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ROMAN WOMEN PORTRAYED IN DIVINE GUISES
Reality and construct in female imaging

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The thesis concerns representations of Roman women of the imperial period depicted in the guise of a divinity. Portraits of women of all social levels have been included as have representations in any media excluding numismatic evidence. The latter, with its specific contextual characteristics, is only included and discussed as comparanda for the main body of material.

The juxtaposition of a recognisable reality and a heightened reality in these representations raises a variety of interpretative questions: whether it is possible to establish a correlation between the mythological interpretation of a goddess and the socio-personal interpretation of an image of a mortal woman; the nature of the message being communicated through the choice of a particular deity; and whether the choice of deity for association in some way may be seen to conform to established ideals or topoi for women.

The work examines Roman portraiture as a vehicle for self-expression and the transmission of ideals. Various aspects of the 'mechanics' for achieving this (idealisation, imitation, etc.) are investigated. Though, of particular importance to the argument is the relationship between image and spectator: the perception of portraits and the various factors contributing to forming an interpretation. Thus portraiture is established as a medium which within its contextual framework also includes the spectator - and the spectator's cultural reference points.

The main body of the thesis centres on a dual examination of the range of deities with which Roman women were associated and the women presented in the divine guises, respectively proposing avenues of interpretations for the divine allusions and offering suggestions for methods of interpreting their use. The examination of the various deities in whose guises Roman women appear is also juxtaposed with the distinctions and attributes used to characterise women in literary and epigraphic sources. The correlation between these helps to elucidate the values represented in the images of women under discussion, and how they fit within a framework of ideals and virtues, and with the social personae of Roman women. Similarly, affinities between social status and mythological depiction are juxtaposed with a discussion of the role of the mythological representations themselves - exploring especially the relationship between mythological narrative and the tradition of exempla in Roman literature. It is further argued that interpretation is influenced also by viewer response - encouraged through empathetic identification and social emulation - and that the images of women
in divine guises therefore may be perceived both as revealing intrinsic personal characteristics and as a costume symbolically articulating aspirational values.

The inherent duality in these representations does in other words not so much concern degrees of reality as interacting realities: the individual as a social participant, the public persona evidencing personal virtues. The images of Roman women presented therefore contain equally a reconfiguring response to the world and a socialising affirmation of identity.
INTRODUCTION

ROMAN WOMEN PORTRAYED IN DIVINE GUISES

'Any large-scale picturing of women belongs to the ongoing story of how women are presented, and how they are invited to think of themselves'

(Susan Sontag) 1

This study is a study of representation taking as its basis the depiction of women in the Roman world. In this vast and encompassing subject a particular group, or manner, of depicting women is concentrated on, that is, representations of women in divine guises - most often articulated as a figure-representation with a portrait face and a body in the guise of a deity or mythological heroine. This type of depiction has been chosen exactly because the obvious duality of the representations - their composite nature - offers various internal dichotomies which can be used to challenge the image to reveal its message. By examining each composite part, by playing one out against the other - juxtaposing and highlighting the differences, and by exploring the image as a totality - not just of all its parts but as a coherent entity of various aspects - we as modern viewers may hope to get closer to understanding the original intent in the creation of the representation. One may, of course, look at this type of images and conclude they represent an aberration, an isolated case; in the catalogued works there are depiction of women of all ages and social status, in a variety of media and from a variety of contexts, further, for comparative motives is a section dedicated to evidence of the same phenomenon in a numismatic context - so from the point of view of being representational the body of works must speak for itself. The narrowness of the thematic subject does not necessarily represent a limitation if the images are approached as constructs: acknowledging intentionality is to recognise that they are configured to communicate in visual form a series of messages related to (the world of) the depicted person, just as similarly it is to recognise that the images - individually and as a body - are subject to wider constraints of custom, appropriateness and morality. I am not pretending that the conclusions reached here are necessarily pertinent to all types of female representations, simply that they may be used as a mirror through which to see

1 Sontag 1999: 14.
the concerns and preoccupations inherent in the imaging of women in the Roman world.

The study is also a study of perception. The blatant duality of these images offers a challenge to the viewer in how to come to terms with them: the portrait face invites the image to be seen as an individualised identity, the divine body invites a symbolic interpretation. How is the spectator to construct a totality out of such seeming opposites? And how is the viewer to judge which part, or how much, is 'real' in an image like this? Something more than a cursory glance will of course reveal that the problem is more nuanced than a simple opposition of face and body, that, in fact, each part of the image communicates a constructed message - and that another way of approaching these images is to ask what kind of reality they are communicating. In which case the challenge is to decipher if the represented may be a symbol of abstractions, like virtue, or a heroisation, or an image of a person's persona. The viewer is, in other words, a participating agent in the construction of the message inherent in the images. Indeed, the duality may be seen as existing less within the representation and rather within the viewer's own perception of the image: while simultaneously knowing that the image is just that, an image, the particularising aspect of features recognised as individualised will encourage it to be seen as a living ('real') entity. The viewer's contribution to the construct of the image will therefore also consist in reacting to the image as to a person, and, in an act of conflating the sign with the signified, attribute qualities and values to the representation - and even to identify with it.

Lastly, the study is also a study of identity. The individualising aspect of the portrait makes the message a message of identity - and the depiction a visual representation of 'to be'. Accepting that the image represents a construct the identity presented must represent a projection - a selective process of emphasis, or even of construct and device. However, the duality encountered in this context does not only concern what is being presented and how to read it (negotiating a path between selective reality, aspiration and symbolism) - but also how the image may participate in the construction of identity. The latter may take place within the individual image in a direct relationship with the depicted person and with the viewer by affirming a particular vision of the individual, or by creating an aspirational value-set which the spectator through identification may desire to emulate. It may also take place on a broader level in which the body of representations (the collective vision of women) interact with the world in which they exist, by affirming cultural values and creating a socialised view of women - and for women - and, not the least, by providing a context which creates different ways in which to articulate female identity.
CHAPTER 1

METHOD

The starting-point and basis for the discussion of women represented in divine guises presented in the following chapters is the collection of catalogued works which are detailed and recorded following the main discussion. The following details the approach applied to the creation and organisation of this catalogue and to the selection process applied in identifying the deities or divine aspects of the representations. These specifications are rendered in a rather straight-forward manner emphasising the approach itself; more complex methodological assessments, like the significance of an inclusion of contemporary hairstyles and considerations regarding the impact and potentiality of unworked faces, have been included where appropriate as part of the discussion in Chapter 2. Since the subject-matter of the following chapter concerns the individualising, portrait aspects of the female representations it further functions as a pendant to the present chapter and the details regarding the divine aspects and the use of signifying attributes - be they objects or aspects - presented here.

1.1 Terminology

Traditionally the works depicting a person with a recognisable portrait head and a physical aspect - including associated attributes - belonging in a divine sphere, have been given the name 'Idealporträts' in order to distinguish these works from those wholly of a divine or mythological figures to which the term 'Idealplastik' has been applied. The term 'Idealporträts' has been criticised for suggesting that it is the portrait (that is, the face) which is ideal or idealised; though equally I think one could recommend the word for suggesting the totality of expression in what constitutes a portrait, that is, that a representation of self is made up both of facial and corporeal characteristics. However, in the following I will be describing this dualistic relationship as individuals 'associated with deities' or 'in the guise of deities' in order to avoid confusion of the above nature. Barbette Stanley Spaeth has proposed a

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1 See Madema 1988: 15-17 for the history of the term.
2 See Fuchs 1990: 280 for this criticism, as well as of Madema for using the term in her work.
distinction be made between associations and assimilations with deities.\(^3\) Association denotes an indirect relationship between a mortal woman and a deity in which a connecting is established between the two but where the woman cannot be seen to have assumed the identity of the goddess; in assimilations, on the other hand, the woman has assumed the attributes - and by inference presumably the characteristics or identity - of the deity. Despite the fact that I concur with this distinction I have never the less decided not to apply as distinguishing features of the various catalogued representations. I prefer the vaguer 'associated with' or 'in the guise of' in order to specify the dualistic nature of these types of representations and in order to emphasise an interpretation of the divine aspect as being simultaneously part of and external to the person represented.

1.2 The Catalogue - general approach

The purpose of compiling the catalogue has been to examine the range of instances were Roman women are represented as or associated with deities; consequently only representations of women have been included in the catalogue. The representations must show a specificity of identity, that is, it must represent a woman by use of portrait features or by the stating of her name. Similarly the identity of the deity must be clearly understandable, that is, by the use of attributes (see also Sections 1.2.2-3). And, most importantly, the two identities must be seen to occur at the same time within a representation.

At the same time the purpose has also been to create as wide as possible a spectrum from which to gain a view of instances where Roman women are represented in the guises of deities. This necessarily has an 'inclusive' effect on its parts. Firstly, no limits of time-span have been set on the material in the sense that works from all periods may be included. However, the material has, in a certain sense, auto-selected itself, and all the works included are from the imperial period. The earliest date from the period of Augustus, the latest from the third quarter of the fourth century, with the main bulk of material dating (not surprisingly) from the second and early third centuries AD.\(^4\) Similarly there has been virtually no restriction on possible media or materials which the image could be fashioned from; the only medium excluded from the main catalogue are coin representations. It was felt that these represent a group with

\(^3\) Spaeth 1996: 119-121; see also Pollini 1990: 334-335.
social and political contexts particular to themselves, and to include numismatic evidence within the main body might potentially bias any statistical examinations. Coin representations are for these reasons discussed separately in Chapter 3. Neither have particular restrictions or specifications been imposed on the contexts of find-spot and or usage of the pieces; funerary as well as honorific, private as well as public, works are included. Not that it might have been at all easy to make such distinctions since vast numbers of works exists without any archaeological record of the circumstances and details of their discovery. Secondly no limitations have been set on the social stratum to which the woman represented might belong (or in which the work was executed). That is to say that women of the imperial family along with women of aristocratic, freedman and citizen status in general have been included in the catalogue. Whereas Henning Wrede in his examination of works representing mortals in the guises of deities chose deliberately to focus on private representations and their social significance in order to be able to demonstrate that most of these are of freedmen, or *liberti*, I have decided to include all representations of women as deities without discriminating between 'private' and 'imperial' representations. This I have decided to do for two reasons. Firstly, because it is not always easy to attribute with certainty an imperial name to portraits, that is, to identify the image with a particular person known to us through the sources. This may be due to the difficulty in identifying the portrait in general (see Chapter 2 for potential problems in the identification of and dealing with portraits), because the context in which the work was found or its quality may suggest an imperial representation even when the portrait cannot be identified (the representations of Mars and Venus groups may be an example of this, cf. Cat. 176 (Fig. 20) and 184), or because the history of scholarship of a particular piece has thrown up conflicting conclusions. Secondly, though the direction of influence between Roman social 'classes' is traditionally seen as being from the imperial house downward through the upper to the lower classes, I am not convinced that this is the only model existing and so to maintain an openness that there might at least be the possibility of an interrelated direction of influences can only benefit the material. Among the representations of women have been included also those images or scenes

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4 The greatest popularity of portraiture as a genre seems to occur between the early 2nd cent. and the mid 3rd cent. AD; as may be seen by simple observation of the catalogue published by Fittschen and Zanker 1983. A point also made by Smith 1985: 212.


6 That the imperial images acted as the model for private portraits is a view which may be found in Kleiner 1992a: 280-281 and Wrede 1981: 67-68, 102; more recent discussions of the topic tend towards more nuanced views, cf. Fittschen 1996, Smith 1998: 91-92. See further Section 2.2.2.
in which the heads were not finished as portraits but left as a boss. This includes also those scenes were both a male and a female are left as a boss, or where his may be worked as a portrait but hers is not. Though all the examples of heads left as a boss included in this catalogue occur on sarcophagi, it is only in very few instances possible to determine if they were indeed used for the interment of a woman. All of these instances are included for the simple reason that they represent the potential, the possibility that they may have been used as a representation of a woman.

In order to provide the possibility to compare the catalogued material with the examples of coin representations, there has been no restriction set on the deities or personifications used for association. Mythological representations have been included only in those cases where the woman may be seen in the myth as achieving a divine status through her deeds and virtues or through her relationship with another deity. In this way Ariadne, Psyche and Rhea Silvia associations have been included but Medea representations have not.

1.2.1 The organisation of the catalogue

Since all the works catalogued here have already been published in detail elsewhere individual entries will provide essential details pertaining to the depiction, references to previous publications discussing the object and providing illustrations, and a summary description of its characteristics. In addition, however, does the catalogue include a discussion of the characteristic traits and interpretative significance of the deities in whose guises the women appear. To increase the accessibility of the catalogue a system of continuous catalogue numbers has been used. Within this format of continuity the catalogue is then divided into various groups according to which deity is represented. The catalogue is organised alphabetically by the name of the respective deity and each section is headed by a discussion of that goddess. Where more than one deity is represented, or where the attribution might pertain to more than one deity, the entry is catalogued by the name of the more characteristic or more certain goddess. Within each group of deities the individual works are arranged chronologically without

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7 For a further discussion of unworked heads see Section 2.2.3. Note that statue with provisions for inset head but where these heads are now missing have not been included in the catalogue, since the 'potentiality' of representation in these cases are seen as too vague.

8 In fact, only in two of the works included do the skeletal material survive and has been analysed: Cat. 9 (Ariadne and Dionysus, Fig. 4) and 104 (Luna and Endymion, Fig. 12); the former was used for a woman the latter for a man. Despite having been used for the interment of a man the sarcophagus include in the catalogue because the scene on the front has provision also for a female portrait, and must have been considered appropriate also for a woman.
differentiation between types of works, however, where two pieces are of the same date sculptural works in the round have been placed before relief representations. Two categories have been created to accommodate representations which it was felt were intended to establish a divine association but to which no singular name can be attributed. These two categories are respectively ‘Cornucopia’ and ‘Deity’. For discussion of these two categories see Section 1.2.2. The following two sections, as well as seeking to clarify the principle of inclusions and exclusions from the catalogue, deal also with the question of the recognition of attributes.

1.2.2 The attribute as signifier of identity

In all sculptural representations except those of Venus the deities have been identified by the attributes with which they are furnished. If no attributes are present the work has not been accepted for inclusion. For works in relief the necessary presence of attributes is applied less rigorously since identity in these cases may be conceived from the narrative. A number of attributes, though, remain ambiguous in the sense that they represent characteristics of more than one goddess or personification. The approach to these differs in the catalogue depending whether they might be described as ‘weak’ or as ‘strong’, that is, how clearly they signify the identity of a deity when seen on their own.

In the first category belongs the so-called slipping drapery motif. In this motif the neck-line or shoulder-strap of a woman’s garment slips off her shoulder (usually her right shoulder) leaving it bare. This is often unhesitatingly taken as a characteristic of Venus also when appearing on its own9. Venus is, however, far from the only deity making use of this motif. It may be found in a fifth century BC Greek context on the relief of the ‘Sandalbinder’ Nike on the frieze of the Temple of Nike on the Acropolis in Athens, and in Roman works on a variety of figures: Tellus in the relief by the western entrance to the Ara Pacis Augustae; Juno on a sarcophagus depicting the Judgement of Paris (Juno is also seated on a throne and accompanied by a peacock which leaves little doubt about her identity); Dionysus on a sarcophagus relief depicting him travelling in a carriage with Ariadne (it is though his left shoulder which is bared); and on various secondary figures like three female figures holding garlands.

