in Rome, but in the cities of the Hellenistic Greek east demands that their Hellenistic inspiration be recognized. Octavia was depicted in certain Hellenistic modes such as jugate with the portrait of her husband Marc Antony or with certain divine associations as in the case of Octavia's portrait bust above the *cista mystica* associated with the worship of Dionysus. The ideology of the divine royal couple that was signified by the attributes such as the diadem employed in numismatic portrait images of Ptolemaic kings and their wives, also found its way into the iconography of Octavia and Antony when they were portrayed on coins as Ariadne and Dionysus or Amphitrite and Neptune.

Yet, as we have seen in the cases of both Fulvia and Octavia visual elements were employed in their numismatic portraits which showed them to be distinctly Roman as opposed to having a semblance of the Hellenistic female prototypes. Such iconographical elements as the individualized facial features, the Roman *nodus* hairstyle, and the lack of adornment left no question as to their identity as Roman wives and matrons connected to powerful Roman men. This fusion of divine elements with distinctly Roman visual motifs became key visual

elements in the design of Livia's image on coins of the mint of Rome, as well as those of the mints of the provinces.

While Hellenistic representational modes and attributes may have played a significant role in shaping the numismatic portraits of Roman women, it is obvious that Roman female portrait styles were taking a hold and impacting the portraits of other women of status, including the Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra. Cleopatra's numismatic portraits begin to take on more individualized facial features typical of portraits of Roman women and she is even made to look more Roman through facial features that resemble those of Antony (IX.S3.17).

As shall be seen in the following chapters, Livia's image on Roman and provincial coins continued to be a fusion of Greek and Roman inspired visual elements. The beginnings of Livia's numismatic representations can also be found in the provinces of the Greek east during the reign of her emperor husband Augustus. However, the explicit presentation of a Roman woman's portrait on coins of the imperial mint at Rome would not take place until the appearance of Livia's portrait on coins of AD 22-23, almost halfway through the reign of her son Tiberius.

## CHAPTER 4

### Numismatic Visual Program for the Representation of Livia

#### 4.1 *Introduction and Overview*

The first visual representations of Livia occurred in the sculptural medium rather than the numismatic. In 35 BC, the Senate voted that statues be set up in Rome in honour of Octavia and Livia, sister and wife respectively of Octavian.<sup>1</sup> There is also epigraphical evidence from Greece dating to around 31 BC which indicates that statues of Livia and her husband Octavian were set up in the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, none of these earliest examples survive to shed light on how these first images of Livia were composed.

Coins bearing representations of Livia were first issued during the reign of Augustus, not in Rome, but in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. The city of Ephesus in the province of Asia was most likely the first city to issue such coins. Ephesus had been issuing coins under Roman authority throughout the late Republic period, bearing the names of proconsuls and eventually those of Marc Antony and Augustus. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact dates of these early issues, but an overlap between the magistrates issuing coins under Marc Antony

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<sup>1</sup> Dio 49. 38.1.

<sup>2</sup> Bartman, 199, *EpiCat.* no. 1; Rose, 140-141, cat. no. 71; Wood, 92. Suet. *Aug.* 93 and Dio 51.4.1 records that Augustus was initiated into the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, which makes such a dedication of sculptures to Octavian and Livia highly probable.

and then under Augustus may suggest that the Augustan coinage, including those bearing Livia's image began very early in his reign.<sup>3</sup>

The issue of such Livia coins by eastern mints continued throughout the reign of Augustus and into the reign of Livia's son and Augustus's successor Tiberius. Under Augustus, these mints were confined to a few cities in Egypt, Syria, Achaëa, Macedonia, Moesia, Bithynia, and Thrace with the highest number of cities being in Asia. There are also possible Augustan candidates from the western mints of the Roman colonies Lugdunum (Gaul) and Pax Iulia (Spain). One coin issued in Rome (I.A1.1), which has been interpreted by many to contain the image of Augustus's daughter Julia between her two sons Gaius and Lucius, in actuality may be a representation of Livia.<sup>4</sup> Under Tiberius, the number of cities issuing coin types of Livia increased to include additional mints in Spain, Africa, Crete, Cyprus, the Judæan Kingdom, Sicily, and Italy. Additional cities in Asia and Achaëa issued coins as well. The mint of Rome produced its first coin showing an undeniable portrait of Livia in AD 22-23, but began issuing types of Livia as seated female figure from the beginning of Tiberius's reign in AD 14. Coins representing Livia were also issued by the emperor Claudius when he had her deified in AD 42. She was recalled on the coins of Augusta (Syria) during the

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<sup>3</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 432. The authors of *RPC* are not completely convinced that this is the case, given some stylistic features that may imply a slightly later date.

<sup>4</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 404, 405 depicts on its reverse the head of a woman in profile right flanked on each side by a head of a male. These figures have consistently been interpreted by scholars as Julia, daughter of Augustus, along with her sons Gaius and Lucius, who were adopted by Augustus as his own sons in 17 BC. However, this could easily be Livia given that she was technically the female head of the imperial family.

reign of Nero and again as the deified Livia under the emperor Galba during Rome's civil wars of AD 68-69 in an effort to claim descent from her.<sup>5</sup> After this time, only scattered coins of Livia occur on restoration issues of Titus (III.A1.12) and Trajan (III.A1.13).<sup>6</sup>

The number of mints issuing coins of Livia (Figure 1) varied from province to province and from reign to reign. The greatest number of Livia-producing mints can be found in Asia at 36% of the total. All of the eastern mints combined make up nearly 70% of the total output, with the remainder coming from the western parts of the empire (including all Africa provinces except for Egypt). It is important to note that there were other mints, but it appears no coins of Livia were issued by them. My research indicates that approximately 180 different coin issues of varying types from mints in the eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire bore reference to Livia. These coins were produced over the course of reigns from Augustus to Trajan with the majority produced during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. More will be said about the nature and quantity of these types according to province in Chapter 5 below, which will shed

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<sup>5</sup> Suet. *Galb.* 4.1 states that Galba was related to Livia through his stepmother Livia Ocellina, who claimed to be related to the empress Livia.

<sup>6</sup> A "restoration" issue entailed reviving an earlier coin type and reissuing it on the coins of the reigning emperor. The most obvious instances are identified by an inscription on the reverse giving the current emperor's name as subject of the verb RESTITVIT. However, the key to defining what constitutes a "restored" type rests less with the legend RESTITVIT than with the coin types themselves, which were virtual copies of a type issued in the past. See Michael Grant, *Roman Imperial Money* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954) 197 and Harold Mattingly ed., *British Museum Coins of the Roman Empire*, v.2 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1966) lxxxvii.

light on the regional variations, their significance regarding Livia and the ideology surrounding her numismatic images.

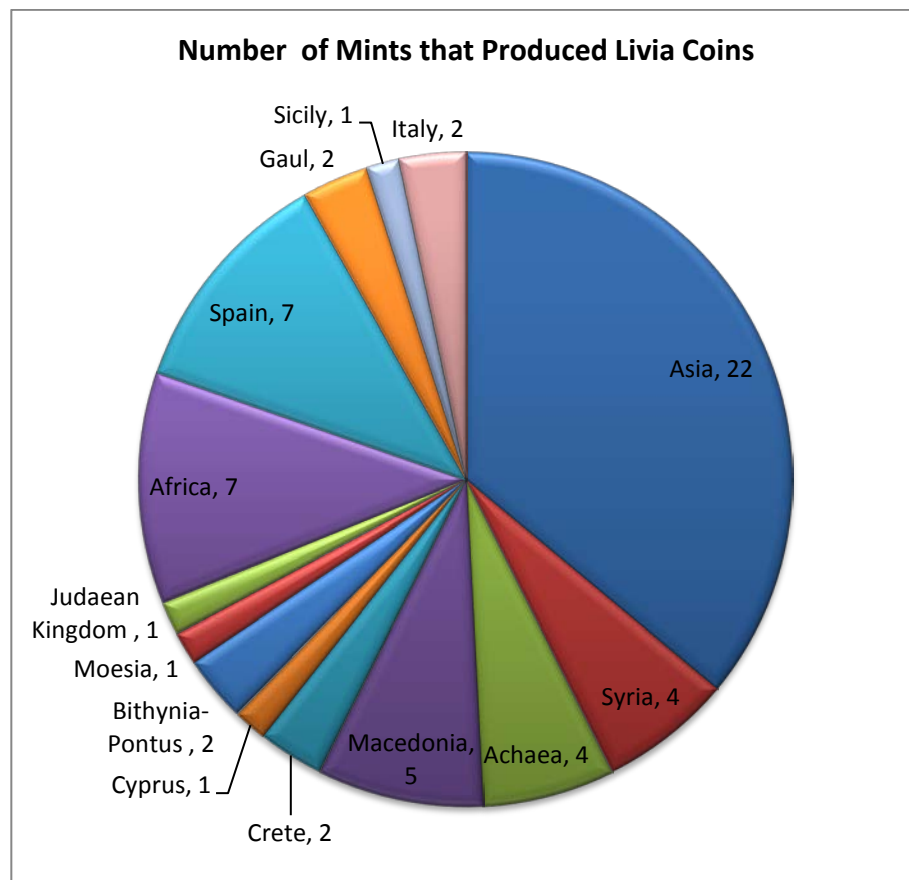


Figure 1

In Chapter 3, the first appearance of Roman women on coins was examined in the coin types of Fulvia and Octavia which preceded those of Livia. The fact that the mint of Ephesus may have been the first to produce coins with Livia's image comes as no surprise given that coins bearing Octavia's portrait were issued there approximately ten years prior. Also, the increasing number of mints and, correspondingly, types stands as a testament to the increasing significance of female members of the ruling imperial family in the promotion of



dynasty for the purposes of maintaining the new imperial regime. The broader meanings and ideologies behind the various coin types pertaining to Livia will be discussed at length in Chapter 6 below.

The communicative effectiveness of Livia's numismatic images was achieved by means of formulaic and consciously concerted patterning of image elements governed by a visual syntax, which transcended various visual media. The purpose of this chapter is to outline this visual program in an effort to gain further insight into the meanings and ideologies surrounding these images, in particular those intended by the authors and designers of the coins. I will be examining the "patterning" of Livia's numismatic images by looking at three key visual modes or syntagms that make up the overall paradigm pertaining to the visual representation of Livia, a paradigm which resides amongst a series of paradigms employed in the representation of women. These three visual modes include: Livia's facial portrait, Livia as seated female figure, and Livia as standing female figure.

#### ***4.2 Livia's Portrait Mode***

Of all the image types that were produced for the representation of Livia on coins, those depicting Livia's portrait and its variants were produced most extensively. As has already been discussed in Chapter 3, portraits of historical individuals, whether living or deceased, had become a significant iconographic mode in the numismatic visual medium since early in the Ptolemaic dynasty. Coin portraits, along with their occasional textual identification of the individual

depicted, have become a well-established tool for identifying sculptural portraits.<sup>7</sup> However, several scholars including Bartman, Wood and Haward have downplayed the value of coins for portrait analyses citing the limitations of the small size and side profile of the portraits on coins, as well as the notion that coin portraits tell us nothing more than that which can already be gleaned from sculpture.<sup>8</sup> Despite these arguments, my iconographical analysis of Livia's portraits on coins presented in the course of this section will reveal that much of the visual program developed for the composition of these portraits existed in other media including sculpture and cameos/intaglios, which indicates that such images likely served as models for the images developed for coins.

One of the primary issues one faces when viewing and analyzing portraits is that of identification. Numerous coin portraits of Livia will be discussed in the course of this section and it will be apparent that the so-called "quality" of Livia's coin portraits did vary, sometimes quite dramatically, from mint to mint and coin to coin. Some mints produced quite aesthetically pleasing and detailed portraits of Livia, such as the *Salus dupondius* of Rome (I.A1.2) and a bronze coin issued by the *Koinon* of Crete (I.H1.3), which, when compared with sculpture can be readily identified as Livia, especially in those cases where an accompanying legend refers to Livia by name as the subject of the portrait image. Other portrait examples seem rather crude and almost comical in their execution, such as that issued by Cnossus also on Crete (I.H1.2). However, my analysis will

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<sup>7</sup> Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 8; Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 80.

<sup>8</sup> Bartman, 12; Haward, 9; Wood, 93.

show that Livia's portrait images on coins did not have to stand as true likenesses of the empress, but rather were designed by means of individual image elements which stood, as a composite whole, for Livia.

Livia's portrait has been thoroughly studied by several scholars. As a result, a number of portrait types have been identified for Livia. While most tend to focus on the sculptural medium, some have taken coins into consideration as well, albeit in a limited capacity. Gross established that three portrait types existed for Livia: the Zopf type and Nodus type (also known as the Fayum type) during the reign of Augustus, and the Salus type under Tiberius.<sup>9</sup> Since a number of gaps have been noted in Gross's work,<sup>10</sup> including the limited number of categories that do not accommodate a number of Livia's portraits, subsequent efforts have been made to re-categorize and catalogue Livia's portraits, particularly in sculpture. Winkes distinguished two key categories of portraits based on hairstyle: the nodus, characterised by the knot or roll situated upon the forehead and standard during the Augustan age; and a later style with hair parted in the middle.<sup>11</sup> Within each of these categories Winkes and others have noted several variations, which, to varying degrees, have become the standard types by which scholars have come to classify portraits of Livia.<sup>12</sup> These include the

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<sup>9</sup> Gross, 65-66.

<sup>10</sup> Helga von Heintze, review of *Livia Augusta: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie* by Walter H. Gross, *AJA* 68.3 (1964) 318-320.

<sup>11</sup> Winkes, *Livia, Octavia, Livia*, 25-50. Note that while Winkes does not explicitly indicate that the nodus was one type category and the middle part was the other, this is essentially how he analyzes them, identifying the variants of each one.

<sup>12</sup> Wood, 91; Winkes, *Livia, Octavia, Livia*, 25-50.

Marbury Hall, Albani-Bonn, Zopftyp, Fayum, and Salus types.<sup>13</sup> Clearly, there is some difference of opinion amongst scholars with regard to the number of portrait types for Livia and which particular types they choose to refer to in their analyses.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the typological categories established by Gross and Winkes are based almost solely on hairstyle, which is only one element in the composition of any portrait, leaving somewhat skewed visual and iconographical analyses. Therefore, I have introduced a new method of categorization of types that is not based on a particular image element, as Winkes, Bartman and Gross have done, but rather considers several visual modes of representation which incorporates a wide range of image elements as part of a composite whole.

Given the amalgamate nature of image elements, it is important to recognize that each portrait can be read as a system of signs.<sup>15</sup> The signs that are employed in the composition of a numismatic portrait fall under the following paradigm sets: hairstyle (Marbury Hall, Fayum, etc.), facial features (youthful, mature, etc.), dress/bust type (draped or bare), and attributes such as adornment (diadem, jewellery, etc.). The first two are essential in order for a portrait to stand as such, while the third and fourth may or may not accompany a portrait, but nonetheless contribute to the overall meaning(s) made possible by each specific

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<sup>13</sup> Winkes, "Livia: Portrait and Propaganda," *I Claudia II: Women in Roman Art and Society*, ed. Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000) 29-42.

<sup>14</sup> Bartman, 144-145 recognizes four types: Marbury Hall, Fayum, Salus/Kiel, and Diva Augusta. Wood, 91-92 in general follows the types identified by Winkes and recognizes the various subtle differences that exist in each.

<sup>15</sup> Sheldon Nodelman, "How to Read a Roman Portrait," *Roman Art in Context: an anthology*, ed. Eve D'Ambra (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993) 11.

portrait composition. In addition I will be looking at adjuncts, iconographic symbols that accompany Livia's coin portraits, but are not part of the overall portrait composition. In the course of my visual analysis of Livia's portrait on coins, I will be dealing with each paradigm separately, including hairstyle, facial features, adjuncts, etc. I will show how each paradigm conveyed meaning, followed by a discussion of how these individual paradigms come together to form a composite whole: the *syntagm*. The *syntagm* was in essence a single system dynamic in its ability to convey a multiplicity of meanings.

#### **a) Hairstyle Paradigm**

I will examine the hairstyle paradigm of Livia's portrait according to three categories: the nodus, the centre part, and other styles.<sup>16</sup> As will be seen, there were hairstyle variations present in each category that reflected local styles and techniques, and some which do not readily fit into the portrait categories recognized by scholars.

##### **i) *Nodus Style***

The nodus hairstyle can generally be described as consisting of a plait of hair atop the forehead formed into a wide roll which then tapers back across the length of the central crown of the head in either a flat section/wrap of hair or a braid. The nodus itself can be either wide running across the length of the

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<sup>16</sup> In the course of my paradigmatic analysis of hairstyles employed for Livia's portrait representation on coins, I take into consideration the same general hairstyle types identified in the portrait analyses of Livia conducted by Winkes, Bartman, and Wood.

forehead or more rarely narrow and almost triangular in shape.<sup>17</sup> Occasionally, small wisps of hair peek out from the base of the nodus at each end or along its length. The hair on each side of the head is set into gentle waves that frame the face. These separate plaits of hair are then pulled back into a chignon (bun) at the back of the head, usually at the base where the head meets the neck.

There are several variations of the nodus hairstyle: Marbury Hall, Zopfityp, Albani Bonn, and Fayum. The Marbury Hall type is one of the earliest variants,<sup>18</sup> but I will show that there was an even earlier type consisting of a fold of hair running the length of the crown from the forehead to the chignon. I refer to this variant as the “lengthwise fold variant.” The Albani-Bonn type is considered to be another early, but more simplified variant. The Zopfityp type seems to hail primarily from eastern regions of the Roman Empire, in particular Asia. All of these variants, with the exception of the Zopfityp, could be found in sculptures from various regions of the empire, including Rome and Italy, and in other media such as cameos/intaglios.

As has already been mentioned in Chapter 3, the *nodus* hairstyle was popularized on coins bearing the portraits of Fulvia and Octavia in the 40s and 30s BC. This particular hairstyle seems to have been a completely new development, as there are no precursors in Greek, Hellenistic or Etruscan art. While the nodus hairstyle appeared during the late Republican period and continued to be worn by Livia in variation into the reign of Augustus, it is

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<sup>17</sup> Wood, Fig. 11-12 shows a bust of Octavia with a rather small, triangular-shaped nodus.

<sup>18</sup> Winkes, 32.

important to recognize that other hairstyles continued to be worn by Livia's female contemporaries. Portraits of women produced in the late Republic both in Rome/Italy and in the provinces of the Greek east were significantly varied and not of the nodus style, which suggests a desire for individual distinction with regard to hairstyles.<sup>19</sup> Many Roman women in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC wore styles that were inspired by those worn by royal women of the Hellenistic Greek east and were often adapted to include more traditional Roman hairstyle components such as braids and buns.<sup>20</sup> However, in contrast to Republican contemporaries, Livia projected restraint and modesty in her early nodus style portraits.<sup>21</sup> Eastern variants of Livia's portrait, as seen on the coins, do tend to take some liberties with the style in order to appeal to local tastes and thereby make it easier to "connect" visually with the portrait and identify it as a representation of Livia.

Sculptural portraits of Livia with the nodus hairstyle, and variations of it, date primarily to the Augustan period.<sup>22</sup> Specimens of Livia's sculptural portraits with nodus hairstyle can be found in various parts of the empire including Rome and Italy proper, Gaul, Dalmatia, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt and North Africa. Particular variations of the *nodus* hairstyle are much more visible on sculptures

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<sup>19</sup> Bartman, 33; Thompson, 10 and 42, and throughout her thesis touches on the hairstyles of the individual portraits she analyzes. See also Bartman 49, n. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Bartman, 33.

<sup>21</sup> Bartman, 38.

<sup>22</sup> Furnee-van Zwet, 5-6; Winkes, "Livia, Portrait and Propaganda," 32-33.

and cameos/intaglios than they are on coins. Nonetheless, we do see the variants of the nodus hairstyle making clear cut appearances on coins.<sup>23</sup>

*Lengthwise Fold Variant*

This particular variant of the nodus is most plausibly the earliest and it is also the first to appear on coins beginning with the numismatic portraits of Fulvia (VI.S3.5), which were discussed briefly in Chapter 3. Another early, but rather clear example of this early nodus style can be found on an *aureus* of Marc Antony from 40 BC known as the *De Quelen Aureus* (VII.S3.10a-b). This coin depicts on its reverse a right profile portrait of Octavia with a *nodus* that appears to be one continuous central roll or fold that extends from the forehead tapering back along the crown of the head to the chignon at the base of the head. The frequency of this particular hairstyle on Octavia's coin portraits suggests that this may have been her signature style (VIII.S3.13-14). The hairstyle can also be found on a sculptural portrait of Octavia from Smyrna that dates circa 35-11 BC (X.S4.5).<sup>24</sup> A profile view of this marble portrait strongly resembles the profile of Octavia that exists on the *De Quelen Aureus*.

Three coins dating to the reign of Augustus and originating from the eastern mints of Alabanda (I.C1.3) and Antioch ad Maeandrum (I.C1.4) in Asia and Alexandria in Egypt (I.M1.1) depict portraits of Livia with this hairstyle. Given that this variant of the nodus seems to be a rather early one, it is quite

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<sup>23</sup> As for the Albani-Bonn variant, I side with Bartman, 219, and her position that this is a very subtle variant of the Fayum variant of the nodus.

<sup>24</sup> See also Wood, figs. 14-15 for a second sculptural example from Smyrna.



plausible that these coins were issued early in Augustus's reign. I know of no firm examples for this hairstyle in portraits of Livia found in other media.<sup>25</sup> The presence of this hairstyle in coins dating to early in Augustus's reign, not to mention the even earlier coins of Octavia and Fulvia, indicates that these portraits of Livia in other media likely date to earlier in Augustus's reign rather than later.

### *Marbury Hall Variant*

This particular hairstyle variant also appears on Livia's coin portraits produced early in the reign of Augustus. It is characterized by the tight braid that runs from the nodus down the center of the crown of the head to the back where it meets the bun or "chignon" around which it is wrapped several times. The chignon itself is a distinctive double chignon that essentially looks like one bun sitting horizontally atop the other. Gently wrapped waves frame the sides of the face.

In the case of Livia's Marbury Hall hairstyle variant, several sculptural and cameo specimens survive. One particularly good sculptural example comes from Rome itself, found in the Tiber riverbed and now located in the Museo Nazionale Romano (III.A2.1).<sup>26</sup> In addition, the Hague Cameo provides the most detailed execution of this hairstyle type (I.R1). Examples of this style can also be

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<sup>25</sup> One sculptural portrait head of Livia from Rome and dated to late in the reign of Augustus, along with a cameo dating to roughly the same time may be potential candidates for representing this hairstyle, but Bartman describes it as being a simplified version of the Fayum variant. See Bartman, 150, no. 10 and 188, no. 93

<sup>26</sup> Another specimen, which may originate from Rome or Italy, has a good example of the Marbury Hall hairstyle. See IX.A2.9.

found in portraits of Livia from the provinces. This particular portrait type remained popular in sculptural portraits of Livia in Asia Minor for the span of some 50 years.<sup>27</sup> Examples were also found in Larissa (Greece) (III.F2.1), Carthage (North Africa) (VI.N2.3), and Ampurias (Spain) (IV.P2.1). In all these examples the *nodus*, double chignon, and central braid are unmistakable.

The portraits of Livia on several coins clearly sport the Marbury Hall *nodus* variant. All of them come from various cities in the province of Asia which corresponds with the popularity of this variant in sculpture from the region. All have been dated to the reign of Augustus. One from Clazomenae (III.C1.11) shows explicitly the forehead *nodus* and the braid running along the center of the crown. In two other examples, one from Ephesus (III.C1.13) and one from Magnesia ad Sipylum (V.C1.23), the braid is not as defined, but a distinctive central ridge atop the head arguably represents it.

#### Zopfityp Variant

The Zopfityp variant is regionally distinct, hailing from Asia Minor in particular.<sup>28</sup> The Zopfityp hairstyle is characterized by a loose *nodus*, but rather than having a central braid running from it, there are possibly two that wrap around the crown of the head like a diadem. In addition, locks of hair fall in loose

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<sup>27</sup> Bartman, 21.

<sup>28</sup> The Zopfityp was first identified and analyzed by Gross, 30-31, and discussed further by Winkes, "Livia: Portrait and Propaganda," 33-34, and Wood, 95ff. Both Winkes and Wood consider Asia Minor as the source of this variant, with Winkes ascribing an origin date of 16 BC based on the coins of Pergamum depicting Livia's portrait sporting this style. Wood describes this style as a variation of the Marbury Hall.

waves down the sides of the neck. The Zopf<sup>29</sup> nodus variant has one surviving sculptural specimen which may have originated in Asia Minor (XI.C2.1).<sup>29</sup> A case can be made for an identification of this portrait as Livia given that the mint of Pergamum issued a coin (VII.C1.32) that identifies Livia by name and depicts her wearing this hairstyle type. The coin is dated circa 10-2 BC placing it in the middle of the reign of Augustus. The bulge of the nodus, the crown/diadem-like braid, and the lock of hair draping down the neck from the chignon to below the ear are clearly evident in both the sculptural and numismatic examples.

What is intriguing about the sculptural example is that Wood gives it a Claudian date, circa AD 41-54, based on the presence of an apparent overbite which she claims is typical of the Claudians.<sup>30</sup> Yet, the coin from Pergamum has been assigned an Augustan date given the presence of an accompanying portrait of his daughter Julia on the reverse. Furthermore, there is yet another coin from Edessa (Macedonia) attributed to the reign of Tiberius, which depicts Livia on the reverse wearing this Zopf<sup>31</sup> hairstyle and identifies her as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ (I.II.1).<sup>31</sup> In contrast to the Marbury Hall variant, here we seem to have a hairstyle that may have been employed over the course of several reigns.

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<sup>29</sup> Wood, 95-96 and figs. 28-29; Bartman, 222, no.7. While Wood is ready to identify this portrait as Livia based on a corresponding numismatic portrait from Pergamum, Bartman questions whether this could be Livia given that the facial features are slightly atypical for Livia and the lack of this type's consistent repetition in other portraits.

<sup>30</sup> Wood, 96.

<sup>31</sup> Note that Livia was not referred to as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, the Greek equivalent of Augusta, until after Augustus's death and her adoption into the Julian *gens* in AD 14.

Fayum/Albani Bonn Variant

The fourth and final variant of the nodus hairstyle to be detailed here is the most popular not only in sculptural versions, but also amongst coins spanning a number of provinces. The Fayum/Albani Bonn variant can be considered the more simplified and relaxed version of the nodus hairstyle, since it has the same standard nodus and gentle waves framing the face, but without the tight central braid.<sup>32</sup> The Fayum hairstyle variant is characterized by the wide nodus atop the forehead with a wide plait of hair extending from it to the chignon at the back of the head. The side waves framing the face appear more relaxed than the Marbury Hall type and are accentuated by small “s”-shaped curls. Both the double and single chignon can be found. Portraits of Livia sporting this hairstyle can readily be called the “primary image” of Livia’s career; it was an official portrait developed during the 20s BC and dominant on account of sheer numbers of surviving examples.<sup>33</sup> Sculptural examples of Livia sporting the Fayum can be attributed to Rome and Italy, Gaul, and Greece. Perhaps the best sculptural specimen comes from Arsinoe in Egypt (II.M2.1).

And it is from the Alexandria mint in Egypt, a mint falling under the direct authority of the emperor, that numerous examples of coins were produced depicting Livia bearing this hairstyle. The coins from Alexandria (IM1.2-9), all

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<sup>32</sup> Winkes, “Livia: Portrait and Propaganda,” 31-32 and 34; Bartman, 219. Bartman sees virtually no difference between this variation and the Fayum, which Winkes argues can be distinguished from the former on account of looser waves framing the face and a greater number of little curls that fall on the forehead and along the cheeks.

<sup>33</sup> Bartman, 4-5.

of which date to approximately the last ten years of Augustus's reign, clearly display the *nodus*, side waves framing the face and the chignon (double or single not clear in nearly all examples) making them candidates for presenting the Fayum variant. An occasional central ridge along the length of the crown could be interpreted as a feature resembling the Marbury Hall variant, but is most likely the central plate of hair that extends back from the *nodus* to the chignon typical of the Fayum. A comparison of the sculptural examples of the Fayum variant with the profiles of Livia executed on these coins, shows that even in the sculpture, this central plait of hair appears as a line or ridge stretching along the top of the head. Such a comparison makes highly plausible the hypothesis that sculptural portraits of Livia such as the one from Arsinoe likely served as models for the engravers who produced the dies for the Alexandrian coins depicting Livia.

Further examples for the Fayum variant were also issued at Colonia Romula (Spain) (III.P1.10) and Augusta (Syria) (I.D1.1-2). Especially noteworthy are the coins issued in Augusta during the reign of Nero in AD 67/8 (I.D1.8). The fact that these coins of Livia were issued so late in the reign of the Julio-Claudians indicates once again that the hairstyles employed in Livia's portraits were not necessarily confined to a particular stylistic period, but, as will be seen shortly, were designed to convey specific messages about Livia and her role/status in Roman imperial society. The later appearance of the Fayum type at the Augusta mint, even if it is borrowed from earlier examples from this same mint, is a testament to popularity and significance of this variant of the *nodus* hairstyle.

## ii) *Middle Part Style*

The middle part hairstyle is characterized by a distinctive parting of the hair, which is swept to the side in waves that frame the face. Rows of waves can be seen atop the head. The hair meets at the base of the head at the back in either a double or single chignon wrapped several times in a braid. The double chignon is undoubtedly a continuation of that found in variants of the *nodus* hairstyle.

The style originated in the reign of Augustus in non-numismatic media, but it did not make an appearance on coins until mid-reign of Tiberius. The first appearance of this type in Livia's portraiture seems to have taken place on the Ara Pacis Augustae (Altar of Augustan Peace) (III.A2.2) erected in honour of the peace Augustus had brought to the empire through his victories. The monument was dedicated, interestingly, on the occasion of Livia's birthday in 9 BC. The hairstyle became standard after the death of Augustus in AD 14 and during the reign of Livia's son Tiberius with numerous surviving specimens in sculpture and cameos from various parts of the empire including Rome and Italy, Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula, Greece, and North Africa.

This centre part hairstyle also comes in several variants.<sup>34</sup> To simplify my analysis of this hairstyle, I have identified three key variants relevant to Livia's portrait coins: the Salus variant, characterized by loosely set waves that frame the face (II.O2.1); the Paestum variant, which has the hair set in waves

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<sup>34</sup> Bartman, 116; Winkes, "Livia: Portrait and Propaganda," 38; Wood 119. While scholars such as Winkes acknowledge the existence of several variants and see a certain general development in style, none have specifically analyzed them categorically. Bartman sees the variants as spin offs of, or attempts to simplify, the so-called "Salus" type of Livia's portraits.

separated into distinct parallel sections (IV.A2.4); and the “loose chignon” variant which has the middle part, but the chignon is not bound tightly to the base of the head – instead it rests loosely down the back of the neck. While these variants may have been based on the *Salus* variant, they are more specifically distinct variants of the middle part hairstyle.<sup>35</sup>

### *The Salus Variant*

The first variant of the middle-part hairstyle to be dealt with here is the *Salus* variant, made famous by the *Salus Augusta* dupondius of AD 22-23 (I.A1.2). The date when this particular style was introduced cannot be securely pinpointed; the date of the dupondii cannot stand as a solid candidate given that sculptural examples preceded the coins, including the portrait of Livia on the Ara Pacis, which is plausibly an early version of the hairstyle.<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps the best sculptural example of the type is the one from Baeterrae in Gaul with other examples most likely from provincial contexts.<sup>37</sup> In addition, there appears to be no examples that can be confidently attributed to Rome or

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<sup>35</sup> Another variant of the *Salus* style can be found in a full-length statue of Livia from Puteoli dating the Claudian period (IV.A2.3). The hairstyle is characterized by parallel sections of crimp-like waves that resemble tight curls. This hairstyle is seen most often in Livia’s posthumous portraits. There are no examples of coins showing Livia wearing this hairstyle.

<sup>36</sup> Bartman cites several sculptural examples with this hairstyle as having a Tiberian date (see Bartman cat. nos. 41, 47, 70). Wood, 117 provides a date range of AD 14-23 and refers to it as the “adoption” type arguing that the most logical time for its creation was after the death of Augustus when Livia was adopted into the Julian gens according to Augustus’s will.

<sup>37</sup> One originates from Iol-Caesarea in North Africa (Bartman cat. no. 70), but the others have no known provenance (Bartman cat. nos. 76-78, 81).

Italy,<sup>38</sup> nor are there any in the cameo/intaglio medium. The coins, on the other hand, provide an array of examples from various parts of the empire. The most significant one to be discussed is the dupondius issued in AD 22-23 (I.A1.2). The coin is considered by many to be the first appearance of a portrait of Livia on the coins issued by the mint of Rome. The coin depicts a profile portrait of Livia facing right below which is the legend SALVS AVGVSTA from which scholars have assigned this portrait type its name. The details of the hairstyle are more distinctly articulated here than they are in any of the surviving sculptural examples.

The hairstyle was executed on coin portraits of Livia from the provinces as well indicating that a sculptural model may have been distributed from Rome for the execution of this type in various media throughout the empire.<sup>39</sup> One of the best examples comes from Oea in North Africa (II.N1.7-8) issued soon after the Salus dupondius in Rome. The similarity of these coins to the examples issued in Rome is rather striking although the fine detail of the hair is not as precisely executed. Nonetheless, the shapes and lines are the same. A silver didrachm from Byzantium (Thrace) dated to the 20s AD (I.K1.2) provides another exquisite example of Livia's portrait. In this example, a more geometric and symmetrical style is employed producing a less natural looking hairstyle than the

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<sup>38</sup> Bartman refers to at least two sculptural examples from Rome and area (Bartman cat. nos. 2 and 21) as having the Salus hairstyle, but both depict Livia wearing headdresses (crown and/or veil), which restricts a positive ID on the hairstyle.

<sup>39</sup> Meriwether Stuart, "How Were Imperial Portraits Distributed Throughout the Empire?" *AJA* 43 (1939): 601-602.



one on Rome's dupondius. Thessalonica (Macedonia) (II.I1.9) also issued coins with this hairstyle variant, but in a more simplified manner (less definition of the waves and fewer of them) than the one in Rome. Once again the Salus style is clearly identifiable. Other potential candidates for this hairstyle variant can be found on coins from several mints in Asia including Cibyra (III.C1.10), Magnesia ad Sipylum (V.C1.24-25), Apollonia Salbace (II.C1.8), Aphrodisias-Plarasa (II.C1.6) and Mytilene (VI.C1.29), as well as coins from Mopsus in Syria (II.D1.10) and Corinth (I.F1.4) and the Thessalian League (II.F1.10) in Achaea.

#### *The Paestum Variant*

The second variant of the middle part hairstyle, the Paestum variant, can be described as consisting of waves divided into distinct parallel sections that run from the facial hairline towards the back of the head. Its best sculptural example, after which it is named, can be found in the seated statue of Livia from Paestum (IV.A2.4) in Italy dated to sometime during the reign of Tiberius. Bartman erroneously classifies the hairstyle and portrait as being of the Salus type, but this hairstyle is clearly distinct with no waves that frame the face. The style itself is undoubtedly an echo of that seen in portraits of Ptolemaic queens including Arsinoe II (I.S1.4) and Cleopatra VII (IV.S1.19), but lacks the accent little "s" curls that frame the faces in both examples. In addition, the individual rows of waves seem to be composed in a looser and more relaxed manner than the Hellenistic predecessors. A hairstyle similar to that in the seated Paestum statue of Livia can also be found in a standing statue from Pompeii believed by some scholars to be Livia (VI.A2.5), as well as one from Gortyn on Crete (II.H2.1),

believed to be a posthumous portrait dated to the time of Caligula.<sup>40</sup> However, there appears to be only one coin that depicts this hairstyle variant: a bronze semis from Corinth dated to the years AD 32-33 (I.F1.4) just a few years after Livia's death in AD 29. The parallel rows of waves running uninterrupted from front to back are readily apparent.

*The Loose Chignon Variant*

There is some evidence, although minimal, for the development of a new variant of the middle part hairstyle in Livia's numismatic portraits during the reign of Tiberius, which eventually becomes the signature hairstyle in the portraits of Julio-Claudian women produced after the reign of Tiberius. The hairstyle can be described as much more relaxed than either the nodus or other middle part predecessors. The hair is still parted in the middle and drawn back along the sides of the head in loose waves, which meet in the back at the base of the head and are bound in a tress, or loose chignon, hanging loosely down the back of the neck. From behind the ear and down along the neck often hangs a long coiled ringlet of hair.

The hairstyle appears on two separate coins from mints in Macedonia: one from Pella-Dium (I.I1.4) and the other from Thessalonica (II.I1.10). Both coins have been attributed to the reign of Tiberius. The coin from Thessalonica does not have the ringlet of hair. It identifies the obverse portrait as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, the Greek equivalent of Livia's title Augusta. The Pella-Dium coin does not

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<sup>40</sup> Bartman, 170, cat. no. 55.

identify Livia by name, but nonetheless stands as a strong candidate for an image of Livia given that other coins resembling Livia were issued at the same mint (I.I1.5-6). This particular hairstyle later appeared in the numismatic and sculptural portraits of Antonia Minor,<sup>41</sup> mother of the emperor Claudius, Agrippina Maior, mother of the emperor Caligula,<sup>42</sup> and then in more detailed variations by Agrippina Minor, mother of Nero.<sup>43</sup>

The presence of this hairstyle on a portrait of Livia is virtually non-existent in the sculptural medium with the possible exception of the Ludovisi Juno (VI.A2.6), which has often been identified as a portrait of Livia based on iconographic attributes such as the *infula* (beaded woollen fillet; to be discussed below). The hairstyle is, however, very obviously present on the image of Livia that appears on the Grand Camée de France dated to c. AD 23 (III.R5). Another cameo specimen dating to the 20s AD (IV.R6) also depicts this hairstyle very similarly to both the Grand Camée and the Macedonian mint coins mentioned above. Given the presence of the hairstyle on these cameos and on the coins it is evident that this was a new hairstyle developed in the later years of Livia's life, which was later adopted for the portrait repertoires of other Julio-Claudian women. The key attributes of this new hairstyle, in particular the loose waves, the loose plait of hair extending down the back of the neck, and the occasional ringlet of hair along the nape of the side of the neck, mark a continued progression in the

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<sup>41</sup> Wood, fig. 55-57, 60-61.

<sup>42</sup> Wood, fig. 80, 85, 89-92.

<sup>43</sup> Wood, fig. 107-108, 136-137.

incorporation of classicizing elements in the coiffure styles of Livia. They are attributes that occur sporadically in earlier styles with the exception of the plait of hair at the back of the head as opposed to the chignon.

### *Summary*

It is evident from the hairstyle paradigm outlined above that a series of distinct hairstyles were implemented for Livia's portrait repertoire that transcended a variety of media including the numismatic one. However, there were particular boundaries within which coin images developed that limited the number of hairstyle types that could be used, whereas other media such as sculpture and intaglios/cameos had a wider range of variations of the stylistic categories discussed. For example, the middle part hairstyles evolved into more detailed variants in Livia's portrait sculpture after her death to include thicker, more elaborate waves and curls. No recognizable examples of these later variants survive on Livia's coin portraits. Therefore, it is plausible to conclude that certain standard hairstyle types were sanctioned at specific times as appropriate for Livia's portrait on coins by those responsible for designing images that would appeal to and reflect the ideology of the imperial regime.

The specific hairstyle types changed in order to reflect the cultural tastes and ideologies of the time in which they were produced: the nodus style being Livia's signature style during the Augustan age and the middle part style during the reign of Tiberius. As will be discussed further in Chapter 6, the individual iconographical motifs present in these hairstyle variants were expressive of

noteworthy qualities that the image designer perceived as being part of Livia's overall identity: the nodus symbolized the matronly qualities of chastity, purity, modesty, and above all familial devotion, while the middle part and tresses of hair draping down along the neck represented qualities inherent in the goddesses who sported those hairstyle motifs, namely Ceres and fertility and abundance, Venus and beauty, and Juno as mother of all the gods.

### **b) Facial Features Paradigm**

The facial features of a portrait are considered by many to be one of the primary means by which the subject of the portrait can be positively identified and are the defining elements of any portrait.<sup>44</sup> Just as each hairstyle type was designed to endow the portrait subject with particular qualities pertaining to social roles and status, facial features as image elements are also culturally encoded to convey particular messages bearing on the overall meaning of the portrait as a composite image.

The roots of Livia's physiognomic rendering can be found in Hellenistic and Roman Republican prototypes. Many of the prototypes for Livia's image have been discussed in Chapter 3 above, but it is important to reiterate only briefly here the context in which the physiognomic aspects of Livia's portraits developed. Ptolemaic queens hold the special honour of being the first historical female figures to have their portraits presented on coins and in sculpture early in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. These early portraits depicted these royal women according to

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<sup>44</sup> Peter Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 89.

two key variants: 1) facial features that were youthful, yet somewhat individualized and which exuded a regal stature, or 2) more mature, somewhat masculinized in order to reflect authority and a more public role. The female portraits that were developed in the late Roman Republic seem to move away from the more youthful and idealized norm typical of many Hellenistic styles and were influenced to some extent by the “veristic” style characteristic of male portraits at the time.<sup>45</sup> As shall be seen, Livia’s portraits contained physiognomic features that made her uniquely identifiable and could be rendered in several stylistic variants particular to the facial feature paradigm that exuded specific aspects of Livia’s cultural identity.

Before moving on to a discussion of how Livia’s facial features were rendered on her coin portraits, it is necessary to establish via sculpture and other media the “trademark” features of Livia’s face that are repeated from portrait to portrait and allow her to be recognized and identified by the viewer. The best way to see that these key facial features are relatively consistent in Livia’s portrait repertoire is to present a number of specimens spanning the several decades over which Livia’s portrait was produced and originating from various parts of the empire. Analyses already conducted by scholars such as Bartman, Winkes and Wood have revealed that the general shapes of these facial features remain relatively consistent from portrait to portrait. Thus, a sculptural comparison will not be pursued in detail here.

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<sup>45</sup> D’Ambra, *Art and Identity in the Roman World*, 28.

Livia's facial features in sculpture tend to be quite standard, formulaic, and symmetrically proportional. A sculptural portrait of Livia from Arsinoe in Egypt (II.M2.1) that depicts Livia sporting the Fayum variant of the nodus hairstyle is one of the finer examples from this particular medium and thus is the basis of my general description of Livia's facial features. Below her gently curving brow, Livia's eyes are large and almond-shaped, definitely inspired by the large, bright eyes of goddess portraits. The front view of the nose is executed using perfect vertical lines that taper down to the tip to meet the supple, yet slight curves of the nose tip and nostrils. In profile the nose has been described as being slightly aquiline, no doubt in reference to the gentle ridge less than half way down her nose. Her more youthful portraits show rather pronounced cheekbones, which became less so in her more mature renderings that tend to depict Livia with fuller cheeks. The lips are almost always very small, but curvaceous with the top lip extending over the bottom just slightly. The chin is small and rounded, with a gentle point. In profile, her jaw line gently curves down from her ear lobe to her chin. Her neck is slender, but an average proportional length.

While the general facial features remain consistent, there are at least three variants that reflect Livia's age and maturity: youthful; mature yet ageless; and mature but slightly aging. The latter is more rare with only a few surviving examples in sculpture and cameos. As shall be seen, each of these variants of the facial features paradigm were designed to convey specific messages inherent in the overall messages communicated by individual portraits. However, these variants are substantially easier to trace on sculpture and cameos than they are on

coins. Therefore, the facial features paradigm as displayed in sculptural and cameo examples will be discussed prior to an examination of Livia's facial features on coins.

The following three sections discuss Livia's facial features as presented in sculpture and cameos, which will be followed by a section dealing with the identification of these facial feature variants on coins.

### **i) *The Youthful Livia***

The youthful sculptural portraits of Livia certainly are the most abundant examples with specimens popping up even into the reign of Tiberius, a particular example being the seated figure of Livia from Paestum already mentioned above (V.A2.4). Another example dated to late in the reign of Augustus, the portrait from Arsinoë in Egypt (II.M2.1) depicts an elegantly youthful Livia. In each of these youthful examples, the overall shape of the face is rounded, but exhibits a more angled jaw line and defined cheek bones, which make her appear to be practically an adolescent. The skin as well appears smooth and flawless. In profile, the ridge on her nose is only slightly obvious. The Leiden sardonyx cameo of Livia (I.R1) also exudes an extremely youthful countenance. In all these examples Livia could be described as having a bit of a "baby face."

### **ii) *The Mature, Yet Ageless Livia***

The mature, yet ageless portraits of Livia still depict her with classicizing flawless and symmetrical features, but her maturity is rendered through fuller, slightly fleshier cheeks, with a marginal deepening of the crevices between the



cheeks and nose and at the corners of the mouth. The face itself is wider and rounder in overall shape and lacks the delicateness of the youthful variant, which gives it a slightly masculine tone. A number of sculptural examples of this type survive from the reigns of Augustus through to Claudius and originate from Rome and various parts of the empire. One of the most noteworthy sculptural examples of this variant comes from Baeterrae (II.O2.1). In this example, the broadness of her features are readily apparent; even the chin seems much fuller and the ridge of the nose, slightly more pronounced.

### **iii) *The Mature and Slightly Aging Livia***

The mature, but apparently aging variant of the facial feature paradigm was far less popular, but nonetheless developed as part of Livia's portrait repertoire. The most striking sculptural example comes from Ampurias in Spain (IV.P2.1) and has been dated to the Augustan period. If this portrait was endeavouring to render a more realistic image of Livia, given the aging features of the subject, it is tenable to date this portrait to the later years of Augustus's reign when Livia was in her 60s (AD 2) and 70s (AD 12). What makes the aging obvious is the deeper set eyes, the deepening lines of the cheeks that extend from the nostrils, the thin, straight line for representing the lips, as well as the wrinkle lines on the neck. Unfortunately, this portrait has sustained some damage making it difficult to assess the features of the face while in profile. In addition, the overall shape of the face is full and almost square-like, typical of a mature Livia. Some of the best examples of an aging Livia can be found in cameos. One particular example, a sardonyx currently in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (IV.R6),

shows Livia's aging facial features, especially the sagging eyes and slightly sunken cheeks, which make her look almost haggard. In addition, her nose is far more aquiline than before with a sharp ridge that extends into a hooked, pointed tip.

#### **iv) *Livia's Facial Features Rendered on Coins***

Now we must turn to the presentation of Livia's facial features on coins. The analysis of Livia's facial features on coins is fraught with problems and is the reason why many scholars have dismissed coin portraits outright. There are two major problems one must consider when analyzing coin portraits. The first problem is that of artistic and technical skill. The second is that a number of the coins survive in various states of fineness, many having worn over the years due to a variety of factors, mostly environmental. This latter problem cannot be helped, but the former can be addressed in order to reveal that coin portraits, such as those of Livia, can stand as images representative of an individual.

The rather small surface area on which the images of the coin dies were carved posed challenges for the die engraver, especially when it came to rendering such fine details as facial features that would convey the likeness of an individual. It is generally accepted that sculptural portraits produced in Rome and then distributed to the regions of the empire served as models for the die engravers,<sup>46</sup> but the extent to which these artists could reproduce these images on coins ranged from the fineness of detail executed on the *Salus dupondius* to a crudeness that

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<sup>46</sup> Stuart, "How Were Imperial Portraits Distributed Throughout the Empire," 601-617; Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 87-89.

left Livia's portrait a caricature. A comparison of the Salus dupondius from Rome (I.A1.2) and the silver didrachm from Byzantium (Thrace) (I.K1.2) with coins issued at Cnossus (Crete) (I.H1.2) and Augusta (Syria) (I.D1.6), which were all issued at roughly the same time, reveals the irregularities that existed in reproducing the facial features of Livia's portrait on coins.

The only variant of the facial features paradigm that has the best preserved examples surviving in the numismatic record is the mature, yet ageless variant. The facial features of Livia produced on the Salus dupondius fall convincingly in line with this variant given the clearly articulated large eyes, the fullness of the cheeks and the more pronounced ridge of the nose. A comparison of the profile of the Baeterrae portrait (II.O2.1) with that of the Salus dupondius reveals striking similarities in the general shape of the face and the individual facial features. Therefore, a sculptural portrait very similar to the Baeterrae one likely served as the model for the Salus dupondius. Only a few other coins can be said to have facial features that coincide with this variant. The obverse portrait of Livia depicted on the Byzantium (Thrace) didrachm (I.K1.2), the hairstyle of which has already been discussed, is almost a photographic reproduction of the image of the Salus dupondius from Rome with the exception of the eyes being slightly less prominent. Coins from Thessalonica (Macedonia) (II.I1.9) and Corinth (Achaea) (I.F1.4) issued under Tiberius, and several from Augusta (Syria) (I.D1.3) issued under Tiberius and later under Nero, all have facial features that follow this variant.

Isolating the other two physiognomic variants on coins, namely the youthful Livia and the mature, yet slightly aging Livia, is rather more difficult on account of the varied technical execution of Livia's coin portraits. If Livia's distinctive facial features cannot be isolated on coins, can Livia's coin portraits stand as representations of her? The answer quite simply is yes. Art history has shown that precise rendering of the details of an individual's true to life face and hair is not necessary in order for it to stand as a portrait.<sup>47</sup> A portrait can only stand as a likeness if the various parts of the face are considered carefully in relation to the whole. Some of Picasso's portraits demonstrate that even if you jumble up and distort details of the face it can remain a good likeness.<sup>48</sup> In essence, other visual and contextual details allow the viewer to read the overall image, even if certain paradigmatic elements seem to be inconsistent with established norms.

Let us take the two examples from Cnossus (I.H1.2) and Augusta (I.D1.6) mentioned above. In each of these examples, the facial features do not fall in line in any way with the variants I have outlined. The one from Cnossus in particular presents a rather plump portrait with distorted features such as the small eyes and the very chubby nose and cheeks. Regardless of their distorted facial features, these images can stand as portraits of Livia for three reasons: the presence of the *nodus* hairstyle which, as we have seen, was a signature hairstyle type in Livia's portrait repertoire; the accompanying legends (worn on the

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<sup>47</sup> Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1991) 25-26.

<sup>48</sup> Hall, 60.

Augusta coin) that refer to Livia by name; and the authority under which a coin was issued. As has been discussed earlier, the hairstyle was an important visual trigger that readily identified the woman portrayed on these coins as a Roman matron of status. The coin legend indicates that the figure depicted there was representative of her. Coin legends can also refer to the issuing authority or magistrate responsible for issuing the coin, but Livia was not the issuing authority. Finally, the coins themselves were produced in accordance with guidelines handed down by the governing authority that issued them. Therefore, the portraits of living (or deceased) individuals that appeared on the coins, whether produced in Roman or provincial mints, were reserved exclusively for the Roman emperor and select members of his family, which significantly limits the number of candidates whose portrait might appear on coins. These three factors together allowed the viewer to deduce that the portraits presented on the coins were Livia.

### *Summary*

The facial feature analysis presented above indicates that coins pose a number of problems when attempting to distinguish individual facial feature variants. However, what can be concluded here is that high standards of portrait fineness and likeness were not strictly necessary in the coin medium in order for a coin portrait to stand as a “likeness” of any individual, including Livia. It is plausible and logical to assume that the same three facial feature paradigms present in sculptural and cameo portraits of Livia were also employed on coins. It is also clear that certain, indeed even formulaic, combinations of portrait features

were more dominant in a particular time than another. The youthful Livia seems to have been more popular with nodus hairstyle variants, in particular the Fayum type, during the time of Augustus while the mature, yet ageless Livia seems to be combined more often with the middle part hairstyle variants under Tiberius. Such trends of employing one particular facial feature paradigm over another may also coincide with similar ones present in the portrait repertoires of other imperial family members including the emperor. Livia's more youthful looking portraits were produced contemporaneously with those depicting an eternally youthful Augustus including the Prima Porta statue (after 20 BC) and numerous numismatic examples in Rome and the provinces.<sup>49</sup> Thus the Fayum hairstyle may imply a more youthful Livia even when the facial features are difficult to discern as in the case of coins.

### c) Dress Paradigm

Dress in Livia's portrait sculpture can be broken down into two primary types: the traditional Roman consisting of the *tunica* (sleeved dress) and *palla* (mantle); and the Greek equivalent of the former consisting of the *chiton* and *himation* respectively.<sup>50</sup> To traditional Roman garb can be added the *stola*: a long, sleeveless woollen dress suspended by shoulder straps. In Livia's portrait sculptures, unless the distinctive straps of the *stola* are visible, it is often difficult to ascertain precisely which type of dress, the Greek or the traditional Roman, is

<sup>49</sup> Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 98-100. Some numismatic portrait examples of Augustus include *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 298, 411, and 433 (Rome) and 481 (Ephesus), 493 (Pergamum) and 541 (uncertain mint).

<sup>50</sup> Bartman, 41.

being employed. In the past, scholars have given particular attention to the *stola* citing it as the definitive dress of the Roman matron.<sup>51</sup> While these scholars consider the *stola* to be a key garment signifying a *matrona*, iconographical and epigraphic evidence shows that it was not nearly common enough to be the prime measure of matronly status.<sup>52</sup> In fact, an examination of Bartman's catalogue of statues of Livia shows that the majority of Livia's portraits depict her wearing some form of Greek dress rather than the *stola*. While it may not have been "standard" dress for the *matrona*, its rarity does not necessarily take away from its iconographic significance to be discussed further in Chapter 6.

The same is true in the case of portrait busts; often only portions of the tunic and mantle can be discerned, which is not enough to tell whether Greek or Roman dress is being used. The mantle itself is depicted being worn either upon the head as a veil (VII.A2.8), or draped upon the shoulders, covering the sleeves of the tunic (VII.N2.4). Occasionally, Livia's portrait survives as simply the head, with no shoulders and thus no drapery present, but such heads were likely once part of a full length portrait statue that is now missing.

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<sup>51</sup> Liz Cleland, et al. *Greek and Roman Dress from A-Z* (London: Routledge, 2007) 182, s.v. "stola"; Judith Lynn Sebesta, "Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman," *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001) 48.

<sup>52</sup> In Chapter 6, p. 282, n. 43 below I cite the few instances where the *stola* is mentioned in epigraphic sources. I would like to thank Dr. Lisa Hughes, University of Calgary, for bringing the issue of the rarity of the *stola* in representations of women in Roman art to my attention. Clearly the whole issue of the popularity of the *stola* needs to be explored further, but falls outside the scope of this thesis given that garments of any kind are not clearly articulated on most coins.

The same “what is she wearing?” problem resides in any attempt to identify the types of garments that appear in Livia’s coin portraits. In order to postulate how dress is rendered on coins the best medium in which to make tangible comparisons is cameos. Cameos provide images of Livia in relief and almost always in profile as in the case of coins. Also, the surface area on which such images of Livia were executed ranges from approximately 1 cm to 10 cm, a range in which many of the coins depicting Livia fit as well. In addition, it is generally understood that the same artistic skills, and perhaps even the same artisans who carved cameos and intaglios, also engraved the dies from which coins were made. Thus, the rendering of Livia’s draped portraits on cameos was very similar to that of coins thereby giving us a strong sense of what the drapery depicted on coins originally represented or was intended to represent. Livia’s portrait bust in profile on coins generally tends to be of three types: head with neck bare, draped bust with head veiled, and head with bust draped.