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9 D’Ambra 1995: 679-680, Kleiner 1981: 520, 523; Kleiner 1987a: 85; Kleiner 1987b: 551. See though Kleiner 1987a: 175 and 1981: 520 for a suggestion that a Venus representation may not be the only one indicated by the slipping drapery motif. Delivorrias 1991: 137-8 seems convinced that Aphrodite/Venus is the only intended depiction with this motif; unfortunately his argument and illustrations are circular in their respective justification of each other.
on a sarcophagus front, a female lyre player who is part of the thiasos on a Dionysus sarcophagus, as well as a maenad within the group surrounding Dionysus and Ariadne on the sarcophagus Cat. 5 (Fig. 3). These examples include only those which depict the motif of a bared shoulder and not those which shown the shoulder and right breast revealed. Though this too is a pluralistic motif it seems to contain different associations being a motif shared by Venus, Diana, Amazons, and Victory. The slipping drapery motif is 'gentler' and less aggressive in its revelation of female form. Henning Wrede dismisses the motif altogether as a possible divine attribute and sees it as an attempt at coquetry, which, with reference to Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 3.307ff, he states might place the woman within the sphere of Venus does not identify her with the goddess. Indeed, an interpretation of the motif as denoting womanly femininity in general might be more correct, which may also explain why the motif was considered appropriate for different deities and for representations of women and girls of very different ages. It may be found used for the figure of Alcestis on the sarcophagus of Euhodus, enhancing the piety and virtue of the ideal wife, as well as in representations of very young girls on funerary altars, rendering more poignant the prospective aspect of their depiction. The motif may, however, be seen as a potential contributing feature to an attribution. On five works in the catalogue the slipping drapery motif occurs on primary figures, that is on a freestanding sculpture or a protagonist figure in a relief, and in each case the motif has been considered in conjunction with other attributes present. In this way the bust of Lucilla, Cat. 236, has been categorised as 'Deity' because the motif occurs together with another idealising feature, that is the long locks of hair coming untied and falling on her shoulders - much as may be seen on the *Ara Pacis* Tellus relief. The shoulder-lock is a motif which also often may be found in representations of Venus, but is shared also in certain instances by Apollo and Diana. In the case of the sardonyx cameo of Livia holding a bust of Augustus, Cat. 53 (Fig. 6), the motif occurs together with attributes characteristic of Cybele/Magna Mater and of Ceres; the complexity of attributes may add strength to the drapery motif as a method of including also an association with Venus. On two reliefs the motif presents itself in connection with attributes which traditionally belong to Venus, and

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12 For illustration of the Alcestis sarcophagus: Strong 1988 fig 130; Kleiner 1987a no 52 & 59 gives two examples of children depicted with this motif; they were respectively around 2 and 10 years old.
consequently the reliefs have been entered as Venus representations. In Cat. 41, however, the motif is outweighed by the stronger Ceres attribution of the scene.

In the second category, the 'strong' attributes, belongs the 'cornucopia'. Like the slipping drapery motif it is an attribute which may be shared by several goddesses, though in this case when it occurs there can be little doubt that the intention of the depiction is to signify a divine association. As may be seen on, for instance, the coin issued by Caligula depicting his three sisters as respectively Securitas, Concordia and Fortuna - all three of them holding a cornucopia as well as one other attribute - the range of possible attribution is rather broad. However, the cornucopia is most often used for representations of Fortuna, Hilaritas, and Ceres. When the cornucopia occurs as the only attribute of a representation this has been catalogued in a separate category. Similarly the instances of a portrait depicted with an ideal hairstyle have been given a separate category: that of 'Deity'. Most often the ideal coiffure is a version of the top-knot hairdo which may be seen on the Capitoline Venus with the hair drawn up from the sides, or from the sides and the forehead, and tied in a bow-like shape on top of the head. Though this arrangement of the hair occurs most often on figures of Venus it may be found also on other deities, like Apollo or Diana. Just as a fashionable hairstyle may indicate that the representation was intended as a portrait, so conversely I think an ideal hairstyle may indicate that the portrait representation was intended as depicting a divine association. That the top-knot hairstyle was not simply used as a variant of fashionable hairstyle is indicated by the scarcity of times when it occurs on extant portraits. Indeed, the catalogue of the Capitoline Collections illustrating the female portraits does not depict a single example of a top-knot hairstyle - despite the amount and variety of works illustrated in that catalogue. However, rather than get entrapped in complicated attempts to distinguish the precise goddess which was referred to by the use of the hairdo, the examples have been collected in a single generic category. I am, in fact, not convinced that it would be possible to narrow the attribution down much further than this. Since representations in the guises of deities, -guises which may often be classified in terms of types since they show a number of similarities great enough for one to presume that they were created from the same basic model - may show a number of variations upon the theme of that model, it would seem reasonable to presume that variations would have been created of the hairstyle.

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13 Cat. 208 (cupid, marital scene reminiscent of Mars-Venus groups, Fig. 24); Cat. 23 (apple, possible cupid).
14 For illustration of the coin see Wood 1995: 461, fig 1.
15 For examples see the Apollo Belvedere and the Diana representation Cat. 70.
1.2.3 The 'type' as signifier of identity

Above I argued that without the presence of an appropriate attribute a representation would not be admitted for consideration since the specificity of character would be lost without the defining attribute. Indeed, this is one of the prime tenets of the selection process applied to these works. In the case of some of the goddesses, though, this rigor of approach can be side-stepped. For the representations of Venus the figure itself has been used as the main defining characteristic. The reason for this is quite straight-forward: unlike any other deity Venus is rarely depicted with defining attributes, or rather, rarely consistently with a limited range of attributes. Literary descriptions and references to ancient sculptural works list a wide range of adjuncts: *polos*, apple, poppy; tortoise, goat; roses or myrtle; veil and fetters; and weapons; or she is described as nude or bathing. Further, various visual images show her with a mirror, doves, a shell, a dolphin, or accompanied by Eros. Of these the apple, Eros, dolphin, and her nudity are the most commonly depicted. The nudity, whole or partial, of Venus is an aspect she shares with practically no other deity and may in other words be seen as her attribute. Nike, Niobids and Amazons may, like Venus, be depicted partially nude or wearing diaphanous drapery, though a distinction between them may be made since Venus is usually depicted at rest whereas Nike, Niobids and Amazons are characterised by their flowing drapery arranged to suggest rapid movement.

In no other cases has the 'type' been accepted as being an attribute. Several sculptural types have been connected with deities though not in a manner satisfactory enough to conclude a singular identity. In this way the so-called large and small Herculaneum Women are often associated with Ceres and Persephone respectively, but only in few cases are the representations depicted with Eleusian attributes to support this. Or a statue type may be shown with a variety of attributes, as the type named the Hera Barberini often is. The type in this case is unlikely to have been associated with a specific deity but may have been considered appropriate for 'heroising' representations in general. In other cases again, a type has been be associated with a variety of deities without ever being depicted with attributes. This is most famously the case of the so-called 'Aspasia' type, a standing woman draped entirely in a great cloak. Apart from being named Aspasia, she is also known as Europa or Sosanda of Kalamis: the lack of attributes and multiple associations exclude this type here.

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16 Pausanias 2.10.4-5, 6.25.1, 6.2.6-7, 3.15.10-11, 2.5.1. 3.23.1 and Pliny *Natural History* 35.86-87, 36.35-36, 36.26-27, 36.20-21; - Pausanias, too, is baffled by the significance of the tortoise and the goat. I am grateful to Julie Ponessa Salathé for these references.
17 For illustrations and further references of the three types see Bieber 1977: 148-162, fig 664-723 Herculaneum Women: 47-49, fig 160-171 Hera Barberini: 175 fig 896-899 Aspasia.
Two gestural motives may have seemed justified for inclusion. One is the 'praying woman', or orans, depicting a standing woman with her arms raised from the elbow in an act of prayer; which may be found in official imperial art as well as being a popular image on paleochristian sarcophagi. The act of prayer depicted, it may be argued, represents also the virtue informing the act, the pietas of the person depicted. Similarly may a scene depicting a couple clasping hands, the dextrarum iunctio motif, have been intended to represent both the marriage ceremony and the virtue of concordia, cf. the minor subgroup of Venus representations which have been named Venus-Concordia: Cat. 174, 208, 209 (Fig. 22, 24-25).\textsuperscript{18} Both motives could, in other words, have been included as representing personifications. However, since it is not possible to ascertain if or when an association with a personification is intended (as opposed to a ceremonial act), neither have in the end been included.

\textsuperscript{18} For the so-called wedding scenes see, Bieber 1977: 167, 248-249, fig 745 and Kampen 1981a: 52, 56, fig 20-21, 24, 28. For illustrations of the handshake motif and discussion of its multifaceted iconographic interpretation see Davies 1985.
CHAPTER 2

PORTRAITS: PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

Some father, overwhelmed with untimely grief for the child suddenly taken from him, made an image of the child and honoured thenceforth as a god what was once a dead human being, handing on to his household the observance of rites and ceremonies. Then this impious custom, established by the passage of time, was observed by law. Or again graven images came to be worshipped at the command of despotic princes. When men could not do honour to such a prince before his face because he lived far away, they made a likeness of that distant face, and produced a visible image of the king they sought to honour, eager to pay court to the absent prince as though he was present. Then the cult grows in favour as those to whom the king is unknown are spurred on by ambitious craftsmen. In his desire, it may be, to please the monarch, a craftsman skilfully distorts the likeness into an ideal form, and the common people, beguiled by the beauty of the workmanship, take for an object of worship him whom lately they honoured as a man.

(The Book of Wisdom 14.15-21)\(^1\)

The passage from the Book of Wisdom above, probably written in the first century AD, despite its obviously polemic nature and hostile attitude, covers many of the topics which I want to look at in this chapter.\(^2\) The text is contemporary with some of the earlier pieces included in the catalogue and does, in other words, not describe a retrospective situation but one which was recognised and debated as the works included for consideration in this context were being produced. The text is concerned with the dual and interrelated aspects of the real and the supernatural present in portrait images. It is concerned with the presentation of one's self for private, public and political reasons; with the use and creation of portraiture as well as the impact of images on the spectator. And it lists some of the reasons prompting particular representations of a person; showing how these exist both in private and in public contexts - among citizens and emperors. In the following I wish to look at some of the ways portraits of individuals represented in the guises of deities may be approached. The discussion will deliberately be centred exclusively on facial representation in order to examine in isolation the element which most clearly adds an individualising aspect to depictions with divine associations. The totality of a figured representation does, of

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\(^1\) NEB 1970.

\(^2\) For further details and references on this text see Price 1984: 200.
course, include more aspects ranging from particulars like body posture, clothing and accompanying inscriptions to contextual references like setting and cultural environment, however, the intention here is to examine the use and impact of portraiture in general rather than through analysis of individual works. The investigation commences by examining the process of identifying a portrait; that is, looking at the topic of face perception and the manner in which ancient portraiture has been studied. Secondly by discussing the various manners in which a portrait might be articulated and the problems each of these aspects pose for us in recognising the image as a portrait. The third section discusses the relationship between the image and the spectator, that is, how a representation of a specific person might be read, how image and spectator may be seen to interact in the interpretative process, and the various motives which may instigate the creation of a portrait.

2.1 Defining a portrait

Despite the long history of the study of Roman portraits, and the continued interest in this subject, have no clear criteria for what constitutes a portrait been formulated. Neither in the traditional research of identifying and naming the persons depicted, nor in recent works examining and contextualizing the creation of portraits, do models for defining a portrait occupy space within the studies of iconography. The same seems to be the case with those studies aimed more generally towards introducing or discussing Roman portraiture as a phenomenon, and in those concerned with a specific aspect related to portraits. That identifying and defining a portrait at all may constitute a certain amount of difficulty is not touched upon in any of the works of the field of Classical Art/Archaeology of my knowledge; neither, not surprisingly, are any suggestions of the reasons that this may be so. This, despite the fact that the reasons for potential problems in the identification of Roman portraits are well recognised - though rarely, if ever, articulated clearly.

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The first and most obvious of the problems facing the study of Roman portraiture is the fact that only in few cases are they now accompanied by an identifying inscription. A facial representation accompanied by written evidence stating the name and identity of a particular person must necessarily provide evidence, or at least a convincing probability, that the face is to be seen as representing the person named in the text. Doubt as to the certainty of this established link may obviously arise if the image is of an iconic, or schematic nature, though, in that case this might quite well provide reasons for expanding the parameters for the identification of a portrait to include images representing portraits as well as those viewed as portraits. The inscription in other words contributes to the attribution of portrait characteristics to a schematic image, for which without one there might be little reason for attributing anything other than votive or decorative qualities. This in turn touches on a second potential problem: that is, the degree of realism required in a image to consider it a portrait. Though the working methods of Roman portrait workshops are still far from clear, it is generally agreed that the vast majority were made locally, i.e. geographically close to the point of display of the portrait. This includes images of the imperial family. Portraits, in other words, do not look the same in all parts of the Roman world, but may very likely adhere to local traditions and customs - and the same person may not look the same in different parts of the Empire. This is naturally most evident in examples of imperial images which usually exist in multiple numbers, often of a wide geographical spread. Though the interpretations of the detailed mechanics of the distribution of an official imperial image differ there is a general agreement that the provincial versions were created by copying another representation of the imperial person, which means that differences in skill and a dilution of accuracy too must be taken into account as rendering accurate attributions (be that of identification as a portrait or as representing an identifiable person) difficult. An example from Paul Zanker's *Provinzielle Kaiserporträts* rather vividly illustrates the differences which may be encountered between an imperial image produced in Rome and one produced in the provinces (Fig. 1-2) as well as posing the question if this stylised representation, so obviously concerned with formal pattern rather than primarily with naturalistic

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6 An example of a statue which may have been intended to represent a portrait, though the schematic nature of the face renders it difficult to establish this with certainty, is a statue of a woman from Spain, García y Bellido 1949: 198, no. 236, pl 166. No inscription accompanies the figure but the combination of a body-type resembling that of the so-called Small Herculaneum Woman and an unidealising face and hairstyle suggests a certain individualised depiction. It may be the work of a local workshop for a patron seeking to emulate a Roman body-type while maintaining local traditions in face and hair depictions.

7 Zanker 1983 pl 29.3-4. Fig. 1: Philadelphia, University Museum (Inv. E 976); over life-sized granite head of Caracalla, provenance: Koptos, Egypt. Fig. 2: Vatican, Sala dei busti no 292; marble head of Caracalla, provenance: Rome.
articulation of form, would have been recognised as a portrait had it been the only example of its kind.

Whereas the above may most often be considered to be aspects determined by the workshop or, more generally, the recipient environment; problems of identification may also be encountered in aspects deliberately applied by the patron. What in modern language is usually referred to as a 'photographic realism'\(^8\) - or as 'realism' or 'naturalism' in art historical terminologies - must not be presumed to have been the desired objective in any period in the history of Roman portraiture. During the period of the empire two aspects regarding the degree of realism become clear. One aspect is the tendency towards idealisation in portraits. It is an aspect more common among the depictions of women than of men, and usually identified as being prevalent during the Julio-Claudian period, but which may also be found in later works (see for instances the portraits of Sabina).\(^9\) The same question - of the necessary degree of realism needed to constitute a portrait - as asked for some of the provincial works may also be posed for some of the highly skilled works produced in Rome. The second aspect to be considered as a deliberate construct of the patron is that of portraits of one person imitating or being assimilated to those of another. This may happen both within the official portraiture of the imperial family and among the portraits of private Roman citizens, and may take the form not only of the use of aspects which may be considered to be of fashion, such as hairstyles and manners of dress and stance; but also of the adoption of physical, facial features. It occurs between classes, gender, and family relationship - though it is found more often between private persons and imperial family members, and between women of the imperial house and the current emperor. These aspects will be investigated further in Sections 2.2 to 2.2.2.

\(\frac{}{2.1.1 \text{ The perception of physiognomic likeness}}\)

The most fundamental of all problems concerned with identifying a portrait, whether as a concept or within its identifying constituent elements, is that as human beings we seem quite unable to react in anything but a subjective manner to the representation of a face. As a species (and as primates?) we seem biologically disposed to react instinctively and immediately to that which is perceived as facial features. Born unable to fend for itself and requiring a long nurturing period, it is important that the human

\(\frac{}{8\text{ Despite the fact that we are all aware that also photographs may be technically and artistically manipulated.}}\)
child learns quickly to distinguish and identify its mother (or at least the prime nurturing adult) to secure its nurture and survival; and studies in child psychology have shown that as the child’s eyes develop the capacity to focus it is on the face that the interest is directed.\textsuperscript{10} The image of the face in this way is intimately connected to perception of self and of identity: first of the immediate family, later of the self and the distinction and relationship between it and ‘other’.\textsuperscript{11} The strength of the instinct may be gauged also by adults in our capacity for constructing ‘faces’ within abstract patterns. Who of us have not found ourselves looking at clouds, cracks in the paint, veins of marbling, … and seen within these faces and profiles. Admittedly, these faces are rarely realistic nor applicable as portraits - but often fantastical and caricatured just as the figures they accompany may not necessarily be human but also fantastical creatures - however, the point is that it is faces that we are seeing. In the same way, we may observe rather easily how faces capture our attention, and how much effort is required to turn our eyes away from these, each time we go to an art gallery. In front of figurative works (i.e. images not exclusively designed to draw our attention towards a person/face as in formal portraiture) our eyes seem instinctively drawn to the face or faces of the protagonists - especially if these are turned to ‘look’ at us - as an initial point of reference before moving ‘through’ the composition. Our focus may be drawn by the artist to other parts than the faces of the figures but it requires powerful and deliberate artistic constructs. That the image of the face should continue to exert a power over us also as adults must be related to needs for social bonding and communication. Recent studies at the University of Liverpool have shown that the two are intimately connected for humans.\textsuperscript{12} Though communication in its most direct form is verbal much of the information which we gain from others (and about the other) is contained in non-verbal forms of communication. This includes tone and inflection of voice, movements and posture of the body, and facial expressions.\textsuperscript{13} How often have we not encountered the truism of how much more difficult it is to ‘say’ things in a letter or even on the phone than in person; exactly because the first two exclude one or more of the non-verbal communication aspects.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{9} For illustrations of portraits of Sabina see Fittschen and Zanker 1983 no 9-12, pl 11-15 - among others.
\textsuperscript{10} Bruce and Young 1998: 250-253.
\textsuperscript{11} Brilliant 1991: 9.
\textsuperscript{12} Dunbar 1996.
\textsuperscript{13} Bruce and Young 1998: 187-204, 212-214, 216-217. For interpretation of bodylanguage in ancient art and reference to recent scientific bibliography see Davies 1997; for references to the study of interpretation of human facial expressions see Brilliant 1991: 10 & n. 3.
\textsuperscript{14} As an attempt at compensating for the lack of the non-verbal information a whole series of ‘signs’ shaped as faces have developed within modern information technology: :-) (happy), :( (sad), :o (surprised), etc.
It is this sensitivity to facial characteristics and expressions which on the one hand primes our continuing fascination with portraits and portraiture and on the other makes it difficult for us to define the subject objectively. E.H. Gombrich refers to what he call ‘Töpffer’s Law’: that is, ‘that any configuration which we can interpret as a face, however badly drawn, will ipso facto have an expression and individuality’.

The point being not just that we interpret and attribute identity and character to images, but also that we may do so with quite schematic images. Töpffer’s experiment had involved representations which may be described as little more than match-stick-men faces to which the participants had been asked to attribute an adjective (old, ugly, unlikeable, sad, etc.) - the difference between each ‘face’ being a very slight variation in the relative position of its component parts. That the range of qualities attributed to the ‘faces’ was as much dependent on the viewer’s perception of the external characteristics of the ‘person’ depicted as on the viewer’s wider interpretation of the depicted, I will not comment on, beyond pointing it out as an example of the essential subjective character of our reactions to faces, and how at all time our interpretation is dependent on the context in which we find ourselves.

So how may we deal with a representation of a person? Gombrich in the same article makes a distinction between what he calls ‘the face’ and ‘the mask’, the former being the experience of underlying constancies in a human’s face which transcends mood, age and generations; the essential characteristics of a person, the combination of which is unique to that person but which presumably can only be seen after long time’s knowledge of that person. The latter is the categories or types with which we scan others, and which generally is the first thing we notice about someone else since they represent the ‘deviations from the norm marking a person off from others - any such deviation attract our attention and may serve as a tab of recognition’. Exactly because there would be little point in a child being predisposed to see the aspects which makes us alike (or the mother would be lost among a sea of humans) it is the differences which stick in our minds. However, these may also obstruct us seeing the person if we lose the codes for deciphering ‘the mask’. Compare Susan Wood’s astute remark on a marble head in the Vatican: ‘This face has the rather bland prettiness common in male and female portraiture of the Julio-Claudian period, but it still possesses individual features. For a contemporary viewer, those idiosyncrasies would probably have been.

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15 Gombrich 1982: 120-121 with illustration of Töpffer’s experiment. See also Bruce and Young 1998:140-146 for details of studies of perceived relationships between appearance and personality.
16 Gombrich 1982: 110, 113. A similar dualism has been identified in scientific studies of face recognition: unfamiliar faces are remembered through their external features, whereas familiarity causes a shift in memory concentrating on internal features; the latter seems to be based on a more ‘holistic’ impression of the face and as a visual memory may be very enduring, cf. Bruce and Young 1998: 151-161.
more than adequate to ensure recognition'.\(^{17}\) It is the idiosyncrasies which induce us to see the head as a portrait but we do so probably with less ease than what would have been the intention of the maker since we no longer possess the code to fully see beyond that part of the mask which is Julio-Claudian 'bland prettiness'. For 'the mask' does not signify something false or unreal which obstruct our seeing the person represented (and, I want to stress, 'the mask' in this connection is not synonymous with a public image, or role): 'the mask' is part of our perception of that person. In some cases it is our only perception of a person. Would we, for instance, recognise the Mona Lisa, Marilyn Monroe or James Dean if still alive and we met them in the street? These three are, admittedly, extreme examples of persons who have achieved icon status and which for most of us only have an identity through their 'mask', normally a likeness represents a mixture of 'the face' and 'the mask'. However, the proportion to which 'the mask' aspect may be emphasised is a matter of choice. For this reason Gombrich's suggestion of a duality may prove useful for understanding also Roman portraits, especially those of persons connected to the imperial house who for political reasons needed a public and instantly recognisable image. If recognition is based not on complex nuances but on signs setting us apart, then that would provide a convincing reason why we find emperors/empresses adopting portrait types, and why these are most often few in number throughout their lifetime; why deliberate and obvious changes are made in the imperial iconography with the change of ruler / dynasty of rulers; and conversely why the chosen iconography might be extended to the entire imperial family.\(^{18}\) Indeed, Gombrich's dualistic model seem to fit very well with ancient Platonic ideas of *mimesis*. Here two, not mutually exclusive, varieties of 'imitation' are recognised: a literal imitation/reproduction; and an imitation by psychological association. Each of these varieties may further be divided in two: that pertaining to the artist formulating the imitation, and that pertaining to the spectator who participates in it.\(^{19}\)

At the same time as needing to be aware of our own human predisposition to see identities in idiosyncrasies it would be foolish to discount these aspects when identifying a representation as a portrait. They may very well have been the signs chosen in order to signify a particular person. This may sound like wanting to see portraits in all representations; the aim, however, is rather to allow ourselves to trust our responses as an audience to these pieces. That is not to say that these signs are

\(^{17}\) Wood 1992: 222. The head in question is in the Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti Inv. 1814 (= Cat. 154).

\(^{18}\) This is an idea expressed also by Smith 1996: 33: 'Carefully defined and individualised types presented a sharply distinguished identity for each ruler, and if properly replicated would secure his recognisability'.
‘truthful’, that the person indeed looked like or even had an aspect like that depicted - though, how are we, now, ever to know? But if we can establish that the representations were intended as portraits, we as interpreters are at least obliged to treat these as portraits. A case in point is a rather interesting observation made by R.R.R. Smith on the subject of the variations which occur in the representations of imperial images: ‘an appearance of difference in the emperor’s portraits from the central model may have been felt to evoke usefully the illusion that it referred to the real living emperor’.\(^{20}\) In other words, from the model already based on a series of identifying signs (‘the mask’ of the emperor) are created variants of his image (further ‘masks’) signifying the emperor - why? Because as humans we react positively to variations and idiosyncrasies as evidence of individuality.

At this point it might be worth returning to the idea of the public image, or role articulated in portraits, which is different from the idea of ‘the mask’. Richard Brilliant defines portraits as ‘works intentionally made of living or once living people by artists, in a variety of media, and for an audience’; Sheldon Nodelman, discussing Roman portraits specifically, emphasises the importance of the audience to a greater extent by stressing the cultural, political and social references (selected for ideological reasons) inherent in the portraits.\(^{21}\) Portraits in other words do not exist for themselves but for the spectators looking at them - or in the expectation of being looked at.\(^{22}\) This would seem equally true for officially created works of emperors designed for public spaces, as for private works of middle-class people designed for the family tomb. Roman portraits most certainly did contain messages about the role, status and social participation of the depicted person, and though very important when ‘reading’ it is only part of the narrative within the image. It is the costume which the depicted may adorn (or be adorned with) to high-light, disguise, transform, or explain themselves. A portrait, however, cannot exclusively consist of an illustration of a social role, for that would be to confuse the symbol with the person - the accoutrements of office used to denote a specific person. To be a portrait the representation must allow the spectator to invest it with life and identity.


\(^{20}\) Smith 1996: 34.


2.1.2 The study of portrait iconography - previous scholarship

The study of iconography is no longer only aimed at the attribution of (imperial) names to the portrait heads, busts, and statues as was the case in earlier centuries. An example of this 'passion' for naming portrait representations is the marble bust of Antonia Minor now in the Fogg Art Museum which, by one of its previous owners (presumably Thomas Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke Montgomery), in the mid-seventeenth century was inscribed with 'Antonia' on the left shoulder.\(^23\) The same attitude, though with much less invasive consequences for the object, may be seen in most of the older museum catalogues - and in a parallel manner on the bases with which the works in the older collections especially are furnished. In these are stated the name of the person depicted as their primary aim, with only little additional information, and with few if any qualifications - and especially without any doubts.\(^24\) Modern approaches are still concerned with recognition and identification but the application of a name is no longer the end goal of the process, and the study and recognition of portraits of unknown persons is gaining ground. See, for instance, the catalogues for the Capitoline Museums published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker which approach equally representations of identifiable women of the imperial house and those unknown of the upper and middle classes; or the Ince Blundell catalogue of female portraits none of which are of imperial persons.\(^25\) Instead modern approaches seek to establish secure identifications against which a study of that person set in a wider context may be undertaken, or against which other works may set and compared, adding to the context in which portraits of private persons may be seen.\(^26\)

The work concerning the specific details of attribution and identification is not one which in the following will occupy me a great deal; in general I am happy to profit by the studies carried out by others in the field of iconographical attribution and dating. For this reason an overview of the methodology related to these studies in general may be merited here, though, happily, the operative criteria used are now increasingly being set out within specific studies. The initial point of reference will of course always be those portrait representations which are secure in their attribution, that is, which are

\(^{23}\) Fogg Art Museum (acc. no. 1972.306), Cambridge, Massachusetts. For a discussion and iconographic study of this work see Erhart 1978

\(^{24}\) For a discussion of the history and possibilities for study offered by catalogues see Bartman 1994: 342-344.

\(^{25}\) The Capitoline catalogues: Fittschen and Zanker 1983; Fittschen and Zanker 1985. The projected Volume II will contain the portraits of private men, as a pendant to the Volume I emperor and princely portraits. The Ince Blundell Collection: Feifer and Southworth 1991
accompanied by an inscription. To this may be added numismatic, epigraphic and literary evidence, as well as archaeological context and stylistic concurrence as points of connection to specific persons. Around these, or with reference to these, series of alike representations may be identified. For this reason the modern approach is often given the name of 'typological studies'. It is obviously only possible to establish a 'type' with the presence of multiple copies.

The basis of construction of a 'type' is the close and detailed observation of particulars of physiognomy and hairstyle. The hairstyles especially have proved a key element; by now chronological sequences have been established allowing these to provide the general guideline for the dating of other pieces. However, with their careful renderings of minute details and variations a particular hairstyle is also a strong contributor in establishing a 'type' and thereby the attribution to a particular person.\(^{27}\) For the study of female iconography there are suggestions that the hairstyles provide a more essential link in the attribution than they do for men - presumably since female facial features are often more prone to idealisation, and that women are seen to make more use of variations on fashionable trends as a means to differentiation whereas Roman men have access to many more roles and variations from the public nature of their social status and position. Even when the complete coiffure is obscured by headresses of various sorts may the arrangement of the hair immediate around the face at times be reliable enough to provide an attribution.\(^{28}\) The dangers of relying upon (often minute) details of the coiffure are of course how far one may rely on the presumption that variations were not simply the creation of the workshops.\(^{29}\) Karin Polaschek on the other hand has argued for an almost exclusive reliance upon a scientific study of physiognomy to create what she has called Replikenreihen (replica series), and more recently Michael Pfanner has drawn attention to the importance of the contours of the profiles for differentiation and identification.\(^{30}\) Variations in the types occur when

\(^{26}\) See, for instance, the work carried out by Susan Wood, adding new evidence to the political framework surrounding empresses and managing to create a more nuanced image of some of the traditionally less 'popular' imperial women Wood 1988; Wood 1992; Wood 1995.

\(^{27}\) cf. Smith 1985: 212 who in his review of the third volume of the Capitoline catalogue describes it as a vindication of the method of defining portrait types on the basis of hairstyles; or Fittschen 1978: 28: 'as is almost always the case with portraits of Roman emperors identification rests on particularities of the hairstyle'.

\(^{28}\) cf. Erhart 1978: 196 n 11: 'the hairstyle played a more important role in the creation of a female than a male portrait' and Wood 1992: 224: if the hair is not visible 'it is entirely reasonable to presume that the sculptors would have settled for an exact duplication only of the hair immediately around the face'. For idealised portraits see below section 2.3.4.

\(^{29}\) cf. Erhart 1978: 196 n. 11 who want to attribute to a single type, rather than two as suggested previously, certain portraits of Antonia Minor - distinguishable only by the presence/absence of small curls at the temples.

\(^{30}\) Pfanner 1989: 204-222. For a critique of a rigorous dependence on 'replica series' see Erhart 1978: 195-6 & n. 10.
differences exist in portraits which through a certain amount of verifiable details can be shown to be of the same person. Being 'similar' is no longer enough for two portraits to be attributed to the same person. In this way the typological method is managing to question the certainty with which portraits were previously seen as imperial personages and conversely to attribute to known types portraits which otherwise would not have found inclusion. In this way a portrait of a ‘Faustina’ in the Capitoline Museum is shown by Paul Zanker and Klaus Fittschen to be a representation of a private person; and a reworked under life-size head in Stuttgart may be attributed to Augustus, though at first glance it bears little overall resemblance to him, much as was the case of the portrait of Caracalla Fig. 1. Further, a series of portraits may be identified which are seen to imitate or draw their inspiration from one of the types, but which on various points differ from this and in this way must be attributed to a different person.

Though these methods may be applied more or less rigorously, their application at least ensures that attributions are now established on much more scientific grounds with measurable, countable and comparable means. However, the various methods must clearly be applied together to ensure a more comprehensive (and more interesting) interpretation. Considering that the portrait representations (numismatic and sculptural) of Faustina the Younger contain nine different hairstyle-types but only about three portrait-types, if one concentrates on only one of these, potential keys to the understanding of the public presentation of the empress, as that carried out by Klaus Fittschen, would have been overlooked.

2.2 Constructing a portrait - degrees of realism

The presence of these portrait types naturally presupposes a 'model' to work from; what Zanker calls an Urbild - 'prototype' may be the best approximating English word. Though the distribution of these imperial portrait types is becoming more clearly understood, as is the marble trade as a whole, the actual process of creating a portrait remains uncertain. However, it is at least possible to use these series of imperial portraits to test the degree of realism which may have been considered necessary, or degrees of variation/deviation considered acceptable.