**i) *Livia’s Bust with Neck Bare***

There are virtually no cameo portraits of Livia that exist which depict her with neck bare. The portrait head type with neck bare was also used for coin portraits depicting Augustus, as well as various deities, both male and female. The goddess Venus, for example, is depicted in this manner on coins of the emperor Augustus.<sup>53</sup> The majority of coin examples depicting Livia’s portrait in this manner come from the reign of Augustus and were issued primarily by eastern

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<sup>53</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 251.



mints such as Clazomenae (III.C1.11), Ephesus (III.C1.13) and Methymna (VI.C1.27) in Asia, Alexandria (I.M1.1 and I.M1.5) in Egypt, Thessalonica (II.II.7) in Macedonia and Chalcis (II.F1.6) in Achaëa. Examples from the reign of Tiberius originate in Spain at the mints of Emerita (I.P1.4-5 and II.P1.6) and Colonia Romula (III.P1.10).

The significance of the neck bare variant is difficult to pinpoint, but the very nature of its use in portraiture was likely to provide special emphasis for the facial features of the portrait subject. Also, nudity is implied, even if left to the imagination of the viewer, which hearkens once again to the classicizing elements often incorporated into portraits and implies a purity and divine status comparable to gods and heroes who are often rendered in the nude in Classical and Hellenistic art.

#### ii) *Livia's Bust Draped with Head Bare*

Several cameo examples present Livia's portrait bust as draped with head bare. A sardonyx of Livia from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (I.R2), which depicts Livia with bust draped, is one of the finest surviving portraits of the empress. The fine detail in the drapery about Livia's bust highlights the "v" neck of the tunic just below the nape of the neck. Over this garment and covering her shoulders and part of her neck is the mantle. The engraver's superb skill is given away by the fine details of the folds and gentle ruffles of the mantle about the neck which give the garment an almost classicizing effect. Therefore, even though neither Greek *himation* nor Roman *palla* are clearly indicated, the

classicizing style in which the garment is executed is what communicates the significance and status of the individual wearing it.

The coins that depict Livia with bust draped exhibit a form of the drapery that is consistent with that seen on the Paris sardonyx cameo. Several specimens from various parts of the empire can be cited here for comparison. The first is the Livia as Salus coin from Rome (I.A1.2). While the folds of the garment are detailed differently than the Paris sardonyx, the *palla* or *himation* over top of an underlying tunic or *chiton* with a v-shaped neckline is readily apparent.<sup>54</sup> The garment is similarly executed on coins from mints in Africa (II.N1.7-8), Asia (I.C1.4, II.C1.8, V.C1.25), Syria (I.D1.2-3, I.D1.8), Macedonia (II.I1.9) and Thrace (I.K1.2).

### iii) *Livia's Bust Draped with Head Veiled*

Representations of Livia with head veiled can be found in several sculptural examples. These include the very famous depiction of Livia on the Ara Pacis (III.A2.2), as well as a statue of Livia seated from Paestum (IV.A2.4) and a bust from Rome (VII.A2.8). Examples also survive from the provinces including one from Iponuba in Spain (IV.P2.2) and one from Aphrodisias in Asia Minor (XI.C2.2). Several cameo examples also exist that depict Livia's bust draped with

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<sup>54</sup> Note that Alexandridis, 53 argues that the *stola* is represented not only on this Salus coin of Livia, but also on examples of coins depicting Antonia Minor, Agrippina Maior and Agrippina Minor. On the examples she gives, the presence of a small ring on the shoulder may indicate the point on the *stola* where the strap is fastened to the rest of the garment. However, in most of the Livia *Salus* coins I examined, this ring is not present, which makes it difficult to make the case that a *stola* is present. Also, the drapery of the *palla* about the shoulders is likely covering the straps of the *stola*, if it's present at all.

head veiled by a *palla* or *himation*, sometimes accompanied by some version of a crown (to be discussed below). The veil is usually situated about halfway back along the crown of the head to perhaps give prominence and added significance to the crown attribute (IV.R7 and V.R8). One exception is a sardonyx cameo from St. Petersburg (V.R9) which depicts the veil resting just on the back of the head, perhaps with the intention of giving even more distinction to the laurel crown Livia wears.

There are numerous coin images which depict Livia's portrait head or bust in profile with head veiled. But once again the veil is coupled with some type of crown (to be dealt with shortly). The veil is shown in various positions on the head, but most consistently with the veil just behind the crown. These coins were issued in Sicily (I.B1.2), Africa (III.N1.10 and IV.N1.17), Spain (I.P1.2-3), Achaea (I.F1.5 and II.F1.9), and Macedonia (III.I1.12-13). These coin images of Livia are based on the *Pietas* dupondius issued in Rome in AD 22-23 (I.A1.3), which formed part of the same series of coins that also included the Livia as *Salus* type.

The veil, known as the *palla* in Roman dress and the *himation* in Greek, was a fairly common component of Greek and Roman dress, though perhaps not as common as is often thought.<sup>55</sup> It communicated varied connotations linked to

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<sup>55</sup> Lisa A. Hughes, "Unveiling the Veil: Cultic, Status and Ethnic Representations of Early Imperial Freedwomen," *Material Religion* 3.2 (2007): 218-241 indicates that the veil may not have been as common as once thought by many scholars including Sebesta. Hughes' analysis of the presence of the veil on funerary monuments of imperial freedwomen shows that the veil does not dominate on such monuments. She does note the potential for cultic significance, particularly

social and religious roles, as well as status. The veil could be part of both male and female dress, and it was a garment also often worn by gods and goddesses. Some sculptural examples of the goddesses Vesta and Juno survive which can be dated (at least roughly) to the same time that Livia's veiled vestiges appear.<sup>56</sup> The veil too invoked notions of religious sanctity and piety and thus called to mind Livia's position as priestess of the deified Augustus. This religious role is certainly implied by the veiled portrait presented in the *Pietas* dupondius of Rome issued in AD 22-23. Therefore, there was great potential for a wide range of meanings to be gleaned from this garment depending on the subject wearing the garment, as well as the visual context in which it is presented. The fact that Livia is depicted wearing this garment in a wide range of media, including sculpture, cameos and coins produced from the time of Augustus down to Livia's deification under Claudius, indicates that this visual attribute was a popular component of Livia's visual repertoire.

### *Summary*

While it is clear that the limited space of the surface of a coin made it difficult to recreate the intricate details of clothing, there are numerous coin examples on which Livia's portrait includes some form of drapery, thereby adding to the overall significance of the image portrayed. While the type of drapery was quite ambiguous, visually resembling both Greek and Roman dress, nonetheless

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when it appears on portraits of female imperial family members. The cultic significance of the veil will be discussed further in Chapter 6 below.

<sup>56</sup> LIMC 5.1 s.v. "Hestia/Vesta", p. 415, no. 28 and s.v. "Iuno", p. 841, no. 210.

such dress could easily stand for Roman matronly virtue or the virtue embodied in Greek “mother” goddesses. On its own it could symbolize a Roman matron or priestess, but when combined with other attributes, such as crowns and wreaths (to be described shortly) it symbolized a stature comparable to key goddesses who also wore such adornments.

#### **d) Head Adornment Paradigm: Crowns and Wreaths**

Livia’s portrait in the sculptural record features a number of key symbols or attributes in the form of adornment other than fabric drapery and dress. An attribute is an object held by, or in close physical connection with, a person or divine figure, which functions as part of the overall image composition. It is an image element that further defines the subject being depicted thereby contributing to the overall meaning(s) conveyed by an image.<sup>57</sup> Of particular interest with respect to the numismatic record of Livia’s image are attributes, such as crowns or wreaths, which adorn the head of the figure depicted. Livia appears wearing several different types of head adornment in portrait sculpture and in cameos, some of which also were present in Livia’s numismatic portraits. These headdresses include the *infula* or woollen beaded fillet, the circular band/diadem, the *stephane* (either plain or ornate), the laurel crown, the *corona spicea* of wheat stalks and/or flowers, and the *corona muralis* resembling fortifications/city walls. A number of Livia’s portraits in sculpture and cameos depict her wearing such head adornment, most of which date to the reigns of Tiberius or Claudius.<sup>58</sup> In

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<sup>57</sup> Toynbee, 220.

<sup>58</sup> See the catalogues of Bartman, Wood and Gross for a comprehensive list of examples.

contrast, Livia's coin portraits are more reserved in their use of this visual paradigm, but a few examples show Livia with the laurel crown, the *stephane* and the infula/circular diadem.

### i) *The Laurel Crown*

During the reign of the emperor Augustus, the laurel had become a potent symbol of the power and authority of the emperor and his family.<sup>59</sup> Livia's portrait wearing a laurel crown seems to have been introduced to Livia's visual repertoire in sculpture and cameos around 9 BC when she appeared on the Ara Pacis Augustae (IV.A2.2) which was dedicated that same year. Livia, along with other members of the imperial family, including Augustus, were depicted on the monument wearing the laurel crown. Another example attributed to Rome (VIII.A2.8) and dating to late Augustan or early Tiberian times depicts Livia with laurel crown along with head veiled. Examples of cameos (II.R3-4) with Livia's laureate portrait date to roughly the same time period. On coins Livia is depicted laureate only during the reign of Tiberius and only on provincial coins. The coins are few and come from Colonia Romula in Spain (III.P1.10), Thessalonica in Macedonia (II.I1.9) and Aphrodisias-Plarasa in Asia (II.C1.7).

The limited occurrence of Livia's portrait wearing the laurel crown on coins has sparked some discussion as to whether or not this attribute was appropriate for representations of Livia, or any other female imperial family

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<sup>59</sup> Marleen B. Flory, "The Symbolism of Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia," *MAAR* 40 (1995): 43. Here Flory refers to Ovid (*Tr.* 3.1.39-46) who lists a variety of symbolic meanings for the laurel including victory in war, peace, Apollo, domestic felicity, and the eternal rule of Augustus's family.

member. Marleen B. Flory has written an important article concerning the appearance of Livia with the laurel crown in a variety of media with a particular emphasis on cameos.<sup>60</sup> In this article Flory states that “Neither coins nor portraits yield any firm examples of laurel-wreathed Julio-Claudian women.”<sup>61</sup> While she acknowledges that the coin from Thessalonica has a clear laureate portrait of Livia,<sup>62</sup> she does not mention the others from Colonia Romula and Aphrodisias-Plarasa. She further goes on to state, siding with Gross’s argument concerning the Thessalonica coin, that the presence of the laurel must be an error and “the result of the ignorance and slovenliness of the diemaker.”<sup>63</sup>

This particular argument is fraught with problems on a number of levels. First of all, if the diemaker was simply being careless, why would he have taken the time to add the laurel crown to Livia’s portrait, especially when the portrait type he used already had an established prototype issued by the imperial mint of Rome in AD 22-23 that was *sans laurier* (I.A1.2)? In addition, it is generally accepted among scholars that images of imperial family members produced in the provinces, whether in sculpture or on coins, were based on models commissioned by those close to the imperial family in Rome.<sup>64</sup> These models heavily inspired

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<sup>60</sup> Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia,” 43-68.

<sup>61</sup> Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia,” 44.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Flory, 44; Gross, 63-64.

<sup>64</sup> Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 87; Stuart, 601-617.

and set the standard of style and taste for those produced in the provinces.<sup>65</sup> However, such images could be modified to reflect local tastes and ideals; it is misleading to state that such modifications were misinterpretations of the image prototypes that originated from Rome. Therefore, the presence of the laurel crown on Livia's coin portraits from the provinces, although few, was intentional and designed to convey specific messages concerning Livia's gender roles and political and religious position in Roman imperial ideology. The issue of the laurel crown and its function as a purveyor of gender-specific messages, in particular as it pertains to Livia, will be discussed in Chapter 6 below.

## ii) *The Stephane*

While the laurel crown was an attribute Livia shared with her male relatives, the *stephane*, whether plain or ornate, was a predominantly female visual attribute. The *stephane* was essentially a circular, high-rimmed band which came in two varieties: plain (no decoration), and ornate with embossed flower or palmette motifs. Portraits of women wearing the *stephane* originated in the Hellenistic period where it appeared as the noteworthy headdress of Ptolemaic and other queens. The Romans were reserved in their use of this attribute in the numismatic portraits of imperial women given the associations with Olympian deities and Hellenistic royalty. Therefore, the *stephane* does not appear on named numismatic portraits of imperial women issued by the mint of Rome until the

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<sup>65</sup> Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 89.



Flavian period.<sup>66</sup> But prior to this period the *stephane* does appear on imperial female coin portraits issued in the provinces, although only sporadically.

Livia's sculptural portraits begin featuring this attribute only quite late in Tiberius's reign and most likely after Livia's death in AD 29.<sup>67</sup> Most of these portraits of Livia adorned with *stephane* have been dated to the reign of the emperor Claudius, Livia's grandson, who deified her in AD 41.<sup>68</sup> Given the rather late appearance of this attribute in the sculptural medium, it perhaps implied Livia's new divine status. But how new was it? Some coin portraits of Livia may exhibit an earlier incorporation of this adornment into her portrait repertoire.

#### *The Plain Stephane*

The plain version of the *stephane* can be seen in sculptural specimens from Rusellae (Italy) (IX.A2.11), Velleia in Italy (VII.A2.7), as well from Lepcis Magna (VI.N2.2) and Carthage (VII.N2.4) in North Africa.<sup>69</sup> There are a few instances on coins of Livia with plain *stephane*. One example from the Augusta mint in Syria dates to after AD 20 (I.D1.7). However, this image seems to depict

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<sup>66</sup> Rose, 76.

<sup>67</sup> Very few cameos survive that depict Livia with this attribute. Bartman cites one example from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, but its fragmentary state of preservation makes it difficult to identify its subject as Livia. See Bartman, 191, cat. no. 102, fig. 188.

<sup>68</sup> One example from Velletri (IX.A2.11) which dates to the reign of Claudius, although heavily restored, may have originally included some form of the *stephane*.

<sup>69</sup> Other impressive examples, which have no clear provenance, can be found at museums in Bochum, Germany and at Brussels. See Bartman 181, figs. 169-170 and 181, no. 78, fig. 107 respectively.

more of a circular band type diadem than a *stephane*. Another potential candidate comes from the Smyrna mint in Asia (IX.C1.40) and dates to the reign of Tiberius after Livia's death.

### *The Ornate Stephane*

While the plain *stephane* seems to be the more prolific of the two types with respect to sculpture, the ornate *stephane* figures more prominently in coins than the plain *stephane*. A sculptural example, the Ravenna Relief (X.A2.12), which dates to the reign of Claudius, depicts a female figure standing next to the deified Augustus often identified as Livia. In this image Livia wears an ornate *stephane* decorated with a floral motif that is repeated around its entirety. The floral motif on the *stephane* has been associated with the iconography of Venus Genetrix,<sup>70</sup> divine ancestral mother of the *gens Iulia*. Another example that scholars identify as Livia based on iconographic grounds is the so-called Ludovisi Juno (VI.A2.6).<sup>71</sup> The ornate *stephane* depicted here is decorated with palmettes is generally considered part of the goddess Juno's visual repertoire.<sup>72</sup>

Coins primarily from the provinces carry portraits of Livia with the ornate *stephane*. Prototypes for this image can be found in the *Iustitia* and *Pietas*

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<sup>70</sup> Bartman, 134-135. *RRC*, 308/1a and *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 43.

<sup>71</sup> The facial features do not fall in line with the physiognomic features typical of most Livia portraits. The beaded fillet that is wrapped around the base of the crown and hanging down each side of the neck is an attribute generally associated with a priestess, a position Livia most certainly held in the cult of the deified Augustus.

<sup>72</sup> *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. "Juno", Brill, 2009. Brill Online. UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN. 15 November 2009.

dupondii issued in Rome in AD 22-23 (I.A1.3-4), the same series of dupondii that included the *Salus Augusta* type bearing Livia's portrait. The figure is adorned with a *stephane* decorated with palmettes similarly to the Ludovisi Juno. However, in the case of this coin, the beaded fillet is not present. The *Iustitia* coin type was then reproduced on provincial coins, some of which include text identifying Livia by name. Coins from Macedonia dating to the reign of Tiberius, including the mints of Pella-Dium (I.I1.5) and Thessalonica (II.I1.10), depict Livia with an ornate *stephane*.<sup>73</sup> Another example from the Koinon of Crete (I.H1.3) again highly resembles the Roman *Iustitia* prototype, but here the text of the coin refers to Livia more directly as ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. The coin in fact dates to the reign of Claudius, c. AD 41-43, in the years shortly after Livia's deification. At times the palmette motif is difficult to discern due to the varying quality of these coins, but there is enough visual evidence to distinguish these coins as the ornate rather than plain *stephane*.

The *stephane*, whether plain or ornate, had a long tradition of representation in the iconographic repertoire of various goddesses, including Venus, Ceres and Juno. The Greek equivalents of these goddesses, in particular Hera and Demeter, had been depicted in sculpture wearing this headdress since the Classical period. During the time that Livia's portrait had been produced in

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<sup>73</sup> The coin from Pella-Dium has been dated more specifically to after AD 22-23 based most likely on the striking similarity of this coin to the one issued in Rome. The one from Thessalonica has some different iconographic details such as a distinct and unclassified hairstyle that leaves the precise date open to some question.

sculpture wearing this attribute, sculptural specimens of Venus and Juno with *stephane* were present,<sup>74</sup> which undoubtedly would have linked Livia visually with these goddesses. A coin issued by the Thessalian League (II.F1.7) indicates that the iconographical connection between Livia and Hera/Juno by means of the *stephane* had been developing since the reign of Augustus. The reverse of the coin shows a female portrait wearing the *stephane*. While the facial features of the figure may not be representative of Livia's true likeness, that Livia is depicted here is indicated by the legend HPA ΛΕΙΟΥΙΑ (Hera Livia). This combination of portrait with *stephane* and appellative legend does not necessarily mean that Livia is Hera, but rather implies an ideological association between Livia and the goddess. These ideological associations, which include Livia's roles as wife and mother, will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 6.

### iii) *Circular Band Diadem and Infula*

The last headdress type that I would like to discuss is the circular band diadem, which on coins, can also be interpreted as an *infula*. The *infula* is a diadem-like woollen band that sometimes appears braided and/or divided into individual sections by beads and has tassles which extend down along both sides of the neck.<sup>75</sup> Sometimes, the *infula* is depicted in combination with some other type of headdress as in the case of the Ludovisi Juno (VI.A2.6) where it is worn

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<sup>74</sup> LIMC 5.1, s.v. "Iuno", p. 840, nos. 194-195 and p. 843-844, nos. 239-240 and 245; LIMC 8.1, s.v. "Venus", p. 216, no. 253.

<sup>75</sup> Brill's New Pauly, s.v. "infula". Brill 2009. Brill Online. UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, 15 November 2009, [http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp\\_e524540](http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e524540).

with the ornate *stephane*. Another sculptural example of Tiberian date (X.A2.13) shows Livia with the infula resting atop a wreath of flowers.

The circular band diadem, a symbol of sovereignty worn by earlier Hellenistic rulers, was generally considered inappropriate for the iconographical repertoire of the emperor or members of his family. As will be shown in Chapter 6, the laurel was considered the sovereign crown of the emperor and his family. In my research I have discovered that there are no surviving sculptural or cameo examples that depict Livia wearing the circular band diadem. However, there are a few examples of coins in the eastern provinces where the circular band, or perhaps the infula, makes an appearance in Livia's portraits.

The first coin in question potentially dates to the reign of Augustus and was issued at Alabanda in Asia (I.C1.2). The circular band about the head just under the nodus and circling the head to meet the chignon at the back is readily apparent. The other from Augusta, Syria is dated to after AD 20 and during the reign of Tiberius (I.D1.7). However, this example depicts a much wider band which could possibly also be interpreted as a *stephane* (see above section on the plain *stephane*).

Two particularly interesting provincial coins present Livia wearing either a circular band diadem, the infula and/or a hairstyle, namely the *Zopf* type, that was designed to mimic the other two. The first one from Pergamum in Asia dates to the reign of Augustus (VII.C1.32), while the second originates from Edessa in Macedonia during the reign of Tiberius (I.I1.1). Both appear to have the same

hairstyle, namely the Zopf<sup>75</sup> already discussed above. The clearer image of the two, that from Pergamum, shows a circle about the head, just above the side waves, most likely the circular braid of the Zopf<sup>75</sup> posing as a circular band/infula. A sculptural example (X.A2.14), which has been dated broadly to the reigns of Augustus or Tiberius, depicts Livia with a braid that encircles the head just behind the nodus and side waves. The distinct braid can be interpreted as mimicking either the *infula* or the circular band diadem. The same seems to be the case in a sculptural portrait of Livia dating to the Claudian era and with origins attributed to Turkey (XI.C2.1), which shows the same braided circular band about the head.

The significance of the infula is apparent in its prominent role in Roman religious ritual and traditions. It was, in essence, insignia worn most commonly by priests and priestesses during religious ceremonies as a symbol of purity.<sup>76</sup> It was also worn by Vestal Virgins and by brides in hairstyles that included it being wrapped about the head several times as a symbol of chastity.<sup>77</sup> After Livia's death, successive female members of the imperial family, such as Antonia Minor, were depicted with this adornment to mark their role as priestess of the deified Augustus.<sup>78</sup> The presence of the circular band on coin portraits of Livia, even

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<sup>76</sup> Cleland et al., 96, s.v. "*infula*"; Angelika Dierichs, "Das Idealbild der römischen Kaiserin: Livia Augusta," *Frauenwelten in der Antike: Geschlechterordnung und weiblich Lebenspraxis*, eds. Thomas Späth and Beate Wagner-Hasel (Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2000) 252.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> W. G. Hardy Museum of Ancient Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, University of Alberta, inv. no. 981.28.

when it mimics the *infula*, was a visual attribute likely added to Livia's iconography by Eastern authors in order to express her elevated status.<sup>79</sup>

### *Summary*

The use of head adornment in Livia's portrait repertoire seems to have evolved gradually since the time of Augustus, but became much more pronounced under Tiberius. Rome's rulers were particularly cautious about the types of crowns they wore, choosing styles that would not equate them with the pomp and luxury practiced by eastern rulers. Therefore, the laurel was incorporated as a symbol of the new Roman imperial rulers. The presence of the circular band diadem, or at least a visual resemblance of it, on coins of Livia from eastern mints may simply have been an echo of lingering representations of Hellenistic rulers who dominated these regions prior to the arrival of the Roman rulers. Furthermore, it was perhaps the best way to communicate via iconography the status of the new Roman rulers in a way that locals could recognize and understand. A comparison of the *stephane* in numismatic and sculptural media shows that it appeared much more often in sculpture than on coins, again indicating a more reserved approach to Livia's portrayal on coins than in sculpture. Nonetheless, the eventual incorporation of the *stephane* into Livia's visual repertoire launched her ideological status into the realm of the regal and divine in a way that was virtually unprecedented for Roman women.

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<sup>79</sup> Bartman, 46. Bartman argues that this is particularly the case with regard to sculptural portraits developed in the Eastern provinces.

**A Brief Note on other Crowns:** Livia's sculptural and cameo portraits exhibit other crowns such as the corona spicea (of Ceres) and the mural crown (of Tyche and Cybele), the significance of which will not be discussed here. However, what is especially noteworthy is that these motifs have not survived in Livia's coin portrait images, although worn examples may have originally held them. Thus once again we may be faced with the scenario where certain iconographic motifs were suitable for more loosely regulated media such as sculpture and cameos, but not for coins.

#### **e) Adjuncts Accompanying Livia's Coin Portraits**

A couple of significant coins types were issued at provincial mints depicting Livia's portrait along with adjuncts. An adjunct is an object that is part of the overall image presented on a coin's surface, but is often placed in the field of the design rather than in direct physical contact with the subject figure.<sup>80</sup> Like accompanying text on a coin, such adjuncts can add to the overall meaning of the dominant portrait image presented, and they can place limitations on it as well, restricting the number of possible meanings that the viewer can perceive from the image.

##### **i) *Peacock and Grain Adjuncts at Oea (Africa)***

Sometime after the issue of the Salus dupondius in Rome in AD 22-23, the local magistrates at Oea issued dupondii (IL.N1.7) with portraits of Livia strongly resembling those issued at Rome. In contrast to the Salus dupondii of

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<sup>80</sup> Toynbee, 220.



Rome, two significant attributes were pictured alongside the portrait: an image of a peacock in the right field of the coins in front of Livia's face and an ear of grain in the left field behind her head.

The peacock was a well established visual attribute of the goddess Juno/Hera,<sup>81</sup> while the ear of grain was symbolic of Ceres/Demeter.<sup>82</sup> Both symbols are employed here to associate specific qualities of the goddess Juno and Ceres with the persona of Livia. Juno/Hera was particularly noted in Roman and Greek religion respectively for her connection with royalty and marriage given her own marriage to Jupiter/Zeus who was king of all the gods.<sup>83</sup> Juno also had a secondary role as protector of cities, in particular their young men.<sup>84</sup> Thus, the goddess held a dual role as political divinity and goddess of women, marriage, motherhood and the family.<sup>85</sup> Ceres, on the other hand, was identified with the roles of women as well, in particular motherhood, which was closely connected to her role regarding agricultural fertility and the growth of crops.<sup>86</sup> Thus, the presentation of Livia's portrait alongside these two attributes does not necessarily place her on equal footing with these goddesses, but rather implies Livia's status

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<sup>81</sup> *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. "peacock". Brill Online. UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, 17 January 2010, [http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp\\_e917000](http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e917000).

<sup>82</sup> Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, 29, 127-128.

<sup>83</sup> *OCD* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 682-683, s.v. Hera.

<sup>84</sup> *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. "Hera." Brill Online. UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, 17 January 2010, [http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp\\_e508040](http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e508040).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *OCD* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 313, s.v. "Ceres"; *OCD* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1480, s.v. "Tellus".

as representative of these roles and qualities in the Roman world as the dominant female in Roman imperial society. It is important to note that the Oea mint also issued dupondii depicting the portrait of the emperor Tiberius with the accompanying attributes of the eagle, symbol of the god Jupiter,<sup>87</sup> and the laurel branch, representative of the god Apollo.<sup>88</sup> The association of imperial family members to principal divine figures, whose roles and high status were analogous to their own, was accomplished through the presentation of their portraits alongside the gods' signature symbols.

**ii) *Crescent Moon and Globe Adjuncts at Colonia Romula (Spain)***

During the reign of Tiberius various coin types issued by the mint magistrates at Colonia Romula highlighted the imperial family and the cult associated with them, but one coin in particular deserves special attention here. The obverse of a dupondius (III.P1.10) commemorates the deified Augustus in accordance with standard iconography, including the radiate crown, the thunderbolt in front and the star above his head. The reverse bears a remarkable representation of Livia. Here, the head of the empress is depicted wearing the laurel crown and resting upon a globe, with a crescent moon above her head just touching the nodus above her brow. It is accompanied by the highly significant legend *IVLIA AVGVSTVS GENETRIX ORBIS* to be discussed in the section following this one.

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<sup>87</sup> *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. "Iuppiter." Brill Online. UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, 17 January 2010, [http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp\\_e603790](http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e603790).

<sup>88</sup> Flory, "The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia," 44.

Several scholars have noted the exceptional nature of both the iconography and the accompanying text of this image of Livia which, excluding the laurel crown, appears nowhere else in Roman art, epigraphy or coinage.<sup>89</sup> The presence of the crescent moon links Livia with Luna, the Roman moon goddess. Luna had associations with Ceres, as well as Diana, sister of the sun god Apollo. This Luna connection is even more convincing when one considers the presence on the obverse of the star above Augustus' head and the radiate crown he wears which both refer to Luna's counterpart, the sun god Sol.<sup>90</sup> Sol was also identified as the god Apollo, Diana's twin brother. Such iconography would not be lost on the Roman viewer since references to these deities can be found on coins of the Roman Republic some of which depict both Sol and Luna on the same coin.<sup>91</sup>

The significance of the globe is revealed to some extent through the legend which translates as "Iulia Augusta, Mother of the World." The *genetrix* title associates Livia with Venus Genetrix, mythological ancestor of the Julians, and a goddess whose cult was especially important for the perpetuation of the imperial dynasty.<sup>92</sup> Here, Livia is given a divine status comparable to that given to Augustus who was deified upon his death in AD 14. Livia was understood

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<sup>89</sup> Michael Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs 116 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1950), 90.

<sup>90</sup> The association of the star and crescent attributes with Sol and Luna respectively was brought to my attention by Dr. Steven Hijmans, University of Alberta.

<sup>91</sup> *RRC*, 303/1 and 474/5.

<sup>92</sup> Wood, 90.

throughout the empire as the mother of the *domus Augusta*.<sup>93</sup> Therefore, a title such as “genetrix” would have seemed appropriate to the issuer of the coins, given Livia’s adoption into the *Iulian gens* and her status, at that time, as mother of the emperor. However, such a reference to Livia as “mother of the world” would have been contrary to the emperor Tiberius’s position regarding such titles for his mother. According to Tacitus, when the Senate proposed that Livia be called “parent” and “mother” of the country, Tiberius insisted that only reasonable honours be paid to a woman.<sup>94</sup> It is interesting that Roman colonies under supervision from Rome would issue such bold coins, which seem to exalt Livia above the emperor himself.

### *Summary*

The use of adjuncts was not out of the ordinary for coins issued during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. As has been shown, coin types of the emperor could also depict adjuncts such as the thunderbolt for Augustus and the eagle for Tiberius. Therefore, the use of adjuncts for representations of Livia is somewhat typical. What is not typical are some of the adjuncts employed in Livia’s representation. The adjuncts of peacock and even the crescent moon reminded the viewer of Livia’s connection to the goddesses Juno and Luna respectively. Connections between Livia and Juno were already quite customary by the time of Augustus. The presence of the globe, however, was an exceptional honour, which associated Livia with world rule. As will be shown adjuncts

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<sup>93</sup> Barrett, 127-129.

<sup>94</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1-4.

appeared not only in Livia's portrait mode, but also in the "seated Livia" and "standing Livia" modes to follow.

#### **f) Paired Portraits**

In addition to the presence of Livia's individual portrait on coins, there are a number of instances where her portrait appears in tandem with another individual, most often a close male relative. The coins display the paired portraits in one of two formats: jugate or face to face.<sup>95</sup> The jugate format, which is the most common, presents two portraits in profile and almost always facing right with one portrait partially superimposed upon the other.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the practice of producing such paired portraits on coins originated under Hellenistic monarchs, in particular the Ptolemies, whose tradition of depicting male and female royal family members together was eventually adopted for the representation of later Roman rulers and their family members. The grouping of portraits, whether in sculpture, cameos, or coins, was developed in the late Classical period to advertise the ruling regime's distinguished ancestry and to promote dynastic succession.<sup>96</sup> Cities and groups loyal to the ruling regime sought to strengthen their connections to them by commemorating members of the "royal" family in various media, with group

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<sup>95</sup> The "paired" portraits described here are not to be confused with the instance where the portrait of the male relative appears on the obverse, while Livia appears on the reverse. Such obverse and reverse portraits are considered paired by Judith Ginsburg, *Representing Agrippina: Constructions of Female Power in the Early Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 74. I will be considering the obverse and reverse pairing of Livia's portrait in Chapter 6, where I discuss the significance of this visual relationship with regard to male-female power relations.

<sup>96</sup> Rose, 4.

statuary monuments being particularly popular.<sup>97</sup> Some of the coin images of Octavia depict her alongside key male counterparts, namely husband Antony and brother Octavian. Eventually paired portraits of Livia, either jugate or facing, were produced on provincial coins beginning under the reign of Augustus. The jugate and facing portraits format did not find a place on coins of the mint of Rome until AD 55 when Nero and his mother, Agrippina Minor, were thus depicted together.<sup>98</sup> This particular paired portrait format remained on coins of the mint of Rome remained quite rare.<sup>99</sup>

### i) *Livia's Jugate Portraits*

The first examples of Livia's portrait jugate with another male family member appeared on coins of the mint of Ephesus (III.C1.14-15 and IV.C1.16-17). The coins are not firmly dated, but scholars postulate a date more towards the middle of Augustus's reign.<sup>100</sup> This was not the first appearance of this particular type for the Ephesus mint, which had issued jugate style portraits during the Second Triumvirate.<sup>101</sup> Other cities of Asia, including Smyrna (VIII.C1.37-38), Magnesia ad Sipylum (V.C1.22), and Nysa (VII.C1.31) issued similar

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<sup>97</sup> Rose, 4.

<sup>98</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 1-2 and 6-7. See also Ginsburg, 74.

<sup>99</sup> Scheer, 303.

<sup>100</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 432.

<sup>101</sup> *RPC I*, 2569-2573 (Antony and Octavian jugate); 2202 (Antony and Octavia jugate).

types.<sup>102</sup> Another example from Thrace depicts the jugate portraits of King Rhoemetalces I and his wife Pythodoris on the obverse, while the reverse holds the jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia (I.K1.1). The coins usually depict the portraits in right profile with Augustus's portrait in front and Livia's behind. One possible exception to the right facing profile of the portraits might have come from an uncertain mint in Bithynia-Pontus (I.J1.2), which shows the portraits facing left. However, the male portrait in this example has been identified as Augustus, although its features more strongly resemble those of Tiberius.

While a visual analysis of Livia's jugate portrait might seem limited due to Augustus's superimposed portrait, there are still some key elements that can be ascertained in accordance with the paradigms detailed above. Livia's hairstyle appears to be of the nodus style in each case, but the variant (Marbury Hall, Fayum, etc) cannot be established. The facial features present a very interesting trait that in many ways is typical of jugate portraits, in which Livia's particular facial characteristics now take on a very strong resemblance to those of Augustus. This may have been done simply for the convenience of the die engraver, but it may have been intended to emphasize familial relationship (as discussed in Chapter 3). Livia's shoulders are draped in most examples, although there are some that may show the neck bare. As for attributes, Augustus wears the laurel crown while Livia does not. One adjunct, the capricorn, appears on the coins from Thrace (I.K1.1) in the field in front of the jugate portraits of Augustus and

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<sup>102</sup> Note that one other example may have come from Tomi in Moesia (*RPC* I 1823), but the poor quality in which the portraits survive makes it difficult to identify the subjects.

Livia. The capricorn was undoubtedly a reference to Augustus who used it as a symbol of his divine conception and rule over the empire.<sup>103</sup>

There are only a few examples of Livia's portrait jugate along with the portrait of her son Tiberius. Examples come from two Asia mints, Aphrodisias-Plarasa (II.C1.7) and Tripolis (X.C1.44), and one from the Judaeen Kingdom (I.E1.2). In these cases, Livia's portrait follows very much the same visual guidelines as those that were issued under Augustus. One exception is with the coin from Aphrodisias-Plarasa which shows both portraits laureate. In addition, the Tripolis coin shows the portraits in left profile.

## ii) *Livia's Face to Face Portraits*

All the face to face portrait coins come from the reign of Tiberius and they originate from mints in Asia except for one which comes from Tarraco in Spain. The ones from Asia do not have solid dates, but most likely were issued later in Tiberius's reign. The one from Mastaura (VI.C1.26) might be an earlier issue given the nodus hairstyle Livia wears. The one from Pergamum (VIII.C1.34) dates to after AD 22-23 on account of the presence of Livia's portrait with the "Salus" middle part hairstyle that appeared on the dupondii of Rome issued during those years. In both of these examples Livia faces her emperor son Tiberius. Livia is also paired with her grandson Drusus on a bronze *as* from Tarraco issued in AD 22-23 (III.P1.11), which also bears an abbreviated legend that refers to each of them by name. While the portraits are somewhat worn and

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<sup>103</sup> Tamsyn Barton, "Augustus and Capricorn: Astrological Polyvalency and Imperial Rhetoric," *JRS* 85 (1995): 48.



roughly executed, Livia can be identified as the figure on the right based on hairstyle. A coin with the unusual pairing of Livia's portrait with that of the personified Senate was issued in Smyrna c. AD 29-35 (IX.C1.40). It was almost certainly issued after Livia's death given the presence of the diadem attribute that she wears. These coins, which depict a temple on their reverses, commemorate a temple of Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate, which was granted to Smyrna by Tiberius.<sup>104</sup>

### *Summary*

Such paired and grouped portraits of Livia can be found in other media, which indicates that these portrait formats would have been familiar to the viewer. Two sardonyx cameos (VI.R10 and VII.R11) which date to shortly after the death of Augustus in AD 14 each depict the portrait of Livia in profile with head veiled and crowned (one with a mural crown, the other a laurel one), facing a radiate and draped bust of the deified Augustus. In one respect, these cameos refer to Livia's new role as priestess of the deified Augustus, a role which is echoed in coins and sculpture.<sup>105</sup> But more importantly, the paired and group portrait format was used to communicate to the viewer the close relations between the subjects depicted, whether familial, religious or political. In Chapters 5 and 6, I will discuss instances where the group portraits presented on coins were reiterated in sculptural group portraits set up in the same region or city.

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<sup>104</sup> Amandry et al., *RPC I*, 417.

<sup>105</sup> Bartman, 103.

## **h) Conclusion**

The analysis presented in this section effectively maps the visual elements of Livia's portrait genre on coins by means of detailing the individual visual paradigms that were integral for the composition of any given Livia portrait on a coin. The essential portrait paradigms included hairstyle and facial features, while paradigms such as dress and adornment were not crucial for a portrait to stand as Livia, but nonetheless added to the overall significance or meaning of the image portrayed. These images were not intended to stand as true to life "likenesses" of Livia. As we have seen in the case of coins, this was often not the case. Even though a coin portrait of Livia may not look anything like Livia in portrait sculpture, it does not mean that that image could not stand as a representation of her. Key visual indicators, some inherent in the portrait image itself and others not, could signal to the viewer that it was Livia being depicted. These visual indicators included such paradigmatic elements as the nodus hairstyle, the accompanying text referring to Livia by name, and the exclusive nature of the coin medium itself, with portraits of the imperial family holding the monopoly.

### ***4.3 Livia as Seated Female Figure Mode***

In AD 15-16, the mint of Rome issued a series of *asses*, which were designed to commemorate the recent consecration of Augustus, the inauguration of his official cult, and the succession of Tiberius. The coins bore the obverse

portraits of either the deified Augustus or the new emperor Tiberius, both of whom were identified by name, while the reverses depicted an unnamed female figure, seated and facing right on an ornate chair with her feet resting on a stool. She appears dressed in matronly garb with her head veiled. She holds a sceptre in her left hand and a *patera* (ritual libation bowl) in her right. Some have readily identified the figure as Livia.<sup>106</sup> However, the ambiguity of the type has given many scholars pause, reluctant to label the figure as Livia on account of the lack of identifying legend and specific physiognomic features which can be confirmed as Livia's. Sutherland has argued that the figure on Tiberius's *aes* coins may in fact be a representation of the statue of Vesta *in palatio*, whose cult was closely associated with that of Divus Augustus, and that it cannot represent Livia.<sup>107</sup> Wood asserts that this coin type most likely represents *Pietas* and alludes to Livia's new capacity as priestess of the deified Augustus, but the lack of identifying inscription makes a direct association with Livia uncertain.<sup>108</sup>

Despite these views, I shall propose that the lack of identifying legend does not decrease the potential for identification as Livia by the viewer, whether ancient or modern. While there are several coins, all provincial issues, that contain legends identifying the seated figure as Livia, I will argue here that the design of the image itself makes it highly plausible that this seated figure could

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<sup>106</sup> Gertrude Grether, "Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult," *AJPh* 67 (1946): 235-236 interprets the figure as Livia stating that these coins were issued to commemorate the consecration of Augustus.

<sup>107</sup> Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, 85-86.

<sup>108</sup> Wood, 89.

readily be interpreted by the ancient viewer as a representation of Livia. I will first isolate the key visual paradigmatic elements employed in this particular image mode: dress, head adornment (veiled/unveiled), body position, chair/throne (with and without footstool), accompanying hand-held attributes (patera, sceptre, ears of grain, etc), and other adjuncts. I will also show how these visual elements transcended multiple media, thereby making the identification of the seated female figure on coins as a representation of Livia a highly plausible one, with no accompanying appellative text required.

The seated figure image type was a popular iconographic motif employed in the representation of both gods and mortals since at least Archaic Greek times. The god Zeus was popularly depicted in coins and sculpture as a seated figure and the pose was at times also adopted for images of Hera, Demeter, Athena and Dionysus to name a few.<sup>109</sup> The seated pose could also be used for the representation of a ruler, hero or the oldest member of a group, and thus implied office, status and seniority.<sup>110</sup> By the sixth century BC the seated type had become thoroughly absorbed into Greek art and could be found in a variety of contexts including votive, funerary, and cultic images.<sup>111</sup> The seated pose also found its way into the art of the Romans, only intermittently during the Hellenistic

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<sup>109</sup> Helen Nagy, "Divinity, Exaltation and Heroization: Thoughts on the Seated Posture in Early Archaic Greek Sculpture," *Stephanos: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, ed. Kim J. Hartswick and Mary C. Sturgeon (Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania for Bryn Mawr College, 1998) 181. See also *LIMC* 4.1 s.v. "Demeter", p. 859-860, nos. 138-155, which include sculptural and terra cotta figurine examples.

<sup>110</sup> Nagy, 183-184.

<sup>111</sup> Nagy, 189.

period, and then increasing in popularity into imperial times. Many Roman examples of the seated pose, particularly in sculpture, were inspired by and copied from Classical and Hellenistic Greek prototypes, including sculptures of gods and philosophers such as the bronze seated Hermes from Herculaneum and the marble statue of the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus.<sup>112</sup>

Women were also depicted in Roman art in the seated pose. The first known example, which no longer survives, is that set up during the Republic (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) in honour of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi. The statue is mentioned by Pliny the Elder and is believed to have depicted the distinguished Roman matron seated.<sup>113</sup> This was followed by a number of statues of Roman women seated with the upper body held in what is often called the *pudicitia* pose, in which the arms are situated across the torso in such a way as to cover the curves of the breasts and waist. Often the left arm is situated across the torso of the body with the right elbow resting on the left hand while the right arm extends up diagonally across the body so that the hand can rest on the left shoulder or just under the chin.<sup>114</sup> The *pudicitia* pose expressed the virtuous modesty of the sitter.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Glenys Davies, "On Being Seated: Gender and Body Language in Hellenistic and Roman Art," *Body Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. Douglas Cairns (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2005) 223-224.

<sup>113</sup> Plin. *HN* 34.31. See also Fantham et al., *Women in the Classical World*, 265.

<sup>114</sup> Thompson, 32.

<sup>115</sup> Davies, "On Being Seated," 230-232; Thompson, 32.

A tradition for the seated figure pose can also be found in coins. Images of Zeus, Demeter, and Athena in seated pose can be found in Greek coins of the Classical and Hellenistic period. The image of Zeus seated on a throne was particularly popular on the coins of Alexander the Great and his successors.<sup>116</sup> Under the Roman Republic, the gods Jupiter, Roma, and Victory can be found seated, as well as one of a Vestal virgin from 41 BC.<sup>117</sup> These coins possibly served as the prototypes for the seated image of Livia on coins to be discussed below.

But before I begin to discuss the individual visual paradigms of this particular image mode, I must address the issue of its rather vaguely executed details. The extremely diminutive details of the seated figure, especially facial features, hairstyle, and head adornment (crowns), can make paradigmatic analyses difficult. The die engravers of these coin images, who were often highly skilled, would have found detailing the face and crown on such a small image quite challenging.

Regardless of the ambiguity in which the paradigmatic details of the seated female figure may have been rendered, the polysemicity of the image, with its juxtaposition of multiple visual elements, would have had the capacity to trigger in the viewer correlations between these visual elements and their presence

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<sup>116</sup> The representations of Zeus and other gods seated with attributes were issued under Alexander the Great, and a number of his successors including Ptolemy I, Seleucus I, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Lysimachus. See Otto Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>117</sup> *RRC*, 268/1b, 343/1a, 494/2a, 512/1-2.

in other visual media. The ancient viewer would have been able to rely on paradigmatic details available in media other than coins in order to draw visual parallels with the seated female figure on coins thereby facilitating a more secure identification of the figure as Livia. Paradigmatic elements, such as facial features and hairstyle, in sculptural and cameo representations of Livia seated, were rendered with enough detail to be recognizable as Livia. As in the case of Livia's portrait mode, the sculptural and cameo representations of Livia seated would have been available to the ancient die engraver, providing enough visual detail upon which to base their coin images of Livia seated.

In order to solidify the case that the seated female figure on coins could readily be identified as representations of Livia seated, I will occasionally consider whether these seated Livia coin types were part of series of coins issued by particular mints. In such coin series, the seated Livia image type was one of a number of coins issued in order to communicate particular ideological messages, often dynastic, concerning the ruling imperial regime. Often such series commemorated key members of the Roman imperial family. A more complete discussion of the meaning behind such coin series will be covered in Chapters 5 and 6.

#### **a) Dress Paradigm**

The nature of Livia's dress in sculpture has already been touched on briefly earlier in this chapter, in which two particular types of dress can be isolated: the traditional Roman consisting of the *tunica* and *palla*; and the Greek

equivalent of *chiton* and *himation*. To be added to Roman female garb is the signature garment of the traditional Roman matron, the *stola*: a long, sleeveless woollen dress with distinctive narrow braided/woven straps.

In the case of the seated representations of Livia on coins, the same dilemma of “what is she wearing?” is found as on the portrait coins. In no instance whatsoever is the presence of the *stola* clearly visible, the result of the generic manner in which the garments are artistically executed from one coin to the next (I.A1.6, I.P1.1, V.N1.21). It is also this generic artistic rendering of the garments that makes a distinction between Roman and Greek attire virtually impossible. In the veiled versions of the seated female figure on coins, it is clear from the mantle that formal matronly dress is implied, yet it is hard to discern whether distinctly Roman or Greek dress is to be denoted by the garments represented.

In order to reconstruct the type of dress that might in fact be represented in coins depicting this seated and veiled female figure, one must turn to Livia’s representation in other media, in particular sculpture and cameos. Livia is depicted in both Roman and Greek dress in sculpture during her lifetime, although after her death she is depicted exclusively in Greek garb.<sup>118</sup> In cameos depicting Livia seated, although these are rare, the Roman *stola* is represented as well as Greek *chiton*.<sup>119</sup> The seated figures present in both sculpture and cameos reveal

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<sup>118</sup> Bartman, 42.

<sup>119</sup> There is one cameo specimen in which Bartman identifies a seated Livia as wearing the *stola*. See Bartman 193, cat. no. 110 (VI.R10).



that Greek inspired dress was more common for this particular image type. The Greek inspired dress, although typical of Roman female fashion of the time, consisted of a tunic resembling the Greek *chiton* and the *himation* (mantle). One particularly famous sculptural example of Livia dressed in *chiton*-style tunic and mantle is the seated statue of Livia from Paestum (IV.A2.4, V.A2.4) which dates from the reign of Tiberius. The very substantial and detailed Grand Camée de France (III.R5) also shows Livia wearing *chiton* and *himation* although this time her head is unveiled.

A comparison between these sculptural and cameo examples and the coins of the seated female figure (I.A1.6, I.P1.1, V.N1.21) makes a strong case for the Greek *chiton* and *himation* as the garments Livia wears while in the seated pose, particularly the ones where she is also wearing the veil. It is clear on the coins that the longer elbow-length sleeve typical of the *chiton* is present and the manner in which the drapery of the garments is depicted is similar to that seen in the Paestum statue of Livia.

While the *chiton* and *himation* form of dress is the most common one used in representations of Livia in sculpture, cameos, and coins, the Greek peplos, a garment of divine significance, is also present in sculpture, although none of the surviving seated statues markedly depict this garment.<sup>120</sup> No coins provide convincing evidence that the peplos is being depicted.

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<sup>120</sup> A statue of Livia seated from Rusellae depicts a garment that Bartman (p. 159) simply refers to as a chiton with a large pin at the shoulder that gives it the status of "Greek costume." However, given the large shoulder, I would argue that there is an effort being made here to

As for the appearance of the seated figure on coins with head veiled, it appears far more often than instances where the figure appears unveiled. The significance of the head veiled has already been addressed earlier in this chapter and will not be repeated here. In contrast, the presence of the head unveiled, when considered in combination with the particular pose of the body and the hand-held attributes (both to be discussed below), is a potential signifier for particular deities and personifications. This particular variation of the image of Livia seated is most likely based on the aurei and denarii with seated female figure issued at Lugdunum under Augustus in AD 13-14 (I.O1.1-2) and then also under Tiberius c. AD 14-37 (I.O1.3-4), which has been variously interpreted as *Pax* or Livia.<sup>121</sup>

### *Summary*

While scholars have recognized the presence of both Greek and Roman dress in Livia's full length sculptural portraits and the exclusive use of Greek dress in posthumous representations, the dress depicted on coins is rendered in such a way as to mimic either Roman or Greek style. Whether intended by the image designer(s) or not, the ambiguity of the dress makes possible multiple visual perceptions and thus multiple interpretations on the part of the viewer as to

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mimic the peplos where such pins were used to gather the sleeves of the garment at the shoulder.

<sup>121</sup> Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius*, 80 and Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, 134 implies an interpretation of the figure as *Pax* or even a fusion of *Pax* and *Iustitia*. He also argues that Roman citizens would have easily interpreted this figure as Livia, because of the presence of the type on coins of other provincial mints accompanied by the legend IVLIA AVGVSTA. See also Sutherland, *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 87 who notes as well the varied interpretations of this figure.

who is being depicted and what their status and role in society might be. Each type of garb possibly perceived by the viewer, whether Roman *stola*, Greek *chiton* or *peplos*, triggered connotations of matronly purity and virtue. At the same time, each had distinct connotations, such as the divine significance of the *peplos*, and the “wife of a Roman citizen” status signified by the *stola*. Livia, having been depicted in both Greek and Roman dress, embodied all these qualities. The ambiguity of the dress of the seated female figure on coins of the Roman Empire thus gave these images a unique advantage over their associate visual counterparts in sculpture and cameos where there is often no question of the type of dress being represented. Thus ambiguity of dress as depicted on these coins gave them a fluidity of interpretation no matter where in the empire they circulated.

#### **b) Body Position Paradigm**

The significance of body position in Hellenistic Greek and Roman full-length portrait statues has been the focus of considerable discussion in recent scholarship.<sup>122</sup> The body types for portrait statues of Roman women find their origins in Classical and even more so in Hellenistic Greek art.<sup>123</sup> The complexity and variety of messages communicated through full-length portrait sculpture is not only contained in the facial features, but also in the body position and drapery of the clothing that surrounds and, in essence, frames the body.<sup>124</sup> This powerful

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<sup>122</sup> M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 195 as cited in Davies, “Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society,” 211, n. 24. Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 68-99.

<sup>123</sup> Davies, “Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society,” 211.

<sup>124</sup> Thompson, 32.

combination of paradigms, body pose and dress, exuded the identity, status and social roles of the subject depicted.

Scholars have been able to isolate the body poses employed in portrait statues of Livia standing, which were largely adaptations of earlier popular female poses such as the *pudicitia* type.<sup>125</sup> However, very little has been said about the variety and nature of the seated Livia statue types. Bartman has touched on this briefly noting the relaxed seated pose in which Livia sits on the Grand Camée, as well as the Jupiter-like pose of the seated Livia statue from Lepcis Magna.<sup>126</sup> The lack of attention paid to the seated Livia statue type and its possible varieties may be due in part to the limited number of these statues that survive: approximately 5 in total.<sup>127</sup> However, as will be seen, an examination of the coins is able to give some insight into the possible variants of the seated figure type, particularly if we assume that these images, like Livia's coin portraits, were based on models in the sculptural medium.

In my examination of the coins that may be interpreted as images of Livia as seated female figure I have noted two main body position variants: figure seated right with torso turned in profile away from the viewer; and figure seated right (or left) with torso turned towards the viewer. Interestingly, there were combinations of attributes peculiar to each pose, which I will discuss below.

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<sup>125</sup> Bartman, 47; Wood, 115.

<sup>126</sup> Bartman, 47-48, and 129, fig. 102.

<sup>127</sup> This number was obtained through an examination of Bartman's comprehensive catalogue of Livia's portrait sculptures.

The first body pose variant shows the figure seated facing right, holding a sceptre (or more rarely a torch) in the left hand which grasps the upper part of the staff, while the right hand holds a patera (libation bowl) that rests on the lap or just above it as though slightly extended. The body is fully facing the right and the head is looking straight ahead. In most cases the feet are positioned with the right foot extended slightly forward and the left drawn in towards the chair. In some cases the feet appear to be simply situated side by side. The pose of the body is quite rigid in nature and strongly resembles the seated statue of Livia from Paestum (IV.A2.4, V.A2.5). In addition, the majority of the coin images of this type also show the image with head veiled which implies that a statue of Livia similar to the one from Paestum likely served as model for the images rendered on these coins. The type is the most common of all the seated images and is found throughout the Roman empire with examples hailing from Spain (I.P1.1), North Africa (I. N1.1-4, II.N1.5-6, III.N1.9, III.N1.11, IV.N1.13-16, V.N1.19-21), Achaea (I.F1.2), Cyprus (I.G1.1-2), Crete (I.H1.1), Syria (I.D1.1), Macedonia (I.I1.3), Bithynia-Pontus (I.J1.1), Sicily (I.B1.3), and Rome and Italy proper (I.A1.6-7, II.A1.8).

The second variant of the seated Livia coin image type shows the seated figure once again seated and facing right, but in this instance the sceptre is in the right hand rather than the left, while the left hand holds some other attribute, usually ears of grain and/or flowers or a branch. The overall position of the body seems to be more relaxed than the first, although more dominant and goddess-like with its upper torso turned slightly to the right and towards the front. The position

of the feet is similar to the seated variant discussed immediately above. Also, the head never appears veiled in this variant. This variant does not appear to have any immediate parallels in other media, but it first appeared on aurei and denarii issued in Lugdunum late in the reign of Augustus and again in the reign of Tiberius (I.O1.1-4). It also appears on coins of cities in Asia (V.C1.21, VI.C1.28, VII.C1.33, VIII.C1.35-36) and Achaea (II.F1.8). Interestingly, the variant did not make an appearance on the coins of Rome, because, if it is in fact a representation of Livia, the divine overtones implied by the body position (and other iconographic elements with divine connotations) might have been frowned upon by those in more conservative circles in Rome. Occasionally, the pose is rendered in a left facing profile rather than right, with the upper body again turned slightly towards the front. The sceptre is held in the left hand and other attribute in the right. In only one instance is the head veiled. The coins examples originate from Spain (II.P1.8), Macedonia (II.I1.11) and Achaea (I.F1.3).

### *Summary*

The presence of the image of Livia seated rendered in diverse media is indicative of the importance of this type to the visual program that was developed for Livia. The significance of the seated pose can be gleaned from its repeated use in the depiction of gods, goddesses, and individuals holding power, influence and status. Of the two body poses detailed here, the first was incorporated into Livia's visual repertoire upon the succession of Tiberius and therefore likely alludes to Livia's role as priestess of the deified Augustus. The second variant is more indicative of a "divine" Livia and thus was most often seen in the coins

issued at eastern Greek mints or in posthumous images of Livia, particularly in the case of sculptural examples.