31 ‘Faustina’ - Fittschen and Zanker 1983 no 116, pl 147; Augustus - Pfanner 1989: 207, fig 24; Caracalla - Zanker 1983: 39, 47, pl 29.3-4. See also Smith 1987: 100 on the difference between conformity and resemblance to a known type in the process of identification.
32 The work of K. Fittschen on Faustina Minor: Fittschen 1982. For a review of this work see Smith 1982. Concern about a too emphatic use of hairstyles is expressed by Wood 1995: 469-470; who also stresses the need to use hairstyles and physiognomy in conjunction.
The most straight-forward method to obtain an exact copy of a person’s face is naturally by using that person’s face to create a cast, and an example from Rome gives a tantalising hint of this method being used. Within tomb H in the Vatican necropolis were found two plaster moulds (a full-face of a small child and a left half of a face of a bearded man) and a gilded stucco portrait of a young boy as well as a death mask in plaster of a young boy.\textsuperscript{34} The childish features of the portrait and the deathmask makes it difficult to determine from the published photographs how close the similarity is between the two, but it would be tempting to see the former as created on basis of the latter. However, the latest study on this tomb rules out any links between the two and stresses that the portrait follows the stylistic trends of its period (early third century AD) and not the cast image.\textsuperscript{35}

Michael Pfanner has examined the technical possibilities and methods for copying a portrait in stone or marble, as well as those enabling the accurate reproduction of a portrait in enlarged or reduced size. Methods, he argues, which were so efficient that they enabled sculpture to be produced as mass-production.\textsuperscript{36} So why, may we ask, if reproductive techniques were so efficient do variations exist at all, and to an extent that it merits an scientific approach to detail them? Presupposing that the intention is to reproduce a given image, and taking for granted that minor variations will always exist in a non-mechanised production process, variations may, firstly, be ‘unintentional’, in the sense that it is beyond the sculptor’s means to do anything else. Compared with the sculptor who created the prototype his technical abilities may be less elevated, he may work in a different medium, he may be of a different school or belong to a different workshop tradition, he may be working from a model which is itself a reproduction of a prototype, or he may be re-working one portrait to the features of another. Secondly, variations may be intentional but not necessarily always consciously applied: he may work in a different stylistic climate, he may work for a different market, i.e. for a different context of display, or for a different patron or for a patron of a different class, or he may work within a different (regional) sculptural tradition. And thirdly, the sculptor may intentionally, consciously and deliberately

\textsuperscript{33} Zanker 1983: 8.


\textsuperscript{35} Mielsch and Hesberg 1986, 1995 vol 2: 196-198. Unfortunately have none of the studies on these representations carried out any measurements which may establish (or otherwise) the degree of correspondence between them.

\textsuperscript{36} Pfanner 1989. The possibilities for mass-production by using the pointing process is noted by Erhart 1980: 10 as an ‘established fact of the time’. For a survey of portrait production see Bartman 1999: 18-24.
create variations from the prototype (and still consider the work a reproduction of the
given portrait): he may be working with an idealised and/or posthumous representation
for which presumably there would be more leeway for changes and adaptations, he
may have been given a different remit by the patron - that is to create an image in the
manner of something else, or the sculptor may consider to do so the most appropriate.
All of the above possibilities have been recognised as influencing the presentation or
creation of a portrait - it is, though, worth pointing out that all of the above would
influence also the creation of a portrait created as a single, unique exemplar. Only the
very last point is rarely discussed, though it has been raised by R.R.R. Smith. Smith
has pointed out that sculptures like the Doryphoros or Demosthenes show much less
variation - despite being replicated over a much longer period - than do the portrait
representations of Augustus.37 This, he goes on to argue, is because the Doryphoros
or Demosthenes for Roman purposes only exist as ‘types’, and substantial variation in
their replication would render them unrecognisable. A portrait of Augustus would on
the other hand essentially refer to the living emperor - despite the fact that the portrait
representation of him was based on pre-defined models. Indeed, as pointed out
previously, Smith makes the suggestion that variations may have been deliberately
introduced to maintain the illusion of an image, if not from life then at least of a living
person.38 Repetition would destroy this illusion and ‘objectify’ the image - render it
obvious that the image is an object, a thing, which has its own purposes and functions.
And it would ‘objectify’ the emperor, turning him into an icon rather than an individual
- indeed, much as was the aim of imperial portraiture during the Tetrarchy.39

If variations may be deliberately used it poses the question if exact replication
of portraits was the aim at all. Indeed, a new study by Elizabeth Bartman indicates that
miniaturists at least seem to have worked free-hand when copying from a model and
that exact copying neither existed in antiquity nor was the aim of the copyist.40 Rather,
imperial portrait representations seem to have been created around a series of clearly
recognisable markers like hairstyle, profile and physiognomic aspects - much in
keeping with Ernst Gombrich’s definition of ‘the mask’, which may, then as now in
modern iconographical studies, have acted as signifiers for the identity of the person.
Apart from established identifying characteristics other details may have been left free
for the interpretation of the sculptor - consciously or unconsciously. Much more

37 Smith 1996: 33-34.
38 Smith 1996: 34, see also Section 2.1.1.
39 A modern analogy may be to compare an official photograph of the Queen with the official
representation of her on postage-stamps; I doubt if many would find in latter the sense of the Queen as
a living person. As for the icon-like qualities imbued to an image by repetition, this may be seen
vividly in the screen-print work of Andy Warhol.
40 Bartman 1992: 78, see also the review of this study in Gazda 1995.
difficult to measure and test scientifically, are the influences exercised on the creation of a portrait or of the Urbild itself: the process of decision-making on the commission of an image, the tastes of the patron and of the time, or potential religious or political motivations instigating the commission. The presence of idealised portraits and of imitative portraits (cf. Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2) would suggest that a wider spectrum of possibilities than exact replication of portrait features would have been acceptable. Or more precisely, it suggests that it was accepted and understood that portrait representations are not mechanical renderings but constructs based on a series of signs and references, as Sheldon Nodelman has pointed out. And constructs to which the intended audience must necessarily have been party, in the sense that the portraits are designed to be ‘read’ and interpreted. Of course it may be possible that certain representations were intended as neutral ‘mirrors’ of the person - however difficult this might be in effect to execute. Though, as the experiments of Töpffer have shown, even the most nondescript rendition of a human face will by the spectator be interpreted as having personal qualities. There does in other words seem little reason why anyone should attempt not to present a subjective and selective image of themselves - even if they could.

2.2.1 The ideal or idealised portrait

Portraits of Roman women are often considered more prone to idealisation of features, than Roman men: women are often represented with features which are fuller and more rounded, the individual planes of the face being more open, and the physiognomy generally rendered with fewer muscular contractions. This may add an extra difficulty to identifying a female representation as a portrait, and, since ideal features are a characteristic of divine beings, make it difficult to differentiate between an image of a mortal woman and a deity. So how may we deal with these in terms of identifying portraits?

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41 Nodelman 1993: 14-15 especially.
42 The degrees and nuances with which different people would have been able to ‘read’ them would naturally differ according to the individual spectator, but this is less important as long as the shared ground is adequate for the image to transmit at least part of its intended message.
43 Bartman 1999: 25-28 argues that this argument has been exaggerated and that both male and female portraits should be considered subject to similar trends in taste and motives. Indeed, it may be argued that differences in male and female depictions are in their emphasis of masculine and feminine traits respectively, and consequently may each be considered as ideal depictions of masculinity and femininity. As evidenced by the examples and studies provided by Bruce and Young 1998: 102-110, 118 the characteristics of Roman female portraits do conform closely to the our perceptions of a feminine face.
At times we may be aided by an inscription: as, for instance, on the two ideal statues in guise of Ceres, Cat. 19 and 27, which only through the inscribed bases naming respectively Livia and Julia, the daughter of Augustus, may be understood as representing these women. Similar examples may be found on numismatic representations of Antonia Minor and of Agrippina, Drusilla and Livilla, the sisters of Caligula. On the former, a coin from Thessalonika, a veiled and diademed idealised representation of a woman is explicitly inscribed with ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑ and so must reasonably be understood as representing her as a portrait.44 On the latter, a coin of Roman issue, the three sisters are represented in an ideal manner by virtue of their dress, stance and attributes rather than strictly speaking their facial features which are too small to be distinguished; and also in this case are they explicitly named. Susan Wood argues that this coin does not represent the sisters in the guise of personifications but personifications arbitrarily conferred with mortal identity. This may very well be the case, though, as will also be argued in Chapter 3, I find it likely that an ambiguity as to their exact status might have been intended in the design. The individualising aspects capable of inferring identity which are inherent in a portrait or in the stating of a name blurs the line sufficiently to render also this a representation of the three sisters.45 Klaus Fittschen has put forward the rather hard-line view that ideal representations are classifiable as portraits only if accompanied by an inscription.46 Though I agree with him in principle, it may be more correct to say that only an inscription would identify these with certainty. However, I wonder if the ambiguity of an ideal representation may not at times have been used deliberately and to effect. A famous Tiberian coin trio of 22 AD depicts on the obverse an ideal female head respectively called Pietas, Salus and Iustitia. These have often been associated with Livia or to a combination of Livilla, Livia and Antonia, though never with any great conviction; indeed, the ideal nature of the head may, in fact, have a greater political impact if seen as having been deliberately used in order to obscure a sense of specific individuality and rather referring to all the female members of the imperial house.47

44 For details of these coin see respectively Erhart 1978: 198 n. 20 and Wood 1995: 461 n. 27, fig 1.
45 For further discussion of the 'magical' aspects of portraits see Section 2.3.7; and for the numismatic material also Section 3.1.1.
46 Fittschen 1984: 192. Fittschen lists the examples of the statues of Plancia Magna from Perge and Eumachia from Pompeii as portraits only recognisable as such due to an accompanying inscription. Though, the former is depicted with a diadem of a priestess of the imperial cult and the latter in a sculptural type not normally associated with goddesses, neither of these hints could with certainty identify their representations as portraits. For illustrations of these see: Boatwright 1993: 203, fig 88 and Bieber 1977: 200-201, fig 827.
47 A point also made by Erhart 1978: 198 n. 21 though with reference to the PIETAS coin only. For a discussion and illustration of these coins see Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981 vol I: 100, 106, 111, no 22-24, pl 6.106-108.
In other instances attributes or context may distinguish the mortal - and at times portrait - status of an ideal representation. In this manner Patricia Erhart sees the so-called Juno-Ludovisi statue in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps as a portrait of Antonia Minor since this is depicted with a diadem and an *insula*. This combination of the emblem of Hellenistic queens (the diadem or *stephane*) and of a priestess (the *insula*), together with hairstyle and literary details lead her to this conclusion. However, neither of these attributes can exclusively be used to point to a mortal status. The royal status of the diadem would fit very well as an attribute for Juno, and may in fact also have more general divine connotations - indeed, it may be found on depictions of Ceres, Diana, Juno and Venus; and the *insula* itself also carried a general air of sanctity. As argued above the absence of an inscription prevents the Juno-Ludovisi being characterised with certainty as a portrait, which, indeed, Erhart might have done well to point out. Erhart also argues strongly for seeing the use of contemporary hairstyles as a key to differentiating between mortal and divine women. It may be argued that Erhart is specifically dealing with the identification of Antonia Minor on the Ara Pacis Augustae and not making a general point, and that the subtle observations which may be used as identifying portraits of this period (as noted also above) may not always apply to other periods: the Julio-Claudian imperial portrait was still in an initial and experimental phase of development and therefore possibly more fluid; and a 'classicising' idealised style seems to have been the fashion of the time. The use of hairstyles is an interesting one, and one to which attention was paid also in antiquity. Ovid in his *Ars Amatoria* gives advice on which hairstyles may suit girl of various facial types, and generally describe the hairstyles in vogue in the early first century AD. Of a later date marble wigs exist for sculpted portraits of Antonine and Severan dates. Besides showing that the wearing of wigs must have been a

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48 Erhart 1978: 200-201, fig 7. Erhart erroneously describes the beaded band worn by the statue as a *tutulus*. For a description and definition of the various ornaments and their significance see Wood 1995: 478. Attribute and context (and intuition) are also the guides used by Smith 1988 in identifying the portraits of Hellenistic queens, see especially pages 3-4, 57, 65, 81, 89. One should not get carried away, however; as P.B.F.J. Broucke who in a catalogue entry for an ideal head with an ideal hairstyle (Toledo Museum of Art Inv. 76.21) claims it a portrait of Lucilla for no other apparent reason than that it was found with a portrait of Lucius Verus; see: Kleiner and Matheson 1996: 73-74, no 28.

49 For examples see LIMC 1981- vol II s.v. Aphrodite and Artemis/Diana; vol IV s.v. Demeter and Hera. However, the use of diadems for goddesses do not predominate and may itself be due to a Roman syncretism of attributes and changes inspired by earlier Greek use of the *polos* headdress.

50 Erhart 1978: 197, 202. A point also used by Wrede 1981 passim, in his catalogue entries, though he does not discuss it as a methodological point, and by Polaschek 1972: 148 in her discussion of the Ara Pacis Augustae.

51 cf. Thompson 1994 who points out that ideal features and Hellenistic inspired hairstyles are common among the portrait representations of young women already in the first century BC, and Polaschek 1972: 148-149 who read the Greek references in Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 3.137-152, as models and in this way detect a fashionable classicism also in the coiffures.
fashionable item, their presence suggests, as Maureen Burns has pointed out, the attention paid to keeping up to date with the changes.\textsuperscript{53} If we may postulate this level of interest in hairstyles as a constant throughout the period of the empire, then it seems reasonable to suggest that a fashionable hairstyle does play a role as a signifier of individuality on works of mediocre craftsmanship, or for instance, on reliefs in general where it for practical reasons is more difficult to articulate portrait features.\textsuperscript{54} When individualising portrait features are difficult to establish, the context in which any of the aspects mentioned above are presented may be a guide to how convincingly these may be taken as indicating a portrait. On several of the sarcophagi included in the catalogue only the protagonists of the narrative are depicted with contemporary hairstyles, emphasising these by locating them within the contemporary (or at least historical) world of the spectator, and implying an individualisation which may suggest that the figures were intended to be read as (or similar to) portrait representations. An example may be seen on Cat. 10, a relief depicting Dionysus and Ariadne in the company of, among others, two maenads and a centaur (of uncertain gender) - the difference between the hairstyle of Ariadne and the other female figures in the relief is clearly distinguishable. Without immediate comparative material it may be more difficult to assess the importance of a datable hairstyle. The statue in the guise of Ceres Cat. 38 is preserved in a fair condition apart from the face which is almost completely missing though with a hairstyle suggesting a Trajanic - Hadrianic date. However, the figure is represented in a sculptural type very commonly used for portrait depictions and other representations which are identifiable as portraits have been found of the same provenance. It would seem a reasonable presumption in this case to classify it as a portrait. Examples of fashionable hairstyles used for figures which are clearly not mortal may be found but on the whole they do not seem convincing. Two winged cupids in a lunette in the Tomb H from the Vatican necropolis are represented with the so-called \textit{Melonenfrisur}, a hairstyle used by Crispina, the wife of Commodus, but which may also be found throughout the time of the empire on goddesses and on private women - for whom it was especially used for children and young women. Its use on the child-like cupids may in other words have been considered appropriate without deliberate reference to the imperial house.\textsuperscript{55} And a coin from an Asia Minor

\textsuperscript{53} Ovid \textit{Ars Amatoria} 3.137-152.

\textsuperscript{52} Burns 1994. See also Fittschen and Zanker 1983 no 155, who believes less in the theory of rapidly changing fashions and suggests further that the marble wigs were one way to up-date a reworked portrait.

\textsuperscript{54} For discussion of the working methods of relief carving and the necessity for do this free-hand see Pfanner 1989: 217-218.

\textsuperscript{55} The Tomb H cupids: Guarducci 1953 fig 2, Mielsch and Hesberg 1986, 1995 vol 2: fig 179, Toynbee and Perkins 1956: 83. An example of a child with the \textit{Melonenfrisur} may be found on the
depicts Venus Victrix apparently with the coiffure of Domitia. However, since Domitia is depicted on the obverse of this coin an association between her and the goddess on the reverse has already been established which the issuer may have decided to emphasise by adding the hairstyle of empress to the deity.\footnote{For details see Varner 1995: 200 n. 71, fig 11.}

\subsection{The imitative portrait}

An aspect which more than any other seem to involve the spectator is the deliberate use of physical features adopted from another person. For an assimilation of this kind to function effectively the spectator must be presumed to be able to identify both the assimilated and the assimilator(s), as well as their relationship, and to do so in a manner articulate enough for the ‘narrative’ told in this way to be coherent. If only one of these three interdependent elements is unclear or missing from the viewer’s awareness the ‘narrative’ will either be illegible, simplified or run the risk of misinterpretation - the problem facing also modern studies of portraits. For instance, since it is almost impossible now to recognise the imitated portrait except if this depicts a member of the imperial house. Where we are able to document similarities between private persons it is often difficult to determine if this may in fact be based on a realistic rendering (they are related by blood and therefore share similarities) or on mediocre craftsmanship.

The most commonly documented imitation is that between a private person and a person of the imperial house, i.e. a man or woman imitating the emperor or empress. The level of similarity is in most cases limited to external aspects of fashion like mode of dress of hairstyle. The Capitoline catalogue written by Fittschen and Zanker on the female portraits provides good examples of this.\footnote{Fittschen and Zanker 1983 passim. See also Cat. 83 (Fig. 7), statue of Claudia Iusta with hairstyle similar to Plotina.} Further work by Klaus Fittschen has shown that aspects like hairstyles may be adopted by private persons even when the imperial house does not provide role models which may be seen as a direct peer group. What Fittschen has pointed out is that there seem to exist a whole generation of boys or young men with the hairstyle of the emperor Trajan - despite the absence of an imperial heir.\footnote{Fittschen 1988.} External aspects like these of course raises the matters of fashion and directions of influence. Traditionally it seem to have been an

\footnote{north frieze of the Ara Pacis Kleiner 1978 fig 6; For an outline of the use of this hairstyle see Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 86, no 118.}
accepted common-place that it was necessarily the members of the imperial house who set the fashion and influenced everyone else, with the result for the study of iconography that private portraits were necessarily seen as lagging behind in date compared to the imperial portraits.\textsuperscript{59} It would have been encouraging if more writers would point out the rather obvious fact that the relative dates which may be established for non-imperial portraits on basis of the absolute dates provided by imperial portraiture do not in themselves prove a unilateral line of influence. Indeed, work by Bonanno has established absolute dates for a series of non-imperial representations showing that in the case of wearing a beard there is convincing proof that it was not the exclusive invention of Hadrian.\textsuperscript{60} However, apart from aspects ‘of fashion’ the Capitoline catalogue may also provide examples of non-imperial women who adopt the physical features of members of the imperial house.\textsuperscript{61} These imitations of the physical features of another specific person are much more convincing examples of emulation of imperial models, as well as pointing to possibilities for role-playing not normally attributed to facial, portrait features.\textsuperscript{62} More common, though, are changes to the ideals of physical representation occurring during various periods in both imperial and private portraits: faces may be fuller-narrower, older-younger, or specific aspects of the face may be emphasised - aspects which are evident even leafing through the illustrations part of the catalogue. The duality to which the emperor was subject, of representing himself as a member of the Roman senatorial elite and at the same time of distinguishing himself from this, also applied to the women around him. Just as the emperor was expected to behave like a senator (during the first two centuries of the empire all emperors held senatorial office both before and after assuming office) and to maintain the fiction that the senators were his equals, so may the empress, in the words of Susan Wood, publicly have played the roles other aristocratic women played out in a more private sphere - or at least maintain the ideal that this was so.\textsuperscript{53} This means that motives of fashion, ideals of beauty and expression of loyalty may apply both to

\textsuperscript{59} Fittschen 1996: 45-46 suggests (a little hesitantly) that imperial hairstyles might just have been a starting point on which individual developments were made, and point out that aristocratic women as well as the empress would have been models for the lower classes.


\textsuperscript{61} Fittschen and Zanker 1983: no 61 and 116 are probably the clearest examples of this, though see also nos. 62, 65, 88-90, 94, 98.

\textsuperscript{62} I wonder if assuming the feature of the emperor/empress may also be connected on a broader scale to a wish of expressing the official character of a portrait; cf. Braemer 1988 for a discussion of the distinctions between the portraits of an individual (imperial or non-imperial) and its official or private character.
imperial and private depictions, and that for both groups the intention may have been to signal their affinity to a social and cultural milieu.⁶⁴

Assimilations of physiognomy occur also between members of the imperial house - and when it does there is rarely no absence of political explanations suggested for this, especially, it would seem, since often the assimilations do not respect gender differences. The women of the Julio-Claudian family are generally represented in very similar manners, especially during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, so too are, Agrippina II, Drusilla and Livilla, the sisters of Caligula, and the two Agrippinæ, mother and daughter, as well as Faustina the Younger and her daughter Lucilla. Since all of these women are in direct-line blood-relationships this may of course be the obvious reason for their physical similarities.⁶⁵ However, equally important must be the expression of dynastic continuity and unity which in this way is given physical visibility, an aspect emphasised in the assimilation of women to men. For the sake of interpretation a division may be made between blood-line and other relationships. In the first category may be seen examples of representations of the sisters of Caligula who do not just look like each other but also like him; portraits of Agrippina the Elder which also look like her son Caligula on joint coinages; and Agrippina the Younger resembling her son Nero. On the same basis a portrait in the Museo Capitolino has recently been identified as one of Lucius Verus' sisters.⁶⁶ In the second category, would belong a posthumous image of Livia on a coinage issued by Nerva in which her features may be seen as influenced by his; and the entire first portrait type of Domitia, the wife of Domitian. Since in these cases the similarities cannot be informed by a 'realistic' rendering (and since official Roman portrait issues may be presumed to be less likely to suffer from inadequate workmanship) the physiognomic assimilations must be deliberate constructs, created for the spectator to render visible a relationship not explainable by genealogy. In Livia's case she had been Nerva's patron and supporter, as well as being his most direct link with Augustus; connecting himself in this way with a Diva (Livia was deceased at the time of the issue) Nerva establishes his political connections and fitness to rule. Domitia was of Roman aristocratic

⁶⁴ Wood 1995: 482. For the emperor's relationship with the senatorial elite, and the disengagement which could be effected after his death see Price 1987: 84 and 97-98.
⁶⁵ Fashion, beauty and loyalty are the three motives Rolph Winke's attributes to non-imperial imitation of imperial models, Winke 1973: 914; that the articulation of ideals and aspirations functioned in a reciprocal relationship between imperial and non-imperial persons was touched on in Section 3.4. On this see also Smith 1998: 91-92.
background and the creation of her first portrait type seem to coincide with her marriage to Domitian, i.e. before his emperorship. For her the message contained in this series of portraits is naturally enough concerned with establishing that she now belongs to the imperial house, and that she does so in a harmonious manner. Interesting is also the fact that in this portrait type she uses a hairstyle inspired by that used by both Agrippina I and II; she in other words justifies her entry into the imperial family by the use of signs linking her to her female predecessors. Once Domitian has become emperor and she been granted the title of Augusta the Agrippina type details of her hairstyle disappear. This kind of 'contamination' of a portrait's features, i.e. the loss of uniqueness which a modern viewer might find shocking, may be one way in which a public, official role can be established with great precision for a woman giving her an instant, high visibility. Indeed, it is a method adopted also by many of the emperors, who visually explain their political position to their audience in terms of their physical similarities to previous emperors: a blood or marriage-relationship need not be the only message intended in the creation of an imitative portrait.

2.2.3 The unworked portrait

It is deliberate that the following section is not entitled, for instance, 'the missing portrait’. There may be many reasons why a portrait may be 'missing’. It may have been damaged accidentally or corroded by time, in which case there seems little to say except note that this is so and regard with less certainty the conclusions which may be drawn from the representation. It may on the other hand have been deliberately destroyed, altered or reworked, points which are discussed further in the following section (2.3) on the responses to portraits. I wish to look at a specific aspect which concerns certain of the representations of individuals associated with deities, that is, representations where the face is left as a boss, since in this case there does seem a valid case for examining if indeed this type may be considered a portrait. The subject of faces left as a boss seem rarely to be dealt with except within the discussion of specific pieces - and then usually with little more attention than to note that this is so. The boss is usually seen as a convincing potential portrait and so treated accordingly though obviously without any of the discussion on style and presentation normally occupying much space in the descriptions of portraits.

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67 For discussion and illustration of Livia's representation on the coinage of Nerva see Lichocka 1988; for details and interpretation of the portraits of Domitilla see Varner 1995.
Examples of unworked representations have been included in the catalogue, for exactly the reason given above: the potentiality of a portrait inherent in these representations is strong enough to include them as such. There are two reasons for this; the first is rather mechanical and based on an economic point of view. The manufacture of sculpture in marble is usually agreed to have taken place in several stages. The initial work would be done already at the quarry where rough-outs of the intended items were done in order to facilitate their further transportation by minimising the weight and maximising available cargo space (i.e. keeping profits up by keeping expenditure at a minimum). Only after arrival at the destinatory workshop would the detailed carving take place - presumably with different types of work carried out by different specialist or by people at different levels of competence.\(^{68}\) For the customer, the purchaser, of a free-standing or relief portrait it meant that he or she presumably would have been able to go directly to a workshop and either order a portrait to be made or to buy a representation left at a preliminary stage, which then that workshop or another could finish to the patron’s specifications. The fact that unworked pieces are not uncommon in the archaeological record - as well as the presence of instances where we can clearly point to a hasty reworking of one image for another - points to marble workshops keeping a certain number of pieces ready to be bought from stock.\(^{69}\) I find it hard to believe that a workshop should decide to create works where part of the sculpting was left at a preparatory stage if this workshop did not expect to be able to sell such a piece. Neither does it make economic sense to delay part of the working process nor to offer the customer the possibility to personalise the piece if these were not needed or did not add to the potential selling power of the piece. My second reason is related to how we see these empty faces. As discussed in Section 2.1.1 we seem as humans to be disposed towards faces as our main medium of nurturing, communication, socialisation, etc. in a manner that they attract our immediate attention. Faced with a representation where the figure’s body has been worked to a finished stage but the face is still preliminary we are clearly faced with a conundrum. We may see this non-face as threatening because it cannot be read or may see the entire figure as non-identifiable because it cannot be pinned down to a single existence but occupies a half-way stage between presence and absence. The anthropomorphic body indicates the known presence of another human being, the ‘blank’ of the face detaches the sense of known and encourages our imagination to

\(^{68}\) See Ward-Perkins and Throckmorton 1965 for an example of a lost cargo of sarcophagi: their shape blocked-out to exclude superfluous weight and stacked one within the other. For the working-process as a whole, and portraits especially, see Pfanner 1989: 192-195 with schema and examples given in fig 15 and 16.
invent an identity. The response to this representational conundrum may be one or a combination of two approaches. Human visual perception will tend to concentrate not on the incomplete part but on establishing a complete object or image; rearranging unsatisfactory or insufficient stimuli to present a perceptual solution which can be satisfactorily comprehended. The act of visual perception itself will establish a 'wholeness' for an image, independent of any non-visual knowledge of a particular image.\textsuperscript{70} The image may therefore be read instinctively and interpreted as a 'known' entity despite a partial lacuna in available signs. And/or the incomplete part may become the object of focus. However, whatever our specific emotional reaction may be to this (fear, mystification, ...) we are reacting to the unworked image and seeking to read it: making up an identity for it which we can classify and understand. In other words it may grab our attention equally as much as a finished portrait.\textsuperscript{71} In all the examples included in the present catalogue a further aspect may be seen to underpin our attention on the figure: the artistic approach to and composition of the scene in front of us. In the majority of the cases here the figure with the unworked face occupies a central position within the composition and in all of them the figure is central to, i.e. one of the protagonists in, the narrative or myth depicted. Artistically there is in other words no escaping this strange figure: it in all cases forms part of our matrix for understanding the story we are being told. And so we must look at it and invariably will attribute an identity to it.

The strength invested in the unworked face, in economic, psychological and artistic terms, makes it reasonable to classify it as a portrait. However, it is possible to respond to this with a question: were they in all cases seen in their present state as 'unfinished' and always intended for the final working of portrait features; might they, indeed, have been intended as ready in the very state they are in? The latter question is one which has been raised before, in two conference papers by Bernard Andreae who presented the theory that these unworked faces may in certain instances have been intended, designed and commissioned as such.\textsuperscript{72} As Andreae himself concedes, the argument is suggestive in those cases where the subject and/or composition are so unusual that it would seem unlikely that the piece could have been bought from stock and left unworked from lack of money or time. I want to concentrate on examining the

\textsuperscript{69} For examples of unworked pieces see further Pfanner 1989: 194 n. 58; for examples of substituted images see Squarciapino 1943-44 and Walker 1988.
\textsuperscript{70} On this point see, for instance, Arnheim 1969: 33-36, 137.
\textsuperscript{71} For a similar point of view see Freedberg 1989: 72 and n. 56.
\textsuperscript{72} See Andreae 1982; Andreae 1984 - the latter discussing the argument more fully.
works included in the present catalogue to see if they from this point of view may provide approaches to an understanding.\textsuperscript{73}

Firstly, some general remarks. Only in fourteen examples is the face of the female protagonist left as a boss. These examples are all from sarcophagus reliefs and all of the third century AD; of these two were designed for a child. In all of the examples the female figure is represented as one of two protagonists, the other in all cases being a male figure; and represented in clearly recognisable narrative which should leave little room for doubt as to her identity; despite the fact that not all the motifs are represented in what may be called a standard manner. Only the representations on the two children’s sarcophagi may be ambiguous: Cat. 216, a figure of Virtus with Psyche wings (Fig. 28), and Cat. 122, an uncertain Muse representation (Fig. 13). Table 2:1 shows the ‘status’ of the male figure with which the female representation is depicted, as well as her attributed identity. In all cases her face is left unworked.

Table 2:1 Relationship between protagonists where she is represented in a boss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>He:boss</th>
<th>portrait</th>
<th>divinity</th>
<th>unknown</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>She:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ariadne</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Luna</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Proserpina</td>
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<td>Virtus</td>
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Table 2:1 would seem to suggest nothing particularly extraordinary in most of these examples. Firstly, the subjects themselves are, certainly by the third century AD, standard funerary subjects, often used with portrait features. A simple reference to the present catalogue alone will show how the pairing of Dionysus and Ariadne as well as Luna and Endymion, or ‘poet’ and Muse is common on sarcophagi of the third century; only the rape of Proserpina by Pluto in this context has a longer history. Virtus and rider during a hunt, on the other hand, seems to be a relatively new composition (though not a new subject) which becomes popular in funerary contexts during this period. Secondly, in the majority of cases the ‘status’ of the male figure does not seem out of the ordinary. In the same way that on all the catalogued pieces Ariadne is most commonly paired with the god Dionysus, so are Endymion or the ‘poet’, who accompany Luna and a Muse, usually represented as portraits - i.e. to see the same tendencies expressed in these fourteen examples would suggest that where

\textsuperscript{73} Cat. 4, 5, 6, 9, 11 (Ariadne), 103, 104 (Luna), 120, 122 (Muse), 142 (Proserpina), 213, 217, 218,
we find a face left on the boss it is in preparation for a portrait. In two examples, though, the ‘status’ of the male figure may seem surprising, and in both cases it is due to the presence of a boss where one would not expect a portrait: on a figure of Dionysus and of Pluto. However, both occur in compositions which have been significantly changed from the standard. In the Dionysus and Ariadne, Cat. 5 (Fig. 3), the two are placed in a pyramidal composition which has been interpreted as a wedding feast, and their cohesion as a couple is emphasised by being repeated also on the lid, this time with ideal features and accompanied by Cupid and Psyche respectively.74 In the Proserpina and Pluto relief, Cat. 142 (Fig. 18), the moment emphasised is not the more common rape scene but that prior to this when Pluto surprises Proserpina while she is picking flowers - the scene is further emphasised by being placed in the centre of the relief. Broadly speaking, in the majority of cases listed here there is little to suggest against these pieces being bought from stock, and having been intended from the workshop to offer the possibility of inserting a portrait.