### c) Chair/Throne and Stool Paradigm

The chair(s) upon which Livia is seated, as pictured on coins, is often described as a “throne” in most coin catalogues. However, the term “throne” is somewhat generic and inaccurate. A throne, or *solium* in Latin, is an object with connotations of monarchy and divinity for many Romans and inhabitants of the Roman empire. The majority of chairs or “thrones” upon which Livia is seated are of two types with varied styles: chair with no back and chair with low back. The decorative style of the legs of these chairs can be either ornate or plain, with the majority of them rendered in the former style. It is important to note that none of the statues of Livia seated survive in enough detail to articulate the decoration of the chairs upon which she sits making a comparative analysis in this regard between sculpture and coins impossible. However, here is an opportunity where coins may perhaps be used to fill in the gaps as to what types of seats may have been used in these sculptural representations of Livia.

The most common type of chair, which has ornately decorated legs and no back, is present in the majority of examples and seems to be associated in particular with the seated figure of Livia with head veiled. The decorations of the legs are somewhat varied but most frequently features a set of two vertically opposing bell-shaped ornaments (I.A1.6-7, I.F1.2, I.G1.1, I.N1.1, II.N1.5, IV.N1.14). Other decorative elements appear, such as flat discoid and round

nodule shapes running the length of the legs, sometimes in addition to the bell-shaped decoration. The decoration of the legs on these chairs qualifies them as a type of backless throne.<sup>128</sup> Such leg decoration is also present on the chairs with a low back, of which there are only a few examples and which depict Livia with head unveiled and with the more frontal body pose discussed above (I.O1.4, V.C1.21, VII.C1.33). The chairs with plain legs are the least common and were perhaps just simplified versions of the former ornate examples (II.I1.11, III.P1.9).

One exceptional coin – a bronze dupondius issued at the Roman colony and *municipium* of Italica in Spain (II.P1.8) – depicts Livia seated on an especially exquisite “throne” with ornately decorated legs, seat and back. No comparative examples of this particular type of chair can be traced in the visual record, but it undoubtedly was a mark of high status and perhaps even divinity.

A number of representations of female figures seated on such ornate chairs can be found in a variety of media. These include the depiction of the initiate (or bride) from the frescoes in Room 5 of the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii, as well as several other examples from Herculaneum.<sup>129</sup> In many of these examples either deities (male and female), mythological women such as Dido and Phaedra, or women of wealth and status are represented.<sup>130</sup> There is evidence that such styles may have originated in Hellenistic Greece and Etruscan

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<sup>128</sup> G.M.A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans* (London: Phaidon Press, 1966) 102.

<sup>129</sup> Richter, 98-103, figs. 476-481, 515-518.

<sup>130</sup> A.T. Croom, *Roman Furniture* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007) 116-117.



Italy and were indicative of luxury furniture that may have been imported to Rome.<sup>131</sup>

In many of the seated and veiled examples, Livia's feet are depicted resting on either a stool or cushion. One intriguing example from the Spanish mint at Caesaraugusta (I.P1.1) seems to increase the status of the subject (Livia) depicted by providing a stool for each foot. There appears to be no real rhyme or reason to the inclusion of this furnishing which is depicted in both veiled and unveiled versions of the seated Livia figure (I.A1.6, II.N1.6, I.P1.5), but when combined with the chair, especially the ornate version, particular wealth and status is implied.<sup>132</sup>

### *Summary*

The types of chair that are employed for the seated Livia image type appear to be based on luxury style chairs executed in a Hellenistic style. As to whether these chairs symbolize a specific religious position or magisterial office, as in the case of the *sella curulis* (curule chair), is difficult to establish. However, if one examines the Republican denarius of the moneyer C. Clodius Vestalis,<sup>133</sup> which depicts on its reverse a Vestal virgin seated on an ornate chair with no back, the similarity between this figure and the one of Livia seated and veiled is noteworthy and perhaps indicative of Livia's priestly office as priestess of the cult

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<sup>131</sup> Dimitra Andrianou, "Chairs, Beds, and Tables: Evidence for Furnished Interiors in Hellenistic Greece," *Hesperia* 75.2 (2006): 225, 231, 236-237; Richter, 85-89.

<sup>132</sup> Croom, 109.

<sup>133</sup> *RRC*, 512/2.

of the deified Augustus. While a throne, with its high back and ornate accoutrements, was considered a mark of royalty as well as divinity, particularly in Hellenistic Greek art,<sup>134</sup> the chairs employed were more so luxury seats that symbolized Livia's higher status and the socio-political role she held as priestess of an important imperial cult and as mother of the emperor Tiberius. The addition of a foot stool/cushion contributed to the concept of high status associated with the individual portrayed.<sup>135</sup>

#### **d) Attributes Accompanying the Seated Livia Figure**

As with the head adornment attribute that was a particular feature of Livia's portrait mode as discussed earlier in this chapter, there were a series of attributes associated with Livia's seated figure image mode. The attributes to be discussed here are those held by the seated Livia in her hands or in her arms. The attributes to be discussed below include: sceptre/staff, *patera* (libation/sacrificial offering bowl), and ears of grain and/or flowers which are the more common. The branch (olive or laurel) and the lighted torch are much less frequent, but will be considered here as well.

These attributes appear with the seated figure in a variety of combinations, such as left hand holding sceptre with right hand holding *patera*, right hand sceptre with left hand branch, or left hand torch with right hand *patera* to name a few. Some particular combinations of attributes are more common with

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<sup>134</sup> Croom, 116.

<sup>135</sup> Croom, 108-109.

specific versions of the seated figure. For example, the seated figure of Livia with head veiled is most frequently depicted with the left hand holding the sceptre while the right hand holds the *patera*. As will be seen, various attributes contribute to the patterns of representation that can be traced for the seated Livia figure. Such attributes allow the viewer to further isolate meanings peculiar to Livia's role and significance as a symbolic figure. But first, a discussion of the individual attributes.

### i) *Sceptre/Staff*

The sceptre is a symbol that was well known to Greeks and Romans since very early history as marking the divinity and authority of the gods. On the other hand a visually similar object, the staff, was used as a symbol of kingly, magisterial, and priestly authority. It is referred to in Homer's *Iliad* as a device marking the legal authority of kings such as Agamemnon, but at the same time was recognized as a sacred object of the gods.<sup>136</sup> On Roman coins of the mid to late Republic, the sceptre was employed as an attribute of gods such as Jupiter, Juno, and Roma (to name only a few).<sup>137</sup> The presence of the sceptre/staff in the iconographic repertoire of the Roman gods was surely an extension of Greek

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<sup>136</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.46. See also Andrew Alföldi, "Hasta-Summa Imperii: The Spear as Embodiment of Sovereignty in Rome," *AJA* 63.1 (1959): 15.

<sup>137</sup> *RRC*, 28/3, 223/1, 449/4. Sculptural examples of the goddesses holding sceptre include *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. "Demeter", p. 852, no.56; *LIMC* 5.1, s.v. "Vesta", p. 415, no. 30; *LIMC* 5.1, s.v. "Iuno", p. 840, nos. 192-195.

traditions. The staff was also recognized by the Romans as a symbol of authority whether monarchical or magisterial.<sup>138</sup>

The sceptre eventually entered imperial iconography through associations of imperial family members with the gods,<sup>139</sup> as well as a mark of their imperial authority much in the tradition of Hellenistic monarchs. While Augustus was not depicted on coins bearing the sceptre during his lifetime, he does hold one in his left hand on the Gemma Augustea cameo (c. AD 9-12).<sup>140</sup> In the same cameo Tiberius too, while disembarking from his chariot on the left of the upper scene of the cameo, holds a sceptre. Therefore, given the divine affiliation of Augustus in the Gemma Augustea with gods such as Jupiter, it is no surprise that, on coins issued after his death and deification, he is depicted seated on a chair with the sceptre attribute.<sup>141</sup> Interestingly, sestertii issued contemporaneously with those of Augustus depict Tiberius in the same seated pose holding a sceptre, the first time an emperor bears this attribute in a coin image.<sup>142</sup> The fact that Tiberius holds the sceptre just as Augustus not only denotes his authority as emperor, but also legitimizes his right to rule as the first successor to the imperial regime founded by Augustus.

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<sup>138</sup> Alföldi, 15.

<sup>139</sup> Diliiana Angelova, "The Ivories of Ariadne and Ideas about Female Imperial Authority in Rome and Early Byzantium," *Gesta* 43.1 (2004) 4.

<sup>140</sup> Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 231, fig. 182.

<sup>141</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 49. Sestertius of Tiberius, AD 22-23.

<sup>142</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 48.

An examination of the coins depicting the seated Livia figure shows that the sceptre is the most common attribute associated with this particular image mode and that it can be found on coins issued in all parts of the empire (I.A1.6-7, II.A1.8, V.C1.21, VI.C1.28, VII.C1.33, VIII.C1.35-36, I.F1.2-3, II.F1.8, I.G1.1-2, I.H1.1, I.J1.1, I.I1.3, I.I1.11, I.N1.1-4, II.N1.5-6, III.N1.11, IV.N1.12-16, V.N1.19-21, I.O1.1-4, I.P1.1, II.P1.8). The sceptre is held variably in either the right or the left hand, although the latter is more common and is typically part of the variant showing Livia seated with head veiled. Livia does not hold a sceptre in her cameo and intaglio images, nor even on the Grand Cameé where one might expect it. However, it is assumed to be a part of the many sculptural examples of Livia seated, including the one from Paestum (IV.A2.4). In this example, the remnants of the arms are in positions similar to the veiled figure on the coins, which readily suggests the holding of the sceptre.

If we assume that the seated female figures depicted on coins issued during the reign of Tiberius both in Rome and in the provinces are representations of Livia, how likely is it that she would have been depicted bearing such a high powered authority symbol as the sceptre? The fact that Livia was appointed priestess of the deified Augustus meant that she occupied a very important priestly office comparable to that of *pontifex maximus* (high priest of Rome), an office held by both Augustus and Tiberius. Thus, her assumption of a high priestly office gives her an authority and status above most others, thereby making visual representations of her holding a sceptre very plausible. Also, Livia was the highest ranking female member of the imperial family and the sharing of the

sceptre with both the deified Augustus and her son the emperor Tiberius makes her relationship with them unmistakable. It also makes her position and authority as priestess of the deified Augustus unquestionable.

## ii) *Patera*

In addition to the sceptre, the *patera* was an attribute frequently held by the seated Livia figure. The *patera* was a flat, round dish with a small central bulge rising from the interior base. It lacks any sort of handle which designates it as a sacrificial bowl.<sup>143</sup> The bowl was used during religious sacrifice to pour the *libatio*, or drink offering, which was also sprinkled upon the head of the sacrificial animal before it was offered up. The blood of the sacrificial victim was also collected in it.<sup>144</sup>

As a symbol of religious devotion, the *patera* was also an attribute of numerous gods, including the Greek Zeus, Demeter and Hera, as well as the Roman Jupiter, Cybele, and Victory, as evident on Roman Republican coins.<sup>145</sup> Sculptural representations of Vesta, Juno and Demeter/Ceres also depict the *patera* as hand-held attribute.<sup>146</sup> The object was also held by the divine personification *Pietas* (dutifulness to the gods, the state, and family) as seen on a

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<sup>143</sup> *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. "Patera, Patella," Brill Online, UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, 30 March 2010, [http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp\\_e909660](http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e909660).

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *RRC*, 343/1a, 385/4, 449/1a, 460/4.

<sup>146</sup> *LIMC* 5.1, s.v. "Vesta", p. 415, nos. 25 and 28; *LIMC* 5.1, s.v. "Iuno", p. 840, nos.193-194; *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. "Demeter/Ceres" p. 852, nos. 55-56.

sestertius of Caligula issued in AD 37/38 on the occasion of the dedication of the Temple of the Deified Augustus.<sup>147</sup> Therefore, the patera was also used as a symbol of priestly offices,<sup>148</sup> more specifically the performing of ritualistic duties associated with them, which is why Augustus, Tiberius and Livia were depicted with this object held in hand in both sculpture and coins as symbol of their sacred offices.<sup>149</sup>

The presence of the patera as part of the visual repertoire for the seated image of Livia is especially evident in coins. As in the case of the sceptre, the *patera* iconography on seated Livia coins was also widespread throughout the empire (I.A1.6-7, II.A1.8, I.G1.1-2, I.H1.1, I.J1.1, I.I1.3, I.I1.11, I.N1.1-4, II.N1.5-6, III.N1.11, IV.N1.12-16, V.N1.19-21, I.P1.1). It can also be safely assumed that the patera was the object once held in the empress's right hand in the Paestum statue already mentioned. It is most commonly featured in the seated figure variant with head veiled, which calls to the mind of the viewer several divine associations, in particular Vesta and Ceres. In addition, it was a mark of Livia's religious office as priestess of the deified Augustus. Both the divine and

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<sup>147</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 36.

<sup>148</sup> The patera, for example, was used as the emblem of the priestly college *septemviri epulonum*, which was devoted to the Capitoline Triad. See *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. "septemviri epulonum," as well as *BMCRE I*, p. 20, no.98, a coin that depicts the patera as symbol of that office.

<sup>149</sup> The statue of Augustus as pontifex maximus in the National Museum of Rome at Palazzo Massimo alle Terme (inv. no. 56230), although the lower parts of the arms are missing, most likely carried a patera in one hand. This can be deduced by comparing this statue with one of Augustus's grandson Gaius (Rose, 97, cat. 25, pl. 90) from a statue group found at Oriculum which shows the young Gaius as pontifex and in nearly the exact configuration as the statue of Augustus as pontifex maximus. For Tiberius holding patera, see Roman sestertius from AD 21-22, *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> no. 48.

priestly associations are reinforced by the presence of the sceptre in many of the examples.

### iii) *Ears of Grain and/or Flowers*

The symbol of ears of grain and/or flowers is most commonly associated with the goddess Ceres/Demeter and helped to visually define the goddess's role as embodiment of female fertility and the earthly abundance that stems from it, in particular the growing of grain. In artistic representations including coins, Ceres is most often depicted wearing either the *corona spicea* (crown of grain, sometimes with flowers),<sup>150</sup> and/or holding ears of grain (sometimes interwoven with flowers).<sup>151</sup> While the grain undoubtedly alludes to Ceres' agrarian role, the flowers/poppies with their abundance of seeds can also refer to this, but may also refer to Ceres' devotion to motherhood. According to myth, Ceres desperately searched for her daughter Proserpina who had been abducted by Pluto/Hades, god of the underworld, as she was picking various flowers.<sup>152</sup>

The ears of grain/flowers attribute was also adopted for representations of Livia in a variety of media. Several sculptures were produced from the time of

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<sup>150</sup> *RRC*, 351/1, 509/5.

<sup>151</sup> Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, fig. 7-8. The images here are terra cotta relief. See also *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. "Demeter/Ceres", p. 896, no. 48 and p. 899, no. 85.

<sup>152</sup> Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, 128-129. Here Spaeth cites several literary sources referring to Proserpina and the flower including *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 5-18, *Ovid's Fasti* 4.437-442 and *Metamorphoses* 5.391-395.



Tiberius onward showing Livia crowned in the *corona spicea*,<sup>153</sup> while several statues of her holding ears of grain in her hand are only modern restorations.<sup>154</sup> However, cameos such as the Grand Cameé du France (III.R5) and the sardonix from Vienna (VI.R10), depict Livia with grain in hand. The coins that depict Livia with ears of grain all date to the reign of Tiberius and most originate from eastern Greek mints including Corinth (I.F1.3), Sardis (VIII.C1.36), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (V.C1.21) and Tarsus (I.D1.1). One coin from Thapsus in Africa (III.N1.9) takes the Ceres' iconography one step further by showing Livia seated and holding ears of grain over a modius, an adjunct which will be discussed below.

The symbols of Ceres do not appear on coins of Rome that refer to Livia issued under Tiberius. Thus, there is a possibility that those producing Livia's coins at Rome were taking a more conservative approach towards the use of such goddess-like attributes during Livia's lifetime. But the coins of Livia with ears of grain from the provinces, especially the ones from Corinth dated to AD 21-22, indicates that such Ceres iconography was already being incorporated into Livia's visual program during her lifetime. The sculptures and cameos already mentioned which date to the reign of Tiberius further indicate this. The Ceres' ears of grain iconography does eventually appear on a dupondius of Rome issued under the

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<sup>153</sup> Examples from Rome and Italy: Bartman, 147, no. 4; 148, no. 5; 161, no. 36. Unknown provenance: Bartman, 180, no.76.

<sup>154</sup> There are statues of Livia with modern restorations that show Livia holding ears of grain/flowers. These statues include a statue of Livia as Ceres from Rome (Bartman, p. 146, cat. no. 3) and one from Velletri (Bartman, p. 152, cat. no. 15).

emperor Claudius in AD 41-42 (II.A1.9), which commemorates the recently deified Livia and depicts her holding ears of grain in her right hand.

#### iv) *Ceres' Torch*

The torch is another attribute of Ceres that was incorporated into representations of Livia seated. This attribute can be seen in depictions of Ceres from a variety of media including coins, wall paintings and sculptural reliefs.<sup>155</sup> The torch can be distinguished from the sceptre by the fact that its shape flares outward at the top and/or has flames emanating from it. Torches were used in nocturnal ceremonies devoted to the goddess, but they bore additional mythological significance recalling Ceres' desperate search for her daughter in which she used torches lit from Mount Etna to light her way.<sup>156</sup> The torch may have also come to symbolize the priestly office dedicated to the cult of the deified Augustus for which Livia was the first priestess. Certain Claudian precious metal coins issued c. AD 41<sup>157</sup> depict on their obverse a portrait of Claudius's mother, Antonia Minor, who was Livia's successor as priestess.<sup>158</sup> The reverse image of the coin shows two lit vertical torches standing side by side and bound together by ribbons, all encircled by the text SACERDOS DIVI AVGVSTI, "priestess of the

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<sup>155</sup> Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, fig. 8 and 13; *RRC*, 449/2.

<sup>156</sup> Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, 61; *Ov. Fast.*, 4.490-494 and *Ov. Met.*, 5.441-443.

<sup>157</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 67.

<sup>158</sup> The office of *sacerdos divi Augusti* was given to the mother of the emperor upon her son's succession. Since Caligula's mother Agrippina Maior had passed away in AD 33, the honour thus fell to the only person who could be considered his mother, his grandmother Antonia Minor. See Marleen B. Flory, "The Meaning of *Augusta* in the Julio-Claudian Period," *AJAH* 132 (1988): 122.

deified Augustus”. Thus the torch bore a dual significance in relation to Livia: an affiliation with the goddess Ceres and a symbol of her priestly office.

A possible case for the numismatic depiction of Livia seated and holding a torch can be made from three examples issued under the reign of Tiberius. Each of the coins, one from Paestum in Italy (II.A1.8), one from Emerita, Spain (I.P1.5) and the other from Cnossus, Crete (I.H1.1), shows the reverse seated figure holding what appears to be a torch in the left hand given that the staff flairs out at the top perhaps to give the appearance of flames. Occasionally, sceptres are depicted capped with a decorative ornament, but this is usually a round, bauble-like shape. The most convincing coin specimen for the depiction of Livia bearing the torch is the dupondius of Claudius already mentioned above (II.A1.9). In this example, there is no denying that the torch is being held in the left hand and can be identified through the slight outward flare at the top from which a flame emits.<sup>159</sup>

As for Livia’s appearance in sculpture with the torch, whether she is in the seated or standing pose, there are no surviving examples. Unfortunately, the arms are missing in all the extant seated Livia statues. However, this does not mean that evidence for such statues does not exist. The image of the deified Livia that appears on the Claudian dupondius very likely refers to a cult statue of the deified Livia that was placed next to one of her husband in the temple of Divus

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<sup>159</sup> The torch iconography of this image of Livia can be compared with that of another dupondius of Claudius that was issued c. AD 41 or later and depicts on its reverse Ceres seated cradling a torch in her left arm that is slightly larger at the top than at the bottom. The flames of the torch are clearly detailed. *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 110.

Augustus in Rome.<sup>160</sup> Therefore, it is plausible that statues of Livia were made with this attribute. No cameos survive of Livia with the torch.

v) *Branch (Olive or Laurel?)*

There are several coin images of the Livia seated figure, which may be holding a branch. The identification of the branch is difficult to confirm in part due to the ambiguity in which many of the branch images have been rendered and due to the worn conditions of many of the coins. Despite some poorly preserved examples, there are some coin specimens that are clear enough to make the case that the laurel branch is intended.

The coins which may depict Livia with a branch include aureii and denarii from the Roman imperial mint at Lugdunum, one of three mints under the direct control of the emperor (the other two are Alexandria, Egypt and, of course, Rome). These coins were first issued by Augustus (I.O1.1-2) very late in his reign and then continued under Tiberius (I.O1.3-4). The reverse images of these coins likely served as the prototypes for a very similar image that was produced at various provincial mints including Pergamum (VII.C1.33) and Poemanenum (VIII.C1.35) in Asia. An examination of the coins from Lugdunum makes it difficult to distinguish laurel from olive branch. A laurel's leaves are long and oval in shape, while the olive's leaves are much more slender and pointed. If we go by this description – based on my own visual examination of actual olive and

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<sup>160</sup> Rose, 40. See also Barrett, 185, n. 42.

laurel leaves – it is more likely that laurel is being depicted given the oval shape of the leaves of the branches depicted on the Lugdunum coins. The coin from Poemanenum certainly seems to strengthen the case for the laurel given that the branch here exhibits very prominent oval-shaped leaves.

The presence of the laurel makes much stronger the case for the identification of this figure as Livia, whether she is named or not. Earlier in this chapter I noted the presence of the laurel crown in several of Livia's coin portraits. In addition, Livia's image on the Ara Pacis wears the laurel crown, while several other imperial family members also wear laurel crowns while holding the laurel branch in their hand. Thus, the laurel attribute was key in identifying imperial family members and was a symbol of the power and authority of the emperor and his family.<sup>161</sup>

### *Summary*

The series of iconographic attributes detailed here shed light on the complex composition of the seated Livia figure and the potential meanings exuded by this figure. Attributes incorporated into the seated Livia image refer to Livia's socio-political and religious status and roles by inciting in the viewer the qualities of specific goddesses perceived to be akin to Livia's persona. While the attributes on their own possess particular meanings, when combined with other attributes, the overall image becomes capable of conveying a number of potential new meanings. Take, for example, the most frequent combination of attributes to

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<sup>161</sup> Flory, "The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia," 43.

appear with the seated Livia figure: the sceptre and patera. The sceptre on its own is a mark of high status, whether royal, magisterial or divine, while the patera is a symbol of religious ritual. But when multiple attributes are combined, a flurry of new connotations emerge which refer to the high status of the individual portrayed, particularly in relation to their pious and religious duties given the patera. This combination most plausibly alludes to Livia's role as priestess and mother of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

The patera and sceptre combination of attributes was also shared by particular divinities, such as Vesta, who is depicted on an early *as* of Caligula (AD 37-38) holding these very attributes.<sup>162</sup> This coin shows a striking similarity to the seated Livia coin images that were issued both in Rome and various provinces during Tiberius's rule. Therefore, the visual similarity between these divine figures and Livia was intentional on the part of the image designer who would have been familiar with the catalogue of attributes available. The same sort of divine affiliation can be seen in the ears of grain/poppies and the torch attribute which makes a clear correlation between Ceres and Livia. The importance of these divine associations and what they tell us about Livia's gender and socio-political roles will be discussed in Chapter 6.

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<sup>162</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 47.

## e) Adjuncts Accompanying the Seated Livia Figure

### i) *Modius*

There is only one example of an adjunct accompanying the seated Livia figure. A sestertius from Thapsus in Africa dating to AD 16-21 (III.N1.9) shows a *modius*, a Roman grain measure, in the right field of the coin. It is set before the Livia seated figure, who holds ears of grain over it. The *modius* was an attribute of Ceres, as well as of the personifications Annona (yearly crop and public grain dole) and Africa.<sup>163</sup> Here, the *modius* refers to the distribution of grain to the people made possible through the emperor. This image of Livia in the guise of Ceres seated beside the *modius* symbolized the emperor's control over the distribution of the public grain supply.

## f) Patterns of Representation: Formulaic Image Composition

Over the course of this section, I have detailed the individual image paradigms that were used in the composition of the seated Livia image. But, here I would like to note further some specific patterns of representation that I have been able to trace concerning the overall composition of the seated Livia figure. In essence, I have noticed that the designers of the seated Livia images took particular care to combine only certain paradigmatic elements together to form a particular seated image type. For example, in the instances where Livia is depicted holding the sceptre and patera, she is almost always depicted with her

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<sup>163</sup> Brill's New Pauly, s.v. "Modius," Brill Online, UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, 03 April 2010, [http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp\\_e808000](http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e808000).

head veiled. There are only two exceptions to this rule, a bronze coin from Thessalonica (II.I1.11) dated to c. AD 22-23 or later, as well as a much later sestertius issued in Rome under Galba in AD 68 (II.A1.10). Furthermore, the fact that the veiled seated figure with patera and sceptre was produced with greater frequency than the others and at mints all across the empire indicates that this may have been a type that was first issued at the imperial mint of Rome and then copied by the other mints. Whether this imitative act was by order of the central authority in Rome or done independently out of a sense of loyalty to the state is difficult to determine. However, I think the latter scenario may have been the case given the liberty that many of the provincial mints took to name the seated figure as Livia on the coins.

In the instances where Livia is holding some other attribute with the sceptre besides the patera, namely the ears of grain/flowers or the laurel branch, Livia is depicted with either head veiled or unveiled. In the two instances where she is depicted with head unveiled (V.C1.21, VIII.C1.36), it is possible that these types were meant to follow the Augustan and Tiberian prototypes for this particular variant of the seated figure type, but that a different type of attribute was simply substituted.

Other patterns of note involve the less frequent variants of the seated Livia figure where she is holding either the laurel branch or the torch. When Livia is depicted holding the branch, she is always depicted in the more open body pose with her head unveiled. When holding the torch and patera, Livia's head is always veiled, except for the one instance from Emerita (I.P1.5) where she



is clearly unveiled. Yet it is hard to tell whether she holds a patera due to the wear of the coin. In the case of the Claudian Diva Augusta dupondius, Livia is seated holding the torch and ears of grain, while her head is unveiled. It appears that special religious significance was attributed to the patera in which case its presence warranted the covering of the head as a symbol of one's piety while performing their religious duty, which the patera represents.

### **g) Conclusion**

The main visual paradigms outlined here for the seated Livia image mode indicate that nearly all paradigmatic elements employed in this mode can be found in representations of Livia in other media, which makes certain the identification of the seated female figure as Livia. All the visual paradigms discussed in this section indicate that the overall image was designed to convey a message of status and authority. The figure's dress and body pose, as well as the ornate chair on which she often sits all indicate the high position that this subject holds in Roman society, which makes sense given Livia's role as priestess of the deified Augustus and mother of the emperor Tiberius. The hand-held attributes, including the sceptre, patera, and ears of grain, are all considered attributes of particular deities, but they were not intended to assimilate Livia to the gods, but rather affiliate her with them. Her social roles are also implied by these visual attributes, a matter which will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

#### ***4.4 Livia as Standing Female Figure Mode***

In this section, I will discuss coins that potentially depict Livia standing as opposed to seated on a throne. As is the case with the numismatic representations of Livia seated, these images of a standing female figure are difficult to positively identify as Livia based on their visual elements alone. Nonetheless, the coin legends accompanying these standing figures always refer to Livia either by name or title. Therefore, no matter who is being depicted on these coins, the textual references would have prompted the literate viewer to make an association between the figure being depicted and Livia herself. As will be shown, the visual elements that can be gleaned from these standing female figures referred to various goddesses including Demeter and Aphrodite.

Only a very small number of coins associating Livia with a standing female figure were issued under Augustus and Tiberius and all were from mints in the provinces of the Greek east (IX.C1.39, IX.C1.41, II.I1.8). The obverses of these coins were dedicated to the commemoration of key male members of the Roman imperial family. Their reverses depicted a standing female figure, which either represents Livia and/or a goddess associated with Livia, which corresponds with the growing practice of linking female members of the imperial family to goddesses associated with motherhood, abundance and fertility for the purpose of linking these women with the continued existence of the imperial dynasty. This standing representation of Livia did not appear on coins again until the reign of

Galba (June AD 68 – January AD 69) when his Spanish mint<sup>164</sup> and the mint of Rome (II.A1.11) issued aureii and denarii that bore the portrait of Galba on the obverses and a depiction of Livia standing as the goddess DIVA AVGVSTA on the reverses. Through these coins, along with an extensive restoration issue of coin types originally issued under Augustus, Galba sought to link himself to the first *princeps* and thereby legitimize his right to rule. Galba even claimed to be related to Livia through his stepmother Livia Ocellina.<sup>165</sup> The fall of Nero marked the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Thus an air of uncertainty loomed at Rome, which Galba and those who supported him likely desired to assuage through this connection to the Julio-Claudians.

Although only a few of these coin types were issued, the visual elements that made up these images can be found in other visual media, once again solidifying the theory reiterated throughout this thesis that the images of coins were part of concerted visual program designed for promoting Livia and key ideological messages pertaining to her.

#### **a) Dress Paradigm**

A lengthy discussion of the types of dress in which Livia may have been depicted on coins has already been discussed in Sections 4.2 and 4.3 above. The nature of Livia's dress can be narrowed down to being either Greek or Roman in any given example, which each bring specific connotations to any given coin

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<sup>164</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 13-14.

<sup>165</sup> Suet. *Galb.* 4.1 states that Galba was related to Livia through his stepmother Livia Ocellina, who claimed a relationship to the empress Livia.

image as a whole. In each of the standing Livia figures represented on coins, the probability that the type of dress employed is most likely Greek is indicated by the fact that in each of these cases the “Livia” figure is either being assimilated to the divine or is being represented as the deified Livia herself, as in the case of the Galba coins.

In each of the surviving examples of the standing Livia figure, the images survive in such small detail that once again we are faced with the dilemma of trying to determine dress with very little to go on. In each of the coin examples from Smyrna (IX.C1.39) and Tralles (IX.C1.41), all issued during the reign of Augustus, each of the standing figures is most likely wearing a long *chiton* with a *himation* wrapped about her body and extending diagonally from the lower part of her body and then draped over her shoulder. In the case of the later coins issued under Galba, Livia as Diva Augusta is depicted on the reverses of these coins wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* belted under the breasts with a *himation* draped about the body, across the front of the torso and over the left shoulder where the excess hangs down her left side.

As for the coin from Thessalonica issued under Tiberius (II.I1.8), it is highly unlikely that the reverse figure depicted here is a representation of Livia even though she is referred to on the coin’s legend as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ. The figure depicted here is standing in a chariot while holding torches before her in both her hands, which strongly indicates that this figure is Demeter rather than Livia, given that the attributes of torches and chariot explicitly refers to the myth of Demeter’s search for her

daughter Persephone. Therefore, the issue of dress is not pertinent in this example, but it is important to note the overt connection that is being made between Livia and the goddess Demeter.

Again we must turn to other media to find parallels in the visual repertoire and thereby establish potential models for these coin images. Very few statues of Livia standing date to the Augustan period and one of the best specimens which survives, that from Oriculum (XII.A2.15), depicts Livia in traditional Roman matronly garb including *stola* and *palla*. More examples of statues of Livia wearing the *chiton* and *himation* can be found in examples dating to later in Tiberius's reign and even more so after Livia's death. These statues come from Rome and its environs, as well as other parts of the empire; they depict Livia more often in Greek dress than the traditional Roman *stola*. Statues of Livia produced after her death show her in Greek dress only.<sup>166</sup> Thus, the popularity of Greek dress in Livia's sculpture makes its presence in the "Livia as standing figure" coins highly plausible.

#### **b) Body Position Paradigm**

In the late Republic and early imperial period, the so-called *pudicitia* pose was one of the principle statue types used for the depiction of women in sculpture. Originating in the late Hellenistic period, the pose is characterized by one arm situated horizontally across the body just under the breasts while the other is bent upward in a sort of gesture towards the face with the hand near the

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<sup>166</sup> Bartman, 152, no. 15, figs. 132-133; 158, no. 28, figs. 105-106; 159, no. 33, figs. 96-97; 176, no. 67, fig. 45.

chin. The pose had connotations of modesty, chastity and purity, but also seemed to imply defensiveness with the arms situated so as to protect the modesty, purity and chastity underneath.<sup>167</sup> Despite its popularity in female portrait sculpture, the *pudicitia* pose was not adopted into Livia's iconographic repertoire, perhaps because of its wide use in statues found in funerary contexts and because of the need to set Livia apart from other women.<sup>168</sup> As both coins and statues show, Livia's standing figure pose present her as a person of confidence and high status.

Coins of Tralles (IX.C1.41 and X.C1.42) may have representations of Livia standing in a front facing pose with the weight of the body shifted into a more relaxed pose through the slightly bent left leg situated to the side. The coins also show Livia with hands raised and holding ears of grain in her left hand. The relaxed stance and the positions of the hands and arms find parallels in sculpture both in Rome and the provinces. A statue of Livia from Carthage dating to the reign of Claudius (VII.N2.4) depicts Livia in a relaxed stance and with arms, although partially missing, raised similarly to the figure depicted in the Tralles coins.

As regards Livia's pose in the Diva Augusta coins of Galba, it is very similar to that adopted for the representation of deities or personifications holding attributes. The precursors for this pose of Livia can be found in coins themselves, where gods such as Neptune and Ceres are depicted with the same stance on

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<sup>167</sup> Davies, "Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society," 215.

<sup>168</sup> Bartman, 47.

Julio-Claudian coins.<sup>169</sup> The pose is very much drawn from Classical Greek representations of the gods, and as regards Livia, it echoes Classical representations of goddesses such as Hera and Demeter.<sup>170</sup>

### c) Attributes Accompanying the Standing Livia Figure

Interestingly, in nearly all these examples, Livia's image is accompanied by divine attributes belonging to some deity. Many of these attributes and their significance have already been discussed at length in previous sections, so I will not be repeating those discussions here. However, it is important to note that on the coins of Tralles Livia is associated with Ceres through the ears of grain she holds in her left hand. The presence of the scepter and patera that accompany Livia on the emperor Galba's coins (II.A1.11) indicate that these attributes have become markers of Diva Augusta.

### d) Adjuncts Accompanying the Standing Livia Figure

There is only one adjunct that appears with the standing figure of Livia as Demeter on the coins of Tralles: a crescent moon. The crescent moon was an attribute of the moon goddess Luna, counterpart of the sun god Sol. From the time of Augustus these two figures played a significant role in the cosmology associated with imperial cult and ideology whereby the emperor was analogous to

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<sup>169</sup> The coin of Neptune was issued under Caligula (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 58), the one of Ceres under Nero (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 23).

<sup>170</sup> *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. "Demeter", p. 859, nos. 138, 140, 143; *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. "Hera", p. 667, nos. 60-61; p. 673, nos. 111-112; p. 677, no. 149; p. 700, no. 347.

Sol and the empress, Luna.<sup>171</sup> Luna also had agricultural associations, which can in turn be linked to Ceres.<sup>172</sup>

That Livia as Luna was seen as counterpart to Augustus as Sol can be seen on a dupondius of Colonia Romula in Spain issued during the reign of Tiberius (III.P1.10). The obverse of the coin depicts the deified Augustus with a star, symbol of Sol, above his head, while the reverse depicts Livia with the crescent above her head.

In the case of the Tralles coin, the presence of the crescent moon along with the ears of grain, most certainly calls to mind associations with Demeter. Through these attributes, Livia is associated once again with the grain goddess's qualities of fertility and abundance. Also, on one of the coins, the obverse is occupied by Augustus, thereby making the correlation between Livia and Luna by the viewer quite plausible.

### **e) Conclusion**

The extant coin images of Livia standing were not a popular component of this particular visual medium most likely on account of the lack of visual detail that could be rendered on the small coin surface. While the viewer would not have been able to identify these standing figures as Livia via facial features or

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<sup>171</sup> *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. "Luna." Brill Online, UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, 10 January 2011, [http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp\\_e711910](http://www.brillonline.nl.cyber.usask.ca/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e711910).

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*



hairstyle, the attributes and the coin legends that accompany them make clear associations between the images and Livia.

The association of Livia with the qualities of divinity and high status is manifest in the prevalence of Greek dress and the attributes of key goddesses such as Ceres. The appearance of Livia in sculpture and on coins wearing Greek dress marked her as a woman of higher status with divine affiliations that helped to project Livia's roles as Roman matron, mother of the imperial family and dynasty, and eventually as a goddess.

#### ***4.5 Chapter Conclusion***

Overall, this chapter has demonstrated that there were specific formulae, or visual syntaxes, in place for visualizing Livia in each of the syntagmatic visual modes detailed: portrait, seated female figure and standing female figure. These visual formulae were bound in the paradigmatic elements – hairstyle, body pose, attributes, etc – that composed the images within each mode. These visual paradigms, in general, transcended multiple media including sculpture and cameos indicating that a standard formula was followed for the arrangement of these paradigms in order for any image to stand as a solid representation of Livia.

The overall meaning(s) of an image can only be revealed through the relationships that exist between the image elements of a particular composition and the relationship of that composition to other similar compositions in various

media.<sup>173</sup> The fact that these paradigmatic elements were repeated in a variety of media and were derived from the visual iconographical catalogues of the gods contributed to the intelligibility and readability of the numismatic images composed for Livia. Therefore, the meanings behind Livia's coin images would not have been lost on most viewers. The following chapters will reveal how these visual formulae for Livia were employed in various regions of the Roman Empire in order to communicate messages relating to Livia's gender-infused social roles and her distinct position of power defined along gender-specific lines.

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<sup>173</sup> Berger, 51.

## CHAPTER 5

### **Regional Distinctions in Livia's Numismatic Visual Program**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

Having mapped the visual elements that comprised Livia's programmatic commemoration on coins now we must turn to the question of how Rome and the provinces developed, adapted, adjusted and implemented that program. While there is evidence in other media, namely sculpture, that a standard of representation for imperial family members was put forward by the ruling imperial regime in Rome, the coins indicate that this visual standard was not always strictly adhered to, but rather inspired local provincial types.

A brief overview of the number of provincial mints producing Livia coins was given at the beginning of Chapter 4, but here it is important to reiterate the fact that Livia's numismatic commemoration began at mints in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire during the reign of Augustus and only appeared in a significant way in the western Empire during the reign of Tiberius when Rome itself began issuing types representing Livia. As will be shown, the degree to which Livia's image impacted the coin types of particular mints varied from region to region. Furthermore, the manner in which Livia was represented, whether as key female member of the Roman imperial family or as divine female figure, was influenced to great extent by local ideologies and perceptions of Livia's status and role in society. Despite local adaptations of Livia's image in

order to communicate a persona of Livia that struck a chord of familiarity with viewers, there was still a desire to maintain, albeit to varying degrees, the visual program for representing Livia set by Rome.

## **5.2 Key Coin Types and Other Honours for Livia by Region**

In the following sections, I will be discussing the various coins and other media representing Livia and key imperial family members by region in order to illustrate the variations that exist in the numismatic visual program developed for Livia and the significance behind it. I have not adhered to a strictly geographical arrangement, but begin with Rome/Italy (given this region's importance as the seat of the empire) and Sicily. I have organized the other provinces/regions of the Roman Empire from east to west, given that Livia's numismatic representations originate in the eastern provinces.

### **a) Rome and Italy**

Chapter 3, section 3.1 of this thesis discussed the origins of commemorating men and women on coins, in particular coins of the mint of Rome, which will not be repeated here. With the fall of the Republic and the rise of monarchic style rule under Rome's first emperor Augustus, Rome's coinage saw many transformations in design. During the course of his reign, Augustus reorganized and re-standardized the base metal denominations.<sup>1</sup> Images depicting the emperor and his military, political and religious achievements became increasingly popular on coins. By the time he was declared *pater patriae*, father

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<sup>1</sup> Sutherland, *RIC*<sup>2</sup>, 23.

of his country, in 2 BC, the names of moneyers had disappeared from the coins (although the office very likely still existed) and the emperor's image, and those of his close family members, dominated the coinage to create a discourse on dynastic intentions and the stability of state that the imperial family provided.

However, coin images of female members of Rome's imperial family produced by the mint of Rome were exceedingly rare during the reign of Augustus and throughout much of the reigns of the Julio-Claudians.<sup>2</sup> The majority of coins produced throughout the empire held the image of the emperor himself. Even the first coins of Livia issued by Rome were few. Only one coin issued during Augustus's reign, a silver denarius of 13 BC (I.A1.1), may depict either Julia or Livia. The first strong candidate for Livia's portrait appeared on the *Salus Augusta* dupondius of Tiberius in AD 22-23 (I.A1.2), but this was preceded by coins depicting a seated female figure which, as we have already seen, could readily be interpreted as Livia (I.A1.6-7). Livia was also honoured on a sestertius of AD 22-23 (I.A1.5) showing a *carpentum*<sup>3</sup> on the obverse along with her name IVLIAE AVGVST(ae). This coin along with various ancient literary sources indicate that Livia may have received the privilege of riding in a

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<sup>2</sup> Scheer, 296 states that in visual media the depiction of living women in the imperial period keeps neither numerical nor iconographical pace with those of living men.

<sup>3</sup> A *carpentum* was a Roman carriage normally reserved for transporting religious officials and sacred objects. Livy 1.34 (see also 5.25) states that originally it was the carriage in which Roman matrons were transported during festival processions. The use of the *carpentum* was a mark of considerable distinction, given that the use of carriages in the city was forbidden during the Republic.

*carpentum*, an honour normally reserved for Vestal Virgins.<sup>4</sup> Livia was once again commemorated on the coins of the Rome mint during the reign of Claudius in a single commemorative issue marking her deification (II.A1.9). She was only sparingly recalled on later coins, including several issues under Galba (II.A1.10-11), who recognized Livia as an important female ancestor,<sup>5</sup> while Titus and Trajan recalled Livia on a couple of restoration issues (III.A1.12-13).

Even though coins of the mint of Rome referring to Livia seem few and far between, they must be considered within the context of other coins that were issued alongside them as part of a series. While there are various definitions of the term “series”, here it refers to a collection of related coin types of particular denomination(s) issued by a mint over the course of a specific time period.<sup>6</sup>

The coins that Rome issued with the image of Livia were often part of a series of coin types that commemorated not only Livia, but also other key members of the Roman imperial family to form a set of coins promoting the imperial dynasty. The first coin of Rome that quite plausibly bears the first numismatic portrait of Livia was issued in 13 BC by the moneyer C. Marius C. f. Tromentina (I.A1.1). The obverse bears Augustus’s portrait, while the reverse depicts Livia’s portrait facing right in between two male portraits often interpreted as Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Augustus’s successors and sons by adoption. The

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<sup>4</sup> Barrett, 95. See also Tac. *Ann.* 12.42.2 and Dio 60.22.2.

<sup>5</sup> Suet. *Galb.* 4.1 states that Galba was related to Livia through his stepmother Livia Ocellina, who claimed to be related to the empress Livia.

<sup>6</sup> Burnett, *Coins*, 14.

same moneyer in the same year also issued a coin type depicting Augustus and Agrippa standing togate beside each other.<sup>7</sup> These coins make clear who the key players were in Augustus's dynastic plan. The *asses* issued by Tiberius in AD 15-16 (I.A1.6-7), which depict Livia seated on the reverses, all contain either the obverse portrait of Tiberius or of the deified Augustus, thus emphasizing Livia as a binding link between deified father and Tiberius as son and successor. The noteworthy *Salus Augusta* coin portrait of Livia issued in AD 22-23 (I.A1.2) was issued alongside coins commemorating Tiberius and Drusus Minor, as well as Drusus's twin sons. At this same time the *carpentum* sestertius and the *Iustitia* and *Pietas* dupondii were issued, which can be interpreted as representations of Livia. These coins were undoubtedly part of a series promoting key members of the current ruling dynasty and the qualities *Salus* (security, well-being), *Iustitia* (justice) and *Pietas* (devotion to state and family) which characterized it.

Such family "group" commemorations can also be found in other media such as sculpture. Numerous dynastic group portraits of the imperial family set up in Rome and Italy during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius included images of Livia. During Augustus's reign familial sculptural representations, such as that found on the Ara Pacis Augustae, were set up in Rome. Livia was most certainly included in many of these family portrait groups.

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<sup>7</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 72, no. 397. Note that there were other coins issued by this moneyer whose types bear subjects unrelated to the theme of family and dynasty, but relate to Augustus's priestly and religious duties. The coins of this year seem to refer to recent events, such as the renewal of Augustus's and Agrippa's tribunician power for five years and Augustus's adoption of his grandsons Gaius and Lucius as his heirs and successors. Nonetheless, the subject of family dynastic relations would not be entirely lost upon the viewer.

Under Tiberius, a commemorative group that contained statues of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia seated was quite plausibly recalled in the seated Livia coin types of Rome from AD 15-16, which were followed by coin types that also depicted Tiberius and the deified Augustus seated.<sup>8</sup> In addition to these statue groups at Rome, Livia's image was part of statuary groups at Cumae, Forum Clodii, Herculaneum, Otricoli, Paestum, and Ravenna.<sup>9</sup>

While Livia's images appeared only sparingly on the coins of Augustus and Tiberius, male imperial family members figured much more prominently, but none more so than the emperors themselves. Under Augustus, the dynastic succession was promoted on coins through the images of key male family members including Agrippa, Julia's second husband, and their sons Gaius and Lucius, and eventually Livia's son Tiberius when he became successor in AD 4.<sup>10</sup> Under Tiberius, such dynastic promotion continued with the coin portraits of his successors including his son Drusus Minor and twin grandsons Tiberius Gemellus and Tiberius Claudius Caesar.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> That statues were recalled is discussed by Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 208-214. See also Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 79, which indicates that statues were the inspiration for some coin portrait types. Convincing numismatic evidence for the appearance of statues on coins can be found on a coin type issued by the provincial mint of Caesaraugusta (Spain) in 4-3 BC, which shows a statuary group of Augustus with Gaius and Lucius Caesar. See *RPC I*, 120, no. 319.

<sup>9</sup> Rose, 191-193.

<sup>10</sup> For Agrippa see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 73, nos. 406-409 and 414. For Gaius and Lucius, see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 72, no. 404. For Tiberius see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 78, nos. 469-470.

<sup>11</sup> For Drusus Minor see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 97, no. 45; for Drusus's twin sons see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 97, no. 42.



This comparative rarity of images of female imperial family members to those of their male counterparts continued to be the case on the coins issued by the Roman mint under the remaining Julio-Claudian successors Gaius Caligula, Claudius and Nero. Nonetheless, there is a gradual increase in the number of types issued from reign to reign, including a more prominent place on precious metal issues. Caligula commemorated his mother Agrippina Maior on aurei, denarii and sestertii, as well as his sisters Agrippina Minor, Drusilla and Julia on sestertii.<sup>12</sup> Under Claudius, we not only see the coin type depicting Livia deified, but also aurei, denarii, and bronze denominations of his mother Antonia Minor and eventually his fourth wife Agrippina Minor.<sup>13</sup> He also issued one commemorative issue of Agrippina Maior.<sup>14</sup> Agrippina Minor continued to appear on precious metal coins of her son, the emperor Nero, with her portrait depicted either jugate with or facing Nero's.<sup>15</sup> The mint also produced aurei and denarii that appear to depict the emperor alongside his wife Poppaea Sabina.<sup>16</sup> While female imperial family members appeared on only a few coin issues of each emperor, these women, like Livia, nonetheless played an important role in the visual discourse that promoted the imperial family and dynasty.

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<sup>12</sup> For Agrippina Maior see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 109-110, nos. 13-14, 21-22, 30; 112, no. 55. For Caligula's sisters see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 110-111, nos. 33 and 41.

<sup>13</sup> For Antonia Minor see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 124, nos. 65-68; 127, no. 92; 129, no. 104. For Agrippina Minor see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 125, no. 75; 126, nos. 80-81; 129, no. 103.

<sup>14</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 128, nos. 102.

<sup>15</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 150, nos. 1-3, 6-7.

<sup>16</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 153, nos. 44-45, 56-57.

## b) Sicily

Mints existed in various Sicilian cities during the Republic and continued to issue coins into the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. These mints issued a combination of types with some bearing portraits of the emperor, while others adhered to traditional types in honour of the gods. A series of coins issued during the reign of Tiberius by Panormus, a city which had been occupied by Greeks and then came under Rome's authority during the Republic, quite plausibly present images of Livia. The coin images were based on ones issued at Rome, in particular the seated female figure and the female portrait with head veiled identified as *Pietas* at Rome.<sup>17</sup> That these images were interpreted by the coin issuers of Panormus as Livia is indicated by the legend AVGVS, which scholars argue stands for *Augusta*.<sup>18</sup> The abbreviated legend could possibly refer to Livia, who was referred to as *Augusta* after her adoption into the *gens Iulia* in Augustus's will in AD 14, but it could also refer to both Tiberius and Livia collectively as *Augusti* given that Tiberius's portrait is featured on the obverses of several of these coins.

Sculptural honours were also granted to Livia at Gaulus Insula where a statue and corresponding inscription (B2.1) were set up honouring Livia as wife of the deified Augustus and mother of Tiberius.<sup>19</sup> The inscription refers to Livia

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<sup>17</sup> Gross, 61.

<sup>18</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 171.

<sup>19</sup> Bartman, 155, no. 20.

as Ceres Iulia Augusta thereby associating Livia to the goddess, a reference also made on the coins of Thapsus in Africa (III.N1.9).<sup>20</sup>

### c) Asia

The province of Asia was by and large the most prolific producer of coins commemorating the imperial family and it is here that coins depicting Livia were likely first minted.<sup>21</sup> The province consisted of a number of tribal regions or kingdoms (Lydia, Ionia, Phrygia, Mysia, etc.) which the Romans organized according to *conventus*, an administrative and judicial unit. There were thirteen *conventus* including Cyzicus, Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus, Alabanda, Sardis and Apamea, which each had several cities issuing local coins.<sup>22</sup> All *conventus* except for three had at least one city that issued coins commemorating Livia. Overall, each *conventus* had cities issuing coins depicting the emperor and other male imperial family members with occasional cities such as Rhodes adhering strictly to traditional types honouring the city's patron deities.<sup>23</sup> In addition to the civic

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<sup>20</sup> Gross, 44 argues that the coin of Panormus with the seated Livia on the obverse refers to Livia as Ceres given that he sees the figure holding a torch. However, it is not clear on this worn coin whether she is holding a sceptre or the torch of Ceres, but the presence of the patera does echo the coin types of the seated Livia figure at Rome, which more likely refers to her role as priestess of the deified Augustus to be discussed further in Chapter 6.

<sup>21</sup> Note that there are other potential candidates for Livia's first coins in Achaia.

<sup>22</sup> The *conventus* Philomelium only had one city issuing coins.

<sup>23</sup> Christopher Howgego, "Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces," *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. Christopher Howgego et al (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 15. Howgego mentions that most cities in the eastern Greek provinces incorporated some kind of commemoration of Roman rulers and their families into their coin types. Only a handful of cities including Athens, Chios, Rhodes (until Nero) and Tyre did not issue such commemorative types, but rather adhered to their traditional iconographical types. Howgego states that there is no clear explanation for this phenomenon, but emphasizes that these coins should not be read as a

issues of individual cities, there were also some ‘provincial’ issues in silver and bronze, whose function may have been to circulate province-wide.<sup>24</sup> Livia’s image did not find a place on these provincial issues.

A total of 23 out of 84, approximately 27%, of Asian mints operating over the course of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius issued coins pertaining to Livia. Under Augustus, only eleven mints issued coins of Livia, which increased to sixteen under Tiberius. Seven of the mints that issued coins of Livia under Augustus did not continue to issue such coins under Tiberius. Of the mints issuing coins of Livia during the reign of Tiberius, twelve had done so for the first time. Only the mints Eumeneia, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Pergamum, and Smyrna issued coins of Livia over the course of both reigns. While the number of mints and coin types of Livia issued in the province of Asia outnumbered those produced at the mint of Rome, the number of mints issuing Livia coins when compared to the total operating in Asia is quite modest, which implies a desire to honour Livia, but much more reservedly than her male counterparts, in particular Augustus and Tiberius.

Livia’s place in dynastic familial relationships is a consistent theme on the coins of the Asian mints issuing types depicting Livia (see Table A). During the reign of Augustus, Asian mints issued coins highlighting the husband-wife relationship by depicting Livia along with Augustus on the same coin, whether

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sign of subversion towards Rome. See also Simon Price, “Local Mythologies in the Greek East,” *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. Christopher Howgego et al (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 116 and 122-124.

<sup>24</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 376.

jugate on the obverse (III.C1.14-15, IV.C1.16-17, V.C1.22, VII.C1.31, VIII.C1.37-38) or each on the opposite side of the same coin (I.C1.1-4, III.C1.11, V.C1.23, VI.C1.27, VII.C1.30, IX.C1.41). The succession plans of Augustus, into which Livia factored, figured prominently on the coins of several mints. A bronze coin of Magnesia ad Sipylum (V.C1.22) made clear the key players in the perpetuation of dynasty by depicting Augustus and Livia jugate on the obverse with the successors Gaius and Lucius on the reverse. The formula appears to be echoed on a coin issued at Alabanda (I.C1.3a), which depicts on the obverse the heads of Augustus and Livia facing each other and referred to as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ. The reverse depicts the jugate portraits of Gaius and Lucius on the left facing a portrait of their father Agrippa (or perhaps even Augustus) on the right.<sup>25</sup> Coin series of several mints also conveyed the dynastic discourse. Pergamum issued a coin depicting Livia and Julia on the obverse and reverse respectively (VII.C1.32), which was accompanied by coins bearing the portraits of Augustus, as well as Gaius and Lucius.<sup>26</sup> The mints of Antioch ad Maeandrum, Methymna, Nysa and Tralles issued similar series, but without reference to Augustus's daughter Julia.<sup>27</sup> With the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar the mints of

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<sup>25</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 464, no. 2816 mentions that there is some question as to the identities of the portraits on this coin because of the poor quality.

<sup>26</sup> *RPC I*, 2358, 2360-2363.

<sup>27</sup> For Antioch ad Maeandrum see *RPC I*, 2829, 2831-2832. For Methymna see *RPC I*, 2337-2339. For Nysa see *RPC I*, 2659-2663. For Tralles see *RPC I*, 2646-2653.

Antioch ad Maeandrum and Smyrna (IX.C1.39) promote Tiberius as the new successor.<sup>28</sup>

Under Tiberius, dynastic succession continued to be a key theme on the coins of Asian mints, but an emphasis was now placed on the relationship between mother and son. Eleven of the sixteen Asian mints (see Table B) that issued coins of Livia presented her and Tiberius as key figures in the imperial family by either issuing coins that depicted the two of them on the same coin (II.C1.7, III.C1.10, VI.C1.26, VI.C1.29, VIII.C1.35) and/or by issuing portrait bearing coins of each individual as part of a series (II.C1.6, II.C1.8-9, IV.C1.18-20, V.C1.24-25, VI.C1.28).<sup>29</sup> Three of these mints also issued coins that linked Tiberius and Livia with key symbols of the Roman state: the personification of the city of Rome, *Roma*, at Aphrodisias-Plarasa<sup>30</sup> and the personification of the Senate of the city of Rome at Magnesia ad Sipylum (V.C1.24-25) and Smyrna (IX.C1.40).

The mints of Apamea, Pergamum, Sardis and Tripolis all issued coins communicating Tiberius's dynastic intentions by advertising his nephew Germanicus and his own son Drusus Minor as successors.<sup>31</sup> With the exception

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<sup>28</sup> For Antioch ad Maeandrum see *RPC I*, 2833. For Smyrna see *RPC I*, 2467.

<sup>29</sup> Corresponding coins depicting Tiberius: Aphrodisias-Plarasa, *RPC I*, 2839; Apollonia Salbace, *RPC I*, 2864; Cibyra, *RPC I*, 2885; Eucarpia, *RPC I*, 3159; Eumeneia, *RPC I*, 3144-3147; Magnesia as Sipylum, *RPC I*, 2451; Mysomakedones, *RPC I*, 2567.

<sup>30</sup> *RPC I*, 2841.

<sup>31</sup> For Apamea see *RPC I*, 3131-3134. For Pergamum, see *RPC I*, 2366-2369. For Sardis see *RPC I*, 2989, 2991-2992. For Tripolis see *RPC I*, 3052-3054, 3058.

of Sardis, these mints were continuing to promote the imperial dynasty just as they had done during the reign of Augustus. At each mint, Livia once again factors as a key figure in the perpetuation of dynasty.

The manner in which Livia is portrayed on Asian mint coins appears to follow a standard that is generally adhered to from mint to mint and reign to reign, although there are a couple of exceptions. This consistency in typological usage implies that the mints may have been trying to follow standards of portrait image design for Livia set by Rome, a standard that was to be followed in a variety of media including sculpture and coins. For example, the coin portraits of Livia issued under Augustus incorporate some variant of the nodus style (I.C1.1-4) with the Marbury Hall type being particularly popular (III.C1.11, III.C1.13, V.C1.23). One exceptional type is that issued at Pergamum (VII.C1.32) which depicts Livia wearing the Zopftyp hairstyle, a style that was also employed in a least one sculptural portrait of Livia hailing from the province (XI.C2.1). During the reign of Tiberius, the center part hairstyle employed in Livia's *Salus* coin portrait issued at Rome (I.A1.2) was now incorporated into Livia's Asian coin portraits, although the style may have been modified slightly in a few cases to show tighter, more defined rows of waves (II.C1.6, II.C1.8, V.C1.24-25, VI.C1.29, VIII.C1.34). An examination of the coins from Magnesia ad Sipylum (V.C1.22-25) shows that there was a clear transition from the Marbury Hall nodus style variant under Augustus to the *Salus* center-part hairstyle under Tiberius. One variant of the hairstyle can be found on a coin of Tripolis (X.C1.43) which shows a distinct lock of hair coiling down the back of the neck.

In addition to the issue of coins at Asia bearing Livia portraits that corresponded to specific standards and preferred styles, it is important to note that several mints also issued coins showing Livia seated. As in the case of the Rome mint, these types were issued during Tiberius's reign (V.C1.21, VI.C1.28, VII.C1.33, VII.C1.35-36) and seem to follow a design similar to those issued at Rome and Lugdunum, but with subtle variants in attributes. Many of these coins show Livia holding ears of grain as opposed to a patera.

The sculptural honours set up for Livia in Asia Minor have been well documented by Bartman, who also points out that all of the existent portraits except one qualify as variants of the Marbury Hall type, thereby giving them a highly plausible Augustan date.<sup>32</sup> Interestingly, two cities from which sculptural portraits survive also issued coins of Livia: Aphrodisias and Ephesus. A comparison of coin portraits (II.C1.6, III.C1.13) to sculptural portraits (XI.C2.2, XII.C2.3) in each case shows that the same hairstyle types were used in each, another strong indication that a portrait standard was followed which transcended multiple media.

A number of inscriptions were also set up in various places throughout Asia, many of which belong to statues set up for Livia. Several of these inscriptions refer to Livia as wife of Augustus or, after AD 14, wife of the deified Augustus. In addition, many of the inscriptions refer to Livia in conjunction with several key goddesses, namely Hera (C3.2-3, and 6), Demeter (C3.5 and 8), or

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<sup>32</sup> Bartman, 170-173, nos. 58-62. Note that no. 59 from Aphrodisias depicts the center part hairstyle which gives this portrait a Tiberian date.



Hestia (C3.8). Such associations of Livia with the divine can also be found on coins either by means of the legends (IV.C1.19, VII.C1.32) or attributes (VII.C1.32, VIII.C1.36, X.C1.41-42). There are instances where Livia appears to have been labelled as divine in her own right as either ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ (III.C1.11, VI.C1.27) under Augustus or ΘΕΑ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΗ (V.C1.25, VI.C1.29) under Tiberius. Also, a coin of Smyrna (IX.C1.40) depicting Livia's portrait facing that of the Senate has the empress wearing a diadem, an attribute with divine connotations. The presence of the diadem is one of the few instances where such a distinction was given to Livia on coins.<sup>33</sup>

The many distinguished references to Livia on coins, sculpture and inscriptions of the province of Asia beg the question as to why Livia seems to have been held in such high regard there. As has already been discussed briefly in Chapter 3, Asia had a long tradition of honouring Hellenistic royal women through coins and sculpture. Ephesus had issued coins commemorating female members of royal ruling families since the third century BC. However, honouring Livia may have been rooted in more than simply tradition, given that Livia seems to have played the role of patron in several cities. An inscription from Ephesus regards both Augustus and Livia as patrons,<sup>34</sup> while another from Mytilene offers

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<sup>33</sup> Barbara Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 40; Rose, 180-181, no.123 argues that the diademed portrait of Livia that appeared on the coins makes a strong case for the cult statue of Livia in the new temple at Smyrna being adorned with a diadem as well. Note that one coin type of Livia from Augusta (Syria) also includes a diadem.

<sup>34</sup> *ILS* 8897. See also Bartman, 200, no.9; Rose, 172-173, no. 112.

thanks to Livia for having acted on their behalf.<sup>35</sup> In addition, cities displayed a desire to show their support and gratitude towards the emperor and his family by setting up statues and monuments. Aphrodisias built the Sebasteion, Pergamum the Temple to Rome and Augustus, Ephesus a Temple to Rome and Julius Caesar (later devoted to the Augusti) and Smyrna the Temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate.<sup>36</sup> Several dynastic statue groups were set up in honour of the imperial family at the city of Ephesus.<sup>37</sup> The fact that each of the cities also issued coins promoting the imperial family, including Livia, indicates that a concerted program was in place for representing the imperial family in a variety of visual media. This program was more prolific and prominent than in any other part of the Roman Empire in large part due to long-standing Hellenistic traditions for the commemoration of women connected to the ruling regime of the realm.

#### **d) Syria**

Syria became a province of Rome in 64 BC. Most mints in this province were somewhat reserved in their presentation of Roman imperial family portraits, but were generally consistent in presenting images of the emperor or those of important local divinities.<sup>38</sup> Most of the cities produced rather small issues of coins, with the exception of Tyre and Antioch.<sup>39</sup> Female imperial family

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<sup>35</sup> *IGR* 4.39.24-30.

<sup>36</sup> Barrett, 197, 212-213; Burrell, 17-22, 38-40, 59.

<sup>37</sup> Rose, 172-176, nos. 112-116.

<sup>38</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 582-585.

<sup>39</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 586.

members, namely Agrippina I and II, did appear on the coins of Antioch under Caligula, Claudius and Nero.

Livia stands out from other imperial women on coins of Syria, not only because she appears on the coins of several mints there, but because of one exceptional honour given to Livia in AD 20 when the city of Augusta was founded in her name.<sup>40</sup> During the reign of Tiberius, Livia's portrait dominates the issues of this city, although one survives that contains the obverse portrait of Tiberius, while Livia appears on the reverse (I.D1.2). One unique coin type links Livia with capricorn (I.D1.3), a symbol normally associated with Augustus as his natal sign and indicative of his imperial rule.<sup>41</sup> Although no coins of this mint survive from the reigns of Caligula or Claudius, there are coins issued under emperor Nero (I.D1.8), which show a continuation of the image of Livia. In fact, the coins of this city continued to commemorate Livia down to the Trajanic period.<sup>42</sup> While it was not uncommon for cities of the Roman Empire to bestow honours of high regard and respect upon Livia during her lifetime and

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<sup>40</sup> Pliny, *HN*, 5.93; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) 204.

<sup>41</sup> Several commemorative coin types connecting Augustus with the capricorn symbol were issued during his own reign and during the reign of Tiberius. When the capricorn holds a globe, it often refers to Augustus's rule over the world. Its association with Livia here has interesting connotations regarding Livia's power and influence, which I will discuss further in Chapter 6. See Suet. *Aug.* 94.12; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 115, Tamsyn Barton, "Augustus and the Capricorn: Astrological Polyvalency and Imperial Rhetoric," *Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995): 33-51.

<sup>42</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 591.

posthumously,<sup>43</sup> what is interesting about the city of Augusta was that Livia remained synonymous with the city's identity for so long.

The style in which some of the Syrian coin portraits of Livia were executed makes it somewhat difficult to trace specific style patterns or typological trends. However, many of the coin portraits of Livia do appear to be utilizing some variant of the nodus hairstyle, perhaps the Fayum. The mint of Augusta stands out as it appears to use this style in several types issued under Tiberius, as well as the ones issued under Nero. The appearance of this typically Augustan hairstyle as opposed to the center part hairstyle so readily used in Livia's portraits under Tiberius seems odd, but was reminiscent of a signature style employed in Livia's visual repertoire that marked her status as a distinguished Roman matron.

Livia's divine status was also alluded to on coins of several mints of Syria. A silver coin issued at Tarsus (I.D1.1), one of the few precious metal provincial issues depicting Livia, refers to her as Hera and mother in the legend (ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ), but also associates her with Demeter through the ears of grain and flowers she holds in her right hand. A bronze coin from Mopsus (II.D1.10) presents deified Augustus on the obverse while the reverse also refers to Livia as divine through the legend ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. Even one of the coins of Augusta (I.D1.7) seems to show Livia wearing a circular diadem, an attribute referring to divine or high status.

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<sup>43</sup> Barrett, 205-208.

### e) Judaeian Kingdom

The Judaeian Kingdom came under Roman rule when Pompey the Great made Syria a Roman province in 64 BC, but eventually it became the Roman province of Judaea in AD 6. On King Herod's death, Augustus divided the kingdom among Herod's three sons. Philip became a tetrarch of an eastern area with a largely non-Jewish population, which had no qualms about issuing coins with portraits of Philip, the emperor Tiberius and Livia too (I.E1.2).<sup>44</sup> The coins with Livia's portrait are dated to after Livia's death (I.E1.1), marking them as a posthumous commemorative issue. The jugate portrait of Tiberius and Livia is very much in the tradition of Hellenistic royal portraits.

The appearance of Livia's portrait on coins of the Judaeian Kingdom may come as no surprise given the generosity of the imperial family, including Livia, towards it. Augustus and Livia donated funds to help rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.<sup>45</sup> It is also important to note that Philip's brother, Herod Antipas, who became tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, renamed the city of Betharamphtha after Livia.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 680.

<sup>45</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 5.562-563; Barrett, 205.

<sup>46</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 20.159 and Joseph. *BJ* 2.252, 4.438 indicates that the city was renamed "Julias", while Plin. *HN* 13.44 refers to it as "Livias". See also Barrett, 207.

**f) Achaëa**

Similarly to the province of Asia, Achaëa was governed by the Romans according to regional administrative units. From the time Achaëa became a Roman province in 146 BC, a series of cities, including Athens and Sparta, continued to issue coinage much as they had done for centuries.<sup>47</sup> Only four of the approximately fourteen mints operating in Achaëa over the course of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius mention Livia. These mints included Chalcis, Sparta, Corinth and the Thessalian League.

During the reign of Augustus, the cities Sparta and Chalcis, as well as the Thessalian League issued coins commemorating Livia alongside Augustus which highlighted Livia's position as wife of the emperor. Particularly noteworthy is Livia's association with the goddess Hera by Chalcis (II.F1.6) and the Thessalian League (II.F1.7), which echoes those with the same theme issued at Asian and Syrian mints. The production of these coins may have also been in recognition of Livia's possible connection to these cities as patron. Livia and her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero, along with their son Tiberius, had sought safety in Sparta while trying to evade the proscriptions of the Second Triumvirate. Interestingly, Augustus expressed gratitude towards Sparta for having offered Livia sanctuary.<sup>48</sup> The city of Chalcis held a festival in honour of Livia called the Leibidea.<sup>49</sup> A

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<sup>47</sup> Howgego, "Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces," 15.

<sup>48</sup> Dio 54.7.2.

<sup>49</sup> Barrett, 206.

sculptural portrait of Livia has also been found at Larissa (III.F2.1), the chief city of the Thessalian League.

The city of Corinth, which had been re-established as a Roman colony by Julius Caesar in 44 BC, produced a substantial coinage with a dynastic theme. The coins issued under Augustus did not refer to Livia, but did promote Gaius and Lucius, and eventually Tiberius, as Augustus's successors. Under Tiberius, Livia's image did not appear on the coinage until around AD 21-22, about the same time as the *Salus* dupondius of Livia was issued in Rome. The first types issued under the magistrates P. Caninius Agrippa and L. Castricius Regulus commemorated Drusus Minor (or Tiberius) on the obverse and Livia seated on the reverse. The seated Livia with veil holding patera/ears of grain and sceptre mimics the seated figure of Livia issued by the mint of Rome in the early years of Tiberius's reign.

A second series likely issued after Livia's death under the magistrates L. Arrius Peregrinus and L. Furius Labeo gives a more comprehensive overview of the imperial family with coins bearing the portraits of the deified Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, and Tiberius's most recent successors Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus.<sup>50</sup> A number of these coins also show on their reverses the hexastyle temple that was set up there under Augustus in honour of the deified Julius Caesar, but most certainly utilized as place of worship for the cult of the imperial family as indicated by the reverse legend GENT(i) IVLI(ae) on the architrave of

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<sup>50</sup> *RPC I*, 1151-1171.

the temple.<sup>51</sup> The presence of this coinage implies that the colony placed particular importance on the worship of the *Domus Augusta*. There is also evidence of dynastic statuary groups at Corinth, although there are no surviving sculptures of Livia.<sup>52</sup>

The coin types issued at Corinth and by the Thessalian League during the reign of Tiberius correspond very closely to those issued at Rome. A couple of types were undoubtedly adapted from the *Salus, Pietas* and *Iustitia* dupondii issued at Rome in AD 22-23 (I.F1.4-5, II.F1.7, 9-10), while others correspond to the seated Livia type (I.F1.2-3, II.F1.8). Just as in the case of several mints in Asia, there is evidence here that the mints at Achaëa endeavoured to follow the iconographic standards established at Rome for representing members of the imperial family.

### **g) Cyprus**

Cities of the island of Cyprus had issued coins since classical times. The Ptolemies produced coins there during the second century BC and continued to do so until the Romans made the island a province of its empire in 59 BC. The primary mint was likely located at Paphos, with a possible mint also at Salamis.

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<sup>51</sup> Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, "Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth," *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Alastair Small (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1996) 202-204. Here, the author also draws attention to the issue of why these coins appear so late in Tiberius's reign. She suggests that the coin issues coincide with the anniversary of the original dedication of the temple, or even perhaps the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the accession of Tiberius. That the Romans were inclined to issue coins marking significant anniversaries has been advocated by Michael Grant in *Roman Anniversary Issues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950).

<sup>52</sup> Rose, 138-139, no. 69.



The Cyprus coins issued under Augustus and Tiberius commemorated key members of the imperial dynasty. Under Augustus, portraits of the emperor and his successor Gaius dominate,<sup>53</sup> whilst under Tiberius portraits of the emperor, the deified Augustus, Livia and Drusus Minor are prevalent.<sup>54</sup> These coins (I.G1.1-2) mimic the *asses* issued at the imperial mint of Rome in AD 15-16, which depict Livia seated on a throne holding a patera and sceptre. While the seated female figure on the coins of Rome remained unnamed, the coins of Cyprus, like those of Hippo Regius and Lepcis Magna in North Africa, refer to her directly by name as IVLIA AVGVSTA.

#### **h) Crete**

Crete was conquered by the Romans in 67 BC and eventually became part of the Roman province of Cyrene, but cities continued to issue its local denominations, such as the tetradrachm. However, new types appeared that were indicative of the new political situation.<sup>55</sup>

Coins from the mint at Cnossus issued during the reign of Tiberius commemorate the emperor himself along with two key relatives: the deified Augustus was prevalent on silver coinage,<sup>56</sup> while Livia appeared on several bronze issues (I.H1.1-2). The style of these representations of Livia, one portrait

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<sup>53</sup> *RPC I*, 3908-3915.

<sup>54</sup> *RPC I*, 3917-3926.

<sup>55</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 216-217.

<sup>56</sup> *RPC I*, 950-961.

and one seated figure, are rather crudely executed when compared to the images of Livia issued at Rome that served as their prototypes. However, a coin of emperor Claudius (I.H1.3) issued about twenty years later than those issued under Tiberius, used as model the *Iustitia* type issued at Rome during the 20s AD (A1.4). The use of the Rome *Iustitia* type on these coins as a portrait of Livia, indicates that the original *Iustitia* coin type was intended to stand as a representation of Livia. This Cretan “*Iustitia*” Livia was accompanied by a legend, ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ, that refers to Livia by name and acknowledges her divine status. The fineness of execution of Livia’s portrait when compared to the earlier representation of her from Cnossus seems striking at first glance. The appearance of this type so long after the initial Roman mint issues of the 20s likely indicates the widespread circulation and longevity of this type even down to the 40s.

### **i) Macedonia**

Of the seven mints of Macedonia that issued coins during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, all but two issued coins referring to Livia. Only one coin type was issued under Augustus at Thessalonica (II.I1.7), which depicts Livia wearing the nodus hairstyle and refers to her as divine, ΘΕΑ or ΘΕΟΥ ΛΙΒΙΑ, thereby echoing the sentiments expressed in coin legends found in Asia and Achaëa.

The types issued during the reign of Tiberius in most cases endeavour to mirror types issued at Rome. A comparison of coins from Greek cities of

Macedonia such as Thessalonica and Amphipolis with those from the Roman colony of Pella/Dium reveals the difference between Roman practices for the commemoration of imperial family members and those of the local Greek inhabitants of the province. Both Dium (I.II.3) and Thessalonica (II.II.11) issued types of the seated Livia holding patera and sceptre. While the Thessalonica version refers to Livia by name, the ones from Dium do not. Instead the Dium coin's reverse legend identifies the mint magistrate. Thessalonica and Amphipolis also issued types resembling the *Salus, Pietas and Iustitia* dupondii of Rome (II.II.9-10, III.II.12, III.II.13), which refer to Livia by name, while Pella/Dium (I.II.5-6) did as well, but with legends corresponding to the prototypes issued at Rome. On the one hand the Roman colony issued coins of Livia adhering to the iconography and legend formula set by Rome, which would have indicated to the colonists that they were looking at a representation of Livia despite the lack of identifying legend. The lack of legend was not an indication of a desire to subdue Livia's representation on coins,<sup>57</sup> since there is clear evidence that colonies in other provinces, such as Africa and Spain, issuing coins under Tiberius, did not hesitate to refer to Livia by name. The Greek cities, on the other hand, identified Livia by name, and as divine, in a manner that was in tune with their traditional practices for honouring their rulers.

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<sup>57</sup> Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome, 'Remaining' Greek: Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia," *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. Christopher Howgego et al (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 99 presents an argument which implies that colonial issues of Livia from Macedonia do not mention Livia by name, nor do they refer to her or the emperor as divine, because Rome was not doing so. If it were not acceptable to Rome for Livia to be thus acknowledged, it would not have appeared on the coins of other Roman colonies.

While the types issued by many Macedonian cities seem to be following the standard for Livia's coin portraits set by Rome, there are a couple of exceptional examples that digress from the hairstyles typically used for Livia's portraits. The coin portraits of Livia produced at Edessa (I.II.1) seem to depict the empress wearing the Zopftyp hairstyle, which can also be found on a coin type issued at Pergumum (VII.C1.32). Coins from Pella/Dium (I.II.4) and Thessalonica (II.II.10) appear to show a distinctive hairstyle where the hair is gathered loosely at the base of the head and allowed to fall part way down the back of the neck. This latter hairstyle was quite plausibly a new hairstyle type for Livia issued sometime over the course of Tiberius's reign (see Chapter 4, section 4.2 above).

Another exceptional coin from Thessalonica makes a connection between Livia and the goddess Demeter (II.II.8). In most cases where Livia is connected to such deities, her image is infused with the goddess's signature attributes, such as ears of grain as in the case of Demeter. But, here the coin's reverse shows the goddess Demeter in her chariot and carrying torches as she searches for her kidnapped daughter Persephone, while the accompanying legend refers instead to Livia as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ.<sup>58</sup>

While there does not appear to have been any special connection between Livia and Macedonia, the coins seem to convey a desire to recognize the ruling imperial family. Under Augustus, the mint at Thessalonica communicated the

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<sup>58</sup> Mikocki, 20.

emperor's dynastic intentions through types of Gaius and then Tiberius,<sup>59</sup> while the issue of Livia's portrait marks her as the leading female in the dynastic formula. Under Tiberius, the coins of Edessa commemorate Tiberius alongside the deified Augustus,<sup>60</sup> but also Livia as the binding link between the deified emperor and his successor.

#### **j) Bithynia-Pontus**

Bithynia had mints in operation since Hellenistic times issuing types under the authority of Bithynian kings. Upon becoming a province of Rome in 74 BC, with Pontus being added to it by Pompey in 64 BC, many of the coins issued recognized the authority of the governing proconsuls by mentioning their names. Under the early empire coins with images of key imperial family members were issued at most mints. Representations of Livia survive in only a couple of examples. One from an uncertain mint of Bithynia issued during the reign of Augustus (I.J1.2) presents the jugate portraits of Augustus (or Tiberius) and Livia on the obverse while the reverse depicts a seated female figure, presumably Livia, holding a cornucopia on her lap. The male obverse portrait is quite unusual, because it resembles Tiberius more so than Augustus, while the legend refers to Augustus. What may be happening here is the commemoration of Tiberius as the new successor alongside his mother, while the legend acknowledges Augustus even though he is not pictured.

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<sup>59</sup> *RPC I*, 1564 and 1565.

<sup>60</sup> *RPC I*, 1521-1524.

Dynastic promotion was also emphasized on the coins issued at Sinope, where a Roman colony had been founded by Caesar in 45 BC. Livia does not appear on the coins issued under Augustus, but they presented the portraits of Augustus's initial successors Gaius and Lucius,<sup>61</sup> and then that of Tiberius,<sup>62</sup> alongside that of Augustus. The coin types issued under Tiberius echoed the dynastic theme, but in accordance with types issued at Rome. One particular coin (I.J1.1) is a near carbon copy, minus the legends, of a coin issued at Rome (I.A1.7), which depicts the deified Augustus on the obverse and the seated Livia figure on the reverse. In addition to this coin, one bearing the obverse portrait of Tiberius's son and successor, Drusus Minor, was issued at around the same time.<sup>63</sup>

#### **k) Thrace**

During the early empire, Thrace continued to be ruled by kings until the emperor Claudius made it a Roman province in AD 46. Nonetheless, the Thracian rulers endeavoured to maintain alliances with Rome, which they advertised through coins, making Thracian coins unique in the body of provincial coinage. Under Augustus, King Rhoemetaces I (r. c. 11 BC – AD 12) issued types recognizing Rome's authority by means of the capricorn with fasces or globe, a reference to Augustus's authority in particular.<sup>64</sup> The remainder were

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<sup>61</sup> *RPC I*, 2115-2122.

<sup>62</sup> *RPC I*, 2123.

<sup>63</sup> *RPC I*, 2127.

<sup>64</sup> *RPC I*, 1704-1707.

dominated by portraits of Thracian “royals” alongside those of Rome. Several coin issues depict Rhoemetalces and his wife Pythordoris jugate on the obverse with Augustus and Livia jugate on the reverse (I.K1.1). These coins promoted Rhoemetalces and Augustus as co-rulers, with their wives as familial counterparts.

The mint of Byzantium issued silver coins for the Thracian kings during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. The coins issued there under Augustus commemorated the emperor through his portrait alongside that of Rhoemetalces.<sup>65</sup> Under Tiberius, the deified Augustus and Livia are commemorated on a silver didrachm (I.K1.2), which presents an exquisite reverse portrait of Livia based on the *Salus* coin portrait of Livia issued at Rome. No coins bearing the Thracian king’s portrait survive from Tiberius’s time, leaving no question as to who the ultimate ruling authority was.

### 1) Moesia

Moesia did not become a province of Rome until later in Augustus’s reign. Only four coastal cities of the province of Moesia produced coins under the Julio-Claudians with Tomi generating the most types. The cities of Moesia first issued coins under Roman rule during the first century AD, but there was a tradition of issuing coinage since Hellenistic times.<sup>66</sup> The coins of Tomi seemed to prefer commemoration of local deities, but a couple of types stand out as

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<sup>65</sup> *RPC I*, 322, nos. 1774-1775.

<sup>66</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 325.

potential candidates for representations of the emperor. One in particular, attributed to the reign of Augustus (I.L1.1), depicts a male and female portrait jugate on the obverse, but the legend EYETHPIA (fruitfulness, abundance) does not directly identify the figures depicted by name, but alludes to the blessing that exists on account of their rule. Interestingly, the configuration of the obverse portraits seem to have the female portrait superimposed onto the male one, which is unusual given that all other jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia show the emperor's portrait in the forefront. The type echoes ones issued under Cleopatra Thea during the mid-second century BC (III.S1.11, III.S1.12) in which the Seleucid queen's portrait is jugate with her husband's situated behind hers. However, it is difficult to establish whether the type was directly influenced by these earlier Hellenistic ones.

#### **m) Egypt**

Egypt is treated separately here from the rest of Africa because of its unique status. With the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, Octavian annexed Egypt as an imperial province in 30 BC under the direct control of the emperor, who appointed magistrates from among Rome's *equites* to govern the province on his behalf. Senators were not permitted to hold any magistracy in Egypt. In addition, Octavian maintained the closed currency system that had been used under Ptolemaic rule with Alexandria as principal and only mint of Egypt.

Many of the coins issued at the Alexandrian mint have been classified by scholars into groups according to dates (some coins bear the year they were



issued) and stylistic considerations.<sup>67</sup> Under Augustus, coins of Livia first appeared on the coins of Alexandria around 19 BC and continued through to the reign of Tiberius and the year AD 19/20 (I.M1.1-9). The obverse portraits of Livia presented on Alexandrian coins show very little divergence in style and remained consistent throughout, bearing the same variant of the nodus hairstyle, the Fayum. This portrait style follows that found in surviving sculptural portraits of Livia from Egypt, such as the one from Arsinoe (II.M2.1).<sup>68</sup> In a couple of Augustan examples (I.M1.1-2), Livia's obverse portrait is accompanied by a legend referring to her by name ΛΙΟΥΙΑ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ.

Many of the reverses of the coins bearing Livia's portrait contain types familiar to the Alexandrian mint since Ptolemaic times, including the double cornucopia and the eagle. There were also new ones introduced that refer to the rule of Augustus, such as the oak wreath. However, a couple of types may link Livia with key goddesses such as Demeter by means of ears of grain and flowers (M1.9-no plate) and Hera via the peacock (M1.11-no plate). Coins at several other African mints, namely Thapsus and Oea, depict Livia with these attributes.

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<sup>67</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 691ff. Here the authors of *RPC I* follow closely the method of classification of Alexandrian coins established by J.G. Milne, "The Alexandrian Coinage of Augustus," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 13 (1927): 135-140.

<sup>68</sup> Bartman's catalogue of Livia's sculptural portraits includes a second one from Egypt (provenance unclear), which bears similar hair and facial styles as the Arsinoe portrait. See Bartman, 173-174, no. 63, fig. 160.

The dynastic theme plays a role on the coins issued under Augustus, which also included a portrait type of Gaius.<sup>69</sup> However, under Tiberius coins initially promoted the relationship between Tiberius and Livia up until AD 20 by means of separate issues for each. Coins after AD 19 focused primarily on Tiberius (obverse) along with deified Augustus (reverse).<sup>70</sup>

The presence of Livia's portrait on coins of Alexandria comes as no surprise given that prior to Roman control there had been a long tradition of presenting portraits of Ptolemaic royal women on coins, the most recent one being Cleopatra VII.<sup>71</sup> While the mint was undoubtedly under direct imperial control, the style of representation for Livia was similar to that of Cleopatra, with the portrait facing right and only rarely an accompanying legend. However, the distinctive nodus hairstyle clearly identified the portrait subject as Livia. The presence of Livia's portraits on the coins of Alexandria would have provided a sense of familiarity and continuity for the local users of the coins.

While the consistent presence of Livia's portrait on Alexandrian coins may have been part of a long numismatic tradition for representing royal women, Livia was clearly held in high regard as a key member of the ruling imperial family, which can be seen in the presence of sculptural portraits in Egypt. Especially noteworthy is the portrait of Livia from Arsinoe which was part of a

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<sup>69</sup> *RPC* I, 5019.

<sup>70</sup> *RPC* I, 5089-5105.

<sup>71</sup> Susan Walker and Peter Higgs eds, *Cleopatra of Egypt* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 2001) 177-178.

dynastic sculptural group that also included portraits of Augustus and Tiberius.<sup>72</sup> In addition, a surviving papyrus fragment recording the visit of a deputation of envoys from Alexandria to Rome expresses the high regard in which the Alexandrians held Livia.<sup>73</sup> She was also cited there as a goddess who oversaw marriage contracts well into the mid-second century and her birthday was celebrated even into the reign of the emperor Claudius.<sup>74</sup>

#### **n) Africa**

The majority of the cities of the province Africa Proconsularis, whether Roman colony or free city, issued coins bearing the ruling emperor's portrait. Some cities issued coins bearing portraits of other imperial family members as well, in particular those marked as successor to the emperor. Livia's portrait did not appear on the coins of African cities until the reign of Tiberius. All except one of the eight African cities issuing coins during the reign of Tiberius made reference to Livia. The absence of Livia coins from Africa during the reign of Augustus appears to be in line with the trend in the western half of the empire during that time to avoid such overt references to imperial women on coins. As will be shown, the same tendency can be found in Spain and Gaul.

The most prolific coin type of Livia to be found in Africa is that of Livia seated and veiled. All of the mints except for Oea issued some version of this

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<sup>72</sup> Rose, 188-189, no. 129.

<sup>73</sup> Barrett, 206, n.68, which cites *P. Oxy.* 2435 verso, 45.

<sup>74</sup> Barrett, 209, 223.

type. The types issued are very similar to that issued at Rome in the early years of Tiberius's reign (I.N1.1-4, II.N1.5-6, III.N1.9 and 11, IV.N1.12-16, V.N1.19-21). Almost all show Livia holding the patera and sceptre, and nearly all show the same type of chair matching that depicted on the coins of Rome, which means that the mints issuing this type endeavoured to adhere to the standard set by Rome for representing Livia in this particular mode. However, the mints of Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna (I.N1.2-4) and Thapsus (III.N1.9) switched Livia's patera for ears of grain, thus likening her to the goddess Ceres. Many of the coins of the seated figure carry accompanying legends, but only a few bear reference to Livia: Hippo Regius (II.N1.5) refers to Livia as IVL(iae) AVG(ustae), Lepcis Magna (II.N1.6) as AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA(e), and Thapsus (III.N1.9) as CERERI AVGVSTAE. The presence of these legends indicates that, even though Livia may not have been referred to by name as in the case of the seated Livia types at Rome, the seated type most plausibly was perceived as Livia by viewers of the coins.

A few mints, namely Oea, Thapsus, and Utica, issued coins bearing Livia's portrait. Again we see an interest in maintaining the portrait standards set by the mint of Rome, but the degree of fineness of execution varies from very fine to fairly crude. The coin portraits of Livia issued at Oea (II.N1.7-8) strongly resembles that of Livia found on the *Salus* dupondius of Rome (AD 22-23). The others issued at Thapsus (III.N1.10) and Utica (IV. N1.17-18) recall the *Pietas* type issued at Rome around the same time as the *Salus* type, although the roughness of the facial features make it difficult to identify these images as Livia.

However, the coin type issued at Thapsus bears an accompanying legend, IVN(oni) AVG(ustae) which identifies the figure depicted with Livia.

A strong dynastic theme survives in the coins issued at Hippo Regius, which issued coins first referring to Gaius and Lucius, and then Tiberius, during the reign of Augustus.<sup>75</sup> Under Tiberius, the same mint issued coins referring to Drusus Minor, with Livia included as part of the dynastic equation.<sup>76</sup> The remaining mints often issued coins referring primarily to Livia and Tiberius, with both of their portraits occupying the same coin, thereby emphasizing the relationship between mother and son. Occasionally Divus Augustus was factored into these familial coin series as at Lepcis Magna.<sup>77</sup>

As can be found on coins of several mints in the eastern provinces, Livia was associated with key deities, in particular mother deities such as Ceres and Juno. The ears of grain, attribute of Ceres, can be found on several seated figure types (already mentioned) with one from Thapsus (III.N1.9) being more explicit by adding the *modius* (grain measure) and the legend CERERI AVGVSTAE. The ears of grain also appear behind Livia's portrait as issued at Oea (II.N1.7). The same coin of Oea contained the peacock, an attribute of Juno. Thapsus issued a coin portrait of Livia with the legend referring to her as Juno (III.N1.10). The coin types associate Livia with Juno and Ceres, who were known primarily for their role as mother goddesses, which corresponded with Livia's role as mother of

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<sup>75</sup> RPC I, 709-710.

<sup>76</sup> RPC I, 711-712.

<sup>77</sup> RPC I, 848.

the imperial family. Livia's association with Juno and Ceres was echoed in surviving inscriptions from Africa (N3.2-3). But Livia was not simply recognized as mother of the emperor Tiberius, she was also perceived as mother of the state, as explicitly referred to in the legend of the coin from Lepcis Magna (II.N1.6) where she is called AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA(e).<sup>78</sup>

A number of sculptural portraits of Livia survive from this province, including those from Carthage and Lepcis Magna. Two from Carthage may have formed part of dynastic family groups,<sup>79</sup> as well as several from Lepcis Magna (VI.N2.2).<sup>80</sup> The presence of a statue of Livia seated at Lepcis Magna corresponds with the seated Livia coin types issued at that mint. Sculptural portraits of Livia from the time of Augustus have been dated as such based on the nodus hairstyle. Those from the reign of Tiberius or later adhere to the center part hairstyle (V.N2.1, VI.N2.2, VII.N2.4) typical for portraits of Livia at that time. The presence of sculptural honours for Livia alongside the coin issues commemorating her express the degree to which she was venerated as a key figure in the imperial family.

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<sup>78</sup> It is important to note that the Senate had proposed this title be granted to Livia in an official capacity, but Tiberius rejected the idea. See Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1, Suet. *Tib.* 50.3, and Dio 57.12.4-5, 58.2.3.

<sup>79</sup> Bartman, 175-176, nos. 65-66.

<sup>80</sup> Bartman, 179, nos. 72-73; Rose, 182-185, nos. 125-126.

## o) Gaul

Various mints throughout Gaul issued coins in the early imperial period, but only a very small number of these stand as potential candidates for representations of Livia. The most extensive coin issues from this region come from Lugdunum where Augustus established a principal mint of the empire in 15 BC.<sup>81</sup> Late in the reign of Augustus and early in the reign of Tiberius a series of aurei and denarii (I.O1.1-4) were issued with the obverse portrait of the emperor and reverses showing a seated female figure holding sceptre and branch. The identity of the figure has been questioned based on the lack of identifying legend (PONTIF MAXIM refers to the emperor's position as chief priest), and the attributes, in particular the branch/ears of grain, which associates the figure with the personification *Pax* (Peace) or the goddess Ceres.

Some have suggested that this Lugdunum type may have served as the prototype for the seated female figure on Tiberius's *aes* coins of AD 15-16 and may refer indirectly to Livia.<sup>82</sup> Pollini has argued that in no way can the figure be identified as Livia given the small size of the facial features, the generalized nature of the hair, and the lack of identifying inscription.<sup>83</sup> What Pollini does not take into account is that the viewer does not need precise facial features in order to identify the image as being symbolic of a particular person. Furthermore,

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<sup>81</sup> Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 147.

<sup>82</sup> Wood, 88.

<sup>83</sup> J. Pollini, "Man or God: Divine Assimilation and Imitation in the Late Republic and Early Principate," *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, eds. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 350.

seated Livia coin types issued by the Thessalian League in Achaea (II.F1.8) and the Asian mints of Magnesia ad Maeandrum (V.C1.21), Mysomakedones (VI.C1.28), Pergamum (VII.C1.33), Poemanenum (VIII.C1.35) and Sardis (VIII.C1.36), all dated to the reign of Tiberius, strongly resemble the configuration of the seated figure prototypes issued at Lugdunum. The ones from Mysomakedones, Pergamum and Sardis contain legends that refer directly to Livia. Therefore, the identification of the Lugdunum seated female figure with Livia is highly plausible.

One possible coin type bearing Livia's portrait has been attributed to an uncertain Gallic mint, possibly Gallia Comata (I.O1.5). The type bears resemblance to the *Pietas* type issued at Rome, but bears facial features that are strikingly typical for portraits of Livia. Once again an association with Ceres is implied by the wreath of grain that encircles the portrait.

The coins issued at Lugdunum promoted the imperial family under both Augustus and Tiberius. The coins of Augustus promoted his successors Gaius and Lucius followed by Tiberius, while the coins of Tiberius promoted the emperor alongside the deified Augustus. The presence of Livia seated with the attributes of Ceres (ears of grain) recalls her role as mother of the imperial family.

Evidence for the promotion of the imperial family in the sculptural medium survives from Baeterrae. Here, a dynastic statue group of the imperial family was found that included a portrait of Livia (II.O2.1), along with ones of



Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus Minor.<sup>84</sup> Another was found at Glanum dating to the Augustan period which was accompanied by a portrait of Octavia.<sup>85</sup>

#### **p) Spain**

The territory of Spain had consisted of the Roman provinces Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior since 197 BC, but under Augustus it was reorganized into the provinces of Lusitania, Tarraconensis and Baetica. Only five of the approximately twenty mints operating in these provinces during the reign of Tiberius issued coins referring to Livia. Two types issued during the reign of Augustus, one at Iripito (II.P1.7) and one at Pax Iulia (III.P1.9), stand as potential candidates for representations of Livia seated, but the ambiguity of the figure, its unusual attributes (cornucopia and pine cone) and the absence of identifying legend makes such identification difficult. But as will be seen, unprecedented coin types for Livia were not unheard of in Spain.

The Livia coins issued in the Spanish provinces during Tiberius's reign present a mix of types, some based on those issued at Rome and others that break from the norm. The mint of Caesaraugusta in Tarraconensis (I.P1.1) issued a seated Livia type based on that issued at Rome in the early years of Tiberius's reign, but also referred to Livia by name, IVLIA AVGVSTA. This same mint also issued coins depicting Tiberius seated,<sup>86</sup> clearly counterparts to the seated

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<sup>84</sup> Rose, 126-128, no. 52.

<sup>85</sup> Rose, 128-129, no. 53.

<sup>86</sup> *RPC I*, 344, 346.

Livia coins similar to those of the emperor seated issued at Rome. Seated types of Livia were also issued at Emerita in Lusitania (I.P1.5) and Italica in Baetica (II.P1.8). In each of these cases, the configuration of the seated figure is quite different from that at Rome: the Emerita coin shows Livia with head bare, holding a torch rather than a sceptre; the one at Italica depicts Livia seated in a more relaxed pose on a very ornate throne. In each case Livia is referred to as IVLIA AVGVSTA.

Caesaraugusta also issued types that recall the *Pietas* type issued at Rome (I.P1.2-3), but here includes the epithet *Augusta*, which also associates the type with Livia. The mints of Emerita (I.P1.4-5, II.P1.6), Tarraco (III.P1.11) and Colonia Romula (III.P1.10) also issued coins bearing Livia's portrait. The examples from Emerita and Tarraco survive in a rather worn state making it difficult to pinpoint whether a specific portrait style was used. The ones from Emerita may be based on the *Salus* type from Rome given the presence of the legend SALVS AVGVSTA. The type from Colonia Romula is exceptional not only on account of its legend, which refers to Livia as IVLIA AVGVSTA GENTRIX ORBIS, but also because of the attributes of the globe, crescent moon and laurel crown accompanying the portrait. Livia's appellation as *genetrix orbis* (mother of the world) is also found on an inscribed statue base from Anticaria (P3.1). These attributes along with the legend will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 6, but it is important to note here that the hairstyle is most likely the Fayum variant of the nodus type, which is in contrast to the center-part hairstyle that was so typical of Livia's portrait during Tiberius's reign.

Livia's place in the dynastic ideology of the imperial family was apparent in the numismatic program of several Spanish mints during Tiberius's reign. The mints of Emerita, Colonia Romula, and Tarraco issued coins that not only commemorated Livia and Tiberius, but also Tiberius's successors Germanicus and Drusus.<sup>87</sup> Coins of Italica (II.P1.8) and Colonia Romula (III.P1.10) highlighted Livia's relationship to the deified Augustus. A coin of Tarraco (III.P1.11) communicated Livia's status as mother of the imperial dynasty by placing her portrait facing that of her grandson Drusus Minor along with her name IVL(ia) AVGVSTA, while the portrait of her son Tiberius on the obverse completed the dialogue.

The high regard in which the Spanish provinces held Livia can be seen most vividly in the province of Baetica. Not only did the cities of Colonia Romula and Anticaria regard her as *genetrix orbis*, but in AD 25 the province sent a deputation to Rome seeking permission to build a temple there to Tiberius and Livia, citing the precedent which had already been set by Smyrna in Asia. But, Tiberius denied the request stating that too many such honours would appear excessive.<sup>88</sup> Nonetheless, efforts to honour Livia were also made through sculptural dedications including one from a statue group at Asido (near Gades),<sup>89</sup> which also included portraits of Germanicus and Drusus Minor. Portraits of Livia were also found at Tarraco, Ampurias (IV.P2.1), and Iponuba (IV.P2.2). The one

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<sup>87</sup> For Italica see *RPC I*, 69-72. For Colonia Romula see *RPC I*, 74-75. For Tarraco see *RPC I*, 232.

<sup>88</sup> *Tac. Ann.* 4.37. See also Barrett, 163.

<sup>89</sup> Rose, 132, no. 59.

from Iponuba depicts Livia standing and holding a cornucopia, which makes plausible the identification of the seated female figure holding cornucopia found on the coin of Irippa as Livia (II.P1.7).

### 5.3 Conclusion

Throughout the above sections I have noted particular mints from various parts of the empire that featured specific paradigm types of Livia's portrait repertoire on the coins they issued. What appears to have been consistently evident is that the various provincial mints of the empire did endeavour to maintain specific visual norms with regard to Livia's image, some of which may have been transmitted from the imperial regime in Rome itself. Nowhere is this desire to maintain a particular standard of visual representation more apparent than at mints such as Magnesia ad Sipylum, Corinth, Thessalonica and various African and Spanish mints who clearly repeated the dupondii series of Rome, which featured *Salus*, *Iustitia* and *Pietas* types, as well as the seated Livia types from early in Tiberius's reign. In the case of Corinth, this adherence was likely on account of the fact that this city was a Roman colony governed by Roman magistrates; the coins themselves were signed by the mint officials, *duoviri*, who issued them.<sup>90</sup> Thessalonica on the other hand was a civic mint with its own local governing authorities who perhaps issued these coins in an attempt to flatter and/or show loyalty to their Roman rulers. Nowhere is the desire to maintain a

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<sup>90</sup> Burnett et al, *RPC I*, 249. Here the authors list the *duoviri* who served from 44 BC to AD 68-69.

specific iconographic and stylistic standard more obvious than at the imperial run mint of Alexandria, where Livia's portraits consistently sport the Fayum hairstyle popularized in the Augustan period and carried on under Tiberius. Even the facial features of Livia, which appear to be of the "mature, yet ageless" paradigm type, remain relatively consistent throughout.

We have seen in the provincial coins a desire to create images that adhere to specific image paradigms and styles that were considered standard for Livia's portrait repertoire as conveyed in coins and other media. But, there were clearly instances where local tastes influenced artistic style and, in turn, ideology surrounding Livia's portrait repertoire. The variations in the standard hairstyle types in the coin portraits of Livia were the result, on the one hand, of artistic licence of the die engravers, but also of the collective tastes of the social group that produced them.<sup>91</sup> Local stylistic taste is quite pronounced in the case of Livia's portrait with Zopftyp hairstyle which, as has already been illustrated, was a style peculiar to the region of Asia Minor, in particular Pergamum, where it seems to have appeared not only on coins, but in sculpture as well. Yet, there also were instances where there were inconsistencies in style and image type from portrait to portrait at a given mint, such as Alabanda (I.C1.1-3), where different hairstyles and facial features are obvious.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 113.

<sup>92</sup> It is important to note here that the authors of *RPC* I, 462-463 are hesitant to label the female figure on these coins as Livia, but they do acknowledge that the hairstyles presented are likely imperial.

While there were variations from region to region in the image types and styles that were employed in Livia's visual representation on coins, there were also variations in the use and types of coins legends that accompanied Livia's coin images. One key issue is the significance behind the presence or absence of Livia's name on coins. Regarding the seated Livia coin types, the imperial mint of Rome does not identify the figure as Livia by legend. On first examination, it may appear that the official mint at Rome was avoiding explicit reference to her by name. This may appear to indicate a desire to be ambiguous and therefore incites questions regarding the intentions of those who commissioned and/or designed these coin images. But, one must consider how the viewer may have interpreted the figure.

The provincial versions of this type show an undeniable awareness amongst mint magistrates of the official iconography of Roman coins, but what is interesting is that they did not hesitate to "label" the seated female figure as Livia. An *as* of the colony of Caesaraugusta in Spain (I.P1.1) presents the portrait of the emperor Tiberius on the obverse, while the reverse shows a seated female figure very similar to the one depicted on *asses* of Rome (I.A1.6-7). The figure is accompanied by the legend IVLIA AVGVSTA which leaves no doubt as to whom the colonists interpreted the figure to be. This type remains consistent amongst other Spanish colonies such as Italica (II.P1.8) and Emerita (I.P1.5) which issued similar types with the corresponding IVLIA AVGVSTA legend.

So, why does the mint of Rome not state who the seated figure is, but various ones in the provinces do? The answer may be found in the statue groups

set up in Rome, Italy, and the provinces in honour of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia after Augustus's death in AD 14. Most statue groups of the imperial family, both at Rome and abroad were set up with accompanying inscriptions identifying the figures depicted by name.<sup>93</sup> Given that the central ruling authority in Rome produced and sanctioned the images for promoting the emperor and his family,<sup>94</sup> the people of Rome would have been well acquainted with such statue groups and they would have been familiar with the iconography used. Thus it would be clear to them who was being depicted, given the iconography shared between coins and sculpture. However, when these coin types were sent to cities of the provinces, not all of these cities necessarily would have had access to such statue groups or perhaps a particular type of statue group as say the seated figures group. Therefore, naming the seated Livia type would have aided the provincial viewer in identifying that this was an official image type representing Livia, which locals could then also adapt to accommodate local ideologies regarding the imperial family.

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<sup>93</sup> For a statue group of Rome see Rose, 107, cat. no. 35. As Rose states, the evidence for this group comes from the *Tabula Siarensis*, which concerns a senatorial decree of AD 19 regarding the posthumous honours given to Germanicus. A section of the tabula (l. 9-11) refers to a triumphal arch to be constructed for Germanicus, which was to be placed next to a statuary group of Divus Augustus and the Domus Augusta. According to Rose, the Domus Augusta would technically have included Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Drusus Minor and Germanicus. For the complete *Tabula Siarensis*, see M.H. Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes*, BICS Suppl. 64 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996) no. 37. Where they survive, Rose refers to the inscriptions that accompanied many statuary groups throughout the empire. Several examples that refer to Livia include: 88, cat. no. 11 from Forum Clodii (Italy); 121-122, cat. no. 50 from Velleia (Italy); 140-141; 142, cat. no. 74 from Gytheum (Greece); 161, cat. no. 99 from Ancyra (Asia); 164, cat. no. 104 from Aphrodisias (Asia); 182, cat. no. 125 from Lepcis Magna (Africa).

<sup>94</sup> Rose, 8-9.

While some provincial cities associated the seated female figure with Livia by providing an identifying legend, others interpreted the figure as Livia in the guise of a particular goddess such as Ceres or Juno. Grant has argued that the Roman colonies were strongly inclined to identify divinities and personifications with living imperial personages,<sup>95</sup> perhaps in order to facilitate rites of loyalty to the emperor and his family by associating them with a deity's divine qualities.

Given the widespread issue of Livia's image on coins, it is apparent that her commemoration was popular and important in the provinces. The popularization of Livia on coins may also be attributed to her affluence as patron in the provinces, a role which would increase and continue in the reign of her son Tiberius. In this capacity Livia may have been perceived as a mother of the people of the empire on account of her many kindnesses.<sup>96</sup> Livia's acquaintance with the peoples of the provinces both in the East and the West would have been made when she accompanied Augustus on his tour of the Empire which took place sometime during the years 21-19 BC.<sup>97</sup> There is evidence pertaining to her appeals to her husband on behalf of city-states and individuals. According to Dio, Augustus also granted freedom to the Samians presumably as a result of Livia's

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<sup>95</sup> Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, 137.

<sup>96</sup> Dio 58.2.3. Here Dio relates that upon Livia's death people were calling Livia "Mother of her Country" because she had saved the lives of many, reared the children of many and had helped many to pay their daughters' dowries.

<sup>97</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 3.34.6. Note as well that Tacitus condemns Livia's involvement in provincial affairs which is in contrast to the testament to her popularity which can be perceived from coins and sculpture. Despite Tacitus's opposition, it must have been acceptable to the emperor (whether Augustus or Tiberius) to a degree, otherwise he would have curbed such honours. See also Wood, 79-80.



lobbying.<sup>98</sup> In recognition of her patronage, a number of these cities worshipped her as θεα εὐεργετις (divine benefactress).<sup>99</sup> As a result of her many benefactions she was seen as the sympathetic mother and kind-hearted wife, which became an imperial institution.<sup>100</sup> Provincial coins paying tribute to Livia as divine and marking her association with goddesses such as Hera and Demeter acknowledged and sanctioned her very public role in the Empire.

Livia's depiction on coins began with the eastern mints of the Roman Empire due to the fact that a tradition of commemorating royal women had been in place there since Hellenistic times. The coins of the west remained relatively silent concerning Livia in large part because the practice of commemorating individuals on coins was relatively new. Therefore, the early coin types of Livia from the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius were the first steps in establishing an acceptable model for the representation of female imperial family members who played an integral role in the maintenance and perpetuation of dynasty.

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<sup>98</sup> Dio 54.9.7. See also Barrett, 198; Bartman, 73, n. 15.

<sup>99</sup> Purcell, 87. See also Grether, 231, who states that inscriptions from both Athens and Thasos refer to Livia as εὐεργετη, which is reminiscent of the honours of Hellenistic royal families.

<sup>100</sup> Purcell, 88.

## CHAPTER 6

### **The Promulgation of Gender Roles and Power through Coin Images of Livia**

The last two chapters have been devoted to the mapping of Livia's coin images in order to trace how these images were developed and how they functioned within the broader visual program that was conceived for Livia. What has been revealed through this analytical process of visual mapping is that the iconography developed for representing Livia on coins transcended multiple media, including sculpture and cameos, found across the varied regions of the Roman Empire. Chapter 4 demonstrated that there were specific formulae, or visual syntaxes, in place for visualizing Livia in each of the syntagmatic visual modes detailed: portrait, seated female figure and standing female figure. These formulae, which could vary depending on mint and mint authority, controlled the manner in which Livia was portrayed in order to convey particular messages about the empress, her gender and power roles, and the ideology which essentially was the source of such images. Making images is a social practice whereby representation serves as an ideological tool.<sup>1</sup> According to Boymel-Kampen, "The job of representation, if we can call it that, is to reconfigure the world; in the process it may help to challenge or to reproduce social arrangements in such a

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<sup>1</sup> Natalie Boymel Kampen, "Epilogue: Gender and Desire," *Naked Truths: women, sexuality and gender in Classical art and Archaeology*, eds. Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow and Claire L. Lyons (London: Routledge, 1997) 267.

way as to make institutions and practices seem completely natural, so inevitable and universal that they couldn't possibly need any help at all."<sup>2</sup>

Just as the image elements of sculpture were designed according to a visual grammar that conveyed to the viewer messages concerning gender, coins too were semiotically composed and thereby infused with the capacity to communicate such messages. This chapter focuses on the numismatic images of Livia as meaningfully constituted images saturated in ideological themes in these key areas: gender and social roles rooted in concepts concerning gender and power. The analyses and summaries which follow not only aim to provide a more concrete picture of the messages conveyed by coins regarding Livia, but also those of other members of society as well, in particular male imperial family members. The chapter as a whole will also summarize the findings of Chapters 4 and 5 in order to illustrate effectively how gender was conveyed through Livia's coin images and what these images tell us about gender roles specific to Livia.

### **6.1 *Gendered Designs on Coins of Livia***

Representational art and its various forms play a significant role in the negotiation of gender.<sup>3</sup> Gender and in particular gender roles can be constructed

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<sup>2</sup> Kampen, 267. See also René Rodgers, "Female Representation in Roman Art: Feminising the Provincial Other," *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, eds. Sarah Scott and Jane Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, "Methods in Feminist and Gender Archaeology: A Feeling for Difference—and Likeness," *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson (Lanham, MD: Alta Mira Press, 2007) 11. See also Introduction, footnote 5.

through various visual media which function in distinctive contexts including monumental, state-sponsored art like sculpture and more common consumer art such as figurines and pottery.<sup>4</sup> Roman coins, produced in the capital and in the provinces, were unique in that they were both common – being mass-produced and boasting widespread usage amongst the inhabitants of empire – and state-sponsored. Coins and other media, such as sculpture and cameos, often held iconographical elements in common and were part of a broader visual context, making coins comparably effective in the transmission of messages concerning gender, power and status between the sexes in Roman society.

Over the course of this section I will examine several key questions surrounding gender and images: How did Romans conceive and perceive gender and gender roles, particularly in relation to power and status, in Roman imperial society? Taking into consideration the relationship between image composition and ideology, how do images, especially those on coins, communicate gender and gender roles? Before turning to my discussion on how coin images conveyed messages related to gender, it is important to first consider how Romans defined and thought about gender as a social construct that reflected status, power and social roles.

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<sup>4</sup> Rosemary A. Joyce, "The Construction of Gender in Maya Classic Monuments," *Gender and Archaeology*, ed. R.P. Wright (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) 167-195 as cited by Brumfiel, 11.