As mentioned above, Andreae suggests that the boss is used deliberately in cases where the composition is so unique that the piece must have been made to order - and therefore also with faces left deliberately as a boss. The two examples of Dionysus/Ariadne and Proserpina/Pluto, Cat. 5 and 142, above may indeed be examples where this is the case. Andreae suggests for the Ariadne sarcophagus - but it may work equally well for the Proserpina scene - that the point of the boss was meant to indicate a more generic dedication to accommodate multiple internments.75 Indeed, both may be seen as stressing the theme of the couple over the individual, and to have significantly changed the approach to the myth to stress an idyllic scene. During the third century AD more representations of both a man and a woman may be found in the sculptural scenes and the trend may be seen as being mirrored in the popularity of the theme of ‘concord’ evident on the imperial coin issues. If the idea of marital concord was a widespread and popular theme which may have gained in significance during this period, it might be possible that these two sarcophagi represent works created by an artist within a workshop as a variation on this theme, and which the workshop might have expected to sell even without a prior booking. Andreae is suspicious of the idea of mass-produced pieces since in the extant record he cannot find two examples exactly alike. However, much as the creation of an imperial portrait seems to have been carried out on basis of a set of specific compositional guide-lines combined with a free-

216 (Virtus). The relative age of the deceased (adult - child) is based on the length of the sarcophagus.
74 Matz 1968-1969 vol 4.2.: 186-7, no 76, pl 89, 90, 92. Wrede 1981 no 48 sees both of the figures as being prepared for idealised representations; Wrede still, though, includes the piece in his catalogue of non-imperial portraits.
75 Andreae 1984: 118-119.
hand execution, so too may it be the working methods for other sculpted marble pieces.

A second suggestion which has made is that the faces were left (deliberately) blank because a sarcophagus had been bought which in fact was not appropriate to the deceased. This may of course be the case, though at the same time we ought to be careful not to transpose our own presumptions onto the piece. Where, for instance, the age of the deceased to us does not seem to match the maturity of the scene, that scene may, I think, equally have been chosen in order to visually express the unrealised potential of the deceased; as in Cat. 66, the relief to Aelia Procula (Fig. 8), where the face suggests a girl of no more than five years of age whereas her body is represented as that of a young woman; or as in the child sarcophagus mentioned above, Cat. 216 (Fig. 28) with Virtus and rider, where the boy rider is depicted as the protagonist in a dangerous hunt though both the child-like features of the rider and the length of the sarcophagus would suggest that the deceased was around ten to fifteen years of age. As Suzanne Dixon has pointed out from examination of literary evidence, 'children were seen partly as potential adults and [...] their virtues were prized as reflecting mature qualities. [...] Parents regarded children as projections of their own ambitions'. The face left as a boss may in other words not always indicate embarrassment of an inappropriate scene but may equally well be incidental (or indicative of a different aspect entirely) to a scene chosen for its visual narrative. Equally we should be careful not to impose our own gender stereotypes onto a piece. Doubts have been expressed whether the female figure in the scenes of Virtus and hunter could have been kept in stock intended as well for a woman as for a man. A similar relationship between a divine woman and a mortal man may be seen expressed on the Luna and Endymion reliefs, but to my knowledge there have not been expressed any corresponding comments regarding appropriate-ness of this scene, which suggests that the commentators are possibly rather influenced by traditional active-passive, extrovert-introvert arguments to determine male-female characteristics. Andreae counters the possible attribution of these scenes to a woman by saying that he knows

76 Cf. the sarcophagus for Marconia Severiana who is often presumed to have been too young at the time of her death to appropriately be represented as Ariadne: see discussion by Walker 1990: 94 and Andreae 1984 n. 12.

77 Dixon 1991: 110. For this reason I find Andreae's suggestions - that a boss may deliberately be used either in order that the child-like features of the deceased should not hinder the heroising process, or because the adult face (to match the adult virtues represented) was unknown since the deceased died young - to be missing the point; though Andreae does point out that the concern in some of the funerary representations for children are with unrealised aspects of their lives: Andreae 1984: 116-118. For possible interpretations of the content of funerary representations of those prematurely died see Walker 1988.

of no Meleager or hunt sarcophagi where the female figure has portrait features and the male not, but several where the reverse is the case. In this way Andreea chooses to side-step neatly those cases where both the man and woman are represented with portraits (Cat. 100), where both are represented as a boss (Cat. 217, 218 - Fig. 29) and where the Virtus figure has portrait features but the head of the male figure is missing and so precludes certain conclusions (Cat. 214). However, in a depiction of Luna and Endymion, Cat. 107, we do in fact have a case of a female portrait and a male figure left as a boss (as well as the two reliefs where both faces are left as a boss, Cat. 103, 104 - Fig. 12). In fact, it is possible to point to more than one example from the catalogue which would suggest that hunting scenes were not inappropriate for women. In Cat. 75-78 a woman with portrait features is represented in the hunting outfit of Diana; in Cat. 75 she grapples with a hind, in 76-78 she is shown with her husband in a scene next to that of the hunt (Fig. 9-10). All of these examples date to the first half of the third century AD. Besides, the Virtus figure in Cat. 215 (Fig. 26) has been recut from an original ideal representation with the express purpose of depicting the woman with portrait features. The features of the male figure who accompanies the woman in Cat. 215 have also been reworked - at a date which according to Henning Wrede may be later than that of the woman; unfortunately it is of course impossible to determine if at any stage her features were the only ones of a portrait nature on the relief.\textsuperscript{79} Returning to the child sarcophagus, Cat. 216 (Fig. 28), with the Virtus/Psyche figure, the composition of the relief may, indeed, suggest that it may equally have been aimed at a girl as a boy: for the traditional arrangement of the figures with Virtus following close behind the rider has been reversed. She now occupies the central point of the relief.\textsuperscript{80} And I wonder if a reading of the figure on the boss as a partner in the other world (if this was indeed part of any original intentions) may not work equally well whether that figure ended up being the boy or the girl: in each case the representation would be of a heroised partner worthy of each of them.

In other words, I do not find any good reason to exclude either that these representations of unworked faces were left as a boss in preparation for a portrait or that they were intended for a woman. That is not to say that the absence of portrait features should always and in all cases be seen as something negative or unfulfilled. Indeed, just as we looking at the pieces now feel the fascination and ‘otherness’ of these anthropomorphic figures and feel induced to seek an identity for them, so may

\textsuperscript{79} Wrede 1981 no 341. Another example, though not in the catalogue, that hunting scenes could not have been considered inappropriate for women is the kline sarcophagus in the Palazzo Conservatori, Rome (Inv. 917) depicting a Kalydonian boar-hunt on the front of the chest and a reclining couple, where both heads are left as a boss, on the lid; see Koch 1975 no 67, pl 56-60.

\textsuperscript{80} A point only noticed by Simon 1970 who sees this as a sign of uniqueness.
the ancient viewer; the point being that we treat these figures with the same attention and focus that we would a portrait. For these reasons the examples have been included in the catalogue.

2.3 The 'magical' aspect of portraits

Above I have argued that part of the fascination of the unworked image resides in the spectator's attempt at coming to terms with it and to create for it an identity. Hovering as it does between anthropomorphic recognition and aniconic 'otherness' it may naturally more easily be interpreted in terms of a primitive magic and mysticism. However, once an image has been identified as a portrait - a representation of a specific person, that image (which may be perfectly recognisable) too gets invested with qualities and at times with powers out-with its actual nature of being a worked inanimate piece. I want to look at these aspects of 'animation' of an image as a preparation for the discussion in the following section (2.3.1) - which is related to why portraits may have been made. I have decided to work under the broad heading of 'magic' to signify those non-actual aspects which may be seen as inherent in a portrait, and to be able to encompass such aspects as projection, displacement, (role)model, attribution or investment of qualities as well as expression or revelation of qualities. I use the word 'magic' to signify our emotional, psychological and personal responses to images which are not part of our rational (or sometimes even accepted) reality; that is, 'magic' as a sense of wonder or fascination, an immediacy of reaction not strictly based on rationality - and not as a reference in any way to the fetishistic, 'primitive', or 'non-civilised'.

Patricia Erhart observes that Roman portraits originally may have 'served a religious - perhaps even magical - purpose as a kind of stand-in for the dead, but soon they became purely commemorative'.\footnote{Erhart 1980: 10. See also Anderson and Nista 1988: 64 who similarly points to the superstition in Roman society and the original totemic significance of Roman portraits.} Considering the representational values inherent in a portrait I wonder if commemorative (and other) images are not in some ways the polite, cultured manner of expressing a 'magical' purpose. Certainly the use as a stand-in of the dead is continued, and obviously considered effective, far into the empire and may be found in the funeral and apotheosis of the emperor Pertinax in 193
AD, as described by Cassius Dio. Here the emperor, dead already for some months, is represented by a wax image. This image is displayed and treated exactly ‘as though it were really a person sleeping’ (75.4.3); and it is mourned, kissed and burned exactly as would the real corpse of the emperor. The fact that it is a wax effigy which takes the place of the real body makes no seeming difference either to the ritual or to its effectiveness for his apotheosis. An eagle even flies from the pyre as the sign of the emperor’s immortality and no one apparently wonders if this means his soul had been inhabiting the wax effigy. In the procession past the image lying in state there too is an almost studied intermingling of images and humans - all seemingly equally representative (images are in cursive): famous Romans, choruses, subject nations, the guilds of Rome, distinguished men, the cavalry and infantry, followed by race horses and funeral offerings. In this intermingling between images and humans, and between past and present persons, there seem to be little difference between this imperial ceremony and those of the Roman aristocracy described by Polybius four centuries earlier. Even though, in this context, the use of a wax effigy may be based on necessity rather than choice, the image, because it represents the emperor must be treated like the emperor - and so (to a certain extent) becomes the emperor. This displacement of person onto representation may also work while the emperor is still alive and for images of public, honorific nature. The images of the emperor could serve as a sanctuary and were an important aspect in the seeking of asylum especially for slaves; oaths were taken before them; acts of disrespect, moving, alterations of any kind - even accidental damage - were treasonable; they were the focus of allegiance of the army (and their destruction of the imperial image signified a coup), but stood also in many private homes; in 66 AD the king of Armenia even pledged submission not to the person of Nero but to his statue. The portrait of the emperor in other words makes the remote or absent emperor present - a quality also shared by private images created for funerary contexts. It represents him physically by its form and symbolically by representing his powers. The presence of the imperial portrait in other words asserts the domination of the emperor, by asserting his presence; and in turn the portrait must be treated as the emperor. The line of separation between the two - between the sign and the signified - is very fine.

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Dio Dio’s Roman History 75.4.2 - 5.5. The crematio in effigie as a ritual of substitution (not a representation of dual aspects) is noted also by Arce 2000: 118.

Polybius The Histories 6.53-56. See also Tacitus Annals 3.5 for another example of a funeral without a body (the distance from Rome had necessitated the cremation of Germanicus’ body), as well as how the Republican funerary ritual has become the make-up of the state funeral even in the early Empire. For a discussion of the continuity of Republican traditions by the emperors, see Arce 2000 and Price 1987: 96-97.
A literary example of the conflation of art and life exists famously in the story of Pygmalion, who fell in love with the statue he himself had created.\textsuperscript{85} Why? Because it appeared so real that it seemed alive. Pygmalion himself has to test it - though what he desires to see is a living figure, and so he thinks his kisses returned, the flesh soft and the figure able to hear his words and appreciate his presents (250-269). Though the image here is not of a specific person, and only gains specificity after its creation, the story may, never the less, act as a good example of responses to images generally and of our propensity for investing them with life.\textsuperscript{86} And it may exemplify not just a relationship with an image of the emperor (whose office itself is a sign of the person) but also a relationship with images of known persons with whom there existed a personal bond. It is easy to imagine how funerary images must have been talked to and cared for, not because they necessarily were so life-like they threatened to come alive but because they by representing a specific person made that person present.\textsuperscript{87} The deceased was kept alive by having his memory kept alive, and the memory of him was alive in the responses to the image representing him. This underscores also the argument made earlier, that it is less strict accuracy which counts in an image than the possibility that that image is seen as life-like, i.e. that the spectator may react to the image as he would to the signified (Section 2.1.1). Once images are treated as one would the person it becomes easy to understand how the image itself may have been seen capable of acting as a person, that is to inspire, persuade or incite to action. The most famous instance of this may be the reaction to the combination of Mark Antony's funeral speech for Caesar in 44 BC and his display of the wax figure of the dead Caesar complete with 23 stab-wounds. But more telling is the fact that Brutus himself may have been inspired and incited to action by a portrait: Appian lists how messages were pinned to the statues of Brutus and of his ancestor of the same name, who had helped to expel the kings, prompting the young Brutus to follow in the footsteps of his namesake. Similarly may the presence of the banned portrait of the elder Silius in the house of Silius, his son, have been a contributing factor to convince Claudius of his and Messalina's intentions of treason; whereas Domitia after the murder of Domitian may have been compared favourably with her maternal ancestor Cassius the tyrannicide - by having her portraits displayed with his. The inspirational quality of

\textsuperscript{84} Gregory 1994: 95, Nodelman 1980: 16 and Price 1984: 192, 195. Apparently certain statues in Byzantium were considered magical doubles of individuals or even nations, Mango 1963: 59.

\textsuperscript{85} Ovid \textit{Metamorphoses} 10.243-297.