### a) Definitions of Gender: Modern versus Roman Perspectives

A discussion of gender in the Roman world has its challenges given that gender was a concept for which Romans had no specific word to describe it in the Latin language.<sup>5</sup> Even the most recent edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (*OCD*) considers it a multifarious term and, rather than giving it an entry unto itself, directs the reader to several other entries that the contributors feel covers the essence of the term: gynaecology, heterosexuality, homosexuality, marriage, sexuality, and women.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, the words “man” or “masculinity” do not factor into the *OCD*’s list of terms dealing with gender, which no doubt reflects modern definitions and perceptions of gender as falling under the umbrella of women’s and feminist studies.<sup>7</sup> However, more recent scholarship is paying particular attention to the male/masculine and female/feminine as distinct yet related categories of gender in which definitions and analyses of one cannot be accomplished without consideration of the other.<sup>8</sup> When analyzing Livia’s

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<sup>5</sup> Dominic Montserrat, “Reading Gender in the Roman World,” *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Janet Huskinson (London: Routledge, 2000) 153. The closest Latin word to our modern term “gender” is perhaps *genus*, *-eris* (neuter) – class, kind, sort; see D. P. Simpson, *Cassell’s Latin Dictionary* (New York: Macmillan, 1968) 264, s.v. “genus”.

<sup>6</sup> *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 629, s.v. “gender”. See also Montserrat, 161.

<sup>7</sup> Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” 1054-1056.

<sup>8</sup> Henrietta L. Moore, *A Passion for Difference: Essays in Anthropology and Gender* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994) 58-61; Susan Fischler, “Imperial Cult: engendering the cosmos,” *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, power and identity in classical antiquity*, ed. Lin Foxhall and John Salmon (London: Routledge, 1998) 165-183; Claire L. Lyons and Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, “Naked Truths about Classical Art: An Introduction,” *Naked Truths: Women, sexuality, and gender in classical art and archaeology*, ed. Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow and Claire L. Lyons (London: Routledge, 1997) 4.

gendered images, those of her male counterparts will be carefully considered as well.

The concept of gender is a modern one which incites caution when superimposing its definitions onto the Roman world.<sup>9</sup> I will not be attempting to do so here, yet it is important to be aware of the modern basic definitions of gender and gender roles. In essence, gender is a social and cultural construct which refers to an individual's inner-sex identity irrespective of his/her outward, biological sex.<sup>10</sup> Closely associated with this definition is the concept of "gender roles" which refers to the social duties, as well as behaviours, attitudes, relationships and lifestyles expected from an individual's gender category and his/her social status.<sup>11</sup>

In ancient Roman society, biological sex, as determined at birth, was a factor in establishing gender and, most importantly, subsequent gender roles.<sup>12</sup> According to scholars, Romans understood gender to be the result of the intersection of anatomical sex and social relations.<sup>13</sup> The gender roles of male and female did not become particularly relevant in Roman society, at least from a

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<sup>9</sup> Montserrat, 155.

<sup>10</sup> Connell, 8; Rosemary A. Joyce, *Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives: sex, gender and archaeology* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008) 43-45.

<sup>11</sup> Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) 2, 29; Brumfiel, 7; Moore, *A Passion for Difference*, 10-12.

<sup>12</sup> Jane F. Gardner, "Sexing a Roman: imperfect men in Roman law," *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, power and identity in classical antiquity*, eds. Lin Foxhall and John Salmon (London: Routledge, 1998) 137, 147.

<sup>13</sup> Montserrat, 154.

legal standpoint, until a child reached adulthood, but were nonetheless rooted in biological sex established at birth.<sup>14</sup> That Romans had a sharp awareness of distinct gender categories can be ascertained through the nouns of the Latin language, which were sorted into the gender-based categories of masculine, feminine and neuter.<sup>15</sup>

For Romans, gender was perceived as a culturally constructed social category concerned with power, as well as the creation and maintenance of power hierarchies.<sup>16</sup> Gender as social construct is intricately connected to the concept of power. Gender stems from social relationships based on perceived differences between sexes (gender defined sex as opposed to biological) thus making it a primary way of signifying relationships of power.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, gender is closely connected to “relations between the sexes” including power relations.

Roman perceptions of power can be found in the manner in which Romans defined and promoted gender roles through various media, both visual and literary. For men and women, particularly those of Roman citizen status, efforts were made to define and enforce male and female gender roles both in legal terms and through dress codes.<sup>18</sup> Contemporary literary sources attest to the

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<sup>14</sup> Gardner, 137.

<sup>15</sup> Anthony Corbeill, “*Genus quid est?* Roman Scholars on Grammatical Gender and Biological Sex,” *TAPA* 138 (2008) 177.

<sup>16</sup> Montserrat, 155.

<sup>17</sup> Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” 1067; Connell, 10-11.

<sup>18</sup> Gardner, 141 and 146-147.

“ideal” social roles associated with each of these gender categories. Ideal Roman women were to be modest both in dress and demeanour, faithful and devoted to their husbands and families, and respectful of their husband’s authority, while men ideally were independent, rational, strong, composed and active in public life.<sup>19</sup> Many such descriptions come from literature composed by and for the elite Roman male who “constructed gender in such a way as to make clear their dominance over many facets of Roman life.”<sup>20</sup>

However, in Roman society as in modern, the boundaries of biologically-based sex/gender roles and categories could be blurred depending on the particular social and/or religious context in which a specific gender role was applied. A case in point can be seen in Rome’s Vestal Virgins, priestesses of one of Rome’s most important state cults, the cult of Vesta.<sup>21</sup> The Vestal priestesses were set apart from other Roman citizen men and women in both religious and

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<sup>19</sup> Teresa R. Ramsby and Beth Severy-Hoven, “Gender, Sex, and the Domestication of the Empire in Art of the Augustan Age,” *Arethusa* 40 (2007): 46.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. See Val. Max. 6.7.1-3 which gives several examples of wives and their devotion to their husbands. Concerning a woman’s modest and chaste behaviour see the Pythagorean text attributed to Phintys (Italy, 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) cited by Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, *Women’s Life in Greece and Rome: a sourcebook in translation*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005) 163-164. Regarding dress, the veil was an important symbol of the humility of the ideal Roman matron and her submission to her husband, as indicated in Val. Max. 6.3.10. See also Sebesta, 46-47.

<sup>21</sup> Central to the cult of Vesta was the belief which equated the steadfastness of the hearth fire of the Roman domestic household with the perseverance, stability and well-being of the Roman state. The Vestal Virgins tended to the sacred hearth fire of the Roman state, housed in a temple in Rome’s Forum.



legal terms, and by their distinctive dress.<sup>22</sup> While biologically female, the Vestal priestesses asserted a status according to gender roles that blurred the lines of the male-female dichotomy, a mix of male and female categories that served as markers of their sacred status.<sup>23</sup> The Vestals' virginal/sexual purity and distinctive dress echoed that of chaste maidens and matrons, while the privilege of having lictors (the body guards of Roman magistrates) and seats with the senators at the games added a masculine dimension to their position.<sup>24</sup> Even more potent was the equating of Vesta's hearth fire, which the Vestals tended, not only with the sacred purity of the Vestals' virginity, but also with male procreative power, which the Roman author Varro considered the symbolic equivalent of semen.<sup>25</sup> Here, the Vestal Virgins' position and status in society was the result of the fusion of traditionally male gender roles with female ones, in order to create a hybrid gender category. In other words, separate gender categories were created for specific gender groups who performed socio-political and religious roles important to society. As shall be seen, a similar blurring of gender categories/roles can be found in some of the coin images of Livia.

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<sup>22</sup> Staples, 141 and 145-147.

<sup>23</sup> Mary Beard, "Re-Reading (Vestal) Virginity," *Women in Antiquity: new assessments*, ed. Richard Hawley and Barbara Levick (London: Routledge, 1995) 167.

<sup>24</sup> Beard, 168.

<sup>25</sup> Staples, 149; Varro, *Ling.* 5.61. Here, Varro indicates that two conditions are necessary for procreation: fire and water. The fire is male semen, while the water is the female moisture in which the baby develops.

## b) Coin Images as Gendered Constructions

The gender roles of men and women in Roman society were communicated through a variety of media: literary works, epigraphic dedications, and visual media including sculpture, intaglios and coins. The gender-based messages communicated by these various media differ significantly from one media type to the next, which adds to the complexities of trying to understand the intertextuality surrounding the ideology of gender and gender roles. In general, Roman literature did not paint a picture of women as being powerful by nature nor as representative or symbolic of power. Women were traditionally considered the weaker of the sexes, but when they exercised power and influence, they were deemed potentially dangerous.<sup>26</sup> Given that men were the authors of the majority of Roman literary works, it is safe to assume that men were also the designers of the images found in Roman visual media from sculpture to cameos, but perhaps none more so than coins, an official medium of the state. In contrast to literary sources, images of Roman women could be analogous to power.

Images played a key role in the portrayal of gender by helping to reinforce and explain the power-relationships between men and women.”<sup>27</sup> For Romans, gender was very much conceived and perceived along the lines of the

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<sup>26</sup> See Livy 34.1 which details Marcus Portius Cato’s speech concerning the women’s repeal of the Oppian Law and how the women’s open political voice on this matter was seen as a threat to male political authority. Even Livia’s power and influence was considered problematic: Tac. *Ann.* 1.4.5; Suet. *Tib.* 50.2-3; Dio 57.12.1-6.

<sup>27</sup> Fischler, “Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of Imperial Women at Rome,” 116.

visual and was based largely on appearance and action rather than on physical sex.<sup>28</sup> As has already been stated, gender is very much tied up in appearances. In essence, specific image elements, or visual paradigms, can be infused with messages concerning gender and status. All of these image elements belong to a visual code that played a key role in the construction and maintenance of “ideal” social realities including gender roles.<sup>29</sup>

Yet, the issue of image design, in particular coin images, begs the question “Did gender-specific social roles help determine the iconography of men and women in Roman art or was art simply presenting an ‘ideal’ image rather than reality?” In essence, appearance is the primary means by which social relationships and categories are communicated and constructed.<sup>30</sup> Boymel-Kampen addressed the issue of women’s roles and status in society as a determinant of the iconography developed for their portrayal in Roman art.<sup>31</sup> In her analysis, Boymel-Kampen compared groups of images showing men and women working as vendors, and then compared these with those concerning other occupations such as merchants and medical workers, in order to reveal the ways

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<sup>28</sup> Montserrat, 176.

<sup>29</sup> Chandler, 153.

<sup>30</sup> Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, “The Construction of Gender Through Appearance,” *The Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary*, ed. Dale Walde and Noreen D. Willows (Calgary: University of Calgary Archaeological Association, 1991) 122.

<sup>31</sup> Boymel-Kampen, “Social Status and Gender in Roman Art: The Case of the Saleswoman,” 115-132.

in which social status and gender affected a woman's visual image.<sup>32</sup> Taking into consideration elements such as dress, pose, and accompanying figures and attributes, she revealed convincingly the connection between iconography, social status and gender, and concluded by stating that works of art "reveal the existence of variations in social and gender experience within the lower classes of Rome as well as differences between upper- and lower- class values."<sup>33</sup>

But the question must be asked: how do images, in particular those found in the numismatic medium, communicate male and female gender and their respective gender roles? Previous chapters have shown that coins do share image elements in common with other media, although they are executed in two-dimensional relief rather than three-dimensional in the round as in the case of sculpture. Regarding coins, as in any medium, specific image elements were emphasized over others, such as hairstyle over facial features, in order to present an image infused with particular messages related to gender that were not only peculiar to coins as a distinct visual medium, but also unique in terms of the overall visual program designed for Livia that transcended all media. I will now turn to the paradigmatic elements of Livia's coin images most conducive to a discussion on relationship between appearance and the communication of gender-related messages: dress, hairstyle and facial features.

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<sup>32</sup> Boymel-Kampen, "Social Status and Gender in Roman Art: The Case of the Saleswoman," 116.

<sup>33</sup> Boymel-Kampen, "Social Status and Gender in Roman Art: The Case of the Saleswoman," 131.

### i) *Dress*

The role of dress in the communication of social and gender roles has figured prominently in recent scholarly discussions. Stig-Sørensen has emphasized that in ancient societies, including Roman, dress was not simply a costume for the practical purpose of covering and protecting the body, but also served as a system of communication, an essential part of social learning and a means of constructing dialogues between the self and society.<sup>34</sup> In Roman society, dress was not only a culturally constituted sign system, but it carried such weight as to be politically and legally binding in most cases, thereby indicative of a rather strict dress code. The appearance of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ was thus guarded through Roman law and social codes, particularly in the case of men and women of the citizen classes.<sup>35</sup> Established iconographies, which included elements of dress, were used to distinguish between public offices, religious institutions, wealth and social status.<sup>36</sup>

Dress not only marked one’s status and position in Roman society, but also gender-specific social roles. Generally speaking, the *toga virilis* was the mark of the Roman male citizen and the *stola*, the Roman matron. The function

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<sup>34</sup> Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, “Gender, Things and Material Culture,” *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007) 88.

<sup>35</sup> Gardner, 146-147.

<sup>36</sup> Michael Koortbojian, “The Double Identity of Roman Portrait Statues: Costumes and their Symbolism at Rome,” *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, eds. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008) 79-80.

of dress in communicating diverse gender-specific social roles can be found in categories of “role” portraits present in Roman art. A particularly explicit example of such role portraits can be found in a trio of statues in the Villa Doria Pamphili at Rome that depict the same mid-third century AD man in three distinct guises: one in *togatus*, one nude wearing military guise with cloak (*paludamentum*) and sword, and a second nude in hunter guise with cloak and dog at his feet. Each one symbolizes three aspects of Roman *virtus*: civic/political, military, and the noble pursuit of *otium* (leisure) through the hunt.<sup>37</sup> The utilization of “role” portraits is also attested in the *Historia Augusta*’s account of the emperor Tacitus which describes a series of five portraits of him on a single panel, each depicting him in a different form of dress including the toga, military garb and Greek mantle.<sup>38</sup>

Livia’s visual program in the sculptural medium reveals that such “role” portraits, with dress as prime signifier, existed for her at Rome and in the provinces. Livia’s dress in her sculptural portraits include the distinctly Roman *stola*, symbolic of virtuous Roman matrons, as well as that of Greek dress such as the *peplos*, the costume typical for divinities.<sup>39</sup> The depiction of Livia wearing *stola*, at times often with *palla* covering the head, can certainly be considered a key visual element in the representation of Livia and emblematic of her specific

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<sup>37</sup> Koortbojian, 74.

<sup>38</sup> SHA, *Tac.* 16.2-4.

<sup>39</sup> Bartman, 41-44; Wood, 113, 115, 120, Alexandridis, 44.

gender/social role as *matrona*.<sup>40</sup> The *stola* as mark of female high rank, honour and virtue is attested in several literary sources. Ovid admonishes the matronly symbols of virtue, including the *stola* and *vittae* (hair fillets), which deter him in his amorous pursuits,<sup>41</sup> yet he acknowledges the power these physical symbols possess for protecting matrons from being touched by pollution.<sup>42</sup> The term “*stolata femina*”, which associates this garment directly with the female gender, can be found in a number of epigraphic sources as well.<sup>43</sup> The *stola* was a potent symbol of Roman womanhood comparable to that of the *toga* with regard to Roman men.<sup>44</sup> Even the vast amount of drapery required to cover the body down to the toes would have been expensive, thereby signalling a degree of opulence and wealth that was part and parcel of high ranking individuals.<sup>45</sup>

The dress accoutrements of the *stola*, *palla* and *vittae* were considered part and parcel of a new Augustan ideology established to promote the ideal Roman family as one of the key factors in maintaining the stability of the state. Augustus re-established the male *toga* as the “national costume of Roman men”

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<sup>40</sup> Alexandridis, 53. Here, Alexandridis argues that the *stola* was particularly favoured by the Julio-Claudians for the representation of female family members of the *Domus Augusta*.

<sup>41</sup> Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.31-32.

<sup>42</sup> Ov. *Trist.* 2.251-252. See also Jonathan Edmondson, “Public Dress and Social Control in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome,” *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, eds. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008) 24.

<sup>43</sup> *CIL* 3. 5225, 5283, 5293, 6155. These inscriptions derive from primarily funerary contexts in which the *stola* appears to be a mark of the status and virtue of the deceased.

<sup>44</sup> Purcell, 79.

<sup>45</sup> Davies, “Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society,” 216.

and, in addition, made the white *stola* “the distinctive costume for their wives.”<sup>46</sup> Augustus’s famous monument, the *Ara Pacis Augustae* of 9 BC, depicts male and female imperial family members in *toga* and *stola* respectively. Within the context of Roman social legislation, the *stola* became a symbol of female virtue and modesty.<sup>47</sup> This “dress” symbol of the *matrona* figures prominently in several full-length portrait sculptures of Livia (XII.A2.15),<sup>48</sup> which marks these as “role” portraits.

In addition to the *stola*, the *palla* (veil) was a key part of Roman female dress that held special social and religious significance. The veil was not an exclusively female attribute, but could also be employed in the visual iconography of important men of state. The head veiled was considered standard practice for participants of religious ritual, in particular priests and priestesses as a symbol of pious respect and devotion to the gods for whom such rites were performed.<sup>49</sup> Coins bearing the portrait of Julius Caesar occasionally show him wearing the mantle as a symbol of his religious piety and devotion to the state as *parens*

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<sup>46</sup> Judith Lynn Sebesta, “Women’s Costume and Civic Morality in Augustan Rome,” *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Maria Wyke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998) 107.

<sup>47</sup> Zanker, 165. See also Sebesta, “Women’s Costume and Civic Morality in Augustan Rome,” 113.

<sup>48</sup> Sebesta, “Women’s Costume and Civic Morality in Augustan Rome,” 122, fig. 3 identifies a full length statue of a priestess from Naples (National Museum, Naples, Inv. 6041) as Livia. The figure wears the *stola*. However, Bartman (15 n. 19) disputes the identity of this figure as Livia noting its lack of individualized physiognomy.

<sup>49</sup> Elaine Fantham, “Covering the Head at Rome: Ritual and Gender,” *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Allison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008) 162; Laetitia La Follette, “The Costume of the Roman Bride,” *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994) 56.



*patriae* (parent of the country) of Rome.<sup>50</sup> As regards women, the veil was worn not only by Roman matrons, but it was also a signature garment of the Vestal Virgin priestesses in a shorter version known as the *suffibulum*.<sup>51</sup> A Roman Republican denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus commemorates the Vestal Virgin Aemilia who is depicted with head veiled (V.S3.3). Even the goddess Vesta herself was often portrayed on coins wearing a veil.<sup>52</sup> Various other “mother” goddesses also had the veil as part of their iconography including Juno, Ceres, Cybele and occasionally Venus.<sup>53</sup> The fact that Livia’s portrait possessed this attribute in both the sculptural and numismatic media imbues her image with several symbolic connotations. Livia’s role as wife/mother of the emperor and thus chief matron of the imperial family is implied here, as well as her role as priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus after his death in AD 14.

But, did such “role” portraits of Livia appear on coins as they did in other media? Regarding the rendering of Livia’s dress on Roman coins we must consider the way in which dress was constructed in order to narrow down its potential social connotations. In Chapter 4, I explained the limits of Livia’s portrait coinage in representing dress, no doubt the result of that particular image mode, which placed less emphasis on the details of dress and more on the

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<sup>50</sup> *RRC*, 480/19. Note that some examples show Caesar with head veiled while referring to him as perpetual dictator (i.e. *RRC*, 480/15).

<sup>51</sup> Cleland et al., 183-184, s.v. *suffibulum*.

<sup>52</sup> *RRC*, 406/1, 413/1, and 428/1.

<sup>53</sup> *RRC*, 348/2 (Juno); 360/1a (Venus); 322/1b (Cybele); *BMCRE* 4, 395 and 403 (Ceres). While there are almost no examples of Ceres veiled on coins during the Republic or early empire, see *LIMC* IV.1, s.v. “Demeter/Ceres” for numerous examples of the goddess veiled in various media.

especially personal and physiognomic features of the face and hair. Dress in Livia's coin portraits was in essence left to the imagination and personal experience of the viewer, who could interpret it as either Roman *stola* or Greek *chiton*, both of which invoked associations with concepts of mother and/or matron, once again feeding into the gender-specific social role of motherhood. The same dilemma has been found in Livia's full length figures, whether seated or standing, where the ambiguity of the dress leaves interpretation open as to either Greek or Roman. Once again Livia's matronly status is implied, although the Greek guise incites associations with divine "mother" goddesses.<sup>54</sup> The depiction of dress on coin images of Livia is ambiguous on account of the nature of the medium, but this does not weaken its potency as message bearer. The ambiguous rendering of dress on coins provides multiple possible interpretations, but all lead back to Livia's role as mother and wife in the Roman imperial family.

## ii) *Hairstyle and Hair Adornment*

Hairstyle was another key marker of gender and status steeped in sexual connotations and considered one of the prime attributes of the well-dressed Roman woman. The Roman prose writer Apuleius (born c. AD 125) states that "The significance of a woman's coiffure is so great that, no matter how finely attired she may be...., unless she has embellished her hair she cannot be called

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<sup>54</sup> Alexandridis, 41 argues that a fusion of Greek and Roman elements existed in the dress employed in the depictions of imperial women, which contributed to the high status implied by such dress.

well-dressed.”<sup>55</sup> A woman’s hairstyle not only served as a gender marker indicative of her sex, but also codified specific socio-political and gender roles related to her position in society. Women’s hairstyles were in essence culturally constructed visual motifs that not only set them apart from their male counterparts in society, but they also symbolized social roles and relationships between individuals and the society to which they belonged.<sup>56</sup>

Beyond the general classification of hairstyles, their symbolic function and how they communicate gender roles has only recently been touched upon.<sup>57</sup> Bartman states that while men’s and women’s hair are essentially the same in the biological sense, the decision that men should cut their hair and wear it short and that women should grow their hair long, yet bind it in some kind of chignon, is a cultural one and a mark of one’s participation in social structures that reflect publicly defined roles.<sup>58</sup> Myerowitz-Levine has discussed various ancient literary sources that she argues “encode cultural significances of hair.”<sup>59</sup> She provides as an example the myth of Daphne and Apollo from Book One of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, in which the virgin Daphne’s hair streams free and wild during

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<sup>55</sup> Apul. *Met.* 2.9. See also Bartman, 32.

<sup>56</sup> Elizabeth Bartman, “Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment,” *AJA* 105.1 (2001): 3-5; Molly Myerowitz Levine, “The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair,” *Off with Her Head! The Denial of Women’s Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture*, eds. Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 81.

<sup>57</sup> Bartman, “Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment,” 1; Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 93.

<sup>58</sup> Bartman, “Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment,” 2 and 5.

<sup>59</sup> Myerowitz Levine, 76.

the pursuit by Apollo, but as he is about to capture her she is transformed into the laurel tree and her tresses, its leaves.<sup>60</sup> Analogous to marriage, Daphne now belongs to Apollo and her once wild hair, which he now has the privilege of cutting, is a symbol of his control over her.<sup>61</sup> Given hair's natural ability to grow and regenerate itself in a seemingly infinite and unfettered way, the cultural decision to cut or bind hair is to impose cultural limits on one's nature.<sup>62</sup>

Changes in hairstyle implied ideological transformations in status and social roles of Roman women.<sup>63</sup> We do know that a woman's hair was styled in a *tutulus* on her wedding day (hair parted in sections and then piled atop the head and secured with woollen bands called *vittae*), which marked her passage from adolescence to mature womanhood and was regarded as a symbol of chastity.<sup>64</sup> The binding of women's hair became a symbol of the dominance of the husband over the wife and marked the beginnings of the woman's role as chastely devoted wife and mother.

The same principle of changing styles signalling a change in status and roles can be seen with regard to Roman men as well. Hairstyle was not as detailed a venture for men as with women. Keeping one's hair neat and trim was

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<sup>60</sup> *Ov. Met.* 1. 452-567.

<sup>61</sup> Myerowitz Levine, 83-85.

<sup>62</sup> Myerowitz Levine, 88-90.

<sup>63</sup> Myerowitz Levine, 85.

<sup>64</sup> Cleland et al., 202, s.v. "tutulus". See also Myerowitz Levine, 100, n. 47 (*Ov. Ars am.* 1.31, *Trist.* 2.522 and *Pont.* 3.3.51; *Val. Max.* 5.2.1.).

sufficient, but too much fuss over one's "do" was considered effeminate.<sup>65</sup> A man's beard, on the other hand, could hold symbolic potency comparable to that of woman's coiffure. Just as a change in a woman's hairstyle could mark the passing from maidenhood to womanhood and marriage, the beard marked a male adolescent's passage into manhood by the successful growing and shaving of one.<sup>66</sup> Octavian used his first beard for the dual purpose of professing his manhood and for showing his grief and vow of vengeance over the assassination of Julius Caesar.<sup>67</sup> The emperor Hadrian too, upon his accession sported a new fashion in his official portraits of curled hair and a beard, which connoted the philhellenism that the emperor so strongly supported.<sup>68</sup>

What then did Livia's various coiffures indicate regarding gender and social roles, not only with regard to Livia herself, but Roman society as a whole? The repertoire of Livia's hairstyle types on coins, the nodus and center part and its variants, contributes significantly to the viewers' understanding and perceptions of Livia's status and gender roles. The overall significance of the nodus hairstyle resides in what it was not: it was not a Greek Hellenistic style nor was it ever worn by any goddess. It was the quintessential hairstyle of the traditional Roman

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<sup>65</sup> Bartman, "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment," 3. Here Bartman cites *Ov. Ars Am.* 1.51; *Gell. NA* 6.12; *Mart.* 10.65.8.

<sup>66</sup> *Juv.* 3.186.

<sup>67</sup> *Dio* 48.34. See also Robert A. Gurval, "Caesar's Comet: The Politics and Poetics of an Augustan Myth," *MAAR* 42 (1997): 52, n. 66. Here, Gurval notes several coins of Octavian from the 30s BC which show Octavian with his beard.

<sup>68</sup> Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: the image of the intellectual in antiquity*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 217-218.

matron and became a hallmark symbol that defined a specific social group in Rome according to their gender and status.<sup>69</sup> This hairstyle may have developed as a result of the political turmoil of the late Republic which also involved the foreign threat posed by Cleopatra VII of Egypt,<sup>70</sup> who indeed sported her own distinctive hairstyle based on Hellenistic precursors.

The nodus was worn not only by women related to the men ruling Rome, namely Marc Antony and eventually Octavian/Augustus as emperor, but by other Roman women as well. Portraits of women on Roman funerary monuments, as well as individual portraits sport the nodus.<sup>71</sup> These women were from lower social classes, but the popularity of the nodus in their portrait repertoires also indicates that it was a mark of considerable status. The widespread appearance of Livia's portrait wearing the nodus hairstyle and its variants on provincial coins during the Augustan and Tiberian reigns and later briefly recalled on provincial coins issued under Nero (I.D1.8)<sup>72</sup> is a further testament of the prominence of this hairstyle as a symbol of women of status in their traditional role as Roman matrons.

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<sup>69</sup> Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz, *Semiotics and Communication: Signs, Codes, Cultures* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1993) p. 35.

<sup>70</sup> Bartman, p. 36-37.

<sup>71</sup> For sculptural examples see Bartman, 26, fig. 22-23 which shows the head of a woman from the Tomb of the Licinii dating to the 30s BC. See also Bartman p. 50, n. 34 and Diana E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture*, 131-136, which gives several specific examples from funerary contexts.

<sup>72</sup> Note that the coin issued under Nero could plausibly be called a "restoration" issue where a particular coin image that had been issued at one time under a certain authority is later reissued under another authority. Here, the mint of Syria under Nero may simply have been reissuing this earlier image type from the reign of Tiberius. There is considerable evidence for the practice of issuing "restored" coinage, particularly under Galba, the Flavians, and Trajan.

Many scholars agree that the centre part hairstyle was implemented to give Livia a classicizing look that clearly evoked images of, and thus associations with, Greek and Roman goddesses.<sup>73</sup> The fact that this hairstyle is also worn by the goddess “Italia/Tellus” on the east end of the Ara Pacis Augustae was perhaps intended to convey divine associations and connotations between this deity and Livia. The center part style that adorned Livia’s portrait on the *Salus* dupondius of Rome does appear to be an adaptation of the center part hairstyle worn by goddesses and by women in late Hellenistic and Republican portraits. The presence of symmetrically arranged waves that frame the face recall the earlier Hellenistic style, while the chignon wrapped in braids remained from the earlier nodus style, which appealed more specifically to traditional Roman tastes.

The fact that this hairstyle was inspired by classical models further defines its significance. Classical and Hellenistic sculptural representations of goddesses such as Demeter and Aphrodite exhibit hairstyles that are echoed in Livia’s center part hairstyle.<sup>74</sup> Like dress, hairstyle is just one of many image elements drawn from the visual repertoire of goddesses and employed in representations of Livia. The borrowing of these elements, in particular hairstyle, associated the subject of the sculpture or coin portrait – in this case Livia – in an abstract way to these divine figures. Wearing the center part hairstyle did not equate Livia with these goddesses, which for the Romans of Livia’s time could be

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<sup>73</sup> Winkes, “Livia: Portrait and Propaganda,” 37; Wood, 99.

<sup>74</sup> Inspection of the *LIMC* entries for goddesses such as Demeter, Aphrodite and Hera provide numerous examples of these goddesses wearing the center part hairstyle and variations of it.

offensive on a number of levels, but rather drew associations in the mind of the viewer between key qualities inherent in a goddess's persona and Livia's. In essence, Livia has become a new allegorical figure for the representation of such qualities as motherhood, fertility and ageless beauty, which these goddesses had come to represent.<sup>75</sup> Livia became the embodiment of these abstract qualities within the mortal realm, but more specifically as the prime female member of the *Domus Augusta*.

It is also important to note that the *Salus* dupondius coin type was an officially sanctioned portrait issued by the mint of Rome, which was directly controlled by the emperor. Provincial versions of this type once again adapted the one from Rome to reflect local tastes and create an image of Livia that helped to define her to a local audience. The Corinth coin (I.F1.4), with its version of the center part style that hearkened back to hairstyles of Hellenistic queens, no doubt imbued Livia's image with a further regal and royal connotation that local viewers would have readily recognized.

While hair clearly stood as a potent mark of Livia's status and conveyed messages concerning her gender-specific roles in Roman imperial society, the significance of hair could further be enhanced through adornment. Chapter 4 detailed the various types of headdress that Livia wears in her coin portraits, which include the laurel crown, the *stephane* (both plain and ornate), and the

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<sup>75</sup> Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: the allegory of the female form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) 82-83. Here, Warner remarks on how abstract principles are personified, the immaterial taking on material substance, which makes them familiar to us and provide more profound meaning.



circular band diadem, which often mimicked an *infula*, symbol of ritualistic purity and chastity. The association of crowns with Hellenistic monarchical rule is well attested, as well as the fact that Romans linked such rule with extravagance, but this did not prevent the gradual introduction of these iconographical attributes into Livia's visual repertoire. While such adornments did not become signature elements in Livia's portrait iconography, whether in coins or sculpture, they nonetheless were symbols which communicated unprecedented ideologies concerning the status and socio-political roles of women who were members of the Roman imperial family.

With regard to the *stephane*, Chapter 4 revealed that this was an exclusively female form of adornment, which hearkened back to Hellenistic queens and even had divine connotations, originally having been an iconographical attribute of goddesses such as Hera/Juno and Aphrodite/Venus. The presence of such divine attributes in Livia's visual program was undoubtedly intended to link the goddess's role as mother (Juno as mother of the gods and Venus as mother of the *gens Iulia*) with Livia's role as mother of the imperial family.

If the *stephane* was incorporated into Livia's visual program as a symbol of Livia's role as mother and position of high status, the presence of the laurel crown in various media not only was a mark of Livia's status, but also set her apart from other elite Roman women as a key member of Rome's ruling imperial family. Interestingly, literary sources show that the laurel came to be associated with Livia in a very direct way. Three separate ancient authors recount a famous

omen that befell Livia shortly after her marriage to Augustus in which an eagle carrying a white hen with a sprig of laurel in its beak dropped the bird unharmed into Livia's lap.<sup>76</sup> Livia planted the laurel sprig which grew into a grove and became the source of laurels carried by all Julio-Claudian triumphators.<sup>77</sup> While this grove, planted by Livia, became a symbol of the military might and political dominance of the male members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, it also symbolized the prominent socio-political role played by female members of the imperial family with regard to fertility and the perpetuation of dynasty. As part of Livia's visual program, the laurel crown was employed to associate Livia with the mother and founder of the *gens Iulia*, Venus Genetrix,<sup>78</sup> through their shared iconography. The presence of this attribute in the iconography of Venus is attested in Republican coinage.<sup>79</sup>

The fact that Livia is seen wearing the laurel in coins and other media marks her as the mother figure, or *genetrix*, of the ruling imperial family and dynasty. The association between Livia, Venus and the laurel crown is nowhere more strongly attested than in the dupondius issued at Colonia Romula in Spain likely during the reign of Tiberius (III.P1.9). The reverse of the coin depicts the head of Livia laureate resting on a globe surrounded by the legend IVLIA

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<sup>76</sup> Plin. *HN* 15.136-137; Suet. *Galb.* 1; Dio 48.52.3-4. See also Flory, "The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia," 53.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* See also Barrett, 113.

<sup>78</sup> Venus as mother, literally one who brings forth or produces. See *Cassell's Latin Dictionary*, 263, s.v. "genetrix".

<sup>79</sup> *RRC*, 430/1.

AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS, “Julia Augusta, Mother of the World.” The title GENETRIX clearly makes the connection between Livia and Venus, mother and patron goddess of the *gens Iulia*, but further extends to Livia honour and recognition as mother of the subjects of empire. Livia’s role as mother of all is also reinforced through her depiction on the Ara Pacis Augustae where she is the first female situated behind Augustus.<sup>80</sup> Here too, she wears the laurel crown (along with other male and female family members) thereby making the intimate connection between Livia’s role as mother and the perpetuation of both the dynasty and the state. More will be said on the overall significance of the Colonia Romula coin below.

Flory has argued that the minimal presence of the laurel crown in Livia’s (and other Julio-Claudian women’s) coin and sculptural portraits, which stands in contrast to its more prolific presence in male imperial family member portraits, indicates that the laurel wreath was a distinctively male attribute that was inappropriate for female imperial family members.<sup>81</sup> I briefly introduced Flory’s argument in Chapter 4 where I discussed the presence of Livia’s laureate portrait in various media, especially coins. Here, I would like to continue my discussion of Flory’s argument with regard to the significance of the laurel as part of Livia’s gender-infused visual repertoire.

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<sup>80</sup> Severy, 136.

<sup>81</sup> Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia,” 45. See also section “The Laurel Crown” in Chapter 4 above.

Flory's argument that the laurel was not appropriate for use in the representation of female imperial family members is problematic. While the laurel crown may have been incorporated more often into the portraits of male imperial family members, as the evidence presented by Flory clearly shows, its sparse presence in the portraits of imperial women, which may simply be due to a lack of surviving examples, does not imply that it was not appropriate for use in female portraits. Rather, its very presence in female portraits in a variety of media – in Chapter 4 I revealed that Livia wears this attribute in sculpture, coins and cameos – indicates that it bore special significance that was peculiar to women.

The use of the laurel in both male and female imperial portraits spoke volumes not only about the relations between men and women in the imperial family, but also how the status and gender roles of the two intersected in order to convey a message regarding the power and position of the imperial family. The associations between Augustus, Apollo and the laurel are well documented in literary sources, as well as Augustan art and coins, and it became a symbol of Augustus's victories over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium and the peace and prosperity that ensued.<sup>82</sup> For male imperial family members, the laurel had come to symbolize victory in war, as well as peace and the military prowess of male imperial family members in accomplishing these things under the auspices of the

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<sup>82</sup> *RG*, 34.2; *Ov. Met.* 1. 452-567; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 33a, b, 50a, b, 192a, 419, 549 (there are numerous others depicting Augustus laureate).

god Apollo.<sup>83</sup> Flory does rightly argue that the appearance of the laurel crown in portraits of Julio-Claudian women, especially cameo ones, marks a new interest in the laurel which developed during the Augustan period.<sup>84</sup> The incorporation of the laurel into the iconography of female imperial family members seems to have begun with Livia and highlights the extent to which she was being depicted as more than the quintessential mother. The symbol of the laurel reflected the power, stability and success of the state which was the result of intersecting socio-political and religious roles played by both male and female members of the ruling imperial family, in particular Livia who embodied the domestic stability and well-being of the imperial state and family.

When examining Livia's numismatic visual repertoire as a whole, hairstyle and hair adornment were clearly among the most prominent image elements for purveying messages concerning Livia's gender roles and status. The distinctive hairstyles and crowns not only marked Livia as dominant "Roman" female whose status was above that of other Roman women, but they also assimilated her to divine female counterparts such as Juno and Venus. The nodus highlighted Livia's role as Roman matron while the laurel made clear her role as mother of the imperial family.

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<sup>83</sup> *Ov. Tr.* 3.1.39-46.

<sup>84</sup> Flory, "The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia," 47.

### iii) *Facial Features, Body Poses and Physiognomic Signification*

An individual's physical attributes are often one of the primary signifiers which allow the viewer to make basic physical distinctions about an individual's gender and sex. As we have already seen, hairstyle can be a potent indicator of gender and associated social status and roles. Other physical attributes, namely facial features and body position, can help in identifying biological sex, but the issue to be addressed here is how these image elements communicate gender roles. Besides simply referring to one's general physical appearance, physiognomics has also been defined as "the discipline that seeks to detect from individuals' exterior features their character, disposition, or destiny."<sup>85</sup> In the case of Livia's image on coins, her facial portraits were the most common way in which she was depicted, with the seated and standing Livia representations being much less so.

The challenges coins pose with regard to the analysis of Livia's facial features were discussed in Chapter 4 above. Nonetheless, three particular facial types were identified for the rendering of Livia's portrait on coins: the youthful Livia; the mature, yet ageless Livia; and the mature, yet slightly aging Livia. There is also evidence in sculptural and cameo examples to suggest that the different facial feature variants did not necessarily reflect the actual age of the subject at the time the portrait was produced, but instead they were employed to

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<sup>85</sup> Tamsyn Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics and Medicine under the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994) 95.

convey specific ideological messages pertaining to the subject.<sup>86</sup> Thompson argues that the different “modes” used in the rendering of female portraits (older vs. younger and youthful beauty vs. stoic maturity) indicates that at Rome women had a more varied range of roles and influences than they had during the Hellenistic period.<sup>87</sup> The physiognomy of the portraits themselves was an important way of signifying what sort of person was depicted there.<sup>88</sup> More specifically in relation to Livia, the more youthful portrait symbolized the fertility and beauty of a young bride, qualities also present in goddesses such as Venus. The more mature representations of Livia mark her as the experienced and established matriarch who was mother to more than just the imperial family, but to the people of the Roman Empire as well, which echoed the qualities of goddesses such as Juno and Ceres who are also often portrayed as mature, beautiful females.

Interestingly, facial features can at times be quite deceiving as gender markers, as female family members’ portraits were sometimes rendered with features comparable to those of their male relatives. When such strong male to female resemblances manifest in the portraits of those related to the ruler, whether in sculpture or in coins, scholars have theorized that this was done simply to emphasize the familial/marital relationship between them.<sup>89</sup> In Chapter 4 it was

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<sup>86</sup> Thompson, 84.

<sup>87</sup> Thompson, 112.

<sup>88</sup> Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 90.

<sup>89</sup> Wood, 45; Rose 4.

noted that jugate portraits of Livia with Augustus and Livia with Tiberius do take on a resemblance to her male counterparts. If facial features and physiognomic types are indicative of social roles, then Livia's close facial resemblance to Augustus or Tiberius in numismatic images infuses her persona with an aura of masculinity, which is in addition to the femininity that is relayed through her hairstyle and dress. In these instances, such facial physiognomic similarity implies shared qualities between the two, certainly shared ideological youthfulness and power. In terms of their socio-political roles, they are both seen as partners in power, even though their power in society may be defined along somewhat different gender-oriented lines. The two together are seen here as the perpetuators of dynasty and thereby of imperial rule.

The configurations of Livia's full-body poses on coins were undoubtedly inspired by various sculptural representations of Livia that depict her either seated or standing. Several variations of both the seated and standing pose were noted in Livia's coin images in Chapter 4, including the more relaxed, open and frontally situated seated pose as opposed to the more reserved and closed body pose, as well as the front facing standing pose. I will deal mainly with the seated poses here, given the sparse number of potential coin examples of Livia standing.

Just as in the case of facial physiognomy, distinct body poses exist for males and females within a particular culture that are essential factors in defining gender roles.<sup>90</sup> Davies has noted the differences in the manner in which men and

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<sup>90</sup> Glenys Davies, "Gender and Body Language in Roman Art," *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*, eds. Tim Cornell and Kathryn Lomas (London: University of London, 1997) 97.



women are posed in Roman sculpture. In the case of seated statues, Davies observes that men are generally in more relaxed position with legs open and arms held away from the body, whereas women often have their legs much closer together and arms held closer to the body. The former is considered by Davies to be a much more dominant, confident and higher status pose than the latter.<sup>91</sup> However, a closer examination of Livia's seated images indicates that the pose was more indicative of power and status within a particular context rather than a subordinate gender role.

Livia's seated image on coins may indicate two different types of seated pose: a more conservative, closed body seated position more commonly seen in images of Livia produced during her lifetime; and a more open and relaxed posed with the legs set comfortably apart from each other which appear on coins issued after Livia's death. Several examples of both configurations show Livia's seated figure with one of her feet situated slightly in front of the other, which perhaps implies a more relaxed pose.

Each of these two seated poses, when considered in tandem with other image elements, reveals that each pose type used for Livia indicated both status and specific gender roles. The former pose, which shows Livia seated in a strict right facing profile with torso rigidly set perhaps highlights a more formal, pious and dutiful Livia as mother of the emperor and now priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus. A good example of this pose can be found in the seated Livia

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<sup>91</sup> Davies, "Gender and Body Language in Roman Art," 101-102.

statue from Paestum dating to the reign of Tiberius (V.A2.4 and VI.A2.4). Numerous coin types depict Livia in this seated pose, the best examples being those issued at Rome in the early years of Tiberius's reign (I.A1.6-7).

The more relaxed seated Livia is most likely indicative of a more "divine" Livia, as this pose can be seen in coins depicting seated goddesses.<sup>92</sup> Livia can be seen seated in this pose in a sculpture from Rusellae of Claudian date (X.A2.11). A comparison between this statue of Livia and those of the goddess Cybele/Magna Mater shows that their seated poses are virtually identical and therefore indicative of a comparable status.<sup>93</sup> Livia's high status and role as mother of the imperial family is indicated through the iconography Livia's image shares with that of such key goddesses. Livia's own divine nature and higher status is more directly indicated in the Claudian dupondius issued in AD 41-42 (II.A1.9) where she is seated in a very confident upright posture with arms and body quite open to the viewer. Her legs are still somewhat reserved with knees close together but feet slightly apart. Despite the obvious elevation in Livia's posthumous status, she still retains a more typically feminine pose through the

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<sup>92</sup> Coins from the reign of emperor Gaius/Caligula, see *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 111, no. 36 (Plate 13) and no. 47 (Plate 14) depicting Pietas and Vesta respectively. Several more examples of seated goddesses can be found on the coins of later Julio-Claudians Claudius and Nero, and they continue even after that.

<sup>93</sup> J. Paul Getty Museum, c. AD 50, inv. no. 57.AA.19. <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=7597&handle=li>. Accessed Dec. 20, 2010. See also Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, c. 60 BC, inv. no. 480. <http://www.glyptoteket.dk/13743415-E247-499E-8E01-C1468A5FCFD4.W5Doc?frames=no&ItemID=55060&ItemIDs=undefined>. Accessed Dec. 20, 2010.

position of her legs, but the openness of her upper torso gives her a dominating countenance comparable to her male relatives.

A comparison between Livia's seated figure on coins with those that depict her male counterparts seated indicate that there may be subtle differences, but not enough to imply an explicit subordination of one over the other. Coin images of the emperor Tiberius and the deified Augustus seated show a pose that is almost identical to the more relaxed seated pose used for Livia.<sup>94</sup> A comparison of the seated statues of Livia with those of Augustus and Tiberius confirms a similarity of poses, which indicates a status for Livia comparable to her male relatives.<sup>95</sup> Rather, the seated pose in combination with other image elements convey a regal status and dominance in the gender-specific, socio-political role that a particular subject represents. The seated pose does imply a status above those of other women in Roman imperial society who were not members of the imperial family and were depicted in the seated pose with arms positioned in a *pudicitia* format which, according to Davies, implies an inferior social rank.<sup>96</sup> The body language chosen for Livia's coin images, which were echoed in other media such as cameos and sculpture, corresponded with established norms for the representation of men and women of status in Roman art.

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<sup>94</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 48-49 (Plate 11).

<sup>95</sup> Davies, "On Being Seated: Gender and Body Language in Hellenistic and Roman Art," 233.

<sup>96</sup> Davies, "On Being Seated: Gender and Body Language in Hellenistic and Roman Art," 232.

#### iv) *Other Gender Markers*

Boymel-Kampen and other scholars such as Bartman, have all explored issues of gender and status surrounding the depiction of women (often in relation to men) in Roman art, in particular sculpture. On the surface coins may appear somewhat limited in their ability to clearly present messages concerning gender given their diminutive presentation of image elements that can be found in greater detail in other media such as sculpture. However, social significance of an image, and the range of social issues communicated, is directly connected with the technological and artistic rendering particular to each specific type of the medium.<sup>97</sup> One characteristic of coins that is distinct from other media is the presence of legends alongside the images presented on their surfaces. While sculptures were often set up with a related dedicatory inscription, it is highly rare that inscription and statue survive together. The legends on coins explain, clarify and extend meanings to their accompanying images in a way that no other medium can.<sup>98</sup>

Many of the coins of Livia that we have examined thus far often provide legends that shed light on the empress's social status and gender roles. While coins of Rome refrained from referring to Livia directly by name, preferring instead to refer to her abstractly as *Salus Augusta* (I.A1.2) or *Diva Augusta* after her death (II.A1.9), the coins of the provincial mints often referred to her directly by name as Livia under Augustus (III.C1.11, VI.C1.27, IX.C1.41, X.C1.42,

<sup>97</sup> Stig-Sørensen, "The Construction of Gender Through Appearance," 127.

<sup>98</sup> Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 75.

II.I1.7, I.M1.1-2), and then by her adopted name of *Iulia Augusta* under Tiberius (VI.C1.29, VIII.C1.36, I.D1.2, I D1.5, I.E1.1, I.G1.1, I.H1.1-2, III.I1.13, II.N1.5, I.P1.1 and 5, II.P1.8, III.P1.10-11).<sup>99</sup> In addition, the use of the cognomen “Augusta” marked her as the female equivalent of the “Augustus”, in this case Tiberius, and linked her directly to her husband Augustus, now deified. The name Augusta did not mean that Livia had power and influence equal to her male counterparts, but rather that she had comparable power and influence within her particular gender category and social status, an example of the Livia’s heterarchical position in society (to be discussed below).

On occasion, more specific reference was made to Livia’s social status and gender roles. I have already discussed above how various image elements utilized in Livia’s coin images signified Livia’s roles as wife, mother and matron. That Livia was recognized as mother not only of the imperial family, but also as mother of the Roman state was related by Tacitus, who describes that the Senate had proposed that Livia be officially called either “parent” or “mother” of the country, but Tiberius did not allow this.<sup>100</sup> The sentiment of Livia as mother of the state was echoed in only one coin example from Lepcis Magna (II.N1.6), which bears a representation of Livia seated along with the legend AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA(e). Livia was also referred to as GENETRIX ORBIS, “mother of the world,” on a coin issue of Colonia Romula in Spain (III.P1.10).

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<sup>99</sup> Note that Livia’s new name *Iulia Augusta*, was cited on coins in either Greek or Latin depending on the mint. She was also often referred to simply as Augusta (ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ) in numerous other examples.

<sup>100</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1-4. See also Dio 58.2.1-6.

I have already discussed in detail above how certain image elements found in Livia's visual repertoire, such as the centre part hairstyle and the stephane, signified the connection between Livia's role as mother and that embodied by key mother goddesses such as Juno/Hera and Ceres/Demeter. Livia's gender role as mother is also reinforced by Livia's association with key mother goddesses in several coin legends. During the reign of Augustus the legend of a coin issue from Pergamum (VII.C1.33) referred to Livia as Hera, a sentiment echoed at Eumeneia (IV.C1.19), by Thessalian League coins (II.F1.7) and an issue from Tarsus under Tiberius (I.D1.1). Also under Tiberius, the city of Thapsus in Africa (III.N1.9-11) referred to Livia on coins as Juno and Ceres.

These coin legends coupled with the multifaceted nature of Livia's numismatic images makes coins irrefutable contributors to the visual discourse regarding Livia's status in Roman society, but more specifically the ideological gender roles that her image was consciously designed to promote.

Another gender marker which must not be overlooked is the appearance of Livia's image on coins; coins being a distinct visual medium that deploys its messages in a manner that, in some respects, is far more efficient than any other medium. Aside from coins' primary function as a medium of exchange, coins were also mass-produced visual media, communicating the socio-political and religious messages important to the promotion of ideologies surrounding the authority responsible for issuing such coins. The pictorial surfaces of a coin were

reserved for images chosen by the issuing authority.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, the fact that Livia's image was chosen for multiple coin types issued both at Rome and at cities in the provinces is highly significant. Also, Livia was essentially the only Roman woman, aside from a couple of rare appearances by Julia, to have her image placed on a coin. While the images of Roman women from varied social strata could readily appear in other media such as sculpture, wall paintings, and cameos, only women from the imperial family appeared on coins. The numerous appearances of Livia's image on coins indicate that she was no ordinary woman. Even though she may have served as model mother and matron for other women in Rome and the provinces, her presence on coins gives her an exceptional status that established a new gender category exclusive to female members of the imperial family.

### **c) It's a Family Affair: The Broader Context of Livia's Gender Iconography on Coins**

This section will examine Livia's image on coins in relation to those of her male relatives. I will be looking specifically at how Livia was portrayed in conjunction with male relatives on coins and how this plays into the apparent emphasis in various media on familial relations and their role in communicating the power of the ruling dynasty and its key members. Such considerations will reveal that Livia's images on coins not only reflected her own legitimate power and status, but were potent symbols of male power and legitimacy as well.

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<sup>101</sup> Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 70-73.

What has been discussed thus far has focused specifically on how Livia's coin images were constructed and how individual image elements relayed messages concerning her status and gender roles. The fact that ideology played a key role in the design and composition of all art forms, including coins, means that coins played a significant part in conveying socio-political hierarchy and structural privilege to the Roman masses.<sup>102</sup> Images inspired by a society's ideology of gender help to reinforce and explain power relationships between men and women.<sup>103</sup> Bearing in mind that visual images do not reflect everyday reality nor the actual practice of gender roles,<sup>104</sup> portrayals of women enable us to understand gender relationships and their influence on power structures at Rome.<sup>105</sup> From this we are also able to gauge how male attitudes towards gender and power influenced the depiction of women.<sup>106</sup>

The various image elements of Livia's numismatic repertoire and their significance regarding gender, gender roles and social status have been explained above, yet their synthesis into separate cohesive visual syntagms and what these syntagms might mean with respect to gender, status and power still needs to be

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<sup>102</sup> Rodgers, 70-71.

<sup>103</sup> Fischler, "Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of the Imperial Women at Rome," 116.

<sup>104</sup> Sheriff, "How Images Got Their Gender: Masculinity and Femininity in the Visual Arts," 149; Rodgers, "Female Representation in Roman Art: Feminising the Provincial 'Other,'" 70-71.

<sup>105</sup> Fischler, 115.

<sup>106</sup> Fischler, 115 is focusing her study on the portrayal of women in ancient literary texts, most of which were likely composed by men. The principle she states applies to visual portrayals of women as well.



considered within the broader context of other images which accompanied them. In the case of media other than coins, scholars have pointed out the many instances in which individuals portrayed in works of art such as sculpture and cameos are not depicted alone. From the time of Augustus, familial group portraits were set up in Italy and the provinces as a new mode of honouring the emperor and his family.<sup>107</sup> C.B. Rose, for example, has looked extensively at dynastic group portraiture of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.<sup>108</sup> He has pointed out in the course of his work the prominence of Livia's image in sculptural group portraits, particularly in the eastern parts of the empire, and has also noticed the fact that coins bearing Livia's image were issued at the same time.<sup>109</sup> While he notes the apparent correlation between imperial family statue groups and coin types, he does not go into depth concerning the coins, which, as will be seen, can make a significant contribution to our understanding not only of Julio-Claudian dynastic commemoration, but more importantly the significance and impact of Livia's placement within such groups.<sup>110</sup>

First of all, I will discuss the different representational configurations in which coins present Livia and her relatives, most of whom are male. The most common of all presents the portrait of a male relative on the obverse, while Livia

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<sup>107</sup> Severy, 220.

<sup>108</sup> C.B. Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), which I have cited on numerous occasions throughout this work.

<sup>109</sup> Rose, 21 and 23.

<sup>110</sup> Scheer, 302.

is shown on the reverse either seated or as a portrait head or bust, with the image type of Livia standing being the least frequent.<sup>111</sup> In this “obverse versus reverse” configuration she is depicted with emperors Augustus (both when alive and after his death and deification), Tiberius, Claudius and Galba, as well as those male family members marked as successors including Gaius Caesar (grandson of Augustus) and Drusus Minor (son of Tiberius). In a couple of rare instances, Livia’s reverse portrait is accompanied by a portrait of the personified Senate on the obverse, as seen on a coin issued at Magnesia ad Sipylum in Asia during the reign of Tiberius (V.C1.24-25). One coin issued at Pergamum during the reign of Augustus (VII.C1.32) is the only instance where Livia is depicted along with a female relative; Livia appears on the obverse, while Julia (daughter of Augustus) is located on the reverse.

The appearance of Livia’s portrait jugate with that of a male relative shows up occasionally on the obverses of coins issued by eastern mints. This configuration does not appear in the west until the reign of Nero when the mint of Rome issued aureii and denarii with an obverse jugate portrait of Nero and his mother Agrippina Minor. Livia is most often depicted jugate with Augustus and only in a couple of instances with Tiberius. Only very rarely was Livia’s portrait

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<sup>111</sup> Regarding the definitions of obverse and reverse, the obverse is generally understood as the “heads” side of the coin, which most often bore the portrait or other designated image of the issuing authority of the coin, while the reverse constitutes “tails” and carried a secondary, yet highly significant image related in some way to that pictured on the obverse. The reason for the obverse’s prominent place can perhaps be explained further as a technical one on account of the obverse die being situated in the anvil while striking and thus producing an image in higher relief and clarity than the reverse. See Philip Grierson, *Numismatics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975) 86.

depicted facing that of a male relative, another coin portrait configuration that does not appear on western coins until the time of Nero. The obverses of coins from Pergamum and Mastaura dating to the reign of Tiberius (VIII.C1.34 and VI.C1.26 respectively) depict Livia's portrait on the right facing Tiberius's portrait on the left. One coin from Smyrna (IX.C1.39) depicts Livia's portrait facing the portrait of the personified Senate, which is on the left.