\textsuperscript{86} Yet another example is the contemporary scene described by Molly Myerowitz Levine of an Israeli wig-shop required to add nostrils and sunglasses to its dummies: for religious reasons (prescription against graven images) it is important that the shop dummies look 'real', for moral reasons the erotic appeal invested in the images must be curbed.
images is acknowledged clearly by Polybius in his description of the funerary parades of ancestor images: ‘who would not be inspired by the sight of the images of men renowned for their excellence, all together and as if alive and breathing’ - noting, too, the idea of the life-like quality in portrait representations.Indeed, these notions of the power in images are closely related to a point made also by Horace ‘Less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears than by what is brought before the trusty eyes, and what the spectator can see for himself’. The conflation of sign and signified also means that the personality of the person may not simply be projected onto the image, as in the story of Pyrgmalion, but that the image too may somehow be capable of revealing the nature of the person depicted. The rational response is of course that what is taking place is an interpretation of the facial features much as that shown by Töpffer’s experiment - heavily coloured, no doubt, by a projection of our own value judgements. However, in this way Plutarch may state that the statue of Marius in Ravenna conveys his ‘harshness and bitterness of character’, or that the pose of Junius Brutus is chosen to capture that ‘he was most resolute in dethroning the Tarquins’. Indeed, it is a notion which may still be found among modern scholars on the subject of Roman and of portraiture in general. Susan B. Matheson claims to be able to see, in the portrait of an Antonine woman in the type of the Small Herculaneum Woman, that woman’s ‘gentleness fortified by strength [...] reflected in her eyes are both her personal dignity and her power and eminence in the world she inhabited’. Richard Brilliant and Sheldon Nodelman both use interpretation of character to good effect as an essential part of interpreting (Roman) portraiture - though most scholars are wary of relying (or of

87 Similar to this, and related to the idea of substitution, is the erection of statues immediately after the death of an emperor, cf. Arce 2000: 122.
89 Horace Ars Poetica 180-182. For other ancient references to this often expressed notion see Gregory 1994: 83 n. 13, and for a discussion of the theme see Freedberg 1989: 50. It is a notion which still bears credence today may be exemplified by the manner in which the film (visual) version of ‘A Clockwork Orange’ has achieved a status and notoriety separate from Anthony Burgess’ book on which Kubrick’s film was based; with the result that the film is still banned in Britain (though the book never has been) - exactly for fear of incitement.
90 Plutarch Marius 2, Brutus 1.1. In a similar manner, how many of us do not know the situation of a photograph being said to ‘be’, or not as the case may be, a particular person. That it is not simply a question of verisimilitude may be tested when we ourselves are the person in question - especially if we do not agree that ‘that is just you’ - for rarely, I think, will our disagreement be objective but rather based on our own subjective interpretation: the picture depicts someone looking stupid, naff, old, fat, untrustworthy,... i.e. not us at all.
91 Kleiner and Matheson 1996: 139-140, no 71.
being seen to rely) on subjective interpretation. However, if we as outsiders to Roman portraits extend our interpretation from the individual to include a broader characterisation of the Zeitgeist, as does Nodelman, we may be able to reveal the complicity which exists between spectator and depicted on the point of character interpretation. Since it can be established that Roman portraits often are deliberate constructs based on a series of identifiable signs and contrasts - then that must be because the audience of the portraits would have been expected to interpret the representations and would have been able to read the signs. Examples have already been given above, see Section 2.2.2 on imitations, and a further two may suffice: of similarities the characteristic ‘crab claw’ hair motif created by Augustus becomes one of the most common signs used as an emblem of belonging or allegiance to the Julio-Claudian house, whereas the use of contrast may be seen in the rather self-conscious imitation of Republican style portraiture adopted by Vespasian in order to remove himself from the styled, ‘Hellenistic’ representations of Nero. However, despite the statement of Horace quoted above, it is worth pointing out how central written or verbally transmitted information was in the conveyance of personal details and how the visual and the verbal might in fact have worked in tandem. Polybius speaks not only of the orations made at the funeral but of the ‘constant renewal’ of reports (6.54.2); the impact of the effigy of the dead Caesar owed its foundation to the speech just made by Mark Antony; and Plutarch, in the examples above (and others) essentially uses the visual representation to illustrate verbal evidence as to the character of a person; even Augustus found it appropriate that a written copy of his res gestae should be displayed by the entrance to his mausoleum. This does not detract from the impact of the images themselves, rather it reminds us that they may in fact have been read from a more informed point of view than we may at times give them credit for. For the non-visual evidence is not exclusively written but often, as in the examples above, of verbal character, which extends greatly the spread of available information. Portraits may, in other words, be seen - as was suggested for religious paintings of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages - ‘as books of the illiterate’.  

A related point, once we accept the possibility of a conflation of sign and signified, is to ask if there may also exist a transference of qualities from the image

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93 Regarding the portraits of Vespasian, it has been a point of debate why contemporary with these 'veristic' style portraits should exist also an idealised type. Bergmann and Zanker 1981: 334-335 have recently suggested that the idealised type might have been created before his accession. If this is so it supports the importance of the viewer's interpretation and reading of the portraits as signs.
94 For this notion expressed most famously by Gregory the Great in 600 AD see Freedberg 1989: 163 n. 7, 398ff n. 44.
onto the subject itself. Though hard to show, I presume most of us would be quite willing to see the possibility of this as likely. In fact, if one imagines a person going to the trouble of creating a very serious and an statesman-like portrait representation, then that may obviously be because he considers himself as serious and statesman-like and so wants the image to be his mirror. However, it may equally be that he wants others to consider him to have these qualities - he wants to be seen as serious - and so uses the image to reflect onto him. In fact, is this not exact what the example of Vespasian’s portrait-style is seen as depicting? That it may have been an accepted idea (and an accepted usage of images) in the Roman world may be seen, I think, by reference to the (unfortunately negative) examples of images which are reworked or destroyed. Inherent to our understanding of reworked images there must necessarily be the notion of a saving being made: of time, materials and money. However, when official, public portraits of an emperor are being recut by his successor - and since it during the first century AD was especially the images of Caligula, Nero and Domitian which were subject to this process, it cannot only be from a money-saving point of view.\footnote{See Bergmann and Zanker 1981, Jucker 1981, Pfanner 1989: 218-219, Pollini 1984, Price 1984: 194 and Stewart 1999 for details; including examples of portraits reworked for other reasons than a ‘damnatio memoriae’ or which are worked into a retrospective representation.} Admittedly, since all three of these men are killed in coups and therefore died without the possibility for they successors’ portraits to be established, time-saving may have been an important factor. In order not to leave the empire without a visible emperor during the time needed to work new statues from scratch valuable time could be gained by simply reworking or substituting the heads of existing statues. At the same, though, the successor may in this way also establish himself in a more symbolic manner. For the statue itself, in its public and official character, may represent the office of the emperor as a sign, in the same way that standards or insignia may represent a legion or an army. The destruction of an emperor’s portraits in this way clearly signals his defeat and annihilation. By reusing the representation with the portrait of the successor, he in turn may be indicated as the victor, and the power inherent in the office be seen as transferred to him (much in the same way that Augustus may represent the return of the Parthian standards as a victory, and do so pictorially on the breast-plate of the Prima Porta statue as a transfer of insignia). For Claudius, Vespasian and Nerva to reuse the images of their predecessors might therefore also signal their triumph over a ‘tyrant’, legitimise their immediate future actions, and signal that they are in possession of the imperial power. This interpretation is evident also in the way Jerome in the late fourth or early fifth century uses the destruction of imperial portraits to clarify a theological problem:
'Let us cite an example to clarify what we are saying: when a tyrant is cut down, his portraits and statues are also deposed; then only the face is changed and the head removed, and the face of the victor is placed on top, so that the body remains, and another head is substituted for those that have been removed'.

Indeed, among the recent studies of reworked imperial portraits there are no instances of heads of heroic proportions being recut for private persons; the power inherent in a heroised representation, in other words, seem to remain firmly within imperial circles. There is some suggestion that this transference of power may have been used with a wider significance than simply to articulate the position of the immediate successor, since many of the post-Constantinian reworked imperial portraits seem to be re-using sculpture of a much earlier imperial rather than (near) contemporary period. This would suggest that change which is implied is one of ideology: a transference of power from bad/pagan emperors to good/Christian emperors. The pertinence of this argument is emphasised by the context in which the above passage by Jerome is used, that is, as an analogy for Christ’s defeat of the devil, and the victory of the Christian church over paganism furthered by ‘good’ emperors. However, the significance of the use of images as signs remains unaltered: ‘The idea of the statue’s symbolism was important; the idea of its symbolic destruction served the same function’. 

Destruction, or ‘killing’, of imperial images by the masses or by groups of persons may more clearly act as a displacement of action: though carried out on an image the target is the actual person depicted. A kind of ‘death by proxy’ clearly related to the notion that just as one could be honoured by an image so one could be disgraced and humiliated - hence too, the restrictions imposed on alterations to the imperial image. That most of the attacks on images are said to occur after the depicted

96 Jerome In Abacuc 2.3.14ff translated and quoted by Peter Stewart 1999: 159; p 180-181 providing a good discussion of the contextual framework for Jerome’s text, as well as a very interesting investigation for the destruction of statues in the Roman and late antique world.
97 On this see Jucker 1981: 315 and Pollini 1984: 552 n. 44.
98 Stewart 1999: 170-172, with further references. Despite wondering about this phenomenon Stewart does neither discuss it in detail nor make the wider political and religious connections which in my eyes are suggested here - especially in view of the context in which the cited passage of Jerome’s occur.
99 Stewart 1999: 172, his italics.
100 An example is the Roman people’s joy at hearing that Nero might take back Octavia and banish instead Poppaea: ‘They hurled down the effigies of Poppaea, they carried the statues of Octavia shoulder-high, strewed them with flowers, upraised them in the forum and in the temples’, Tacitus Annals 14.61. The passages is especially pertinent here for their personal nature since neither woman was dead or subject of a ‘damnatio memoria’ when the incident takes place.
has already be condemned, exiled or killed may have sociological reasons: it may be influenced by the workings of group psychology and general wanton destruction, or it may exemplify (as often is the case also in modern history) a lack of access by the individual to political decision-making. However, the description of ‘the mob’ doing violence to imperial images is itself a literary *topos* which obscures the relationship between an officially issued senatorial decree and its execution by the general populace.  

101 The political symbolism need not be lessened because the act is carried out at a moment where the perpetrators are safe from retribution, indeed, it may aid to reinforce it by creating a striking and impressive event and by allowing a participatory involvement in an officially made decision. The mutilation of an image may also have functioned as a substitute (or a parallel) to the treatment of the actual body, - as in the treatment of Elagabalus who was decapitated, stripped, dragged through the city and finally thrown in the river.  

102 Though, at the same time exactly because the images clearly are not the person in flesh and blood, their ‘otherness’ may imbue them with special powers, not possessed by the real-life person. In this way the statues may be seen as having supernatural powers with abilities to act as a medium for portents, or as an amulet for protection, or as a medium for prophesies through dreams.  

103 For this reason the mutilation of images of persons already dead or condemned may signify not just a safe ‘equivalent of revenge’ but also a riddance of images ‘containing’ or personifying the hated and feared - to prevent any further influence of the person portrayed by preventing that person to act ‘through’ their image, and to destroy the powerful image itself.  

104 ‘Equivalent of revenge’ (*instar ultionis*): Gregory 1994: 95 - quoting Pliny *Panegyricus* 52.5 on the destruction of the images of Domitian from the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. See also Freedberg 1989: 418: ‘The people who assail images do so in order to make clear that they are not afraid of them, and thereby prove their fear. It is not simply fear of what is represented; it is fear of the object itself’, and note that Pliny *Panegyricus* 52.5 continues by describing Domitian’s portrait as that ‘fearsome visage’ and ‘menacing terror’.  

105 Andrew Gregory in his article on the responses to portraits in Rome looks at the work carried out by sociologists on the use of politics and symbols, and gives a summary of a model of approach on which the following is based. When viewing an image our

2.3.1 Relationship between image and spectator

Andrew Gregory in his article on the responses to portraits in Rome looks at the work carried out by sociologists on the use of politics and symbols, and gives a summary of a model of approach on which the following is based.  

105 When viewing an image our
responses are shaped by two primary components: an affective and a cognitive. The affective component refer to our feelings towards the person represented (or towards the representation), whereas the cognitive implies the meanings associated with that person (or representation), for which we draw on previous knowledge. A portrait of an emperor may be described as majestic because it is large and impressive (affective response) or because we know that it depicts the emperor (cognitive response). However, the reality is surely that our response is coloured by both types of reactions simultaneously, and more clearly so when faced with a representation of a known person. What we know about a person will colour the way we feel about him or her, just as what our perception of a person is will influence the way we read the symbols with which that person is described. Indeed, a further aspect of the affective response pattern may be considered in the reading of images based on a transference of feelings from the viewer onto the representation (for this reason the representation as an object has been included above on a par with the person depicted in the representation). An example of transferred feelings may be found in some modern interpretations of Roman women depicted in the guise of the nude Venus. Though the person represented and the context of commission and display of the image are unknown to us, subjective evaluations may still be found regarding the appropriateness or propriety of such a juxtaposition: in other words, a transference of perceptions onto the image from ourselves or our own socio-historic context. Similarly, our behavioural reactions to an image may be divided into two categories: an instrumental and an expressive response patterns. In the former the reaction is directed towards achieving a defined goal; in the latter the reaction becomes its own goal, being directed towards the release of feeling or expression opinion. An example of the former reaction may the destruction of a portrait as the initiation of a coup; of the latter may be the actions of the people to the effigy of the murdered Caesar, or indeed the reaction of Charicles and of the unknown young man to the statue of the Knidian Aphrodite as described by Lucian. Both instrumental and expressive behaviours may occur within cognitive or affective responses despite the predominant ‘emotional’ character in affective/expressive response patterns, and the equal ‘rational’ character in cognitive/instrumental patterns. Indeed, at times it may depend solely on interpretation whether a response is to be characterised as instrumental or expressive, as was seen in the case of mass destruction of images. If it is seen as no more than mob violence it

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106 For instance, Bieber 1977: 66 discussing portrait statues in the type of the Capitoline Venus describes these as: ‘incongruous’, ‘eclectic’, of ‘questionable taste’. Frel 1980: 14 on the same subject chooses the adjectives ‘dignified’ and ‘voluptuous’ as contrasting descriptions of the heads and the bodies of theses statues.
must be described as expressive behaviour, if one sees it as a response (even belated) to changed political events then the reaction is an instrumental one. Since, as I have argued above, the study of portrait representations reveals a complicity between image and spectator to adequately secure the message transmission from the former to the latter, the sociological model may serve also to reveal possible messages inherent in a portrait - be that of one self or of another person, - presuming always that the commissioner would have had influence on how the subject was represented.

However, since, as noted above, no sharp distinction can always be drawn between whether a cognitive or an affective response is effected, and since I have not included examples desiring affective/expressive reactions, I have not followed the four-part model above. Rather I have attempted to draw up a schema which may be applicable in a more general sense (Table 2:2). For sociological response patterns are naturally not the only divisions which may be used to examine the impact of an image. Much of the discussion in the above sections has taken its starting point in the portrait representations of members of the imperial family, for the simple reason that since a specific name, relationship and chronological framework can be established more easily for these, they can more easily be tested. However, by far the greatest majority of works included in the present catalogue fall into the category of private works. ‘Private’ in the sense that they represent a non-imperial person, and/or are intended for a setting within a private sphere (which is not to say that they were necessarily limited in access to a private (familial) audience). The reasoning or thoughts underlying the creation of individual images would necessarily be influenced by its contextual setting; though, as a whole I think it possible to draw up a list of possible intentions behind commissioning an image, which individually or in combination may apply to imperial–non-imperial, official–personal, and/or public–private representations (Table 2:2). Similarly the table is intended to encompass works which are representations of one self and of others.

The various possible purposes listed in Table 2:2 are not mutually exclusive, nor are they listed in order of importance. Indeed, the possible reasons are supremely interdependent and do interact. For instance, by emphasising certain virtues in the portrait of a deceased family member that person’s status may be raised, making his/her memory longer lasting, throwing a good light onto the family or person commissioning the portrait, and visualising the allegiances of the patron, - and in this way essentially showing the patron in a good light and raised status.

107 Lucian(Pseudo) Amores 13, 15-16 and Lucian Essays on portraiture 4. The story is also reported by Pliny Natural History 36.4.22.
Table 2: Possible reasons for commissioning a portrait

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose of portrait</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make the absent present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-animate the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preserve memory of person depicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visualise the bond between the depicted and the patron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realm of individual person depicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visualise personality of person depicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assert position of person depicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confer honour on the person depicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confer characteristics/virtues on person depicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General realm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visualise family/state history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assert importance of family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justify position of person depicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolise/visualise power/office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realm of the spectator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visualise allegiance/identity of spectator/patron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visualise the virtues/culture of the patron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role model for spectator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confer honour on patron and/or increase social prestige</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The list below attempts to describe a similar approach, though from a somewhat narrower range. That is, ways in which it may be possible to interpret the manner in which a person is depicted. Apart from the last category there is little new in the list of interpretations of how to read a portrait, except maybe that again I want to stress the input of the person commissioning the image - a person which in many cases below will not be the represented person, and therefore will have his or her own intentions and 'agenda' for choosing a particular representational mode. Each of the following points may in other words be viewed from (at least) two different viewpoints.

- As that person is / was.
- As that person should be (should be seen).
- As that person could have been.
- As it is hoped that person will be; including the state or condition it is desired for that person to find himself in after death.
- As it is hoped that person will be towards the spectator / survivors / person commissioning portrait.