There are a number of instances where Livia's image occupies the obverses of coins. We have already seen the coin from Pergamum which depicts Livia on the obverse and Julia on the reverse. There were also plenty of examples where Livia holds sole position on the obverse without accompaniment by a male counterpart. In fact, these examples outnumber by nearly 3 to 1 the representations of Livia jugate with, or facing, a portrait of a male relative. The majority of these specimens come from mints in the east and all except two were issued during the reign of Tiberius. The mint of Rome first issued coins bearing Livia's obverse portrait in AD 22-23 (I.A1.2). A few western provincial examples come from the Spanish mints of Emerita (I.P1.4-5) and Caesaraugusta (I.P1.2-3) during the reign of Tiberius.

But, we must also ask whether any of Livia's female relatives appear on coins with such frequency? The answer is quite simply no. An examination of RPC and RIC catalogues indicates only a few surviving examples for Augustus's daughter Julia, none of which show her on the obverse. There is one possible appearance of Julia's portrait on a denarius from Rome issued in 13 BC (I.A1.1),

but the lack of legend and the vague execution of the portrait lends itself to potential interpretation as Livia.

Does the obverse side of a coin and Livia's frequent appearance on it signify rank and thus help inform the viewer concerning power relationships between imperial family members? It is certainly a foregone conclusion that the emperor's and other male imperial family members' portraits dominated the obverses of coins. Given that the obverse of a coin was normally reserved for the representation of a god, person or symbol indicative of the ruling authority of the state, it makes sense that the emperor's or other male relative's image would dominate this place. But the appearance of Livia's portrait on the obverse in several examples most certainly sets her apart as a woman of exceptional status.

Before I address the issue of male versus female power and dominance as conveyed by coin images, we must first ask whether familial group patterns exist on the coins and if there is a numismatic familial group portrait phenomenon comparable to and/or related to the presence of imperial family group portrait statues in Roman provincial cities? Did cities with mints producing familial group coins also have statue groups? An examination of Tables A and B illustrates that assemblages of coins were issued throughout the empire depicting various members of the Roman imperial family as part of a numismatic dialogue communicating their dynastic intentions and how individual members of that family played a role in sustaining imperial power through the perpetuation of the dynasty. Such familial representations began in the eastern parts of the empire during the reign of Augustus at which time Livia only figured moderately on the

coins. However, the number of instances in which she appeared increased significantly under Tiberius with new mints issuing coins with her image, in particular cities in Africa and Spain, in addition to the first appearance of Livia's portrait on coins of Rome in AD 22-23.

There are several examples where the familial group coins correspond with statue groups that were set up in a particular coin issuing city, although it is rare for the coins' subjects to match with those of the statues to a tee. During the reign of Tiberius, Smyrna in Asia issued coins depicting Augustus and Tiberius, Livia and the Senate (IX.C1.39-40) that seem to correspond roughly with an imperial family statue group that was also set up there. Both the coins and the statues relate to the completion of a temple dedicated to these three figures that was commissioned in AD 23 when Smyrna won a competition earning them the privilege of constructing the temple.<sup>112</sup> Another statue group was set up at Paestum and consisted of Tiberius in the guise of Jupiter seated alongside a seated statue of Livia veiled (IV.A2.4, V.A2.5). Although Rose argues a Caligulan date for these statues,<sup>113</sup> they more likely date to Tiberius's reign given that coins were issued there during the time when Livia's seated statue appeared there.<sup>114</sup> Paestum's coins presented the obverse portrait of Tiberius on each,<sup>115</sup> along with

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<sup>112</sup> Rose, 181. See also Tac. *Ann.* 4.56 which states that a former praetor of Rome, Valerius Naso, became the official in charge of the new temple. Note that no statue of the emperor Augustus was found among the group.

<sup>113</sup> Rose, 98.

<sup>114</sup> Bartman, 156, no. 24.

<sup>115</sup> *RPC I*, 604-618.

one issue that presents the reverse image of Livia seated (II.A1.8). This coin may commemorate the setting up of Livia's seated statue and/or simply echo the coin type of the seated Livia figure issued in Rome in the early years of Tiberius's reign.<sup>116</sup> The provincial cities of Lepcis Magna, Aphrodisias, and Ephesus also issued coins and set up statuary portrait groups that included Livia. While the number of cities issuing coins depicting Livia along with other imperial family members seems to far outweigh the number of statue groups set up, we should still take into consideration the very near certainty that other statue groups may have been set up in these minting cities but they simply have not survived or have not been discovered yet.

An examination of the number of occurrences of Livia's image on coins in relation to those of other imperial family members (see Tables A and B), both male and female, reveals that Livia was the female head of the imperial family under Augustus and Tiberius and she was most certainly the key female in the perpetuation of the Julio-Claudian family. Even during the reign of Augustus when his grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar were being promoted empire-wide as the successors, Livia was commemorated much more prominently on coins than Julia, the biological mother of the heirs. Only one coin from an uncertain mint commemorates Julia along with her son Gaius,<sup>117</sup> whereas Livia is commemorated along with one or more of the young heirs at some nine provincial

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<sup>116</sup> Note that the authors of *RPC I*, p. 159 state that these coin types were most likely derived from types issued at the mint of Rome.

<sup>117</sup> *RPC I*, 5415.

mints (mostly in the Greek east). In one particular example, the coin of Pergamum (VII.C1.32), where Livia is mentioned on the obverse and Julia on the reverse, Livia is compared to Hera, while Julia is subordinate to her as an Aphrodite figure. Livia was the imperial mother *de facto*, a role which continued into the reign of her son Tiberius. She remained the only female member of the imperial family to have a place on the coins until the reign of Caligula.

## **6.2 *The Negotiation of Gender-based Power through Livia's Coin Images***

The evidence presented thus far indicates that coin images were influenced by societal concepts of gender. Seeing as gender played into negotiations of male and female power in the early days of the Roman Empire, the development and dissemination of Livia's coin images during this period shed light on male-female power discourses. Firstly, it is important to consider who generated such images and for what audience. As with the majority of ancient literary and epigraphic sources, it is generally understood and accepted by scholars that men, who dominated ancient society as a whole, were responsible for the design of the visual programs from which particular images emerged.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Rodgers, 75; Lefkowitz and Fant, 8. Roman women were known to have written poetry, but the only surviving work is that of Sulpicia, which we have only in fragments. Women were also the dedicators of inscriptions, particularly in the funerary context. But research by scholars have found that the number of such dedications by men still substantially outnumber those set up by women. One study by Serena Zabin indicates that Jewish women in the western Roman Empire were responsible for about 20% of dedications. See Serena Zabin, "'Iudeae benemerenti': Towards a Study of Jewish Women in the Western Roman Empire," *Phoenix* 50.3/4 (Autumn-Winter 1996): 262-282. Thanks to Alison Jeppessen for her insight on the matter of epigraphic dedications by women in the Roman Empire.

Gender as a category of analysis regarding power relations provides the opportunity to question such binary absolutes and the supposed opposition between male and female.<sup>119</sup> Despite the question of whether Livia's coin images were produced for the appreciation and contemplation of a male or female audience, such images were created by dominant groups in order to sustain social structures. These dominant groups desired to represent the world in forms that reflected their own interests and the interests of their power.<sup>120</sup> In essence, the ideology of the dominant group produces images of the world as it ought to be from their point of view, and at the same time, as it is from the vantage point of the dominated group.<sup>121</sup>

Power, in and of itself, is a complex and abstract concept for which there is no hard and fast definition. Still, it is necessary to briefly address the meaning of power, particularly as it applies to this discussion regarding the visual representation of Livia as part of a discourse concerning gender and gender-based power relations. At its most basic level, power is imbued with notions of status, prestige, importance, influence and dominance.<sup>122</sup> It has been more generally conceived as the dominance of one group over another, but the philosopher Foucault questioned the idea that there was one over-arching, central agency of

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<sup>119</sup> Barbara Kellum, "Concealing/Revealing: gender and the play of meaning in the monuments of Rome," *The Roman Cultural Revolution*, ed. Thomas Habinek and Alessandro Schiesia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 181.

<sup>120</sup> Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, 3.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Susan Kent, "Egalitarianism, equality and equitable power," *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. Tracy L. Sweely (London: Routledge, 1999) 32.



power in society, arguing that power is widely dispersed and diffused on a variety of social levels.<sup>123</sup> Power is the product of social relations interwoven on a number levels (gender, political, religious, etc.), which results in the influence, but not necessarily direct dominance, of one individual or group in society over another.<sup>124</sup> Therefore, power and power relations is neither static nor consistent, but rather is very fluid and in a constant state of flux.

While gender is most certainly a defining and influencing element in power relations, this does not mean that power is male-dominated or strictly hierarchical in nature. With respect to the dominant and dominated groups in society, the incorporation of gender into analyses of power encourages emphasis on variability and fluctuation.<sup>125</sup> Power relations and the social structures that define them have generally been interpreted and analyzed within the framework of the concept of hierarchy. But recent studies, in particular those presented by Levy, argue that influence and authority is dispersed over a number of groups in society, both male and female, who exploit diverse means of legitimization and control in a heterarchical way rather than hierarchical.<sup>126</sup> Levy provides Crumley's definition of heterarchy which states that "structures are heterarchical

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<sup>123</sup> Connell, 59. Here, Connell cites Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

<sup>124</sup> Miri Rozmarin, "Power, Freedom and Individuality: Foucault and Sexual Difference," *Human Studies* 28.1 (2005): 3-4.

<sup>125</sup> Janet E. Levy, "Gender, Power, and Heterarchy in Middle Level Societies," *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. Tracy L. Sweely (London: Routledge, 1999) 75.

<sup>126</sup> Levy, "Gender, Power, and Heterarchy in Middle Level Societies," 74.

when each element is either unranked relative to other elements or possess the potential for being ranked in a number of different ways.”<sup>127</sup> I believe that the latter is the case as regards Livia’s power and status as conveyed through coin images whose designs were influenced by the heterarchical characteristic of “multidimensional and continually shifting standards of rank.”<sup>128</sup>

Heterarchy explains the shifting presentational format in which Livia is portrayed on coins: 1) on par with, or perhaps somewhat subordinate to, husband or son with her portrait situated behind theirs in the jugate format or her image on the subordinate reverse side of a coin; 2) as almost equal in the case of facing portraits; or 3) as an authority figure in her own right when she is the sole representative of the imperial family depicted on a coin. In addition, the multifariousness of visual attributes employed in Livia’s numismatic visual repertoire lends to her diversity of rank and gender identities, particularly in such instances where she is depicted with the attributes of a goddess or when she shares certain attributes, such as the laurel crown, with her male counterparts.

Thus, multiple dominant groups in early Roman imperial society likely influenced the diversity of power-infused messages reflected through Livia’s gendered coin images. According to Levy, hierarchies are considered to be

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<sup>127</sup> Janet E. Levy, “Gender, Heterarchy and Hierarchy,” *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007) 189. Here Levy cites Carole L. Crumley, “A Dialectical Critique of Hierarchy,” *Power Relations and State Formation*, eds. Thomas C. Patterson and Christine W. Gailey (Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association, 1987) 155-169.

<sup>128</sup> Levy, “Gender, Power, and Heterarchy in Middle Level Societies,” 62.

subsets of heterarchy in which men hold positions of status and power related to certain gender roles within society, while women can hold comparably significant positions related to other gender roles.<sup>129</sup> Under the Julio-Claudian regime, the concept of power was intimately linked to the family and the gender roles that were part and parcel to the cohesiveness and posterity of the familial unit. In the case of the emperor, whether Augustus or Tiberius, the gender roles of father and protector became key elements in their authority to rule. For Livia, on the other hand, the roles of wife and, most importantly, mother were seen as a key element in the maintenance of imperial rule. Yet, these male versus female gender roles were interdependent, one aiding in the definition of the other.

Staples has argued that Roman women derived their identity from their relationship to one or more prominent men and that they were subordinate to that defining relationship.<sup>130</sup> However, the prominence of Livia's image on provincial coins, and its occasional presence on the coins of Rome, indicates that Livia's image was considered essential to defining, at least in part, the nature of the power wielded by male imperial family members, most importantly that of the emperor himself. The emperor and his male successors saw the advantages of using the image of Livia as mother and good Roman matron in order to give the

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<sup>129</sup> Levy, "Gender, Power, and Heterarchy in Middle Level Societies," 70. See also Spencer-Wood, "Gendering Power," 179-180, who points out a number of other scholars who strongly critique male-biased assumptions that men always hold "power over" society rather than considering how social groups, whether male or female, have the "power to" transform society.

<sup>130</sup> Staples, 161.

subjects of empire confidence in their authority to rule.<sup>131</sup> This necessity gave Livia's images, and thereby her idealized persona, an unprecedented and unique status and power that was above that of any other woman, and most men, in the empire.

Livia's image, as well as those of the emperor and other imperial family members, on the coins of Rome and the provinces became a compelling component in the discourse on power rooted in imperial dynasty. Livia's image was symptomatic of her own power and status in Rome and its empire, but also of the monopoly on power held by imperial family members. While Livia was part of the Roman imperial power equation, she did not hold power in an official capacity. Livia's coin images portray her various gender roles as mother, matron, and priestess, which hierarchically placed her above all other women in each of those gender categories. But her coin images, especially when imbued with certain attributes such as the laurel or sceptre, as well as the fact that she appeared on coins at all, present her as more than just a mother and place her into a multi-dimensional gender category that gives her a status and place of power that is above that of nearly all other men in the empire. In terms of heterarchy, Livia thus carries a power and influence outside of the law, an ideological message which the coin images, in their amalgamation of gender-infused image elements, communicated in an official capacity to the subjects of the empire.

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<sup>131</sup> Scheer, 299 states that emperors including Tiberius made a point of recalling their relationships to their mothers not only for the purpose of demonstrating their own familial *pietas*, but also in order to bring further legitimization to the imperial dynasty. See also Alexandridis, 18.

### 6.3 Gendered Power Themes Conveyed through Livia's Coin Images

Livia's numerous coin images were designed as part of a concerted visual program encompassing a variety of media with the aim of providing an overarching dialogue of power that stemmed from socio-political and religious ideologies conceived by the dominant groups in society who desired to promote and maintain their positions of power. As indicated above, some scholars contend that the images produced, whether through sculpture, coins, or some other medium, were done so under male authority with the intention of bolstering male-based ideologies concerning power and right to rule. However, the coin images of Livia not only defined the status and power of male imperial family members, but also those of female members. This dialogue of power held by imperial family members as articulated through Livia's image was emphasized along the lines of three key power themes rooted in Livia's gender roles: Livia as mother, Livia as priestess, and Livia as divine figure.<sup>132</sup> As will be seen, each of these power themes contributed to defining and promoting the power and status of both male and female members of the imperial family.

#### a) Livia as Mother - "*Mater Familias*"

In recent studies, scholars have questioned the validity of the female-domestic/male-public dichotomy by showing how women's domestic roles were important in the public sphere.<sup>133</sup> Even with regard to coins as visual medium,

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<sup>132</sup> Scheer, 300 notes the important role Roman coins played in communicating categories of gender.

<sup>133</sup> Spencer-Wood, "Gendering Power," 175.

when royal women are depicted on coins, seldom do the images and texts diverge from the dominant ideological patterns that associate women with the private world.<sup>134</sup> Augustus and his heirs expressed their interest in preserving the dynastic succession through the idealizing narratives of power and kinship rooted in traditional Roman concepts of the importance of family and reproduction, concepts very much rooted in the private sphere, but now taking on a very public face through the promulgation of portrait images of imperial family members.<sup>135</sup> Thus, an ideological concept was developed that equated the survival and success of the imperial family with the survival and success of the state. This combining of familial and civic traditions facilitated a redefining of the traditional gender role of mother giving it a new public face and new status for Roman women, especially those of elite classes.<sup>136</sup>

As coin evidence and sculptures show, Livia was the first Roman woman to become a prolific model of motherhood in early imperial Rome. She was not simply portrayed as model mother for all Roman women to emulate, but as the dominant female in the imperial family, the *mater familias*, counterpart to the emperor's position as dominant male or *pater familias*. Livia was promoted in visual media as a mother who played a key role in perpetuating the ruling dynasty, but also as the mother of all subjects of empire. This was communicated on coins

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<sup>134</sup> Boymel-Kampen, "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art," 242.

<sup>135</sup> Boymel-Kampen, "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art," 243; Severy, 219.

<sup>136</sup> Severy, 232.

through her partnering with key male family members, her association with certain “mother” goddesses such as Ceres and Juno, and through coin legends which explicitly refer to her as “mother”.

**i) *Livia as Partner in Maintaining the Dynastic Succession***

As has already been outlined above, Livia’s image on coins was frequently accompanied by those of male imperial family members. More needs to be said about the significance of these familial associations as communicated on coins and what this tells us about Livia’s perceived power. The evidence of the coins seems to indicate that, given Livia’s particular sphere of influence and specific gender roles, she had a position of power comparable to that of the emperor. Evidence shows that even observers in Rome noticed Livia’s special place of power when Ovid toyed with the words *femina princeps*, no doubt used in an attempt to flatter Livia from his place in exile.<sup>137</sup> Dio states that Livia played a very public and political role that surpassed that of all women, so much so that she even seemed to share power with Tiberius.<sup>138</sup> Livia’s very public face was intimately tied to her role as imperial mother and model of the Roman matron.<sup>139</sup> Coin evidence, especially that originating from the provinces, paint Livia as partner in power and as key player in maintaining the dynastic succession. This representation of power occurred despite accounts in ancient historical sources that Julio-Claudian emperors, such as Tiberius and Claudius,

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<sup>137</sup> *Ov. Pont.* 3.1.125. See also Bartman, 93.

<sup>138</sup> Dio 57.12.2

<sup>139</sup> Purcell, 81-82

tried to curb the power and influence that their female relatives could potentially wield.<sup>140</sup>

This brings us to a very important question regarding Livia's power and how it was perceived in relation to her powerful male relatives, especially her emperor-husband Augustus and his successor, her son Tiberius. Did these emperors see Livia's power and influence as necessary to their own and perhaps even as an essential component for the legitimization of their rule? There are some differences of opinion among scholars on this count. Corbier argues that a shortage of male heirs in the Julio-Claudian dynasty and a desire to maintain a blood link back to Augustus meant that right to rule was best claimed through female lines.<sup>141</sup> Severy, on the other hand, argues that the emperor Tiberius did not see Livia's power as necessary to his own, but rather saw the advantages Livia's influence had in the political sphere. In essence, Livia was important and powerful in her own right,<sup>142</sup> even if that right was superficial rather than endorsed by law. Therefore, the coin images were designed to represent ideological facets of Livia's power and how it related to and defined the power of the emperor and his family.

During the reign of Augustus, several provincial mints in the east began issuing coins that either depicted Livia with Augustus jugate (III. C1.14-15,

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<sup>140</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 26.2, 50.2-3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1; Dio 57.12.4-5 and 60.12.5. See also Fischler, "Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of Imperial Women at Rome," 128-129.

<sup>141</sup> Corbier, 182-186.

<sup>142</sup> Severy, 236.



IV.C1.16-17, V.C1.22, VII.C1.31, VIII.C1.37-38, I.J1.2, I.K1.1, I.L1.1) or with complementing obverse and reverse portraits (I. C1.1-3, I. C1.4, III.C1.11, V.C1.23, VI.C1.27, VII.C1.30, II.F1.7, II.P1.7, III.P1.9). While the position of Livia's portrait behind that of Augustus appears to suggest a status subordinate to that of her husband, there is evidence that the use of this format implied partnership rather than authority of one over the other. Coins of Cleopatra Thea (III.S1.11) show the Seleucid queen's jugate portrait superimposed on that of her husband Alexander Balas. A coin of the emperor Victorinus (r. AD 268-270) shows the emperor's portrait jugate on top of that of the sun god Sol, which does not imply the emperor's dominance over the god, but rather their work in tandem.<sup>143</sup> Other signifiers seem to indicate that the designers of some of these coin images understood and/or wanted to convey the notion that the imperial couple were partners in power. The reverse of a bronze coin from Thrace issued under King Rhoemetalces I sometime between 11 BC and AD 12 (I.K1.1) depicts the jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia on the reverse along with a capricorn holding globe before them. The capricorn and globe symbolized Augustus – the capricorn being the sign under which he was conceived to be born – and his power over the world. Livia is not necessarily as co-ruler with Augustus, but rather a partner in the maintenance of his rule through the dynasty of the imperial family for which Livia serves as matriarch.

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<sup>143</sup> *RIC* 5.2, 389, no. 25. Other examples include Probus, *RIC* 5.2, 80, no. 596 and Diocletian *RIC* 5.2, 239, no. 189, but also one of Carus *RIC* 5.2, 146, no. 99, which shows the portraits of the emperor and Sol face to face. Many thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Steven Hijmans, for bringing this example to my attention.

In other examples, namely bronze coins from Magnesia ad Sipylum (V.C1.22) and Smyrna (VIII.C1.37-38), Livia is referred to collectively with Augustus as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ, the Greek equivalent to the Latin *Augusti*. Another coin likely dating from the reign of Augustus and issued by a Thessalian League mint (II.F1.7) seems to present Augustus and Livia as the divine ruling couple with Augustus referred to as ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ and Livia as ΗΡΑ ΛΕΙΟΥΙΑ. The concept of the divine ruling couple was derived from Hellenistic Greek rulers who were often depicted alongside their wives, so it is not entirely alien that Augustus and Livia should appear together in this manner.

While these coins clearly convey Livia's role as wife of the emperor and as a key component in the maintenance of his ruling power, her role as mother, dominant female and perpetuator of the new imperial dynasty becomes manifest when Livia is conveyed in conjunction with Augustus's successors. In 17 BC, Augustus adopted his grandsons Gaius and Lucius by his daughter Julia as his own sons, thereby marking them as successors to the imperial throne. What is particularly interesting is the manner in which the Augustan dynastic successors were promoted on coins, both at Rome and in the provinces. There were several examples of coins in Rome depicting Augustus on the obverse and Gaius and Lucius on the reverse,<sup>144</sup> and several in the provinces as well.<sup>145</sup> Interestingly,

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<sup>144</sup> *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 72, no. 404.

<sup>145</sup> Several examples include: *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 55, nos. 205-215 (Lugdunum); *RPC* I, no. 98 (Iulia Traducta-Spain); *RPC* I, no. 210 (Tarraco-Spain); *RPC* I, no. 709 (Hippo Regius-Africa); *RPC* I, no. 1136 (Corinth-Achaea); *RPC* I, no. 2010a (Apamea-Bythinia and Pontus); *RPC* I, no. 2337 (Methymna-Asia).

numismatic evidence seems to point to Livia's role as mother to Augustus's successors over their biological mother Julia, which places Livia directly in the position of female head, *mater familias*, of the imperial household. Only one possible example from an uncertain Asian mint depicts Julia on the reverse along with her son Gaius on the obverse,<sup>146</sup> while the reverse of a *denarius* of Rome from 13 BC showing a central female head flanked on each side by a male one has often been interpreted as Julia, but could easily be intended/perceived as Livia.

Coins issued in Magnesia ad Sipylum (V.C1.22), Alabanda (I.C1.3a), and Tralles (X.C1.42) depict Livia alongside the successors. The first two depict the core members of the imperial family with Augustus and Livia on the obverse and Gaius and Lucius on the reverse, while the Tralles coin presents Gaius on the obverse and Livia on the reverse in the guise of the goddess Demeter and refers to her as ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ Λ(Ε)ΙΒΙΑ, "Livia of the Caesars." Upon the deaths of Gaius (AD 4) and Lucius (AD 2), dynastic hopes turned to Livia's son Tiberius, who was commemorated in a coin issue of Smyrna (IX.C1.39) that depicted Augustus and Tiberius facing each other on the obverse and Livia, who is referred to by name in the legend, standing in the guise of Aphrodite Stratonikis on the reverse. Another from Pergamum (VII.C1.33) presents the same obverse configuration, but shows Livia seated on the reverse. In this example, Livia is linked to the two ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ (the legend referring to Augustus and Tiberius on the obverse) through the reverse legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ. Further evidence reinforcing Livia's

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<sup>146</sup> RPC I, 5437.

status as female head of the imperial family can be found on monuments such as the Ara Pacis Augustae, which situates Livia as the first female following Augustus thereby demonstrating her rank above other female family members.<sup>147</sup>

Under the reign of her son Tiberius, Livia's portrayal on coins changed in order to emphasize her status as mother of the emperor. Her position as *mater familias* remained along with her role as the female perpetuator of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Her status as wife of the deified Augustus was commemorated on several coins in the provinces, which depict Augustus on the obverse and Livia on the reverse (II.D1.10, I.H1.1, I.J1.1, I.K1.2, I.O1.5, II.P1.8). One similar example depicting Livia seated was issued in Rome (I.A1.7), but most likely refers to Livia's new role as priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus, which I will discuss further below. Numerous coins issued throughout the empire depicted Tiberius along with his mother Livia in one format or another. The most common configuration, and there are too many examples to list them all here, is Tiberius's portrait on the obverse and a representation of Livia on the reverse whether as a portrait bust or a seated figure. In many of these examples, Livia is referred to by name as *Iulia Augusta*, her adoptive name, as well as Σεβαστη or Σεβαστη Ιουλια.

Jugate images of Livia and Tiberius as mother and son were issued at Aphrodisias (II.C1.7), Tripolis (X.C1.44) and in the Judaeen Kingdom (I.E1.2). There are also two examples where the two are depicted facing each other, one

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<sup>147</sup> Dierichs, 249.

from Pergamum (VIII.C1.34) and one from Mastaura (VI.C1.26). It is important to note that in nearly all of these joint portraits the familial couple are referred to as “Σεβαστοι”, once again marking Livia as an imperial family member whose status is on par with that of Tiberius, even though she has no authority as ruler. Her authority lies in her status as *mater familias* of the ruling imperial family and her ideological status as mother of the subjects of empire.

That Livia was in fact perceived as the mother of all is reflected in three coin legends that name her as mother outright. Dupondii from Lepcis Magna (II.N1.6) issued during the reign of Tiberius refer to Livia on the reverse as AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA(e), another from Colonia Romula in Spain (III.P1.9) calls her IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS, while a bronze coin from Tarsus (I.D1.1) calls her ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ. Even Cassius Dio recalls that Livia was considered “mother of her county” by some.<sup>148</sup> Livia was also portrayed on Tiberian coins as the mother of the emperor’s intended successors, even though she was not their biological mother. A coin of Corinth (I.F1.2-3) depicts Tiberius’s son Drusus Minor on the obverse while Livia is depicted seated on the reverse.

#### **ii) *Livia’s Association with Mother Goddesses: Juno, Ceres and Venus***

While certain coins issued during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius clearly marked Livia’s position and status in the imperial family as *mater familias*, her role as mother was further defined through Livia’s association with

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<sup>148</sup> Dio 58.2.1-6.

various “mother” goddesses such as Juno, Ceres and Venus. This was achieved through reference to Livia’s divine associations via coin legends and/or by bestowing Livia’s image with the visual attributes, such as sceptre, diadem or ears of grain, commonly depicted with those goddesses.

The goddess Juno/Hera was commonly associated with Livia, just as Augustus and Tiberius were commonly linked with Jupiter/Jupiter in literature and in their visual representations. Already under Augustus, coins of the provinces refer to Livia as Hera by name, including one from Pergamum (VII.C1.32) that depicts Livia on the obverse and Julia on the reverse, while referring to Livia as ΛΙΒΙΑΝ ΗΡΑΝ.<sup>149</sup> A Thessalian League coin (II.F1.7) also dating from the time of Augustus call her ΗΡΑ ΛΕΙΟΨΙΑ, while another from Eumeneia (IV.C1.19) says basically the same thing ΗΡΑ Λ(Ε)ΙΒΙΑ. Such associations continued into the reign of Tiberius. Coins from Thapsus in North Africa (III.N1.10) refer to Livia as ΙΒΝ ΑΥΓ, “Juno Augusta”, while coins of Oea (II.N1.7) depict the portrait of Livia on the obverse accompanied by a peacock (Juno’s attribute) and an ear of grain. Several coins also depict Livia wearing a diadem which also compels associations with Juno/Hera, as well as with Venus.

Tacitus relates that Livia was perceived as Augustus’s beloved wife who was parent of their common children.<sup>150</sup> Therefore, Juno/Hera offered the closest divine parallels for Livia’s position as mother of the imperial family and as wife

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<sup>149</sup> Note that Livia’s name here is accompanied by ΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ, the name of the magistrate responsible for issuing the coins. See *RPC I*, 400 and 402.

<sup>150</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 3.34.6.

of the emperor Augustus,<sup>151</sup> who himself was assimilated to Jupiter as the father of the gods.<sup>152</sup> While such overt divine associations as that of Livia with Juno were generally avoided in Rome, it was not a concept unheard of to Romans. Grether asserts that Livia's *Juno*, similar to Augustus's *Genius*, may have been worshipped there.<sup>153</sup> Also, the Augustan poet Ovid often referred to Livia as Juno.<sup>154</sup>

Coin references to Livia as Ceres/Demeter are also occasionally made. Ceres was a mother goddess worshipped for her motherly devotion, particularly in her efforts to find her daughter Proserpina, who had been kidnapped by Pluto/Hades to be his bride. She is also a nurturer and provider of the fruits of the earth, which makes Livia's association with her ideal. Such images of Livia as Ceres idealize her as a mother, who ensures the well-being of empire and the imperial dynasty through her nurturing gifts. Under Augustus, coins of Tralles (IX.C1.41, X.C1.42) are the first to make such an association by depicting Livia as a standing figure holding ears of grain, an attribute of Ceres/Demeter, on the

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<sup>151</sup> Bartman, 94; Scheer, 310.

<sup>152</sup> Coins begin making iconographic associations between Augustus and Jupiter even during his reign (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 60, no. 269a and continue once he is deified (*BMCRE I*, 130, no. 75). See also the Gemma Augustea, which depicts Augustus in the guise of Jupiter with Jupiter's eagle under his chair. Literary sources also make this association: Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.1-4; Ov. *Met.* 15.858-861.

<sup>153</sup> Grether, 225. Regarding the cult of the *Genius Augusti*, Grether states "The *Genius* of the father of the family had its counterpart in the *Juno* of the mother, and it must thus have seemed natural that the spirit of Livia should be honoured together with the *Genius* of her husband." She also provides epigraphical evidence (*CIL* 11.3076) in which Livia's *Juno* is specifically addressed *Junoni Liviae*. See also Bartman, 85.

<sup>154</sup> Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.114-118. It is important to keep in mind that this poem was written after AD 8 while Ovid was exiled for having offended Augustus. It is filled with Ovid's efforts to flatter Livia and hopefully be restored to Rome.

reverse. Two separate issues of these coins were produced, one with obverse portrait of Augustus and the other with that of Gaius Caesar. Although the standing figure has no distinguishing features that mark her positively as Livia, the legend that accompanies the figure identifies her by name: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΩΝ ΛΕΙΒΙΑ. Under Tiberius, the coins of Oea (II.N1.7) present Livia with Ceres's ears of grain. Thapsus (III.N1.9), the city that issued coins of Livia as Juno, also issued coins with Livia in the guise of Ceres, holding ears of grain over a modius along with a legend referring to Livia as CERERI AVGVSTAE. An uncertain mint in Gaul, perhaps Gallia Comata (I.O1.5) issued a coin which depicts on its reverse Livia's veiled and diademed portrait bust encircled by a wreath made of ears of grain.

Inscriptions that refer to Augustus and Livia as Θεοι Σεβαστοι were included in the mysteries of Demeter at Ephesus and Lesbos,<sup>155</sup> and it is quite plausible that both took part in the famous Eleusinian Mysteries as well,<sup>156</sup> given that Augustus himself had been initiated into the cult.<sup>157</sup> Demeter was associated with the wife of the *princeps* as an *exemplum* for Roman womanhood,<sup>158</sup> a source for the fertility and abundance of not only the imperial family, but also the state. Livia's association with Demeter/Ceres is also alluded to on the coins of Alexandria (I.M1.5-6, and 9) where she is equated with *Euthenia*, the Greek

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<sup>155</sup> Grether, 232. See especially notes 56 and 57.

<sup>156</sup> Wood, 93.

<sup>157</sup> Dio 51.4.1.

<sup>158</sup> Wood, 93.



equivalent of the Roman *Abundantia*.<sup>159</sup> Such qualities superimposed onto the wife of the emperor brought them into direct association with the emperor himself, which undoubtedly provided good publicity for the imperial regime and dynasty. The fact that such types were issued throughout the empire unopposed indicates that the emperor favoured these local interpretations of Livia's role as imperial wife and mother.

Livia is only indirectly associated with Venus on coins. Perhaps the most explicit example is the Colonia Romula (III.P1.10) coin which refers to Livia as IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS. The legend of this coin certainly draws associations with Venus Genetrix, the progenitor of the Julian clan. Other visual attributes employed in Livia's coin images such as the diadem and the sceptre may also call to mind image elements used in representations of Venus. It seems clear that Livia's association with Venus was quite limited perhaps given the goddess's not so chaste reputation.

The association of Livia with these three goddesses is well attested in other media. Chapters 4 detailed the various image elements that were very likely drawn from the visual repertoires of these goddesses and then incorporated into Livia's. Both coins and sculptures show that Livia's first associations with these goddesses began in the middle of Augustus's reign. While such associations between mortal and divine figures could already be found in the eastern cities of the empire, as the coins clearly attest, the fact that such associations were subdued

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<sup>159</sup> Bartman, 94.

in Rome is evident from the subtle manner in which Livia is connected to the Tellus/Ceres figure on the Ara Pacis. They share the same hairstyle, veil, and idealized facial countenance.<sup>160</sup> A cameo from the reign of Augustus depicts Livia in the guise of Venus (II.R3) wearing a hairstyle similar to the goddess and with the drapery of her dress falling from her left shoulder. However, under Tiberius more frequent examples of Livia's image imbued with divine attributes appear on coins, sculpture and cameos. Yet, as will be seen, the coins of Rome preferred to be less explicit about Livia's divine associations, at least until her deification under Claudius in AD 41 (II.A1.9), where she was given Ceres's attributes of the torch and ears of grain along with the title DIVA AVGVSTA.

### iii) *Livia as Salus - Relating Motherhood to the Well-being of Rome*

The first appearance of Livia's portrait on coins of Rome came in AD 22-23 when a series of dupondii were issued that commemorated a set of abstract concepts that described the ideological good aspects of the Tiberian regime: *Salus*, *Iustitia* and *Pietas*. Particularly noteworthy was the *Salus* one, which presented the obverse portrait of Livia along with the legend SALVS AVGVSTA (I.A1.2).<sup>161</sup> While I have already commented extensively on the visual elements that compromised this particular portrait type, what is noteworthy here is that the legend accompanying the portrait does not explicitly refer to Livia by her proper name *Iulia Augusta*, the name which she acquired upon her adoption into the

<sup>160</sup> Bartman, 88-90; Wood, 99-102; Severy, 136.

<sup>161</sup> Note that coins of Emerita in Spain commemorate the SALVS AVGVSTA coins of Rome by depicting in one example the portrait of Livia on the obverse with her seated image on the reverse and

Julian gens. Here, the term “Augusta”, Livia’s name, is used as an adjective that modifies “*Salus*”.

Barrett has argued that neither the coin portrait nor its accompanying legend refers in any sort of direct way to Livia, even stating that the portrait is “technically not hers...”, but he does acknowledge the possibility that the general public would have recognized the image as referring to Livia.<sup>162</sup> A dupondius issued by the colony Emerita in Spain during the reign of Tiberius (I.P1.5) presents Livia’s portrait on the obverse along with the legend SALVS AVGVSTA, while the reverse depicts Livia seated along with her name IVLIA AVGVSTA. Here, there is a direct link via the relation between obverse and reverse types exhibiting a clear association between the two.

Through the *Salus* coins Livia is presented on an official product of the state as a key player in ensuring the state’s health and well-being,<sup>163</sup> a blessed condition achieved under the auspices of Julio-Claudian, in particular Tiberius’s, rule. In the *Salus* coin, Livia is the first example in which imperial women as members of dynasty came to represent abstract political and social concepts necessary to the regime.<sup>164</sup> Some scholars have argued that this particular coin issue was prompted by the occasion of Livia’s recent recovery from serious

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<sup>162</sup> Barrett, 93.

<sup>163</sup> Severy, 240; Lorenz Winkler, *Salus: Vom Staatskult zur politischen Idee, eine archäologische Untersuchung* (Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologische und Geschichte, 1995) 51-54.

<sup>164</sup> Boymel-Kampen, “Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art,” 242.

illness,<sup>165</sup> but at the same time they recognize that deeper connotations are extant in this image. This coin type bore complex associations linked with particular protective aspects of Livia's role as mother of the imperial family. An examination of the reverse legends of not only the *Salus* dupondius, but also its *Pietas* and *Iustitia* counterparts spell out a correlation between Livia and the perpetuation of dynasty.<sup>166</sup> The reverses of the *Salus* and *Iustitia* coins bear the titles of Tiberius, while the *Pietas* one carries those of Drusus Minor, Tiberius's son and successor. Livia's role as mother of the imperial family meant that she was also mother of the state and its subjects, and as such, she was conceived and perceived, albeit ideologically, as a protector of the state. The role of wife and mother as guardian of the household and its members is well-attested in ancient literary sources as detailed to great extent by Pearce.<sup>167</sup>

#### **b) Livia as Priestess**

Upon the death and deification of the emperor Augustus in AD 14 Livia was made *sacerdos* (priestess) of the newly founded cult of *Divus Augustus*, an appointment which was revolutionary in terms of the officially public role and status it gave the empress.<sup>168</sup> The new position solidified her status and place within the state, particularly when she was granted a lictor, a guardian and

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<sup>165</sup> Barrett, 93; Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, 192; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 112. These scholars often refer to Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.64 which does say anything about a coin issue to commemorate Livia's recovery from illness.

<sup>166</sup> Wood, 109.

<sup>167</sup> T.E.V. Pearce, "The Role of the Wife as Custos in Ancient Rome," *Eranos* 71 (1973): 16-33.

<sup>168</sup> Barrett, 159-160.

attendant of a public magistrate.<sup>169</sup> Livia's position as *sacerdos divi Augusti* was commemorated in sculpture (IV.A2.4, XI.A2.15), cameos (VI.R10), and coins. The manner in which this particular role is portrayed on coins is through the depiction of Livia seated and veiled, as well as portrait busts of Livia with head veiled. Occasionally, associations of Livia with Vesta (goddess of the hearth) and Pietas (personification of religious devotion to state and family) also aid in communicating the ideal of Livia's devotion not only to her priestly office, but also to her family and the state. The coins were designed to promote the newly established cult of the deified Augustus, as well as the new *domus Augusta* which included father Divus Augustus, Livia as the god's priestess and mother of the new princeps, and Tiberius, their son.

#### **i) *Livia's Seated Figure and Associations with Vesta***

Chapter 4 of this manuscript effectively mapped out the image elements that comprised the overall composition of Livia's representation as seated female figure and it was noted there that the most common visual attributes accompanying this image type of Livia were the sceptre, patera and the palla that veiled her head. A comparison of Livia's seated images on coins and in sculpture reveal a closely shared iconography with the goddess Vesta, which in essence links Livia's roles as priestess and mother with that of Vesta and her Vestal Virgin priestesses. A relief on the Sorrento Base dating to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD shows Vesta seated on a throne with her head veiled and possibly holding a

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<sup>169</sup> Dio 56.46. Note, however, Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.2 states that Tiberius did not allow Livia to be granted the privilege of a lictor.

patera (worn) in her right hand.<sup>170</sup> The veil worn by Vesta and her priestesses is symbolic of their piety to Rome, which is further denoted by the patera used in conducting religious rituals. The veil was also associated with the Vestals' role as matronly and motherly figures.<sup>171</sup> The attributes that this seated figure holds suggests a clear link with the seated figure of Livia on Tiberian asses and thus an association with the highly respected and ancient institution of the Vestals. Such iconography is consistent with the reverse of an *as* issued in Rome under the emperor Caligula in c. AD 37-40,<sup>172</sup> which depicts Vesta seated on a throne facing left, holding the patera in her right hand and sceptre in her left, just as Livia does in her seated representations on coins.

The connection between Livia and the goddess Vesta had been developing since the reign of Augustus who made a consistent and applied effort to link his family and his rule with Vesta and her cult given the goddess's role as protector and guardian of the state, a pursuit that continued under Augustus's successors.<sup>173</sup> Under Tiberius, Livia's position as *sacerdos divi Augusti* is promoted further through the issue of a special sestertius at Rome in AD 22-23 (I.A1.5), the same year that the *Salus, Pietas* and *Iustitia* series dupondii were issued. The obverse of the coin depicts a *carpentum* (ornate, mule drawn carriage) and the inscription S P Q R IVLIAE AVGVSTAE, "the Senate and

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<sup>170</sup> Sorrento Base, Museo Correale de Terranova, Inv. no. 3657.

<sup>171</sup> Fantham, "Covering the Head at Rome," 163, 166; Wildfang, 13.

<sup>172</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 111, no. 47.

<sup>173</sup> Wildfang, 92; Wood, 82.

People of Rome to Julia Augusta”, which marks the first direct reference to Livia by name ever made on a coin of Rome. It also marked the first time a coin type featured a female gender-related image such as the *carpentum* to celebrate a woman’s role in the public sphere.<sup>174</sup> In addition, the SPQR credits the Senate and people of Rome with the bestowal of this honour upon Livia.<sup>175</sup> Once again, some scholars argue that the type may refer to celebrations of thanksgiving held in honour of Livia’s recovery from illness,<sup>176</sup> but it is more likely that it refers to the occasion upon which Livia received the right to sit among the Vestals in the theatre.<sup>177</sup> As a result, she may have also been granted permission to travel within the city by *carpentum* (AD 22), a privilege also held by Vestals.<sup>178</sup> Although Livia was not a Vestal priestess, the honour of the *carpentum* endowed Livia, as priestess of the deified Augustus, with a status comparable to the Vestals.

**ii) *Livia with Head Veiled: Symbol of Matronly and Priestly Pietas***

Livia’s portrait types depicted the empress in garb that exuded Livia’s roles as matron and mother, as well as exemplified her pious devotion in these roles, a devotion that was also reflected in her new public role as priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus. The iconography used in the depictions of the

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<sup>174</sup> Severy, 240.

<sup>175</sup> Severy, 240; Wood, 82.

<sup>176</sup> Barrett, 92-93 and 95.

<sup>177</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 4.16.4; Wood, 82; Winkler, 53-54.

<sup>178</sup> Barrett, 95 and 144. Note also that Tac. *Ann.* 12.42 indicates that the *carpentum* was a privilege traditionally reserved for priests and sacred objects. See also Dio 60.22.2.

personification of the virtue *Pietas*, a virtue that symbolized devotion to the gods, state and family, was also shared by Vesta and Livia, thereby intimately linking these three in a dialogue of pious virtue characteristic of the ruling imperial regime. Bronze dupondii of Rome issued in AD 22-23 (I.A1.3) featured the obverse portrait of the personification of *Pietas*. Here, *Pietas* is depicted in a right portrait profile with head veiled and wearing a diadem. The legend PIETAS is visible in the exergue. There has been considerable debate as to whether the portrait depicted is in fact a representation of Livia. Both Bartman and Gross have dismissed an identification of this image as Livia arguing that the epithet “Augusta” is absent and that the portrait features are too idealized to warrant identification with a particular personage let alone Livia.<sup>179</sup> However, Winkes argues that it is very likely that the Roman viewer would have easily associated these types with Livia.<sup>180</sup> First of all, the *Pietas* type with its veiled portrait could easily call to mind Livia’s role as priestess of the deified Augustus, but it also embodied the ideology of Livia’s devotion to the imperial family and to the state in her role as *mater familias*.

The association between Livia, *Pietas* and the seated female figure on Tiberius’s *aes* coins is reinforced by sestertii issued under his successor Caligula in AD 37-41 in celebration of his dedication of the temple of Divus Augustus in Rome.<sup>181</sup> The obverse of the coin depicts the goddess *Pietas* seated and veiled,

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<sup>179</sup> Bartman, 7; Gross, 18.

<sup>180</sup> Winkes, “Livia: Portrait and Propaganda,” 38.

<sup>181</sup> *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 111, no. 36.



holding the patera. The legend PIETAS is visible in the exergue. This seated *Pietas* figure combined with the temple of Divus Augustus on the reverse, not only referred to Caligula's own *pietas* in completing and dedicating this sacred monument to Augustus, but also alluded to the sacred office of priestess of the deified Augustus. The iconography of the *Pietas* figure recalls that of the seated representation of Livia on Tiberius's *aes* coins of AD 15-16, as well as statues of Livia, in particular the one from Paestum, which included the popular veiled head motif, and thus commemorated Livia in her roles as priestess and mother.<sup>182</sup> The iconography of this representation of *Pietas*, which was also employed in the iconographic repertoire of Livia, undoubtedly would have also invoked memories of Livia and provided a further link between Caligula and Divus Augustus.

Additional evidence that Livia's position as mother and priestess was promoted and idealized through the virtue *Pietas* can be found on coins issued in the provinces which associate Livia with this virtue by name. One coin from Amphipolis (III.I1.13) takes the veiled *Pietas* portrait issued on coins of Rome in AD 22-23 and connects it to Livia through the accompanying legend IOYΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΑ, "the divine Julia Augusta." Another coin issued at Thessalonica in Macedonia (III.I1.12) depicts on its reverse a veiled portrait bust along with the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, a title frequently given to Livia on coins and inscriptions of the Greek east since the time of Augustus. In the west, coins from Caesaraugusta in Spain (I.P1.2-3) contain the same veiled vestige and the legend PIETATIS AVGVSTAE. The fact that the epithet "Augusta" is attached to the

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<sup>182</sup> Bartman, 109.

name “*Pietas*” indicates that this virtue was perceived as being part of Livia’s matronly character. The addition of “Augusta” to the legend, in contrast to the *Pietas* type issued in Rome, which lacks it, was intentional on the part of local magistrates who wished to honour Livia in a more direct fashion.<sup>183</sup>

### c) Livia as Divine Female Figure

Many associations between Livia and various goddesses (Juno, Ceres and Venus) in multiple media were manifestly apparent throughout Rome and its empire. Such associations undoubtedly linked Livia with the divine, along with her various social roles, many of which were epitomized in the social and religious ideology surrounding these female deities. In addition to being called Juno or Ceres, Livia was also given the epithet  $\Theta\epsilon\alpha$  (divine) on coins issued at several mints of the Hellenistic Greek east provinces of the Roman Empire, long before Livia was ever called *diva* (divine) in the West. The first instance of Livia as *diva* on coins in Rome did not occur until Livia’s deification under the reign of Claudius.

Livia’s designation as divine on eastern provincial coins issued during Augustus’s reign contributed to the further definition and exploitation of Livia’s perceived role as imperial *mater familias*. Her association with key goddesses allowed the provincial viewer to get acquainted with Livia within the context of their own established religious traditions. However, the multiplicity and frequency of her appearance with divine attributes on coins seems to be in

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<sup>183</sup> Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius*, 114.

contrast with those of her male counterparts. Andrew Burnett has noticed this peculiarity as well, noting that only very occasionally is Augustus referred to as Θεός in coin legends or shown with a divine attribute such as the *aegis* (shield of Zeus/Athena), while female members of imperial families are often called Θεα and are shown with the attributes of a variety of goddesses.<sup>184</sup> For example, a coin from the Thessalian League (II.F1.7) depicts on its obverse the head of Augustus bare with the legend ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, while the reverse bears the head of Livia and the legend ΗΡΑ ΛΕΙΟΨΙΑ once again associating her with Hera, wife of Zeus. It is interesting to note that Augustus is referred to as divine, but is not directly assimilated to any particular god, especially Zeus as we might expect. A coin of Methymna on Lesbos (VI.C1.27) presents the bare head of Augustus on the obverse and refers to him as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, while the reverse shows Livia's portrait and the legend ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ. A coin of the Asian city of Clazomenae (III.C1.10) has Augustus's laureate portrait on the obverse but does not identify him directly by name, while Livia's reverse portrait once again is labeled ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ.

One possible explanation for the subdued divine symbolism for Augustus on provincial coins is that the mint officials were following the pattern of the imperial coins from Rome which sought to avoid the association of any divine

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<sup>184</sup> Andrew Burnett, "Roman Provincial Coins of the Julio-Claudians," *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Keith Jenkins*, eds. Martin Price, Andrew Burnett, and Roger Bland, (London: Spink, 1993) 153.

symbols with the image of the emperor.<sup>185</sup> However, this does not explain the portrayal of Livia as divine on the coins of the eastern Greek provinces and is especially puzzling given that there is very little surviving evidence for the depiction of Livia on the coins of Rome during Augustus's reign. Without a Roman example to follow, what prompted the development and issue of such types elevating Livia to a uniquely divine status? Interestingly, the tradition in the East of honouring Roman officials by revering them as gods was well established by the reign of Augustus and as attention was focused increasingly on the *domus Augusta* it was inevitable that similar honours would be accorded female members of the imperial family.<sup>186</sup> Also, it is well known that the eastern provinces desired to worship Augustus as a god, but that he strictly forbade it for Romans living there and only allowed locals to worship him in association with Roma, the personification of the state.<sup>187</sup> Thus, he avoided any possible suggestion that he might be a king and his regime a monarchy, having learned well from the assassination of Caesar the consequences of such perceptions. Given the emperor's feelings regarding his own divinity, the mint magistrates of Eastern cities likely decided to honour the emperor's divinity indirectly through the promotion of his wife as divine.

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<sup>185</sup> Burnett, 153.

<sup>186</sup> Barrett, 207-208. See also Bartman, 96.

<sup>187</sup> Dio 51.20.6-8 explains Augustus's policy regarding his worship in the eastern provinces. Romans resident in eastern cities of Asia and Bithynia should worship the divinities Roma and Julius Caesar, while others, namely Hellenes, could dedicate religious precincts to him. See also Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome*, Volume I "A History" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 352-353 and Pat Southern, *Augustus* (London: Routledge, 1998) 195.

#### 6.4 Conclusion

The multifariousness of Livia's numismatic images reflected the complexity of Livia's gender-infused socio-political roles. While it is evident that Livia's predominant roles promoted via coins (and other media with shared iconography) consisted of mother, wife and priestess, the coins images were designed to convey these roles, not just one at time, but several at once. By tapping into the iconographic repertoires of multiple deities that transcended multiple media, these roles could be communicated to a wide audience whose collective cultural experience magnified the potential impact these coins made on the collective consciousness of Roman imperial society.

Such socio-political roles were also intimately linked to ideologies of power. Although Livia did not have independent status and authority in her own right, images of Livia in coins and other media gave her the unprecedented semblance of power, which in turn affected the perceived power of the emperor himself. The iconography employed for Livia's representation on coins infused her public persona with a degree power that was comparable to her male imperial family members. Public power, traditionally a male domain, was being redefined to include a new female public power that was peculiar to female imperial family members, especially the empress in her role as *mater familias*.

The coin images of Livia, when accompanied by those of her male familial counterparts, whether on the same coin or as part of a coin series, negotiated the male versus female power relations that existed between imperial

family members. These power relations were defined through familial relations that Livia held with her husband Augustus and her son Tiberius, as well as their respective successors, for the purposes of promoting and legitimizing the perpetuation of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Further to the promotion of dynasty was the monopolization of ruling power by the imperial family, in particular the emperor and the empress. Augustus and Livia, as *pater familias* and *mater familias* respectively, were setting themselves up as the patrons of the Roman Empire in accordance with the traditions of the patron-client system at Rome.<sup>188</sup> In Chapter 5 specific examples were given of Livia's activities as *patrona* in the provinces. Therefore, Livia needed to be presented as more than simply the mother of the imperial family, but as the mother and patroness of all. Livia's new socio-political and religious roles, which transcended multiple gender categories needed to be communicated by means of a visual repertoire that presented Livia as imperial power figure. To achieve this visual presentation of Livia's power, the designers of Livia's images in coins and other media, tapped into the messages of power and associated gender roles communicated through the iconography of the gods.

The negotiation of power through Livia's coin images constructed along societal gender lines set Livia apart from other female, and most male, inhabitants of empire and at the same time set the standard for the manner in which female members of Rome's imperial dynasties would be presented as key players in the

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<sup>188</sup> Severy, 9-10 and 136-137; Barrett, 188. See also Richard P. Saller, "Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household," *Classical Philology* 94.2 (1999) 185.

success and well-being of the Roman Empire as a whole. Associations of Livia's "empress" successors with goddesses such as Ceres, Vesta and Juno continued and even increased in the dynasties which followed. The concept of the wife or mother of the emperor as mother of the successors, as well as references to the empress as "mother of the country", remained subdued until the time of Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Septimius Severus (r. AD 193-211), who was openly labelled as such on coins of the mint of Rome. The presentation of Livia as a power player in Roman imperial ideology was explicit, but remained within the boundaries of properly established guidelines which assimilated Livia metaphorically to the divine figures who symbolized her qualities and social roles.

## CONCLUSION

My examination of Livia's coins has hopefully added a new and deeper understanding of a dimension of Livia's visual program that has often been overlooked. The analyses presented here regarding the body of coins produced for the commemoration of Livia has revealed that a complex numismatic visual program was developed for her representation, a program rooted in fundamental iconographic elements that transcended multiple media. The mapping of Livia's visual program as presented on coins has reinforced the theory that this program was based on modes of representation developed under the auspices of the central governing authority of the imperial regime in Rome. These representational modes were then cited, and adapted, by mints in Rome's provincial cities in order to effectively communicate the socio-political and religious ideologies linked to the perpetuation of the dynastic imperial regime.

The mapping of Livia's visual program on coins has provided an analytical framework within which Livia's numismatic images can finally be given a tangible place within the broader visual program that was developed for her. While such visual analyses of bodies of coinage pertaining to particular individuals in the Roman imperial regime can be a daunting task, the body of Livia's coins examined here has shown that coins as a distinctive visual medium can no longer be passed over due to the diminutive nature of their images nor the seemingly large number of image types that may exist. The origins of the



representations of Livia and other imperial women as presented in Chapter 3 followed by the mapping of Livia's numismatic images in Chapter 4 indicates that a series of syntagmatic visual modes were developed for Livia's representation: Livia's facial portrait, Livia as seated female figure and Livia as standing female figure. These modes were found not only in coins, but also in sculpture and cameos. While the prototypes for these numismatic representational modes were almost certainly based in sculptural representations of Livia, the manner in which Livia was represented on coins followed visual formulas, or syntaxes, in common with other media in order to ensure maximum communicability between the visual messages posed by the authors of the coins and the meanings perceived by the viewers. Given the fact that coins were produced in large numbers and were highly mobile, they were highly effective in communicating the ideologies of the ruling authority responsible for the issue of coins.

The system of representation used for depicting Livia on coins fell within clear guidelines that not only had a limited number of syntagmatic modes, but also a limited number of paradigmatic elements within each mode, which further facilitated the readability of the coin images amongst viewers. Some paradigmatic elements, such as Livia's nodus hairstyle type, were exclusive to the representation of imperial women on coins, in particular Livia. Others, namely attributes such as sceptre, stephane or ears of grain, provided ideological connections between Livia and characteristics typical of goddesses, including the regal status of Hera and the nurturing quality of Ceres. All of these visual elements could also be found in representations of Livia in the sculptural medium,

as well as in cameos, thereby creating an ideological discourse which communicated to the subjects of empire Livia's roles in the Roman imperial dynastic ruling regime.

Chapter 5's analyses demonstrated that there was a strong desire to maintain a visual standard for the representation of Livia throughout the various regions of the Roman Empire. But, a detailed examination of the visual elements of Livia's coins by region has revealed some variations in the manner in which Livia was portrayed, which furthers our understanding of regional perceptions of Livia's roles in the imperial family and in imperial rule. The popular honourific associations between Livia and the divine in the eastern Greek provinces may have been in contrast to the manner in which Livia was portrayed in Rome, but they were incorporated into Livia's visual repertoire as a means expressing abstract ideological concepts pertaining to Livia's public persona. Such associations also added a degree of familiarity and acquaintance with Livia as a key member of the ruling regime in a way that corresponded to the traditions and tastes of that region.

Despite the regional iconographic variations in Livia's numismatic representations, one overarching theme remained consistent between the coin images of Rome and those of the provinces: Livia's role in the promotion and perpetuation of the ruling imperial dynasty. The fact that Livia's image dominates on coins, appearing more than that of any other female imperial family member, marks Livia as the predominant female and undeniably as the *mater familias*, not only of the *Domus Augusta*, but also of the state. While Livia's role

as “mother” was made explicit in the iconography used in Livia’s coin images, the manner in which she is portrayed in relation to other imperial family members, especially men, allows us to gauge visually how Livia’s status as *mater familias* was defined and perceived. Here, the coins provide a perspective of Livia that cannot be obtained through ancient literary sources, which gave mixed reviews of Livia as mother, at times referring to her as cruel and capable of murder.<sup>1</sup>

This thesis has also attempted to address Boymel-Kampen’s observation that a significant gap exists in the study of gender iconography on Roman coins. Using Livia’s coins as a case study, Chapter 6 addressed Livia’s coin images as gender-based iconographic constructions, which in turn communicated gender roles. All images, whether of men or women, in sculpture or on coins, were all visual representations of power mediated through gender-infused image elements. Once again, coins provide a unique opportunity to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the visual construction and communication of gender and gender roles given the range of image types produced for Livia, which exceeds the number of sculptural and cameo examples that survive. The mapping of Livia’s visual program as rendered on coins, when considered in tandem with representations of her in other media, make possible the identification and articulation of aspects of Livia’s persona that were considered integral to her position of power in the imperial regime: Livia as mother, priestess and divine female figure.

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<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.3-4, 1.5-6, 1.33.3; Dio 53.33.4, 55.10a.10, 56.30.1-2, 57.3.6.

My analysis of Livia's gendered numismatic images has also provided a means by which we can gauge the distinct nature of Livia's power and status within the imperial regime. By examining Livia's coin images in relation to those of her male and female relatives, I have shown that Livia was clearly the highest ranking woman in the realm, but she also outranked all other men in the empire except for the emperor himself. The fact that she appeared in coins and in sculpture more than any other imperial family member (besides the emperor) and most often alongside images of the emperor himself indicates that she held an unprecedented place of power for a woman. Livia's persona as mother to all subjects of empire served as the model by which all future empresses would be portrayed in visual media.

Yet, my examination of Livia's gender-based coin images has only skimmed the surface of the potential of such a study for understanding how gender and gender roles were constructed through images. My analyses focused primarily on how Livia's images were specifically constructed, but only took into account a fraction of the coins representing Livia's male relatives. To look at all of the representations of Livia's male relatives is beyond the scope of this thesis, but is necessary for a more in depth and comprehensive understanding of the design of women's images in relation to those of men and vice versa. My work here has laid the foundations for further examination of gender images on coins and will allow a number of key questions to be answered including how male and female roles of imperial family members were defined and distinguished from one

another. In addition, scholars will be able to articulate more clearly the heterarchical nature of male and female power and the blurring of gender roles.

One particular methodological lesson that I hope can be learned from the research presented here is that the visual representation of an imperial personage must not be examined according to one specific visual medium, such as coins or sculpture, in isolation. What my research has revealed is how intricately interwoven the individual motifs of Livia's visual program were, so much so that the viewer would have readily recognized the figure depicted as Livia, no matter the medium used nor whether she was labelled thus by an accompanying inscription. Scholars such as Bartman, Wood and Winkes have produced detailed and insightful examinations of Livia's representation in sculpture and what this particular medium communicates about Livia, but the study of Livia's coins presented here confirms that the visual program devised for Livia in any particular medium did not develop in a vacuum. Livia's visual program was designed along specific guidelines that were then transferred to various media, which each functioned distinctly to convey the ideological messages intended by those who developed the visual concepts in the first place. The same processes can be found today when we see the manner in which an individual is represented in various media. Queen Elizabeth II, for example, is depicted on coins, in photos and even in film (most recently portrayed by Helen Mirren in *The Queen* in 2006). The visual media in which she is depicted are distinct and each serves a different purpose, but the visual markers are enough that the same figure is easily recognizable to the viewer. Thus, the ideological messages behind that figure

persists, no matter what visual medium is used, in order to create a multifaceted persona of a particular historical figure.

The numismatic visual program outlined herein paints a picture of Livia that is distinct, and often in contrast to, the manner in which she is portrayed in literary sources. Therefore, the examination of Livia's visual representation presented here paves the way for further study concerning why such contrasts exist between the visual and literary sources. In particular, the construction of Livia's gendered identity and multifaceted gender roles in visual media needs to be examined further with special consideration of how Livia's gender and gender roles were portrayed in the literary sources. In the case of Tacitus, Livia's power and gender roles are readily apparent, although painted in a rather negative light, but when considered alongside Livia's visual program will give a more complete and complex picture of the extent of Livia's power and influence in Roman imperial society.

The images of Livia presented on coins of Rome and its provinces provides another dimension to the biography of Livia that was also communicated in sculpture, cameos and even in the works of ancient authors. The manner in which Livia was depicted on coins, while standardized, was quite innovative and laid the foundations for the manner in which future female imperial family members would be portrayed. The commemoration of imperial women at Rome, although reserved under Augustus and Tiberius, increased under the remaining Julio-Claudians and beyond. The wives and mothers of emperors were routinely depicted, and named, on coins issued by the mint of Rome and in all

denominations including the precious metal ones. These women continued to be commemorated in the provinces as well. The visual modes of the iconic and powerful Livia continued to be used in the representations of imperial women and served as symbols of the power of imperial rule.

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### ***Online Resources***

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## COINS AND RELATED MATERIALS CATALOGUE

### *A Note on How to Use the Catalogue and Plates*

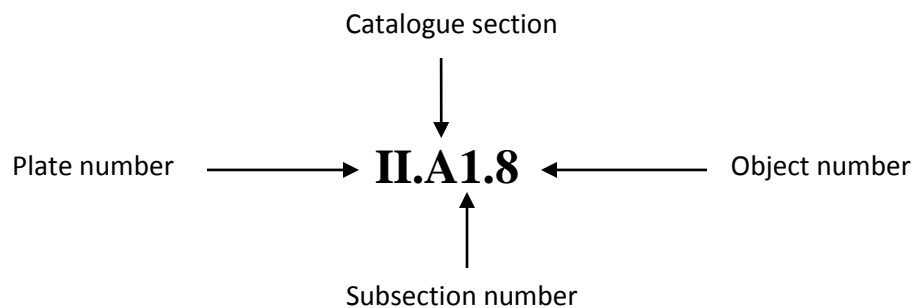
The catalogue is divided into nineteen sections. Seventeen of these are devoted to materials (coins, cameos, and inscriptions) from Rome and the provinces of the Roman Empire. I have identified the provinces in accordance with that provided in *Roman Provincial Coinage* I for convenient correlation and citation between my thesis and the *RPC* catalogue. The initial sections of the catalogue deal with Rome, Italy and Sicily, and then each subsequent section runs roughly from eastern provinces to western ones, since Livia's coins originated in the east under Augustus and then extended to the west under Tiberius. In addition to the seventeen sections on Rome and the provinces, there is one section devoted to Hellenistic Greek and Roman Republican coins that inspired the design of Livia's numismatic images. There is also a section for cameos, which I have kept separate from the sections on provincial materials because the provenances of nearly all cameos are unknown.

The collection of Livia coins presented in this catalogue is fairly comprehensive regarding the individual types that were issued across the empire, but does not necessarily refer to, nor contain plates of, all specimens of a particular coin type. Nonetheless, I have cited as many of these specimens as possible, even though I may not refer to them specifically in the body of my thesis.

It is also important to note that this catalogue does not cover all the known sculptural, cameo and epigraphic specimens referring to Livia. Much of this work

has already been done by scholars such as Bartman, Wood, Gross, Winkes, Alexandridis and Barrett. I have only included specimens which contribute in a significant way visually or contextually to the analyses within this thesis.

Each section of the catalogue is accompanied by its own set of plates. The individual plates of each section referred to by Roman numerals, i.e. PLATE I, PLATE IV, etc. Within the body of the thesis each individual coin is referred to by its plate number, followed by its catalogue number. The catalogue number includes the letter designation for that section of the catalogue along with its subsection number (usually 1 for coins, 2 for sculpture and 3 for inscriptions), followed the sequential number for that object. For example:



It is important to note that inscriptions are not pictured here and thus they are referred to in the same way as coins or sculpture but without the Roman numeral plate number.

Finally, I have not included a list of plates at the beginning of the thesis, but instead I have provided the references for each plate within its individual catalogue entry. Plates with inventory numbers from specific collections are pictures taken by me as part of my research.

## A) Rome &amp; Italy

A1 – Coins**Mint:** Rome1) **Emperor:** Augustus**Date:** 13 BC**Denomination:** AR denarius**Obverse:** Head of Augustus bare right. Lituus in left field. AVGVSTVS.**Reverse:** Head of Julia or Livia right between heads of Gaius and Lucius Caesar both right. C MARIVS TR – O, III – VIR.**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 404**Plate:** I.A1.1**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.392812) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** AD 22-23**Denomination:** AE dupondius**Obverse:** Draped bust of Livia right. Middle part hairstyle. SALVS AVGVSTA.**Reverse:** TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVG TR POT XXIII around SC**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 47; BMCRE I, no. 82**Plate:** I.A1.2**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.392813) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** AD 22-23**Denomination:** AE dupondius**Obverse:** Draped bust of Livia/Pietas right. Head veiled and wearing ornate diadem. PIETAS.**Reverse:** DRVSVS CAESAR TI AVGVSTI F TR POT ITER around SC.**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 43; BMCRE I, no. 98**Plate:** I.A1.3**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1947.2.4194) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** AD 22-23**Denomination:** AE dupondius**Obverse:** Draped bust of Livia/Iustitia right. Head wearing ornate diadem. IVSTITIA.**Reverse:** TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F TR POT XXIII around SC.**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 46; BMCRE I, no. 79**Plate:** I.A1.4**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.39280

- 5) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 22-23  
**Denomination:** AE sestertius  
**Obverse:** Carpentum decorated with Victories and other figures drawn by two mules to the right. S P Q R / IVLIAE / AVGVST.  
**Reverse:** TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F TR POT XXIII around SC.  
**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 51  
**Plate:** I.A1.5  
**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.39279
- 6) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 15-16  
**Denomination:** AE as  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVST IMP VII.  
**Reverse:** Veiled female figure (Livia) seated right, feet on stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTEST XVII.  
**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 33-36<sup>1</sup>  
**Plate:** I.A1.6  
**Image Source:** [http://wildwinds.com/coins/ric/tiberius/RIC\\_0035-o.jpg](http://wildwinds.com/coins/ric/tiberius/RIC_0035-o.jpg);  
[http://wildwinds.com/coins/ric/tiberius/RIC\\_0035-r.jpg](http://wildwinds.com/coins/ric/tiberius/RIC_0035-r.jpg). Accessed Jan. 6, 2011.
- 7) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** Undated, AD 14-37  
**Denomination:** AE as  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus radiate right, star above, thunderbolt in right field. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER.  
**Reverse:** Veiled female figure (Livia) seated right, feet on stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. S – C in field on left and right respectively.  
**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 72  
**Plate:** I.A1.7  
**Image Source:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 12, no. 72
- 8) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** Undated  
**Mint:** Paestum  
**Denomination:** AE 16mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right, lituus in right field.  
**Reverse:** Veiled female figure (Livia) seated right, holding patera in right hand and torch in left.  
**References:** *RPC I*, no. 604  
**Plate:** II.A1.8  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 78

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<sup>1</sup> Note that the reverse of one coin, *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 37, shows a wreath above Livia's chair. Interestingly, a wreath also appears of the female portrait on the reverse of A1.1.

- 9) **Emperor:** Claudius  
**Date:** c. AD 41-50  
**Denomination:** AE dupondius  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus radiate left, between S – C . DIVVS AVGVSTVS.  
**Reverse:** Livia seated left on ornate throne, feet on stool, holding ears of grain/flowers in right hand and torch in left. DIVA AVGVSTA.  
**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 101  
**Plate:** II.A1.9  
**Image Source:** <http://www.flickr.com/photos/julio-claudians/3103807996/in/photostream/>. Accessed September 7, 2010.
- 10) **Emperor:** Galba  
**Date:** AD 68  
**Denomination:** AE sestertius  
**Obverse:** Head of Galba wearing oak crown right. IMP SER GALBA CAE AVG TR P.  
**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated left, feet on stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. AVGVSTA. S – C to left and right in field.  
**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 331-338  
**Plate:** II.A1.10  
**Image Source:** [http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC1/RIC1\\_Galba\\_201-400.htm](http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC1/RIC1_Galba_201-400.htm). Accessed September 7, 2010.
- 11) **Emperor:** Galba  
**Date:** c. July AD 68 to January 69  
**Denomination:** AV aureus and AR denarius  
**Obverse:** Bust of Galba draped and laureate, right. IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVG.  
**Reverse:** Livia standing left, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. DIVA AVGVSTA.  
**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 188 (aureus) and 189 (denarius).  
**Plate:** II.A1.11  
**Image Source:** [http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s2091.html#RIC\\_0188](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s2091.html#RIC_0188). Accessed Jan. 6, 2011.
- 12) **Emperor:** Titus  
**Date:** AD 80-81  
**Denomination:** AE dupondius  
**Obverse:** Draped bust of Livia as Iustitia right, wearing stephane. IVSTITIA.  
**Reverse:** S C surrounded by IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG REST.  
**References:** *RIC 2*, no. 424  
**Plate:** III.A1.12



**Image Source:** [http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/RIC/livia/RIC\\_424\[titus\].jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/RIC/livia/RIC_424[titus].jpg). Accessed Dec. 4, 2010.

13) **Emperor:** Trajan

**Date:** AD 102-116

**Denomination:** AV aureus

**Obverse:** Bust of Tiberius laureate right. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated right, feet on stool, holding branch in left hand and sceptre in right.

**References:** *RIC* 2, no. 821

**Plate:** III.A1.13

**Image Source:** [http://coins.lib.virginia.edu/display-uva?id=n1997\\_7\\_1](http://coins.lib.virginia.edu/display-uva?id=n1997_7_1). Accessed Dec. 4, 2010.

A2 – Sculpture

1) **Date:** Augustan.

**Provenance:** Tiber riverbed

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia with youthful facial features. Marbury Hall hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 149, no. 7

**Plate:** IV.A2.1

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 149, no. 7, fig. 125

2) **Date:** Augustan. 9 BC.

**Provenance:** Ara Pacis Augustae

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Relief full-length portrait of Livia contained alongside a series of figures representing the imperial family in ceremonial procession.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 90, fig. 75

**Plate:** IV.A2.2

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 90, fig. 75

3) **Date:** Claudian or Antonine. See Bartman, p. 158.

**Provenance:** Puteoli.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Full-length portrait statue of Livia with head veiled, holding cornucopia in left arm. Middle part hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 158, no. 28

**Plate:** V.A2.3

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 132-133, figs. 105-106

4) **Date:** Tiberian. See Bartman, p. 156.

**Provenance:** Paestum. Found in 1860 along with a statue of Tiberius seated.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Full-length portrait statue of Livia seated with head veiled. Middle part hairstyle with clearly defined rows of waves. Note fillet in hair just in front of the veil.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 156, no. 24

**Plate:** V.A2.4 and VI.A2.4

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 110-111, figs. 88-89; colour photo [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/19/Livia\\_Drusila\\_-\\_Paestum\\_%28M.A.N.\\_Madrid%29\\_01.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/19/Livia_Drusila_-_Paestum_%28M.A.N._Madrid%29_01.jpg), accessed September 18, 2010.

- 5) **Date:** Tiberian.  
**Provenance:** Pompeii. Found in the peristyle of the Villa of the Mysteries.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Full-length portrait statue of Livia (?) with head veiled.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 157-158, no. 27  
**Plate:** VII.A2.5  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 157-158, figs. 138-139
- 6) **Date:** Claudian. AD 41-54  
**Provenance:** Rome. Also known as the Ludovisi Juno.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Colossal head of Juno or Livia (?) wearing ornate diadem and beaded fillets.  
**Reference:** Wood, figs. 50-51  
**Plate:** VII.A2.6  
**Image Source:** Wood, figs. 50-51
- 7) **Date:** Tiberian or Caligulan.  
**Provenance:** Velleia. One of thirteen portraits from a Julio-Claudian dynastic group.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Full-length portrait statue of Livia  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 159-160, no. 33  
**Plate:** VIII.A2.7  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 124-125, figs. 96-97
- 8) **Date:** Late Augustan or Tiberian.  
**Provenance:** Rome.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Head of Livia veiled and wearing a laurel crown.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 151, no. 12  
**Plate:** VIII.A2.8  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 85, fig. 71

- 9) **Date:** Augustan (?).  
**Provenance:** Unknown, but quite plausibly Rome or Italy. See Bartman p. 164.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Bust of Livia draped. Marbury Hall hairstyle.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 164, no. 42  
**Plate:** IX.A2.9  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 165, fig. 149
- 10) **Date:** Claudian.  
**Provenance:** Velletri.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Full-length statue of Livia with head veiled and diademed.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 152-153, no. 15  
**Plate:** IX.A2.10  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 152-153, figs. 132-133
- 11) **Date:** Claudian.  
**Provenance:** Rusellae. Part of a large Julio-Claudian dynastic group.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Full-length statue of Livia seated, veiled and diademed.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 158-159, no. 29  
**Plate:** X.A2.11  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 130, fig. 103
- 12) **Date:** Claudian.  
**Provenance:** Ravenna. Known as the Ravenna Relief.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Relief depicting four standing figures including one of Livia (?) standing and wearing diadem.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 135-136  
**Plate:** X.A2.12  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 135-136, figs. 108-109
- 13) **Date:** Tiberian.  
**Provenance:** Unknown, but probably Rome or Italy. See Bartman, p. 161.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Head of Livia wearing a floral crown and a wool fillet.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 161, no. 36  
**Plate:** XI.A2.13  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 108, fig. 87 and p. 161, fig. 142
- 14) **Date:** Augustan or Tiberian.  
**Provenance:** Unknown. See Bartman, p. 186.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Head of Livia wearing a diadem style braid.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 186-187, no. 88  
**Plate:** XI.A2.14  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 186-187, figs. 179-180

- 15) **Date:** Augustan, last decade BC.  
**Provenance:** Oriculum, accompanied by other statues of the Julio-Claudians.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Statue of Livia standing, wearing tunic, stola and with head veiled.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 155-156, no. 22  
**Plate:** XII.A2.15  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 9, figs. 9-10
- 16) **Date:** Tiberian.  
**Provenance:** Rome or its environs.  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Statue of Livia standing, wearing chiton, head veiled and adorned floral crown and beaded fillet, holding ears of grain in right hand and cornucopia in left.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 146, no. 3  
**Plate:** XII.A2.16  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 45, figs. 42-43

### A3 – Inscriptions

- 1) **Date:** after AD 15  
**Provenance:** Luceria. Statue base.  
**Reference:** *CIL* 9.787; Bartman, p. 208, no. 58

[Iuliae]/Augusta[e]/Divi Augu[sti]

To Julia Augusta, (wife) of the deified Augustus

- 2) **Date:** Caligulan  
**Provenance:** Velleia. Broken marble plaque belonging to statue A2.7.  
**Reference:** *CIL* 11.1165; Bartman, p. 211, no. 76

[Iuli]ae Divi/A[ugusti] f(iliae) Augustae/matri Ti Caesaris/[Di]v[I  
 Au]gusti f(ili)u[m]/Aug[usti e]t Neronis [C]lau[di] Dru[si]

To Julia Augusta, daughter of the deified Augustus, mother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Divus Augustus and Nero Claudius Drusus.

- 3) **Date:** After AD 15  
**Provenance:** Pompeii  
**Reference:** *CIL* 10.1023 (=2380)

Iunoni/Tyches Iuliae/Augustae

To Julia Augusta, Juno, Fortune

- 4) **Date:** Tiberian or later  
**Provenance:** Interamna. Possibly a statue base.  
**Reference:** *ILS* 157; Bartman, p. 207, no. 54; Gross, p. 19, no. 32 (states probably not addressed to Livia).

saluti perpetuae Augustae

For the perpetual health of Augusta

OR

For the health of the perpetual Augusta

- 5) **Date:** Augustan or Tiberian  
**Provenance:** Aeclanum. Statue base?  
**Reference:** *CIL* 9.1098; Bartman, p. 199, no. 4

Iunoni Augustae

To Juno Augusta OR To Augustan Juno

Pages 387-398 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Rome and Italy** are listed on pp. 379-386.

## B) Sicily

### B1 - Coins

**Mint:** Panormus

1) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 19mm

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius (?) bare right. PANORMITANORVM.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia (?) veiled right. AVGVS.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 642

**Plate:** I.B1.1

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 44

2) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 22mm

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius (?) bare right. PANORMITANORVM.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia (?) veiled left. AVGVS.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 643

**Plate:** I.B1.2

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 43

3) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 22mm

**Obverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated right, holding patera in right hand and sceptre (?) in left. PANORMITAN.

**Reverse:** Ram facing left. CN D(OM) A LA.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 645

**Plate:** I.B1.3

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 47

### B2 – Inscriptions

1) **Date:** after AD 15

**Provenance:** Gaulos Insula. Statue base from a statue which survives, but with head missing (see Bartman, p. 155, cat. no. 20, fig. 40).

**Reference:** *CIL* 10.7501; *ILS* 121; Bartman, p. 206, no. 50

Cereri Iuliae Augustae/divi Augusti, matri/Ti. Caesaris Augusti/Lutatia...sacerdos Augustae/...consacravit

Lutatia, priestess of Augusta consecrated...to Ceres Julia Augusta, (wife) of Divus Augustus, mother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus...

Page 400 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Sicily** are listed on p. 399.



## C) Asia

C1 – Coins

**Mint:** Alabanda

- 1) **Emperor:** Augustus (?)  
**Date:** Undated  
**Denomination:** AE 15mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus (?) laureate right.  
**Reverse:** Head of Livia right. ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2807  
**Plate:** I.C1.1  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 122, no. 2807
  
- 2) **Emperor:** Augustus (?)  
**Date:** Undated  
**Denomination:** AE 17mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus (?) laureate right. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΠΙΠΑΡΧΗΣ.  
**Reverse:** Head of Livia wearing fillet or circular diadem right.  
 ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΙΑ, monogram to right.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2808  
**Plate:** I.C1.2  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 122, no. 2808
  
- 3) **Emperor:** Augustus (?)  
**Date:** Undated  
**Denomination:** AE 16mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus (?) bare right.  
 [ΕΠΙ ΑΦ]ΡΟΔΙΤΟΥ Α[ΜΝ?]ΣΣΟ[Υ].  
**Reverse:** Head of Livia right. ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕ[ ] ΠΙΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕ(?)  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2809  
**Plate:** I.C1.3  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 122, no. 2809
  
- 3a) **Emperor:** Augustus (?)  
**Date:** Undated  
**Denomination:** Brass 19mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus laureate on left facing head of Livia on right.  
 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ.  
**Reverse:** Two small jugate busts (of Gaius and Lucius?) on left facing laureate  
 head of Agrippa (or Augustus?) on right. ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2816  
**Plate:** I.C1.3a  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 122, no. 2816

**Mint:** Antioch ad Maeandrum

4) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 18mm

**Obverse:** Head of Augustus (?) laureate right.

ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ.

**Reverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΑΓΕΛΑΟΥ ΣΥΝΑΡΧΙΑ

**References:** *RPC* I, nos. 2829

**Plate:** I.C1.4

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 141

**Mint:** Apamea

5) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Lead bronze 14mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

**Reverse:** Club above meander pattern. ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΜΑΝΝΗΙΟΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 3132

**Plate:** I.C1.5

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 141

**Mint:** Aphrodisias-Plarasa

6) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** c. AD 14-29

**Denomination:** Bronze 23mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. CEBACTH.

**Reverse:** Temple of Aphrodite. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2840

**Plate:** II.C1.6

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 123, no. 2840

7) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** c. AD 14-29

**Denomination:** Bronze 19mm

**Obverse:** Heads of Tiberius and Livia laureate and jugate right. Livia draped and possibly wearing necklace. CEBACTOI.

**Reverse:** Cult statue of Aphrodite with star and crescent above.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2842

**Plate:** II.C1.7

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 123, no. 2842

**Mint:** Apollonia Salbace

8) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze 17mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

**Reverse:** Dionysus standing left holding cantharus and thyrsus. ΚΑΛΛΙΠΟΣ  
ΑΡΤΕΜΙ[ΔΩΡΟΥ] ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΑΤΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2865

**Plate:** II.C1.8

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.47726

**Mint:** Cibyra

9) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 15/16 (?)

**Denomination:** AE 17mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

**Reverse:** Zeus seated left, holding eagle in right hand and sceptre in left, P to  
right in field. ΚΙΒΥΡΑΤΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2886

**Plate:** II.C1.9

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 717

10) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 17mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Tiberius laureate right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

**Reverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΚΙΒΥΡΑΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2888

**Plate:** III.C1.10

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 714a

**Mint:** Clazomenae

11) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze 17mm

**Obverse:** Head of Augustus laureate right. ΚΛΑΖΟΜ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia right. ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2496

**Plate:** III.C1.11

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.45946

**Mint:** Ephesus

- 12) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** Early in reign  
**Denomination:** Bronze 1/3-unit.  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.  
**Reverse:** Stag standing right. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ ΕΦΕ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2576  
**Plate:** No Plate provided in *RPC* I.  
**Image Source:**
- 13) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** Early in reign  
**Denomination:** Bronze 17mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.  
**Reverse:** Stag standing right with quiver above. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ ΕΦΕ ΜΗΤΡΟΒΕΙΣ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2580  
**Plate:** III.C1.13  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 113 no. 2580.
- 14) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** Early in reign  
**Denomination:** Bronze 1-unit  
**Obverse:** Busts of Augustus laureate and of Livia jugate right.  
**Reverse:** Stag standing right with quiver above. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΜΕΜΝΩΝ ΕΦΕ ΧΑΡΙΞΕΝΟΣ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2581  
**Plate:** III.C1.14  
**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 614
- 15) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** Early in reign  
**Denomination:** Bronze 1-unit  
**Obverse:** Busts of Augustus laureate and of Livia jugate right.  
**Reverse:** Stag standing right with quiver above. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΜΕΜΝΩΝ ΕΦΕ ΖΩΠΥΡΙΩ[N].  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2582  
**Plate:** III.C1.15  
**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 613
- 16) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** Early in reign  
**Denomination:** Bronze 1-unit  
**Obverse:** Busts of Augustus laureate and of Livia jugate right.

**Reverse:** Stag standing right with quiver above. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ  
MEMΝΩΝ ΕΦΕ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ.

**References:** *RPC I*, no. 2583.

**Plate:** IV.C1.16

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.46088

17) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Early in reign

**Denomination:** Bronze 2-unit

**Obverse:** Busts of Augustus laureate and of Livia jugate right.

**Reverse:** Forepart of Stag reclining right, torch in left field.

ΕΦΕ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΕΥΦΡΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC I*, no. 2595.

**Plate:** IV.C1.17

**Image Source:** *RPC I*, pl. 113 no. 2595.

**Note:** Coins 12-17 above are just a small sample of the number of coins issued at Ephesus bearing this jugate portrait obverse type. They were issued in several denominations by several different magistrates. See *RPC I*, p. 435-437, nos. 2584, 2585, 2587, 2589, 2591, 2593, 2594, 2596, 2599-2606, 2608-2612.

**Mint:** Eucarpia

18) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** After AD 14

**Denomination:** Lead bronze 12mm

**Obverse:** Head of Livia right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

**Reverse:** ΕΥΚΑΡΠΙΤΙΚΟΥ ΑΠΦΙΑ ΙΕΡΗΑ, in four lines.

**References:** *RPC I*, no. 3160

**Plate:** IV.C1.18

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 14

**Mint:** Eumeneia

19) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 13mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΗΡΑ Λ(Ε)ΙΒΙΑ.

**Reverse:** ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΣΤΟΡΙΣ ΣΩΤΙΡΑ in wreath.

**References:** *RPC I*, no. 3143

**Plate:** IV.C1.19

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 1988/215

20) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 14mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped left. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.  
**Reverse:** ΚΛΕΩΝ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟC ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ in wreath.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 3148  
**Plate:** IV.C1.20  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 39

**Mint:** Magnesia ad Maeandrum

21) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** Undated  
**Denomination:** Lead bronze 19mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ.  
**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated right, holding branch in right hand and sceptre in left. ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2697  
**Plate:** V.C1.21  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1933-2-14-571

21a) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** Undated  
**Denomination:** Lead bronze 15mm  
**Obverse:** Draped bust of Livia right. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ [ΣΕΒΑ]CΤΗ.  
**Reverse:** Facing cult statue of Artemis Leukophrys with two supports, ΧΑΡ.  
ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2699.  
**Plate:** V.C1.21a  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 117, no. 2699

**Mint:** Magnesia ad Sipylum

22) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** c. 2 BC  
**Denomination:** Lead bronze 20mm  
**Obverse:** Heads of Augustus laureate and of Livia draped, both jugate right.  
ΜΑΓΝΗΤΕC ΑΠΟ ΣΙΠΥΛΟΥ ΣΕΒΑCΤΟΙ.  
**Reverse:** Heads of Gaius and Lucius Caesar facing each other. ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟC  
ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΥ ΚΙΛΑC ΙΕΡΕΥC ΣΕΒΑCΤΟΥ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2449  
**Plate:** V.C1.22  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 44

23) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** c. 2 BC  
**Denomination:** AE 16mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus bare right.  
ΜΑΓΝΗΤΕC ΑΠΟ ΣΙΠΥΛΟΥ ΣΕΒΑCΤΟΙ.

**Reverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΚΙΛΑΣ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2450

**Plate:** V.C1.23

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 649

24) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** after AD 17

**Denomination:** Brass 16mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Senate draped right. ΘΕΟΝ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ.

**Reverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. CΕΒΑCΤΗΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΕC  
ΑΠ(Ο) C(ΙΠΥ).

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2452

**Plate:** V.C1.24

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 47

25) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** after AD 17

**Denomination:** Brass 15mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Senate draped right. CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΕC ΑΠΟ C.

**Reverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΘΕΑΝ CΕΒΑCΤΗΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2453

**Plate:** V.C1.25

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 652

**Mint:** Mastaura

26) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Brass 18mm

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right facing draped bust of Livia left.

ΣΕΒΑCΤΟΥC ΜΑCΤΑΥΡΙΤΑΙ.

**Reverse:** The hero Mastauros on horseback right. ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑC  
ΧΑΙΡΕΟΥ Ο ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΗC ΤΩΝ ΠΑΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2673

**Plate:** VI.C1.26

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 6

**Mint:** Methymna

27) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 19mm

**Obverse:** Head of Augustus bare right. ΣΕΒΑCΤΟC ΜΑΘΥ.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia right. ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2338

**Plate:** VI.C1.27

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 142-3

**Mint:** Mysomakedones

28) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 14-29

**Denomination:** AE 16mm

**Obverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated right, holding sceptre in right hand and branch in left. CEBACTH.

**Reverse:** Facing cult statue of Artemis Ephesia. MYCOMAKEΔONΩN.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2568

**Plate:** VI.C1.28

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 112, no. 2568

**Mint:** Mytilene

29) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** c. AD 35

**Denomination:** Brass 22mm

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right. TI ΘEOC CEBACTOC, MYTI.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia right. IOY ΘEA CEBACTH, MYTI.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2345

**Plate:** VI.C1.29

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 104, no. 2345

**Mint:** Nysa

30) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 16mm

**Obverse:** Head of Augustus bare right within laurel wreath.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia right. NYCAEWN.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2662

**Plate:** VII.C1.30

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 115, no. 2662

31) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 18mm

**Obverse:** Heads of Augustus and of Livia jugate right.

**Reverse:** Dionysus standing left, holding cantharus and thyrsus. NYCAEWN.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2663

**Plate:** VII.C1.31

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 834



**Mint:** Pergamum

32) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** c. 10 BC – before 2 BC

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze 18mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΛΙΒΙΑΝ ΗΡΑΝ ΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ.

**Reverse:** Bust of Julia draped right. ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2359

**Plate:** VII.C1.32

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 249

33) **Emperor:** Tiberius (or Augustus)

**Date:** before AD 29

**Denomination:** Brass 21mm

**Obverse:** Heads of Augustus and Tiberius laureate facing each other.

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΠΠΑΙΟΥ.

**Reverse:** Livia seated right holding sceptre in right hand and ears of grain in left. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2368

**Plate:** VII.C1.33

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 251

34) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** c. AD 30 (?)

**Denomination:** Brass 20mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped on left facing head of Tiberius laureate on right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΠΙΕΤΡΟΝΙΟΥ ΤΟ.

**Reverse:** Temple with four columns enclosing statue of Augustus. ΘΕΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΟΙ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2369

**Plate:** VIII.C1.34

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 256

**Mint:** Poemanenum

35) **Emperor:** Tiberius (?)

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 17mm

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia?) seated right, holding sceptre in right hand and branch in left. ΠΟΙΜ[ΑΝ]ΗΝΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2252

**Plate:** VIII.C1.35

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 100, no. 2252

**Mint:** Sardis

36) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 19mm

**Obverse:** Togate figure of the emperor on left raising a kneeling figure of Tyche of Sardis. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated right, holding sceptre in right hand and ears of grain in left. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2991

**Plate:** VIII.C1.36

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 98

**Mint:** Smyrna

37) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** c. 10 BC

**Denomination:** Lead bronze 19mm

**Obverse:** Heads of Augustus laureate and of Livia draped, jugate right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΙ.

**Reverse:** Aphrodite Stratonikis standing and facing front, holding sceptre and Nike and leaning on column. Dove in right field. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΚΟΛΛΥΒΑΣ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2464

**Plate:** VIII.C1.37

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.47011

38) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** c. 10 BC

**Denomination:** Lead bronze 19mm

**Obverse:** Heads of Augustus laureate and of Livia draped, jugate right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΙ.

**Reverse:** Aphrodite Stratonikis standing and facing front, holding sceptre and Nike and leaning on column. Dove in right field.

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣΚΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΜΕΛΟΝΤΟΣ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2466

**Plate:** VIII.C1.38

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 109, no. 2466

39) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** c. AD 4-14

**Denomination:** Lead bronze 19mm

**Obverse:** Heads of Augustus and Tiberius bare facing each other. CEBACTON TIBEPION KAICAPA.

**Reverse:** Livia as Aphrodite Stratonikis standing and facing front, holding sceptre and Nike and leaning on column. Dove in right field, monogram in left field. ΑΙΒΙΑΝ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΩΝΟC.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2467  
**Plate:** IX.C1.39  
**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.47013

- 40) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** c. AD 29-35  
**Denomination:** Brass 12mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Senate draped on left facing bust of Livia draped and diademed on right. CEBACTH  
 CYNKAHTOC/Y ZMYPNAIWN IEPWNYMOC.  
**Reverse:** Temple with four columns enclosing statue of emperor as pontifex.  
 CEBACTOC TIBEPIOC EΠI ΠETPWNIOY.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2469  
**Plate:** IX.C1.40  
**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.47015

**Mint:** Tralles

- 41) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** c. 2 BC  
**Denomination:** AE 20mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus bare right. Lituus in right field. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.  
**Reverse:** Livia (as Demeter) standing and facing front, holding ears of grain and flowers in left hand, right hand raised. Crescent in right field.  
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ Λ(Ε)ΙΒΙΑ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2647  
**Plate:** IX.C1.41  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 115

- 42) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** c. 2 BC  
**Denomination:** AE 20mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Gaius Caesar bare right. ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.  
**Reverse:** Livia (as Demeter) standing and facing front, holding ears of grain and flowers in left hand, right hand raised. Crescent in right field.  
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΛΕΙΒΙΑ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2648  
**Plate:** X.C1.42  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 117

**Mint:** Tripolis

- 43) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** Undated  
**Denomination:** AE 15mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Livia left. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

**Reverse:** Club of Heracles. ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΤΡΙΠΙΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC I*, no. 3053

**Plate:** X.C1.43

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1970-9-9-103

44) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 20mm

**Obverse:** Heads of Tiberius laureate and of Livia jugate left.

ΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ[.

**Reverse:** Head of Helios radiate right.

ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Mintmark ΤΟ Δ in right field.

**References:** *RPC I*, no. 3054

**Plate:** X.C1.44

**Image Source:** *RPC I*, pl. 129, no. 3054

C2 – Sculpture

1) **Date:** c. AD 41-54.

**Provenance:** Uncertain, but likely from near Istanbul.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia with idealized youthful facial features and wearing infula or with hair braided to look like one.

**Reference:** Wood, 95-96

**Plate:** XI.C2.1

**Image Source:** Wood, figs. 28-29

2) **Date:** Tiberian

**Provenance:** Aphrodisias. Found in 1973 at the base of the Tetrastoon.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia (very damaged) partially veiled. Hair parted in waves along the side, but remnants of a central braid may be a lingering vestige of the Marbury Hall type.

**Reference:** Bartman, 171, cat. no. 59

**Plate:** XI.C2.2

**Image Source:**

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/halilgokdal/3017285896/sizes/l/in/pool-734740@N25/>. Accessed December 30, 2010.

3) **Date:** Augustan or Tiberian

**Provenance:** Ephesus. Found with a bust of Tiberius in a niche in Slope House VII.2.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia wearing Marbury Hall hairstyle, but with tiny curls upon her forehead directly under the nodus.

**Reference:** Bartman, 172, cat. no. 61

**Plate:** XII.C2.3

**Image Source:** <http://www.ntimages.net/Turkey/Ephesus/ephesus-museum/Livia.jpg>. Accessed December 30, 2010.

C3 – Inscriptions

1) **Date:** After AD 15

**Provenance:** Mytilene

**Reference:** *AE* 1976, no. 185, as cited by Barrett, p. 277.

[Iuliae A]ugustae/[Drusi f. uxor divi Au]gusti Germanico/Caesari Ti.  
Augusti/[f

To Julia Augusta, daughter of Drusus, wife of the deified Augustus and to Germanicus Caesar, son of Tiberius

2) **Date:** Tiberian?

**Provenance:** Mytilene. From the gymnasium.

**Reference:** *IG* 12 suppl. 50; Bartman, p. 209, no. 62.

Σεβαστην Ηρ[αν ---

To Augusta Hera --

3) **Date:** 3 BC

**Provenance:** Ephesus. Inscription to Livia and Augustus for bronze statues from the south gate of the Agora; accompanied by a similar dedication to Agrippa and Julia.

**Reference:** *ILS* 8897; Bartman, p. 200, no. 9; Rose, p. 172-173, cat. no. 112.

Imp(eratori) Caesari Divi f(ilio) Augusto Pontifici/Maximo Co(n)s(uli)  
XII Tribunicia Potest(ate) XX et/Liviae Caesaris Augusti/Mazaeus et  
Mithridates patronis

Mazaeus and Mithridates (dedicated this) to their patrons, Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of the deified (Julius), chief priest, consul for the twelfth time, in twentieth year of tribunician power and to Livia (wife) of Caesar Augustus

4) **Date:** After AD 15

**Provenance:** Assos. Marble block from gymnasium.

**Reference:** *IGR* 4.249; Bartman, p. 199, no. 5

θεαν Λειουιαν Ηραν ν[εαν]/ τεν του Σεβαστου θε[ου γυναικα

To the goddess Livia, the new Hera, wife of the god Augustus

5) **Date:** 15 BC – AD 14

**Provenance:** Cyzicus.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 199-200, no. 7.

[Αυτοκρατορα Καισαρα θε[εον θεου υιο[ν] / [Σεβαστον και Λιουιαν]  
θεαν  
Δημητρ[α...

To the god Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, and to the goddess  
Livia Demeter...

6) **Date:** Tiberian?

**Provenance:** Pergamum

**Reference:** *IGR* 4.319

Σε[β]αστην Ιου[λιαν Ηραν Νε]αν Βα[σιλειαν

To Augusta Julia, the new Hera, Queen?

7) **Date:** Caligulan

**Provenance:** Aphrodisias, Caria. Damaged marble base from a Julio-Claudian  
statue group.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 210, no. 70.

[Ιο]υλιαν Σεβαστη[ν]/Σεβαστου θυγατερα/ Ηραν

To Julia Augusta, daughter of Augustus, Hera

8) **Date:** Tiberian or later

**Provenance:** Lampsacus. From a decree regarding a statue.

**Reference:** *IGR* 4.180; Bartman, 207-208, no. 55

Ιουλιαν Σεβαστην/Εστιαν νεαν Δημη/τρα...

To Julia Augusta, new Hestia Demeter...

Pages 415-426 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Asia** are listed on pp. 401-414.

## D) Syria

D1 – Coins**Mint:** Tarsus1) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** Undated**Denomination:** AR 84.75%**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ.

**Reverse:** Livia as Hera, veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding ears of grain and flowers in raised right hand.

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ, TAP to right in field.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4005**Plate:** I.D1.1**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1970-9-9-225**Mint:** Augusta2) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** After AD 20**Denomination:** AE 25mm**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

**Reverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΝΩΝ.**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4006**Plate:** I.D1.2**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1979-1-1-25633) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** After AD 20**Denomination:** AE 16mm**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.**Reverse:** Capricorn holding globe right, star above. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΝΩΝ.**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4007**Plate:** I.D1.3**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 24) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** After AD 20**Denomination:** AE 14mm**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.**Reverse:** Bull right. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΝΩΝ.**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4008**Plate:** *RPC* plate not clear.



**Image Source:**

- 5) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** After AD 20  
**Denomination:** AE 16mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. IOYΛΙΑ CEBACTH.  
**Reverse:** Tyche veiled and seated on a throne right, holding ears of grain, before a river god. AYΓOYCTANWN ETOYC.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4009  
**Plate:** I.D1.5  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 151, nos. 4009
- 6) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** After AD 20  
**Denomination:** AE 16mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped left.  
**Reverse:** Tyche veiled and seated on a throne right, holding ears of grain, before a river god. AYΓOY[ ]WN.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4010  
**Plate:** I.D1.6  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 151, no. 4010
- 7) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** After AD 20  
**Denomination:** AE 16mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. Livia also appears to be wearing a circular diadem.  
**Reverse:** Helmeted bust of Athena with aegis right. AYΓOYCTANΩN AI.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4011  
**Plate:** I.D1.7  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 151, no. 4011
- 8) **Emperor:** Nero  
**Date:** AD 67/68  
**Denomination:** AE 22mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. IOYΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.  
**Reverse:** Tyche veiled and seated on a throne right, holding ears of grain, before a river god. AYΓOYCTANΩN ET[ ]HM.  
**References:** *RPC* I, nos. 4013 and 4014 (slightly different reverse legend)  
**Plate:** I.D1.8  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 151, nos. 4013 and 4014

**Mint:** Mallus

- 9) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 20mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped left.

**Reverse:** Athena Magarsis standing and facing front, holding spear and snakes.  
ΜΑΛΛΩΤΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4016

**Plate:** II.D1.9

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 151, no. 4016

**Mint:** Mopsus

10) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 26mm

**Obverse:** Head of deified Augustus radiate left. ΘΕΟC CEB[ ]  
ΜΟΨΕΑΤΩΝ.

**Reverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΜΟ[ΨΕΑΤΩΝ].

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4049

**Plate:** II.D1.10

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 153, no. 4049

Pages 430-431 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Syria** are listed on pp. 427-429.

## E) Judaean Kingdom

### E1 – Coins

1) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 30/31

**Denomination:** AE 15mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. IOYΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

**Reverse:** Hand holding three ears of grain. Mintmark ΛΛΔ in right field.  
ΚΑΡΠΙΟΦΟΡΟΣ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4949

**Plate:** I.E1.1

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 179, no. 4949

2) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 22/23

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Heads of Tiberius laureate and of Livia jugate right. Star countermark. ΣΕΒΑΣ[.

**Reverse:** Temple with four columns enclosing a circular object. ΕΠΙ  
ΦΙΛΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 4951.

**Plate:** I.E1.2

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1947-6-6-1273

Page 433 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for the **Judaean Kingdom** are listed on p. 432.

## F) Achaea

F1 – Coins

**Mint:** Sparta

1) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** c. 31-2 BC

**Denomination:** AE quadrans (?)

**Obverse:** Head of Livia right.

**Reverse:** ΛΑ ΕΠΙ ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΟΣ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1105

**Plate:** I.F1.1

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 58, no. 1105

**Mint:** Corinth

2) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 21-22

**Denomination:** AE semis

**Obverse:** Head of Drusus Minor right. P CANINIO IIVIR QVINQ.

**Reverse:** Veiled female figure (Livia) seated right, possibly diademed, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. L CASTRICIO REGVLO IIVIR QVINQ COR.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1149

**Plate:** I.F1.2

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.37254

3) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 21-22

**Denomination:** AE semis

**Obverse:** Head of Drusus Minor (?) left. L CASTRICIO REGVLO IIVIR QVINQ.

**Reverse:** Veiled female figure (Livia) seated left, holding ears of grain in right hand and sceptre in left. P CANINIO AGRIPPA IIVIR QVINQ COR.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1150

**Plate:** I.F1.3

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 60, no. 1150

4) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 32-33

**Denomination:** Bronze semis

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia as Salus right. L ARRIO PEREGRINO IIVIR.

**Reverse:** Hexastyle temple inscribed GENT IVLI. COR in exergue. L FVRIO LABEONE (or LABEO) IIVIR.

**References:** *RPC* I, nos. 1153, 1154, 1157 – 1159 (portrait facing left)

**Plate:** I.F1.4

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.37244

5) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 32-33

**Denomination:** Bronze semis

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia(?) as Pietas, wearing veil and diadem, right. L ARRIO PEREGRIN IIVIR.

**Reverse:** Hexastyle temple inscribed GENT IVLI. COR in exergue. L FVRIO LABEONE (or LABEO).

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1155, 1156 and 1161 (portrait facing left)

**Plate:** I.F1.5

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 60, no. 1155

**Mint:** Chalcis

6) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze as

**Obverse:** Head of Livia right. MECKINIOC CT(PA)

**Reverse:** Head of Hera wearing polos right. XAAKIDAEON.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1346 and 1348 (but with XAAKIDAEON on obverse)

**Plate:** II.F1.6

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 111

**Mint:** Thessalian League

7) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Augustus bare right. ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΘΕΣΣΑΛ, ITA.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia, possibly diademed, right. ΗΡΑ ΛΕΙΟΫΙΑ, ΠΕ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1427

**Plate:** II.F1.7

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 91

8) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE dupondius (?)

**Obverse:** Seated figure of Livia (?) right, holding sceptre in left hand and branch in right. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΩΝ.

**Reverse:** Demeter standing left, holding ears of corn and sceptre or long torch, mintmark in field. ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΛΥΚΟΥΤΟΥ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1431

**Plate:** II.F1.8

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1933-2-14-181

9) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** Undated**Denomination:** AE 24mm**Obverse:** Bust of Livia veiled and diademed left.

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΩΝ.

**Reverse:** Nymph Larissa standing and facing, holding up a ball.

ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1434**Plate:** II.F1.9**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 8910) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** Undated**Denomination:** AE 18mm**Obverse:** Bust of Livia right. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ.**Reverse:** Artemis advancing right, holding a torch. ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ.**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1438**Plate:** II.F1.10**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 90F2 – Sculpture1) **Date:** Augustan or Tiberian.**Provenance:** Larissa, found on Acropolis under modern cathedral.**Medium:** white marble**Description:** Head of Livia with youthful facial features. Marbury Hall hairstyle.**Reference:** Bartman, p. 170, no. 56.**Plate:** III.F2.1**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 74, fig. 57.F3 – Inscriptions1) **Date:** Claudian**Provenance:** Corinth**Reference:** Bartman, p. 210-211, no. 72.

Div[ae] Aug[ustae av]ae/[Ti C]laudi Cae[saris/Aug]u[sti Germanici

To the deified Augusta, grandmother of Tiberius Claudius Caesar  
Augustus Germanicus



2) **Date:** c. AD 25

**Provenance:** Corinth

**Reference:** *Corinth* 8.3 (1966), p. 33, no. 153, as cited by Barrett, p. 279.

Ad Iulia]m diva[m Au[gustam]

To the deified Julia Augusta

Pages 438-440 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Achaea** are listed on pp. 434-437.

## G) Cyprus

### G1 – Coins

1) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** After AD 15/16

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. TI CAESAR AVGVSTVS.

**Reverse:** Veiled female figure (Livia) seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. IVLIA AVGVSTA.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 3919

**Plate:** I.G1.1

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 5

2) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 22/23

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. [TI CAES(AR) DIV]I AVG F AVGVST IMP VIII.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. C – C to left and right in field.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 3920

**Plate:** I.G1.2

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1914-9-8-9

Page 442 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Cyprus** are listed on p. 441.

## H) Crete

### H1 – Coins

**Mint:** Cnossus

1) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** c. AD 20

**Denomination:** AE 26-30mm

**Obverse:** Head of deified Augustus bare left. MAXIMO IIV IR DIVOS AVG.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated right, feet on stool(?), holding patera in right hand and sceptre or torch in left. FVSCO IIVIR IVLIA AVGVS, D – D to left and right in field.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 986

**Plate:** I.H1.1

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1984-7-24-1

2) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** c. AD 20-29

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Livia right. IVLIA AVG.

**Reverse:** C APRON DOIO IIVIR.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 988

**Plate:** I.H1.2

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 56, no. 988

**Mint:** The Koinon of Crete

3) **Emperor:** Claudius

**Date:** c. AD 41-43

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Claudius bare right.

ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

**Reverse:** Draped bust of Livia diademed right. ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1030

**Plate:** I.H1.3

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1947-6-6-690

### H2 – Sculpture

1) **Date:** Caligulan.

**Provenance:** Gortyn. According to Bartman (p. 170) it was found “in the Agora and believed to be part of an imperial group with Caligula, Tiberius, and Gaius Caesar. An inscription to Livia from the theatre at Gortyn is likely to belong to extant portrait.”

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia with mature, yet youthful facial features. Center part hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 170, no. 55

**Plate:** II.H2.1

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 123, fig. 95

Pages 445-446 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Crete** are listed on pp. 443-444.

## I) Macedonia

### I1 – Coins

**Mint:** Edessa

1) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE semis

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. ΤΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΕΛΕΣΣΑΙΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1525

**Plate:** I.II.1

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.10395

2) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze semis

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right. ΤΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΕΛΕΣΣΑΙΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1526 and 1527 (slightly different obverse legend)

**Plate:** I.II.2

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1958-3-4-86

**Mint:** Dium

3) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze quadrans

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. ΤΙ CAESAR DIVI F AVGVSTVS.

**Reverse:** Veiled female figure (Livia) seated right, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. COLONIA IVL DIENSIS.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1506

**Plate:** I.II.3

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 671

**Mint:** Pella or Dium

4) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze quadrans

**Obverse:** Head of a female (Livia?) right. D – D to left and right in field.

**Reverse:** C BAEBIVS P F L RVSTICELIVS BASTERNA IIVIR QVINQ.

**References:** *RPC* I, nos. 1538

**Plate:** I.II.4

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 670



- 5) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** After AD 22-23  
**Denomination:** AE semis  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia diademed right. PIETAS AVGVSTA.  
**Reverse:** L RVSTICELIVS CORDVS IIVIR QVINQ D D.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1542  
**Plate:** I.II.5  
**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.10388
- 6) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** After AD 22-23  
**Denomination:** Lead bronze semis  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia veiled as Pietas right. PIETAS.  
**Reverse:** L RVSTICELIVS CORDVS IIVIR QVINQ D D.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1543  
**Plate:** I.II.6  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1858-11-6-29
- Mint:** Thessalonica
- 7) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** c. 20 BC  
**Denomination:** AE quadrans  
**Obverse:** Head of Livia right. ΘEA or ΘEOY ΛIBIA.  
**Reverse:** Horse galloping right. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1563  
**Plate:** II.II.7  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 77, no. 1563
- 8) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** Undated  
**Denomination:** Lead bronze 21mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius right. ΤΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.  
**Reverse:** Demeter carrying torches and driving a serpent drawn car right.  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1566  
**Plate:** II.II.8  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 76
- 9) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** Undated  
**Denomination:** Lead bronze semis  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. ΤΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.  
**Reverse:** Bust of Livia laureate right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1567  
**Plate:** II.II.9

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 1310

10) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze semis

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. ΤΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia diademed right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1568

**Plate:** II.I1.10

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.11873

11) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze semis

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. ΤΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ[.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated left, feet on stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝ(Ε)ΙΚΕΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1569

**Plate:** II.I1.11

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 1314

12) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze semis

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right. ΤΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

**Reverse:** Bust of Livia veiled (and diademed) right.

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1570, 1571 (obverse portrait left)

**Plate:** III.I1.12

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 79

**Mint:** Amphipolis

13) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze semis

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia veiled right. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΑ.

**Reverse:** Artemis Tauropolos riding a bull right. ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ .

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1634

**Plate:** III.I1.13

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.10315

Pages 450-452 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Macedonia** are listed on pp. 447-449.

## J) Bithynia-Pontus

### J1 – Coins

**Mint:** Sinope

1) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** 17/18 (or 18/19)

**Denomination:** AE 26mm

**Obverse:** Head of Augustus radiate left, thunderbolt in left field. EX [D D].

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. C I F AN LXIII[.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2126

**Plate:** I.J1.1

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 95, no. 2126

**Mint:** Uncertain

2) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** July or August AD 14

**Denomination:** AE sestertius

**Obverse:** Draped busts of Augustus and Livia jugate right. IMP CASEAR  
AVGVSTVS PONTIF MAX TR P.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated right, holding double cornucopia on her lap. M GRANIVS MARCELLVS PR(O) COS.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 2097

**Plate:** I.J1.2

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 215

**Note:** The authors *RPC* I identify the male figure in the obverse jugate portrait as Augustus. However, the hairstyle and facial features are not typical of Augustus, but more so of Tiberius. Therefore, this coin is somewhat of an anomaly.

Page 454 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Bithynia-Pontus** are listed on p. 453.

**K) Thrace**K1 – Coins**Mint Authority:** King Rhoemetalces I (c. 11 BC – AD 12)1) **Emperor:** Augustus**Date:** c. 11 BC – AD 12**Denomination:** AE 27-29mm**Obverse:** Heads of Rhoemetalces I diademed and his queen Pythodoris jugate right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ.**Reverse:** Heads of Augustus laureate and of Livia jugate right. Capricorn and globe in right field. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ.**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1708**Plate:** I.K1.1**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 305**Mint:** Byzantium2) **Emperor:** Tiberius**Date:** c. 20's AD**Denomination:** AR didrachm**Obverse:** Head of Augustus radiate left. ΘΕΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.**Reverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ ΒΥΖ.**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1779**Plate:** I.K1.2**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 61

Page 456 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Thrace** are listed on p. 455.

**L) Moesia**L1 – Coins**Mint:** Tomi1) **Emperor:** Augustus**Date:** Undated**Denomination:** AE 17mm**Obverse:** Heads of Augustus and Livia jugate right. EYETHPIA.**Reverse:** Cornucopia. TOMITWN.**References:** *RPC* I, no. 1823**Plate:** I.L1.1**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 86, no. 1823

**Note:** It is difficult to clearly identify the obverse portraits depicted here, but it almost appears as though the front-most portrait might actually be the female one. The portrait in behind looks to be laureate, which makes a strong case that it is of Augustus rather than Livia, since in nearly all jugate portraits of these two the emperor almost always wears the laurel crown.



Page 458 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Moesia** are listed on p. 457.

**M) Egypt**M1 – Coins**Mint:** Alexandria

- 1) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** after 19 BC  
**Denomination:** AE 25mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΛΙΟΥΙΑ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ.  
**Reverse:** Double cornucopia.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5006  
**Plate:** I.M1.1  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 181, no. 5006
  
- 2) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** after 19 BC  
**Denomination:** AE 25mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right. ΛΙΟΥΙΑ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ.  
**Reverse:** Eagle standing left.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5008  
**Plate:** I.M1.2  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 2636
  
- 3) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** c. AD 1-5  
**Denomination:** AE 25mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.  
**Reverse:** Double(?) cornucopia with fillet. ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5027  
**Plate:** I.M1.3  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 2637
  
- 4) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** AD 9/10  
**Denomination:** AE 25mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.  
**Reverse:** Oak wreath enclosing date.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5042  
**Plate:** I.M1.4  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 182, no. 5042
  
- 5) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** AD 9/10  
**Denomination:** AE 25mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.  
**Reverse:** Modius between torches with date below.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5043  
**Plate:** I.M1.5  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 182, no. 5043

**Note:** *RPC* I nos. 5042 and 5043 also issued in AE 20mm denominations during the same year. See *RPC* I nos. 5046 and 5047.

6) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** AD 10/11  
**Denomination:** AE 25mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.  
**Reverse:** Bust of Euthenia right. EYΘHNIA.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5053  
**Plate:** I.M1.6  
**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.69733

7) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** AD 10/11  
**Denomination:** AE 25mm and AE 20mm (*RPC* I no. 5058)  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.  
**Reverse:** Oak wreath enclosing date.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5054  
**Plate:** I.M1.7  
**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.69732

8) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** AD 10/11  
**Denomination:** AE 25mm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.  
**Reverse:** Athena standing left.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5055  
**Plate:** No plate provided in *RPC* I.  
**Image Source:**

**Note:** *RPC* I nos. 5053 and 5055 also issued in AD 11/12; see *RPC* I nos. 5063 to 5065, and AE 20mm no 5068. One final issue under Augustus in AD 12/13 with the Athena reverse; see *RPC* I no. 5072.

9) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 17/18  
**Denomination:** AE 15mm  
**Obverse:** Head of Livia right.  
**Reverse:** Ears of grain with poppies/flowers.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5079  
**Plate:** I.M1.9  
**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.69739

**Note:** *RPC* I no. 5079 also issued in AD 18/19; see *RPC* I no. 5086.

10) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 17/18

**Denomination:** AE 10mm

**Obverse:** Head of Livia right.

**Reverse:** Crescent and star, date to left and right in field.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5080

**Plate:** *RPC* plate not clear.

**Image Source:**

11) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 19/20

**Denomination:** AE 20mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.

**Reverse:** Peacock right with date in field.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5055

**Plate:** No plate provided in *RPC* I.

**Image Source:**

M2 – Sculpture

1) **Date:** Between Tiberius's adoption by Augustus in AD 4 and his succession in AD 14.

**Provenance:** Said to have been found in niches of the amphitheatre at Arsinoe along with busts of Augustus and Tiberius.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia with youthful facial features. Fayum hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 174, no. 64

**Plate:** II.M2.1

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 77, fig. 63; p. 174, fig. 161

Pages 462-463 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Egypt** are listed on pp. 459-461.

## N) Africa

### N1 – Coins

**Mint:** Carthage – Colonia Iulia Concordia Karthago

1) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** c. AD 16-31

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. TI CAESAR IMP P P.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. L A FAVSTVS D C BASSVS IIVIR; in field P P/D D.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 755 and 754 (obverse portrait to left).

**Plate:** I.N1.1

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 1987/30

**Mint:** Carthage – Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna

2) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 21

**Denomination:** Lead bronze sestertius

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. TI CAE DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VIII COS IIII.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, holding ears of grain in right hand and sceptre in left. PERMISSV L APRONI PROCOS III C SEX POM CELSO, in field C P I.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 763

**Plate:** I.N1.2

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 1985/559

3) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 23

**Denomination:** AE sestertius

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. TI CAE DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VIII COS IIII.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, holding ears of grain in right hand and sceptre in left. PERMIS Q IVN BLAESI PROCOS IT C P GAVIO CASCA, in field C P I.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 766

**Plate:** I.N1.3

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 43, no. 766

4) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 23

**Denomination:** Lead bronze as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. TI CAE DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VIII  
COS III.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, holding ears of grain in  
right hand and sceptre in left. PERMIS P DOLABELLAE PROCOS C P G  
CAS, in field C P I.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 769

**Plate:** I.N1.4

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 1985/987

**Mint:** Hippo Regius

5) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 20-21

**Denomination:** AE sestertius

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. TI CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTI F  
AVGVSTVS.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool,  
holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. HIPHONE LIBERA, IVL  
AVG to left and right in field.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 711

**Plate:** II.N1.5

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 326

**Mint:** Lepcis Magna

6) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 21-30

**Denomination:** AE dupondius

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right. IMP CAESAR AV(G) (COS).

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool,  
holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 849 and 850 (slightly different obverse legend).

**Plate:** II.N1.6

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1874-7-15-429

**Mint:** Oea

7) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** After AD 22-23

**Denomination:** AE dupondius

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right, peacock in right field, ear of grain in left.

**Reverse:** Bust of Minerva left. WY' T.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 833

**Plate:** II.N1.7

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 15.27

- 8) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** After AD 22-23  
**Denomination:** AE as  
**Obverse:** Bust of Livia draped right.  
**Reverse:** Bust of Minerva left. WY' T.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 835  
**Plate:** II.N1.8  
**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 9.17

**Mint:** Thapsus

- 9) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 16-21  
**Denomination:** AE sestertius  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. TI CAE DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VII.  
**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, holding sceptre in left hand and ears of grain in right hand over modius. CERERI AVGVSTAE THAMPSITANI.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 795  
**Plate:** III.N1.9  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1920-3-2-18

- 10) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 16-21  
**Denomination:** AE dupondius  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. TI CAE DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VII.  
**Reverse:** Head of Livia diademed and veiled left. THAPSVM IVN AVG.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 796  
**Plate:** III.N1.10  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1874-7-15-432

- 11) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 16-21  
**Denomination:** AE as  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. TI CAE DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VII.  
**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. THAPSVM IVN AVG.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 797  
**Plate:** III.N1.11  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 45, no. 797

**Mint:** Utica

- 12) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 16-21  
**Denomination:** AE as  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. TI CAESAR AVG F AVG.



**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. M M IVL VJTIC P P D D.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 721 and 722 (slightly different obverse legend).

**Plate:** IV.N1.12

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 41, no. 722 (not a great pic)

13) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 16-21

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F A IMP.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. M MVN IVL VTIC P P D D.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 723

**Plate:** IV.N1.13

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 534

14) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 16-21

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. TI CAE DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VII.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. M MVN IVL VTICEN P P D D.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 724

**Plate:** IV.N1.14

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 533

15) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 16-21

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. TI CAE DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VII.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. M MVN IVL VTI P P D D.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 725

**Plate:** IV.N1.15

**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 532

16) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 16-21

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare right. TI CAE DIVI AVG [F] AVG IMP VII.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. M MVN IVL VTIC P P D D.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 726

**Plate:** IV.N1.16

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 41, no. 726

- 17) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 16-21  
**Denomination:** AE semis  
**Obverse:** Head of Livia as Pietas (?) veiled right.  
**Reverse:** M M IVL VTI P P D D.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 729  
**Plate:** IV.N1.17  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 41, no. 729
- 18) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 16-21  
**Denomination:** AE semis  
**Obverse:** Head of Livia as Pietas (?) veiled left.  
**Reverse:** M M IVL VTI P P D D.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 730  
**Plate:** IV.N1.18  
**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 41, no. 730
- 19) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 27-28  
**Denomination:** AE sestertius  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VIII.  
**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on a stool, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. C V MARSO PR(O)COS NER CAES Q PR A M GEMELLVS, in field D D/P P.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 731  
**Plate:** V.N1.19  
**Image Source:** BNF inv. no. 541
- 20) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 27-28  
**Denomination:** AE sestertius  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVG IMP VIII.  
**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. C VIB MARSO PR COS NE CAE Q PR A M GEMELLVS F C, in field D D/P P.  
**References:** *RPC* I, no. 732  
**Plate:** V.N1.20  
**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1938-5-10-118
- 21) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** AD 27-28  
**Denomination:** AE sestertius

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius bare left. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVST IMP VIII.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. C VIB MARSO PR COS DR CAE Q PR T G RVFVS F C, in field D D/P P.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 733

**Plate:** V.N1.21

**Image Source:** BMC inv. no. 1874-7-15-434

**Note:** These coins continued to be issued by various magistrates through to AD 30; see *RPC* I nos. 734-744.

### N2 – Sculpture

1) **Date:** Tiberian.

**Provenance:** Cyrene.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia with mature, yet idealized facial features. Middle part hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 176-177, no. 69

**Plate:** V.N2.1

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 177, figs. 164-165

2) **Date:** Claudian. AD 45-46.

**Provenance:** Lepcis Magna. Found in temple of Roma and Augustus along with an inscribed statue base.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Livia as Diva Augusta seated and wearing diadem and infula, chiton and himation, along with thick soled sandals. Mature, yet idealized facial features. Middle part hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 179, no. 73

**Plate:** VI.N2.2

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 129, fig. 102

3) **Date:** Early 30s BC.

**Provenance:** Carthage.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia with youthful facial features. Marbury hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 175, no. 65

**Plate:** VI.N2.3

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 61, figs. 48-50

4) **Date:** Claudian.

**Provenance:** Carthage. Found in the Odeion.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Livia standing, wearing diadem (restored), chiton and himation. Mature, yet idealized facial features. Middle part hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 176, no. 67

**Plate:** VII.N2.4

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 48, fig. 45

N3 – Inscriptions

1) **Date:** AD 45-46

**Provenance:** Lepcis Magna. Statue base that may accompany a statue that partially survives and was part of a nine person Julio-Claudian family group (see Bartman, p. 179, cat. no. 73, fig. 102).

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 211, no. 75

Divae Augu(stae)

To the deified Augusta

2) **Date:** AD 35-36

**Provenance:** Lepcis Magna

**Reference:** Wood, 121.

Cereri Augustae sacrum

Sacred to Ceres Augusta

3) **Date:** AD 3

**Provenance:** El Lehs. Possibly a statue base.

**Reference:** *ILS* 120; Bartman, p. 203, no. 27.

Iunoni Liviae Augusti sacrum...

Sacred to Juno Livia, (wife of) Augustus

OR

Sacred to the Juno of Livia, wife of Augustus

Pages 471-477 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Africa** are listed on pp. 464-470.

## O) Gaul

### O1 – Coins

**Mint:** Lugdunum

- 1) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** AD 13-14  
**Denomination:** AV aureus  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus laureate right. CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE.  
**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia?) seated right, holding sceptre in right hand and branch in left. PONTIF MAXIM.  
**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no 219  
**Plate:** I.O1.1  
**Image Source:** <http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/index.htm>. Accessed September 8, 2010.
  
- 2) **Emperor:** Augustus  
**Date:** AD 13-14  
**Denomination:** AR denarius  
**Obverse:** Head of Augustus laureate right. CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE.  
**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia?) seated right, holding sceptre in right hand and branch in left. PONTIF MAXIM.  
**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no 220  
**Plate:** I.O1.2  
**Image Source:** <http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/index.htm>. Accessed September 8, 2010.
  
- 3) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** Undated, c. AD 14-37  
**Denomination:** AV aureus  
**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS.  
**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia?) seated right, holding sceptre in right hand and branch in left. PONTIF MAXIM.  
**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no 25  
**Plate:** I.O1.3  
**Image Source:** <http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/index.htm>. Accessed September 8, 2010.
  
- 4) **Emperor:** Tiberius  
**Date:** Undated, c. AD 14-37  
**Denomination:** AR denarius

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia?) seated right, holding sceptre in right hand and branch in left. PONTIF MAXIM.

**References:** *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no 30

**Plate:** I.O1.4

**Image Source:** <http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/index.htm>. Accessed September 8, 2010.

**Note:** Under Tiberius there were a couple of slight variations to this seated female figure. On some, she is holding an inverted spear instead of a sceptre (see *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 27-28). These examples also show the figure sitting on an ornate throne rather than a plain throne as in *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 25-26.

**Mint:** Uncertain, possible Gallia Comata (?)

#### 5) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** After AD 22-23

**Denomination:** Brass (?) 30-34mm

**Obverse:** Head of deified Augustus radiate left, star above. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia veiled and diademed left, all surrounded by a wreath of grain.

**References:** *RPC I*, no 538

**Plate:** I.O1.5

**Image Source:** *RPC I*, pl. 36, no 538.

### O2 – Sculpture

1) **Date:** Tiberian, c. AD 14-23.

**Provenance:** Baeterrae. Found beneath a house along with six other portraits from a Julio-Claudian group.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia with mature facial features. Middle part hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 167, no. 47

**Plate:** II.O2.1

**Image Source:** Wood, figs. 39-40

Pages 480-481 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Gaul** are listed on pp. 478-479.



## P) Spain

### P1 – Coins

**Mint:** Caesaraugusta

1) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Bronze as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right. TI CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTI F AVGVSTVS.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) veiled and seated right, feet resting on double stools, holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. C C A IVLIA AVGVSTA.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 341

**Plate:** I.P1.1

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1001.1.11868

2) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated, but perhaps issued after Livia's death in AD 29 (see *RPC* I, p. 118)

**Denomination:** Bronze as

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia as Pietas veiled and diademed right. PIETATIS AVGVSTAE C C A.

**Reverse:** Tetrastyle temple. IVNIANO LVPO PR G CAESAR G POMPON PARRA II V.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 362

**Plate:** I.P1.2

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 26, no. 362

3) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated, but perhaps issued after Livia's death in AD 29 (see *RPC* I, p. 118)

**Denomination:** AE as

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia as Pietas veiled and diademed right. PIETATIS AVGVSTAE.

**Reverse:** IVNIANO LVPO PR G CAESAR G POMPON PARRA II V, all around C C A.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 363

**Plate:** I.P1.3

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1001.1.23226

**Mint:** Emerita

4) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE dupondius

**Obverse:** Head of Livia right. PERM AVGVSTI SALVS AVGVSTA.

**Reverse:** Camp gateway. AVGVSTA EMERITA.

**References:** *RPC* I, nos. 38-39

**Plate:** I.P1.4

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 3, no. 38

5) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE dupondius

**Obverse:** Head of Livia right. PERM AVGVSTI SALVS AVGVSTA.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated right holding patera (?) in right hand and sceptre or torch in left. C A E IVLIA AVGVSTA.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 39

**Plate:** I.P1.5

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 3, no. 39

6) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE As

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate left. TI CASEAR AVGVSTVS PON  
MAX IMP.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia right. C A E IVLIA AVGVSTA.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 40

**Plate:** II.P1.6

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.64045

**Mint:** Irippio

7) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Copper and lead 18-28mm

**Obverse:** Head of Augustus(?) bare right. IRIPPO.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia?) seated left, holding cornucopia in left arm and pine cone in right hand.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 55

**Plate:** II.P1.7

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 5, no. 55

**Mint:** Italica

8) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Bronze dupondius

**Obverse:** Head of deified Augustus radiate left, star above, thunderbolt in left field. PERM AVGVSTI DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia) seated left, holding patera in right hand and sceptre resting in left arm. IVLIA AVGVSTA MVN ITALIC.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 66 and 67 (obverse portrait to right).

**Plate:** II.P1.8

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.63893

**Mint:** Pax Iulia

9) **Emperor:** Augustus

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Copper and lead 28mm

**Obverse:** Head of Augustus bare right.

**Reverse:** Female figure (Livia?) seated left, holding caduceus in right hand and cornucopia resting in left arm. PAX IVL.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 52

**Plate:** III.P1.9

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 4, no. 52

**Mint:** Colonia Romula

10) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Copper dupondius

**Obverse:** Head of Augustus radiate right, star above, thunderbolt in right field. PERM DIVI AVG COL ROM.

**Reverse:** Head of Livia laureate left, resting on a globe, crescent above. IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 73

**Plate:** III.P1.10

**Image Source:** ANS inv. no. 1944.100.70043

**Mint:** Tarraco

11) **Emperor:** Tiberius

**Date:** AD 22-23

**Denomination:** Bronze as

**Obverse:** Head of Tiberius laureate right. TI CAES AVG PONT MAX TRIB POT.

**Reverse:** Facing heads of Drusus and Livia. C V T DRVSVS CAES TRIB POT IVL AVGVSTA.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 233

**Plate:** III.P1.11

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 17, no. 233

## P2 – Sculpture

1) **Date:** Augustan.

**Provenance:** Ampurias. Found in the remains of a Roman villa.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Head of Livia with somewhat aged facial features. Marbury Hall hairstyle.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 166, no. 45

**Plate:** IV.P2.1

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 166, figs. 151-152

2) **Date:** Late Augustan/Tiberian.

**Provenance:** Iponuba.

**Medium:** white marble

**Description:** Statue of Livia standing, wearing chiton and himation, holding a cornucopia in left arm.

**Reference:** Bartman, p. 168, no. 50

**Plate:** IV.P2.2

**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 106, fig. 84

### P3 – Inscriptions

1) **Date:** Tiberian

**Provenance:** Anticaria. Statue base.

**Reference:** *CIL* 2.2038; Bartman, p. 203, no. 31

Iuliae Aug(ustae) Drusi [fil(iae)] Div[i Aug] matri Tiberii/Caesaris  
Aug(usti) principis et conservatoris et Drusi/Germanici [g]en[etric]is orbis

To Julia Augusta, daughter of Drusus, (wife) of the deified Augustus,  
mother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus princeps and conservator, and of  
Drusus Germanicus, mother of the world

Pages 486-489 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Spain** are listed on pp. 482-485.

## Q) Uncertain Mints

### Q1 – Coins

1) **Emperor:** Uncertain

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 23mm

**Obverse:** Female head Livia (?) right. Illegible legend.

**Reverse:** Female head Julia (?) right. Illegible legend.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5434

**Plate:** I.Q1.1

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 193, no. 5434

2) **Emperor:** Uncertain

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** AE 19mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia right. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

**Reverse:** Cybele seated left, holding drum; lion behind. ΕΠΙ ΠΕΔΩΝΟ-ΧΟΥ[

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5435

**Plate:** I.Q1.2

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 193, no. 5435

3) **Emperor:** Uncertain

**Date:** Undated

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze 31mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Livia (?) as Pietas veiled and diademed right.

**Reverse:** Nike advancing left, holding wreath and palm.

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 5436

**Plate:** I.Q1.3

**Image Source:** *RPC* I, pl. 193, no. 5436

Page 491 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Uncertain Mints** are listed on p. 490.

## R) Cameos and Intaglios

- 1) **Date:** Augustan, 20s to teens BC.  
**Original Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Provenance:** The Hague Cameo, Rijksmuseum, Leiden.  
**Description:** Head of Livia left with youthful facial features. Marbury Hall hairstyle.  
**References:** Bartman, 190, no. 99  
**Plate:** I.R1  
**Image Source:** Bartman, 67, fig. 55
  
- 2) **Date:** Augustan.  
**Original Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Provenance:** Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.  
**Description:** Bust of Livia draped right with youthful facial features. Marbury Hall hairstyle.  
**References:** Bartman, 192, no. 103  
**Plate:** I.R2  
**Image Source:** Bartman, 20, fig. 17
  
- 3) **Date:** Augustan, probably shortly after 9 BC.  
**Original Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Provenance:** Ex Marlborough Collection, Boston Museum of Fine Arts.  
**Description:** Bust of Livia laureate on the right facing a much smaller male bust laureate on the left. Notice the drapery of her dress falling off the left shoulder. Middle part hairstyle, but hair tied loosely at back. Note ringlet of hair falling upon the neck.  
**References:** Bartman, 189, no. 95  
**Plate:** II.R3  
**Image Source:** Bartman, 83, figs. 68-69
  
- 4) **Date:** Late Augustan.  
**Original Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Provenance:** Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.  
**Description:** Bust of Livia draped and laureate left. Middle part hairstyle, but hair tied loosely at the back. Note ringlet of hair falling upon the neck.  
**References:** Bartman, 193, no. 107  
**Plate:** II.R4  
**Image Source:** Bartman, 84, fig. 70
  
- 5) **Date:** Tiberian.  
**Original Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Provenance:** The Grand Camée du France, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



**Description:** Detailed scene in three registers: upper register shows deceased Julio-Claudians including deified Augustus; central register contains ruling Julio-Claudians including the two central figures Tiberius and Livia seated on thrones; lower register includes captured barbarians. Regarding Livia, she is seated facing left, wearing laurel crown and holding ears of grain and flowers in right hand, her feet resting on a stool.

**References:** Bartman, 113, fig. 90

**Plate:** III.R5

**Image Source:** Picture taken by my personal camera. July 2007.

6) **Date:** Tiberian, AD 20s.

**Original Provenance:** Unknown

**Current Provenance:** Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

**Description:** Bust of Livia laureate and draped right with aging facial features. Middle part hairstyle, but hair tied loosely at the back. Note ringlet of hair falling upon the neck.

**References:** Bartman, 192-193, no. 106

**Plate:** IV.R6

**Image Source:** Bartman, 117, fig. 94

7) **Date:** Tiberian.

**Original Provenance:** Unknown

**Current Provenance:** Museo Archeologico, Florence.

**Description:** Bust of Livia laureate and veiled right with mature, yet idealized facial features. Middle part hairstyle.

**References:** Bartman, 189-190, no. 97

**Plate:** IV.R7

**Image Source:** Bartman, 189, fig. 184

8) **Date:** Tiberian.

**Original Provenance:** Unknown

**Current Provenance:** Museo Archeologico, Florence.

**Description:** Bust of Livia veiled left, wearing corona spicea. Mature, yet idealized facial features. Middle part hairstyle.

**References:** Bartman, 190, no. 98

**Plate:** V.R8

**Image Source:** Bartman, 190, fig. 185

9) **Date:** Tiberian (?).

**Original Provenance:** Unknown

**Current Provenance:** Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

**Description:** Bust of Livia veiled and laureate right. Mature facial features. Middle part hairstyle.

**References:** Bartman, 193, no. 108

**Plate:** V.R9

**Image Source:** Bartman, 92, fig. 77

10) **Date:** Tiberian.

**Original Provenance:** Unknown

**Current Provenance:** Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

**Description:** Livia seated facing left, wearing mural crown and with head veiled. Notice drapery falling off left shoulder. She holds a bust of deified Augustus in right hand and ears of grain and flowers in left. Mature, yet idealized facial features. Middle part hairstyle. Note ringlet of hair falling down upon her neck.

**References:** Bartman, 193, no. 110

**Plate:** VI.R10

**Image Source:** Bartman, 104, fig. 79

11) **Date:** Tiberian.

**Original Provenance:** Unknown

**Current Provenance:** Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

**Description:** Bust of Livia laureate on the right facing bust of deified Augustus radiate on the left. Mature, yet idealized facial features. Middle part hairstyle. Note head of a boy laureate between them.

**References:** Bartman, 192, no. 105

**Plate:** VII.R11

**Image Source:** Bartman, 105, fig. 81

Pages 495-501 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Cameos** are listed on pp. 492-494.

### S) Hellenistic and Republican Precursors

#### S1 – Hellenistic Royal Portraits on Coins

- 1) **Ruler:** Ptolemy I  
**Mint:** Cyrene  
**Date:** c. 304-298 BC  
**Denomination:** AV stater  
**Obverse:** Head of Ptolemy I diademed right.  
**Reverse:** Deified Alexander the Great, holding thunderbolt and sceptre, and standing in an elephant drawn quadriga facing left. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.  
**References:** BMC Ptolemies, 11, no.94  
**Plate:** I.S1.1  
**Image Source:**  
[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/ptolemy\\_I/Svoronos\\_126.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/ptolemy_I/Svoronos_126.jpg).  
 Accessed October 7, 2010.
  
- 2) **Ruler:** Lysimachus  
**Mint:** Ephesus  
**Date:** c. 289/8-280 BC  
**Denomination:** AR octobol  
**Obverse:** Head of Arsinoe II veiled right.  
**Reverse:** Bow and quiver. ΓΟΝΕΥΣ, ΑΡΣΙ.  
**References:** Mørkholm, 252, no. 257; BMC Ionia, 55, no. 71.  
**Plate:** I.S1.2  
**Image Source:** Mørkholm, pl. XV, no. 257
  
- 3) **Ruler:** Ptolemy II  
**Mint:** Alexandria  
**Date:** c. 253-246 BC  
**Denomination:** AV octodrachm  
**Obverse:** Head of Arsinoe II veiled and wearing stephane right, sceptre behind head. ☉ in left field.  
**Reverse:** Double cornucopiae. ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ.  
**References:** BMC Ptolemies, 43, no.9  
**Plate:** I.S1.3  
**Image Source:**  
[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/arsinoe\\_II/Svoronos\\_0460.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/arsinoe_II/Svoronos_0460.jpg).  
 Accessed October 7, 2010.
  
- 4) **Ruler:** Ptolemy II  
**Mint:** Alexandria  
**Date:** c. 260 BC  
**Denomination:** AR tetradrachm

**Obverse:** Head of Arsinoe II veiled and wearing stephane right, sceptre behind head. Note ram's horn curling up from behind ear. B in left field.

**Reverse:** Eagle standing on thunderbolt left, X between legs. ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ.

**References:** BMC Ptolemies, 43, no. 7

**Plate:** I.S1.4

**Image Source:**

[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/arsinoe\\_II/Svoronos\\_0429-o.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/arsinoe_II/Svoronos_0429-o.jpg). Accessed October 7, 2010.

5) **Ruler:** Ptolemy III

**Mint:** Cyrene

**Date:** c. 246-221 BC

**Denomination:** AR pentakaidekadrachm

**Obverse:** Bust of Berenike II with head veiled right.

**Reverse:** Cornucopiae between two pilei. ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ.

**References:** BMC Ptolemies, 60, nos. 7-8

**Plate:** II.S1.5

**Image Source:**

[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/berenike\\_II/Svoronos\\_0988.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/berenike_II/Svoronos_0988.jpg). Accessed October 7, 2010.

6) **Emperor:** Ptolemy III

**Mint:** Alexandria

**Date:** c. 246-221 BC

**Denomination:** AR pentadrachm

**Obverse:** Bust of Berenike II with head veiled right.

**Reverse:** Cornucopiae between two pilei. ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ.

**References:** BMC Ptolemies, 60, no.7-8

**Plate:** II.S1.6

**Image Source:**

[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/berenike\\_II/Svoronos\\_0989.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/berenike_II/Svoronos_0989.jpg)  
Accessed October 7, 2010.

7) **Emperor:** Ptolemy III

**Mint:** Alexandria

**Date:** c. 246-211 BC

**Denomination:** AV octodrachm

**Obverse:** Bust of Berenike II with head veiled right. Diadem visible under veil at top of head. Possibly wearing beaded necklace.

**Reverse:** Cornucopia bound with fillets. ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ.

**References:** BMC Ptolemies, 59, no. 1

**Plate:** II.S1.7

**Image Source:** Kraay, *Greek Coins*, pl. XX, no. 804.

- 8) **Emperor:** Cleopatra Thea  
**Mint:** Sycamina  
**Date:** c. 125 BC  
**Denomination:** AR tetradrachm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Cleopatra Thea with head veiled and wearing stephane right.  
**Reverse:** Double cornucopiae with fillets. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ  
ΘΕΑΣ ΕΥΕΤΗΡΙΑΣ.  
**References:** BMC Seleucid Kings of Syria, 85, no. 1  
**Plate:** II.S1.8  
**Image Source:** Susan Walker and Peter Higgs eds, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, 87, no. 93.
- 9) **Ruler:** Ptolemy IV  
**Mint:** Alexandria  
**Date:** 221-204 BC  
**Denomination:** AR octadrachm  
**Obverse:** Bust of Arsinoe III wearing stephane and earring right. Note sceptre behind head.  
**Reverse:** Cornucopia with star above. ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ.  
**References:** Susan Walker and Peter Higgs eds, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, 84, no. 75.  
**Plate:** II.S1.9  
**Image Source:** Susan Walker and Peter Higgs eds, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, 84, no. 75.
- 10) **Ruler:** Alexander I Balas  
**Mint:** Ake-Ptolemaic Mint, Syria  
**Date:** c. 150 – 145 BC  
**Denomination:** AR tetradrachm  
**Obverse:** Portraits of Cleopatra Thea and Alexander I Balas jugate right. Cleopatra Thea wears a diadem and kalathos atop her head, which is partially veiled. Alexander wears a diadem. Cornucopia and A in left field behind heads. Note that the American Numismatic Society describes what looks like a kalathos as a modius between the heads of the king and queen.  
**Reverse:** Zeus seated facing left, holding sceptre and Nike. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ.  
**References:** American Numismatics Society.  
<http://numismatics.org/collection/1959.124.2>. Accessed January 31, 2011.  
**Plate:** III.S1.10  
**Image Source:**  
<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AlexanderIBalasAndCleopatraThea.jpg>  
g. Accessed January 31, 2011.
- 11) **Ruler:** Alexander I Balas  
**Mint:** Seleucid Mint  
**Date:** c. 150-145 BC

**Denomination:** Bronze Coin

**Obverse:** Portraits of Cleopatra Thea and Alexander I Balas jugate right. Cleopatra Thea wears a stephane.

**Reverse:** Cornucopia with fillet. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

**References:** BMC Seleucid Kings of Syria, 57, no. 1

**Plate:** III.S1.11

**Image Source:** Susan Walker and Peter Higgs eds, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, 87, no. 92.

12) **Ruler:** King Hieron II

**Mint:** Syracuse

**Date:** c. 274-216 BC

**Denomination:** AR 16 litrae

**Obverse:** Head of Philistis (wife of Heiron) veiled left. Star behind head.

**Reverse:** Nike driving a quadriga right. Star above, K before horses.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ.

**References:** American Numismatic Society.

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1964.79.53>. Accessed January 31, 2011.

**Plate:** III.S1.12

**Image Source:**

[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/sicily/syracuse/philistis/Burnett\\_34-o.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/sicily/syracuse/philistis/Burnett_34-o.jpg). Accessed October 16, 2010.

13) **Ruler:** King Eucratides I

**Mint:** Bactria

**Date:** c. 171-145 BC

**Denomination:** AR tetradrachm

**Obverse:** Draped busts of Heliocles and Laodice (Eucratides' parents) jugate right. Laodice wearing diadem. ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

**Reverse:** Draped bust of Eucratides right, wearing helmet adorned with bull's horn. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ.

**References:** SNG ANS 9, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo Greek Coins, no. 526.

**Plate:** III.S1.13

**Image Source:**

[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/baktria/kings/eukratides\\_I/Bop\\_15A.1.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/baktria/kings/eukratides_I/Bop_15A.1.jpg). Accessed October 16, 2010.

14) **Ruler:** Agathoclea as regent to Strato I

**Mint:** Bactria

**Date:** c. 135-125 BC

**Denomination:** AR drachm

**Obverse:** Draped bust of Agathoclea diademed right.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

**Reverse:** Strato diademed walking right holding spear bow and arrow.

**References:** SNG ANS 9, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo Greek Coins, no. 891.

**Plate:** III.S1.14

**Image Source:**

[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/baktria/kings/agathokleia/Bop\\_2A.1.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/baktria/kings/agathokleia/Bop_2A.1.jpg). Accessed October 16, 2010.

15) **Ruler:** Mithridates IV**Mint:** Pontus**Date:** c. 169-150 BC**Denomination:** AR tetradrachm**Obverse:** Draped busts of Mithridates and Laodice diademed and jugate right.**Reverse:** Zeus and Hera standing facing front, each holding sceptre.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ

ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ.

**References:** Davis and Kraay, pl. 204-206.**Plate:** III.S1.15**Image Source:** Davis and Kraay, pl. 204-20616) **Ruler:** Governor Magas**Mint:** Cyrene**Date:** c. 277-250 BC**Denomination:** AR didrachm**Obverse:** Bust of Berenice I diademed right.**Reverse:** Club within wreath. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ.**References:** Mørkholm, 253, no. 287**Plate:** IV.S1.16**Image Source:** Mørkholm, pl. XVII, no. 28717) **Ruler:** Ptolemy II**Mint:** Alexandria**Date:** c. 270-240 BC**Denomination:** AV octadrachm**Obverse:** Busts of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II diademed and jugate right. Gallic shield behind. ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ**Reverse:** Busts of Ptolemy I and Berenice I diademed and jugate right.

ΘΕΩΝ.

**References:** BMC Ptolemies, 40, no. 2**Plate:** IV.S1.17**Image Source:**

[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/ptolemy\\_II/Svoronos\\_0604.1.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/egypt/ptolemy_II/Svoronos_0604.1.jpg)  
g. Accessed January 31, 2011.

18) **Ruler:** Cleopatra VII**Mint:** Alexandria**Date:** c. 51-30 BC**Denomination:** Bronze 80 drachma coin**Obverse:** Draped bust of Cleopatra diademed right.**Reverse:** Eagle on thunderbolt, to left cornucopia.



**References:** BMC Ptolemies, 123, no. 5

**Plate:** IV.S1.18

**Image Source:** Susan Walker and Peter Higgs ed., *Cleopatra of Egypt*, 177, no. 179.

S2 – Hellenistic Greek Goddess Portraits on Coins

- 1) **Mint:** Elis, Olympia  
**Date:** c. 348 BC  
**Denomination:** AR stater  
**Obverse:** Head of Hera right, wearing ornate stephane.  
**Reverse:** Eagle within olive wreath.  
**References:** BMC Peloponnesus, 68, no. 94  
**Plate:** IV.S2.1  
**Image Source:**  
<http://www.coinarchives.com/c55aaebcf42f7db14641b8e25b136638/img/cng/085/image00382.jpg>. Accessed October 5, 2009.
  
- 2) **Mint:** Cnidos, Caria  
**Date:** c. 330-250 BC  
**Denomination:** AR stater  
**Obverse:** Head of Aphrodite right, wearing stephane, earrings and necklace.  
**Reverse:** Lion head and forepaws facing right. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΝΙ.  
**References:** BMC Caria and Islands, 90, no. 41  
**Plate:** IV.S2.2  
**Image Source:**  
<http://www.coinarchives.com/c55aaebcf42f7db14641b8e25b136638/img/cng/085/image00520.jpg>. Accessed October 5, 2009.
  
- 3) **Mint:** Delphi, Phocis  
**Date:** c. 338/6 – 334/3 BC  
**Denomination:** AR stater  
**Obverse:** Head of Demeter veiled right, wearing wreath made from ears of grain.  
**Reverse:** Apollo Pythios laureate and wearing chiton, seated left on omphalos, right elbow rests on lyre, while left holds laurel branch. ΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟ ΝΩΝ.  
**References:** BMC Central Greece, 27, no. 22  
**Plate:** IV.S2.3  
**Image Source:**  
<http://www.coinarchives.com/c55aaebcf42f7db14641b8e25b136638/img/cng/085/image00231.jpg>. Accessed October 5, 2009.

S3 – Roman Republican Coins

- 1) **Mint:** Rome  
**Moneyer/Authority:** L. Titurius Sabinus  
**Date:** 89-88 BC

**Denomination:** AR denarius

**Obverse:** Head of King Tatius right. SABIN on left and TA monogram on right.

**Reverse:** Scene depicting the abduction of the Sabine women. L TITVRI

**References:** *RRC* I 344/1a

**Plate:** V.S3.1

**Image Source:** <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/rsc/tituria/tituria1.jpg>. Accessed October 16, 2010.

2) **Mint:** Rome

**Moneyer/Authority:** L. Titurius Sabinus

**Date:** 89-88 BC

**Denomination:** AR denarius

**Obverse:** Head of King Tatius right. SABIN on left, palm on right.

**Reverse:** Scene depicting the killing of Tarpeia. Star in crescent above. L TITVRI

**References:** *RRC* I 344/2a

**Plate:** V.S3.2

**Image Source:** <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/rsc/tituria/tituria4.jpg>. Accessed October 16, 2010.

3) **Mint:** Rome

**Moneyer/Authority:** M. Aemilius Lepidus

**Date:** 58 BC

**Denomination:** AR denarius

**Obverse:** Head of the Vestal Virgin Aemilia veiled and laureate right.

**Reverse:** View of the Basilica Aemilia. AIMILIA above, REF on left, S C on right, M LEPIDVS in exergue.

**References:** *RRC* I 419/3a

**Plate:** V.S3.3

**Image Source:** <http://wildwinds.com/coins/rsc/aemilia/aemilia26.jpg>. Accessed October 16, 2010.

4) **Mint:** Lugdunum

**Moneyer/Authority:** Mark Antony

**Date:** 43 BC

**Denomination:** AR 12mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Fulvia as Victory right. Note the nodus hairstyle.

**Reverse:** Lion walking right. LVGV DVNI or ANTONI IMP

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 512-513

**Plate:** VI.S3.4

**Image Source:** BNF 4648

5) **Mint:** Rome

**Moneyer/Authority:** C. Numonius Vaala

**Date:** 41 BC

**Denomination:** AV aureus

**Obverse:** Bust of Fulvia as Victory right. Note the nodus hairstyle.

**Reverse:** Soldier attacking a camp with two defenders. C NVMONIVS VAALA.

**References:** *RRC* I 514/1a

**Plate:** VI.S3.5

**Image Source:** *RRC* II, pl. LXII, no. 514/1.

6) **Mint:** Fulvia/Eumeneia

**Moneyer/Authority:** Mark Antony

**Date:** 43 BC

**Denomination:** Leaded bronze 18mm

**Obverse:** Bust of Fulvia as Victory right. Note the nodus hairstyle.

**Reverse:** Athena advancing left, holding spear and shield.

ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ ΖΜΕΡΤΟΡΙΓΟΣ ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ. (*RPC* 3140 has legend ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ ΖΜΕΡΤΟΡΙ in ivy wreath).

**References:** *RPC* I, no. 3139-3140

**Plate:** VI.S3.6

**Image Source:** [http://wildwinds.com/coins/imp/fulvia/RPC\\_3139.3.jpg](http://wildwinds.com/coins/imp/fulvia/RPC_3139.3.jpg).

Accessed October 17, 2010.

7) **Mint:** Rome

**Moneyer/Authority:** L. Valerius Flaccus

**Date:** 108 BC

**Denomination:** AR denarius

**Obverse:** Draped bust of Victory right. Star in right field.

**Reverse:** Mars walking left, holding spear and trophy. L VALERI FLACCI

**References:** *RRC* I, 306/1

**Plate:** VI.S3.7

**Image Source:** <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/rsc/valeria/valeria11.6.jpg>.

Accessed October 17, 2010.

8) **Mint:** Rome

**Moneyer/Authority:** T. Carisius

**Date:** 46 BC

**Denomination:** AR denarius

**Obverse:** Draped bust of Victory right.

**Reverse:** Victory driving a biga right. T CARISI

**References:** *RRC* I, 464/4

**Plate:** VI.S3.8

**Image Source:** <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/rsc/carisia/carisia2.jpg>.

Accessed October 17, 2010.

9) **Mint:** Uncertain

**Moneyer/Authority:** C. Clovius, Julius Caesar

**Date:** 45 BC

**Denomination:** Bronze coin.

**Obverse:** Draped bust of Victory right. CAESAR DIC TER.

**Reverse:** Minerva standing left, holding trophy, spear and shield. C CLOVI PRAEF.

**References:** *RRC* I, 476/1a

**Plate:** VI.S3.9

**Image Source:**

[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/imp/julius\\_caesar/Cohen\\_0007-o.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/imp/julius_caesar/Cohen_0007-o.jpg).

Accessed October 17, 2010.

10) **Mint:** Mint moving with Antony, Greek East

**Moneyer/Authority:** Marc Antony

**Date:** 39-37 BC

**Denomination:** AV aureus

**Obverse:** Head of Antony right. M ANTONIVS IMP III VIR R P C.

**Reverse:** Head of Octavia right.

**References:** *RRC* I, 527/1

**Plate:** VII.S3.10a and b

**Image Source:** Münzkabinett-Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,

<http://www.smb.museum/ikmk/object.php?objectNR=200&size=2&content=0&side=1>, accessed February 12, 2011; Wood, fig. 4.

11) **Mint:** Mint moving with Octavian

**Moneyer/Authority:** Octavian

**Date:** 39 BC

**Denomination:** AR denarius

**Obverse:** Head of Octavian right. CAESAR IMP.

**Reverse:** Caduceus surrounded by ANTONIVS IMP.

**References:** *RRC* I, 529/2c

**Plate:** VII.S3.11

**Image Source:** *RRC* II, pl. LXIII, no. 529/2c

12) **Mint:** Mint moving with Antony, Greek East

**Moneyer/Authority:** Marc Antony

**Date:** 38 BC

**Denomination:** AV aureus

**Obverse:** Head of Antony right. M ANTONIVS M F M N AVGVR IMP TER.

**Reverse:** Head of Octavia right. COS DESIGN ITER ET TER III VIR R P C.

**References:** *RRC* I, 533/3a

**Plate:** VII.S3.12

**Image Source:** *RRC* II, pl. LXIII, no. 533/3a

13) **Mint:** Ephesus

**Moneyer/Authority:** Marc Antony

**Date:** c. 39 BC

**Denomination:** AR cistophorus

**Obverse:** Busts of Marc Antony and Octavia jugate right. Antony wears a diadem. M ANTONIVS IMP COS DESIG ITER ET TERT.  
**Reverse:** Dionysus standing on cista mystica between snakes. III VIR R P C.  
**References:** *RPC* I, 2202  
**Plate:** VIII.S3.13  
**Image Source:** BNF 11.55

14) **Mint:** Ephesus

**Moneyer/Authority:** Marc Antony  
**Date:** c. 39 BC  
**Denomination:** AR cistophorus  
**Obverse:** Bust of Marc Antony wearing ivy wreath right. Lituus below. All surrounded by ivy wreath. M ANTONIVS IMP COS DESIG ITER ET TERT.  
**Reverse:** Draped bust of Octavia upon cista mystica between two snakes. III VIR R P C.  
**References:** *RPC* I, 2201  
**Plate:** VIII.S3.14  
**Image Source:** BNF 12.19

15) **Mint:** Uncertain Achaean mint

**Moneyer/Authority:** L. Sempronius Atratinus. Marc Antony's "Fleet Coinage"  
**Date:** c. 37-35 BC  
**Denomination:** AE sestertius  
**Obverse:** Bust of Antony on left facing draped bust of Octavia on right. Octavia wears a necklace. M ANT IMP TER COS DES ITER ET TER III VIR R P C.  
**Reverse:** A quadriga of hippocamps right driven by two figures (Antony and Octavia?). L ATRATINVS AVGVV COS DESIG.  
**References:** *RPC* I, 1453  
**Plate:** VIII.S3.15  
**Image Source:** Wood, fig. 9

16) **Mint:** Uncertain Achaean mint

**Moneyer/Authority:** L. Sempronius Atratinus. Marc Antony's "Fleet Coinage"  
**Date:** c. 37-35 BC  
**Denomination:** AE tressis  
**Obverse:** Heads of Antony and Octavian jugate on the left facing head of Octavia on the right. M ANT IMP TER COS DES ITER ET TER III VIR R P C.  
**Reverse:** Three ships under sail. Below Γ and triskeles. L ATRATINVS AVGVV COS DESIG.  
**References:** *RPC* I, 1454  
**Plate:** VIII.S3.16  
**Image Source:** BNF 1982/97

- 17) **Mint:** Mint moving with Marc Antony  
**Moneyer/Authority:** Marc Antony  
**Date:** 32 BC  
**Denomination:** AR denarius  
**Obverse:** Head of Marc Antony right. ANTONI ARMENIA DEVICTA.  
**Reverse:** Draped bust of Cleopatra diademed right. CLEOPATRAE REGINAE REGVM FILIORVM REGVM.  
**References:** *RRC* I, 543/1  
**Plate:** IX.S3.17  
**Image Source:**  
<http://www.coinarchives.com/371370352a678be8435b658b1a372eea/img/cng/084/image00955.jpg>. Accessed October 17, 2010.
- 18) **Mint:** Uncertain mint of Greece  
**Moneyer/Authority:** T.Quinctius Flaminius  
**Date:** c. 196 BC  
**Denomination:** AV stater  
**Obverse:** Head of T. Quinctius Flaminius bearded right.  
**Reverse:** Victory standing, holding wreath and palm branch. T QVINCTI.  
**References:** *RRC* I, 548/1a, 1b  
**Plate:** IX.S3.18  
**Image Source:**  
[http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/rsc/quinctia/Crawford\\_548\[1b\].jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/rsc/quinctia/Crawford_548[1b].jpg).  
 Accessed October 17, 2010.

#### S4 – Sculpture

- 1) **Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> century BC  
**Provenance:** Delos  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Head of a woman. Note the hairstyle with rows of tightly wound waves.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 27.  
**Plate:** IX.S4.1  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 27, fig. 24-25.
- 2) **Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> century BC  
**Provenance:** Magnesia on the Maeander, Asia Minor  
**Medium:** marble  
**Description:** Portrait of a Roman woman identified as Baebia, standing with head veiled.  
**Reference:** Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 109-110.  
**Plate:** X.S4.2  
**Image Source:**  
[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cc/4489b\\_Istanbul\\_\\_Museo](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cc/4489b_Istanbul__Museo)

\_archeol.\_-\_Baebia\_-\_sec.\_I\_a.C.\_-\_da\_Magnesia\_-  
\_Foto\_G.\_Dall%27Orto\_28-5-2006.jpg. Accessed January 6, 2010.

- 3) **Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> century BC  
**Provenance:** Vulci  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Head of a young woman known as the Torlonia maiden.  
**Reference:** Bartman, p. 33.  
**Plate:** X.S4.3  
**Image Source:** Bartman, p. 33, fig. 27.
- 4) **Date:** 30's BC  
**Provenance:** Palombara Sabina  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Portrait of an older woman wearing the nodus hairstyle.  
**Reference:**  
**Plate:** X.S4.4  
**Image Source:**  
<http://www.utexas.edu/courses/romanciv/newhouseimages/augustanhair2.jpg>  
and [http://www.indiana.edu/~c414rome/net\\_id/museiromani/repportfem.jpg](http://www.indiana.edu/~c414rome/net_id/museiromani/repportfem.jpg).  
Accessed October 16, 2010.
- 5) **Date:** c. 35-11 BC  
**Provenance:** Velletri  
**Medium:** white marble  
**Description:** Head of Octavia wearing the nodus hairstyle.  
**Reference:** Wood, 52-53.  
**Plate:** X.S4.5  
**Image Source:** Wood, fig. 13.

Pages 514-523 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The Plate information and sources for **Hellenistic and Republican Precursors** are listed on pp. 502-513.



## TABLES

### How To Read The Following Tables

Under the column designated “Statue Group”, the cities in which imperial family statue groups have been found contain the abbreviations of the names of the individuals contained in that group. See the “Key to Statue Groups” below for a list of abbreviations.

Individuals commemorated on the coins of a particular city are indicated according to the stars present under their particular column. A black star indicates an individual whose portrait appeared on a coin with no accompanying portraits of other imperial family members. Stars of the same colour refer to individuals who were commemorated together on the same coin.

### Key to Statue Groups:

A = Augustus

T = Tiberius

Liv = Livia

G = Gaius

L = Lucius

J = Julia I

Ag = Agrippa

Ger = Germanicus

N = Nero Caesar, son of Germanicus

D1 = Drusus Maior

D2 = Drusus Minor

Sen = Senate

TABLE 1 – Imperial Family Commemoration Under Augustus

		Statue Group	Livia	Augustus	Tiberius	Gaius	Lucius	Julia	Agrippa
Italy	Rome		*1	*		*2	*2		
	Faestum								
Sicily	Panormus								
Asia	Alabanda		*	*					
	Antioch ad Maeandrum		*	* * * *	* *	* *			
	Apamea			* *		* *			
	Aphrodisias- Parasa			*					
	Apollonia Salbace			*					
	Cibyra			*					
	Clazomenae		*	* *					
	Ephesus	A, Liv, Ag, J, L T, Ger	* *	* *					
	Eucarpia								
	Eumeneae		*	*					
	Magnesia ad Maeandrum			* *		* *	*		
	Magnesia ad Sipyllum		* *	* *		*	*		
	Mastaura								
	Methymna		*	* *		*	*		
	Mysomakedones								
	Mytilene								
	Nysa		*	* * *		*			
	Pergamum		*	*		* *	*	*	
	Poemanenum								
	Sardis	A, G		*					
Smyrna		* *	* * *	*					

		Statue Group							
		Livia	Augustus	Tiberius	Gaius	Lucius	Julia	Agrippa	
<b>Asia (cont'd)</b>	Tralles	* *	* *		* *	*			
	Tripolis		*		*				
<b>Bithynia-Pontus</b>	Sinope		* * *	*	*	*			
	Uncertain Mint	*	*						
<b>Syria</b>	Augusta								
	Mallus	*	*						
	Mopsus								
	Tarsus		*						
<b>Judean Kingdom</b>	Philip (4 BC - AD 34)		*						
<b>Achaea</b>	Chalcis	*	*						
	Corinth <sup>2</sup>	G, L	* * *	*	*	*			
	Thessalian League	*	* *	*					
	Sparta	G, L	*	*				*	
<b>Macedonia</b>	Amphipolis		*						
	Pella or Dium		*						
	Dium		*						
	Edessa		*						
	Thessalonica	*	* * *	*	*				
<b>Thrace</b>	King Rhometalces I (c. 11 BC - AD 12)	*	* *						
	Byzantium		*						
<b>Moesia</b>	Tomi	A, T, Liv	*	*					
<b>Cyprus</b>	Paphos or Salamis		* *		*				
<b>Crete</b>	Gnossus		* *					*	

		Statue							
		Group	Livia	Augustus	Tiberius	Gaius	Lucius	Julia	Agrippa
Africa	Alexandria		*	* *		*			
	Carthage - Colonia Iulia Concordia Karthago			*	*				
	Carthage - Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna			*					
	Hippo Regius			*	*	*	*		
	Lepcis Magna			*					
	Oea			*					
Gaul	Thapsus			*					
	Utica								
	Lugdunum		*	* * *	* *	*	*		
	Uncertain (Gallia Comata?)			*					
	Spain								
Caesaraugusta	A, G, L		* * *	*	*	*			
Emerita	A, T		*						
Irippo		*?	*						
Italica			*						
Pax Iulia		*?	*						
Colonia Romula									
Tarraco				* *	*	* *	* *		

## Notes

1. The female figure depicted on the denarius (I.A1.1) is generally considered to be Julia, but a strong case can be made for Livia as well.
2. Note that late in the reign of Augustus additional dynastic coins were issued at Corinth, which contained portraits of Agrippa Postumus, Germanicus and Drusus Minor.



		Statue							
		Group	Livia	Augustus	Tiberius	Drusus	Germanicus	Roma	Senate
<b>Asia (cont'd)</b>	Tripolis		**		**	*	*		
<b>Bithynia-Pontus</b>	Sinope		*	*		*			
	Uncertain Mint								
<b>Syria</b>	Augusta		**		*				
	Mallus								
	Mopsus		*	*	*				
	Tarsus		*		*				
<b>Judaean Kingdom</b>	Philip (4 BC - AD 34)		**		**				
<b>Achaea</b>	Chalcis								
	Corinth	N, Ger	**	*	*	*			
	Thessalian League		*	*	*				
	Sparta								
<b>Macedonia</b>	Amphipolis		*	*	*				
	Pella or Dium		*		*				
	Dium		*		*				
	Edessa		*	*	**	*			
	Thessalonica		*	**					
<b>Thrace</b>	King Rhoemetalces II (c. AD 19 - 36)				*				
	Byzantium		*	*	*				
<b>Moesia</b>	Tomis	Ger, D2			*				
<b>Cyprus</b>	Paphos or Salamis		*	*	**	*			
<b>Crete</b>	Chossus		**	*	*				
<b>Africa</b>	Alexandria	Rose, 197 <sup>2</sup>	*	*	**				
	Carthage - Colonia Iulia Concordia Karthago		*	**					

		Statue							
		Group	Livia	Augustus	Tiberius	Drusus	Germanicus	Roma	Senate
Africa (cont'd)	Carthage - Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna		*	**					
	Hippo Regius		*		**	*			
	Lepcis Magna	A, T, Liv, Ger, Dz, etc	*	*	*				
	Oea		*		*				
	Thapsus		*		*				
	Utica		*		**				
Gaul	Lugdunum		*	*	**	*			
	Uncertain (Gallia Comata?)		*	**	*				
Spain	Caesaraugusta		**		**				
	Emerita		**	*	**				
	Irippo								
	Italica		*	*	**	**	**		
	Pax Iulia					*			
	Colonia Romula		*	*	**	*	**		
	Tarraco	N, Ger		**	**	**	*	*	

1. Rose, 195 gives several phases for the dynastic group at Aphrodisias in which Gaius, Lucius and Drusus Minor are included in the Tiberian phase, Livia and Agrippina Maior and Germanicus are introduced during the Caligulan, and the deified Augustus and Livia, as well as Tiberius, Claudius and others come in during the Claudian phase.

2. Rose, 197 mentions a statue group that was set up in Alexandria during the Claudian period, but it appears to have not included a statue of Livia. However, Rose mention a group of Augustan date from Arsinoe which includes Augustus, Livia and Tiberius.