Point one is by far the broadest encompassing verisimilitude (with all the possible variabilities discussed above) and visual expression of character; that is, including symbolic representations of that which is perceived as real though not visible to the
eye. Point two expresses ideas of idealisation, and of a wish of 'correcting’ nature to give a subjective point of view. These may be based on convention (including posthumous representations which may be seen as conventionalised or shown with increasingly few personal traits as their individualised features disappear from living memory), on merit (subject was deified or awarded honours which are expressed by idealisation), or on the emotional response of the spectator to a depiction of the person (idealisation may in this way contain the fondness for that person by the commissioner of the image). The wish to represent a person as others ought to see him or her has been included here too, since I feel it more likely that such a desire might be expressed through elements of idealisation, though not necessarily exclusively so. It has been left in brackets since the intent is more strongly directed towards other spectators than towards the spectator–image/depicted relationship of the five points. Point three is a point which is often raised in connection with the representations of children or adolescents and expresses the unrealised ambitions and wishes for the person depicted. It may of course also apply to adults, though, unless specifically stated that this is the case it is almost impossible to determine. Point four may be expressed through symbolic or allegorical aspects - or through idealisation. It visualises a desired future circumstance for the depicted, which may be as that person will be in this world (the image reflecting well onto its subject) or in the next. For this reason I have included also representations showing more generally the 'state' which a deceased may be in when no longer part of this world. Point five, which is probably the oddest among the group, may express an almost apotropaic representation of another person which seeks to promote specific reactions in the response of the depicted on seeing his own image. In this way it is possible to imagine commissions of imperial portraits in military dress if protection was sought, or in civilian costume if an end to war was desired. Equally in the non-imperial realm, I wonder if it might not be possible to see representations (especially those in the guise of deities or personifications) as the manner in which the deceased’s family might wish to see a deceased interacting with them from the other world. This might be as a placation of the dead, in the same way that the upholding of proper rituals prevents retributions falling on the survivors; or actively as the manner in which it was desired that the deceased react. The image in this case may be seen as creating its own truth by reinforcing a particular aspect.
2.4 Conclusion

The impact of portraiture has been investigated by examining in turn aspects of perception, construction and viewer participation. As the discussion of each section has shown the three aspects are clearly inter-related, indeed, many of the examples of Roman portrait representations showed them to be inter-dependent. Perception, construction and response may arguably form part of the manner in which all images are dealt with but are especially pertinent in depictions which aim towards 'resemblance' - which is why the chapter has concentrated on facial representations. The effect of elements of resemblance may be assessed by looking at relief panels from sarcophagi in which the protagonists have been given portrait features. In all figurative depictions the viewer is relied upon to identify and follow the narrative and to draw appropriate conclusions based on context and artistic construct, but the inclusion of portrait representations invests the scene with more than a symbolic or associative function and it becomes individualised and invested with a sense of 'real' life despite a potential other-worldly framework.

Section 2.2 looked at the issue of realism and concluded that all portraits (prototype as well as copies) ought to be understood as constructs, based on a series of signs and references which were able to identify the person and were recognisable in their intended message. Though, at first glance this may seem to negate the existence of realistic portraiture the intent is rather to acknowledge that 'realism' is not an objective term and to assert that construct and resemblance are not mutually exclusive. All images must be recognised as constructs which are subject (consciously or unconsciously) to conventions and manipulation, the importance for an image to be perceived as particularised is, as David Freedberg has pointed out, the 'striving for resemblance' and the 'drive to [visual] precision' - not the attainment of these aims by any absolute standards.\(^{108}\) The effort towards differentiation and individualisation (as evident in visual variations and idiosyncrasies, cf. Section 2.1.1) creates the perception of a living presence and hence the perception of reality. The knowledge that one is faced with a constructed image does not in itself detract from the impact of that image as an individualised presence - as evident in Admetus' speech to his wife Alcestis:

> 'Represented by the skilful hands of craftsmen your body will be stretched out on the bed; and I shall fall down beside it and throw my arms around it, call your name, and think I hold my dear wife in my arms - even though I do not hold her.'\(^{109}\)


\(^{109}\) Euripides Alcestis: 348-352. For the translation I have followed that given by David Freedberg (1989: 204) rather than the slightly dated language of the Loeb edition.
The point being that an image perceived to be realistic will provoke a response as if it is a real presence - it will be invested with life, in other words - even as the viewer is consciously able to assert to himself that it is 'only' an image.\textsuperscript{110} David Freedberg has raised the point of what makes images efficacious. His conclusion is that it is neither a magic relationship of sympathy between the image and the depicted, nor to be found in a symbolic relationship between the two, but based on the type of cognitive response noted above of the viewer eliding the resembling image with the person it represents.\textsuperscript{111} This fusion of image and person depicted (an aspect referred to in Section 2.3 as the conflation of sign and signified) is an extension or consequence of investing an image with living presence: the image may not only be seen to possess the abilities of the person portrayed but may be considered being the person. In this way Admetus may find comfort by the presence of an image of his dead wife because it makes him think it is his wife, and not because it symbolises his wife. This fits well with the discussions of perception and viewer response presented in Sections 2.1.1 and 2.3 and indicates that the non-analytical and animating reaction to an image recognised as a portrait is as important for its comprehension as the analytical deciphering of its component signs and references. Indeed, the two methods of dealing with a resembling image ought to be seen as interlinked, and the process of determining or perceiving an image as an individualised and specific depiction as being equally dependent on analytical as on non-analytical response-patterns. An example is the coin from Thessalonika (cf. Section 2.2.1) in which the identification of the female face as Antonia depends on an analytical deciphering of the context and of the reference to her name, and not on the presence of recognisable facial features. Similarly it was argued that the presence of contemporary hairstyles on otherwise schematically rendered figures may often be an indication of an intent to give portrait status to these figures. Resemblance may, in other words, also apply to images of seemingly schematic or abstract nature if those images include essential particularising aspects.

As noted in Section 2.3 an extension to the conflation of sign and signified - and therefore to the efficacy of the image - may be a transference of qualities from the image onto the subject itself. The projected message of identity contained in a portrait representation may not only work as a mirror of the subject but also be adopted as a created identity by the subject (or be applied to the subject). This possibility adds further significance to the way we read portraiture. Firstly, by acknowledging that resembling images are not simply about likeness (despite the discussion of realism) but essentially about identity: put simply, portraits depict the person not the form of the

\textsuperscript{110} This simultaneity of knowledge and response is characterised by David Freedberg (1989: 235) as 'the dialectic of acknowledgement and denial in the process of perceiving the realistic image'.

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person. The depicted identity may comprise any number of aspects from personal characteristics, to social and cultural identity, to political identity as many of the imperial examples given in this chapter made clear - and the reality or resemblance aimed at may be similarly multifaceted and potentially visualising a range of aspects of the person from personal virtue, to familial relationships and social standing. Portrait representations are therefore more than artistic constructs and must be acknowledged as constructs for the articulation of particular aspects and messages. Secondly, the significance of transferred reality establishes the image itself as a active and creative entity which participates in the creation of the persona of the person portrayed. The most straight-forward manner in which this may be achieved is by reinforcement of particular aspects - either by repetition or by emphasis on specific traits at the expense and exclusion of others. The choice of depiction inherent in both of these approaches implies a willed and deliberate action on behalf of the person depicted; a more complex manner in which to view this phenomenon is to acknowledge the qualities of the image itself. Given that the resembling image, as noted above, is capable of articulating multifaceted aspects within a single, unified composition the image may present a more comprehensible version of the person than the living person himself.\footnote{Freedberg 1989: 270-277.} In this sense the image of an emperor may be felt to be more ‘like’ the emperor, or to provide a better impression of the emperor, than an encounter with himself could provide. The unified aspect furnished by an image may also encourage the creation of specific types or categories with which to represent certain identities. An ‘emperor-type’ of image may in this way be seen as more imperial than an individualised and realistic depiction of the emperor, or even than the individual emperor himself. Acknowledging and exploiting the qualities and values provided by the image itself may be why post-Constantinian imperial portraits present themselves as less individualised than private portraits of the same period: adhering to a comprehensible and perceived imperial ‘type’ may have been considered the most efficient and efficacious manner in which to articulate an imperial persona.\footnote{On this see Freedberg 1989: 280-282: ‘In thus seeking to reconstitute the living being before ourselves, we take away from the vitality of the actual being thus represented. [...] Signified is thus diminished and reconstituted more graspably and comprehensibly in the signifier before us.’ (page 281).} If this may indeed be the case it might also explain how contemporary writers could describe the imperial portraits as representing the subjects by imitation despite their similar characteristics.\footnote{cf. Stewart 1999: 170 ‘the Constantinian image itself provides the model for rulers who are portrayed as a class rather than individuals’ (his italics).} The likeness referred to is not one of facial resemblance but of imperial ruler qualities and identity.

\footnote{Stewart 1999: 170.}
CHAPTER 3

THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

In the catalogue no numismatic examples of divine associations have been included since the contextual characteristics of the medium were felt to be too singular to be easily compatible with other artistic media. Also it was feared that the numerically greater numbers of surviving coins compared to sculptural works would distort statistical assessments if included in the catalogue. However, the very specificity of the coin evidence may provide comparative material for the catalogued examples - hence the examination of the numismatic evidence here. Firstly, the overwhelming majority of coins, even when divorced from any archaeological contexts, are datable (absolutely or relatively) on basis of the legends minted on the coins stating names, titles, particulars of offices, events, etc. Secondly, the same legends allow identification of its depiction to be more certain. The coins may be associated with specific personalities, something which is far from always the case for most other types of objects, as well as providing a convincing key for the attribution of those deities, mythological characters and personifications which are often depicted on the reverse. A correlation between image and identity may in other words be established based on contemporary ‘written’ evidence and not solely on modern iconographic attributions. Finally, since the minting of coins was brought under the control of the emperor, the persons represented are identifiable as himself and the people of his immediate circle, in other words, as belonging to a securely determinable social stratum.¹ This makes the numismatic material quite different from the body of works catalogued here in which identifying the social status of the women represented presents considerable difficulties, cf. the discussion in Section 5.1.2. The advantage of using the numismatic material as comparanda is the possibilities which it provides for pin-pointing the tastes and needs of a single social ‘class’ in time.

The discussion in this chapter will be a survey of those coin representations of women of the imperial family on which they are associated with deities or

¹ From the time of Caligula not only did Rome become the centre from which coins were issued, but also the divisions between the Aes, traditionally under the authority of the Senate, and the rest of the
personifications. This study will use exclusively as a basis the medium of Roman coins of the Empire, that is from the adoption of the name of Augustus by Octavian in 27 BC to the death of Constantine AD 337. It will concern itself with the contexts in which a woman of the imperial household is depicted, and more specifically with which divinities or personifications she is associated. The imaging of the imperial women in this medium is less direct than that of most of the catalogued examples; they do not appear in the guises of deities but their portraits are juxtaposed with the divine images on the obverse-reverse sides of the coins. For this reason the chapter will start by discussing the various factors involved in the message transmission of the numismatic material: the role of coin-images in general in the Roman world, the relationship which may be established between the obverse and reverse of the coins, and the relationship between the coin images and the viewer. The following two parts of the chapter will then examine respectively the choice of representations within a chronological context and through the details of the divine depictions; and the women who are depicted on the imperial coinage and the parallels between their familial role and their public depiction.

3.1 The role of coin-images

The part played by coin-images or types in the Roman world has been discussed by numismatists and scholars in general for the past seventy years or so, but none disagrees that these do play a particular role as a medium of message transmission. Rather the discussion has been centred on establishing the extent of the influence coins may have had, and the means through which this influence was achieved. The former aspect has often been described in terms of 'propaganda' - a term which has been objected to but which may at the very least function as a useful shorthand for the deliberate political aspects included in the symbolic messages of the coins. What everyone does seem to be able to agree on, however, is that the role of coin-images is essentially concerned with influencing public opinion in favour of the emperor. Since the power of the emperor rested as much on force as on tradition ('inertia' in the words

\[\text{coinage becomes much less distinct; Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981: 142, Mattingly 1928: 112-113.}\]

\[2 \text{ Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1981: 298-323 for a survey of approaches and influences since the 1930's.}\]

\[3 \text{ see for instance titles listed in list of Numismatic bibliography given by Hannestad 1986: 448-452. Objections have been expressed by Belloni 1974: 1018; Belloni 1976: 131, the term, however, may still be found in recent works, cf. Christodoulou 1998: 51.}\]
of Wallace-Hadrill), as on a consent derived from several and diverse parts of Roman society (the military, the Senate, the people as a whole, etc.) a favourable public opinion might prevent difficulties arising or even secure an emperor’s position. And coins represented one of the more effective means available to the emperor of presenting himself, in the manner in which he chose, to the rest of the world. Though little is still known of the actual mechanics involved in the selection of coin types there can be little doubt that the image reflects an ‘official’ perception of the emperor. For this reason the selection and representation of types must be seen as having been carried out in order to represent the emperor, his achievements and capabilities in the best possible light; be this the person of the emperor himself, actual events of his reign, hoped for future events, or general aspirations or policy statements. All of which supported by the legends scrupulously stating the emperor’s titles and offices held; the legal-constitutional basis for the his power, in other words, explaining (at times justifying) his position. Indeed, the act of striking coins with one’s portrait might have been one of the most important symbols of accession to empire and a sign of assumption of power in the Roman world. In this way all four of the contenders for empire in AD 68/69 issue coins as one of their first acts upon gaining imperium, that is, doing so from the respective places where they and their troops are situated. Indeed, Vespasian might have (re)utilised a quantity of monies captured exactly in order to mint his own types.

The portrait on the coin is in itself an important symbol of power, for within the structure and organisation of coins existed a strict hierarchy. The obverse had traditionally been the face reserved for the symbol of the state. During the time of the Republic this consisted mainly in images of the gods of the state, but during the last half of the first century BC these had to vie for space with illustrious ancestors, royals, representations of statues of the moneyer and similar until in 44 BC Julius Caesar

6 An interesting case of social targeting has been suggested by C.H.V. Sutherland for coinages issued after Diocletian’s reform of 294 AD in which the choice of coin-imagery is seen to have been adapted to the main social group using the respective issues: gold coins with traditional images for the conservative upper classes, silver coins with military subjects for the army, and the follis with Genio Populi Romani for the people in general; Sutherland 1956: 179-184; Sutherland 1963: 14, see also more recently Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 84 n. 117.
8 Hannestad 1986: 26, Mattingly 1928: 146.
decisively changed this by being voted the first living human being to be portrayed on the coinage and the presence of the portrait of the reigning emperor on the obverse is one of the characteristics of the Roman imperial coinage - only on the smaller denominations of Aes are other obverse types commonly found. 11 The reverse face of the coin, being traditionally the secondary one, could be adorned with much freer topics and symbols, but on this face the trend of personal self-aggrandisement is also visible. Increasingly the symbols of the state - like the she-wolf and twins or the Dioscuri - disappeared in favour of types glorifying initially the family and later the person of the moneyer. 12 In this way C. Mamilius Limetanus in 82 BC represented Odysseus, the alleged ancestor of the gens Mamilia; M. Aemilius Lepidus depicted in 61 BC the elevation of the Basilica Aemilia constructed by his father; and Sulla represented Jugurtha being surrendered to Sulla himself on a coin reverse of 56 BC. 13 It is this use of topical events, depictions of religious, mythological or historical images, and a predominant interest in the individual which is continued and made use of throughout the period of the empire, the only difference being that by then the political make-up of the state allowed all focus to be on the singularly positioned persons of the imperial family.

3.1.1 Relationship between obverse and reverse

To observe that a hierarchy existed between the faces of the coins is in itself to accept that a relationship existed between them - that they can be put in relation to each other. However, defining the type of relationship which existed is a great deal harder, and especially determining how the reverse type relates to the obverse type. If the obverse by virtue of being the primary face can be understood as defining or contextualising the coin, something similar cannot be said to be the case for the reverse. Certainly, there do exist more than one example among the imperial coinages of a 'double obverse' - that is, a coin which depicts portrait busts on both sides. 14 Though, these are usually used in order to depict two different persons and so must consequently be understood as being a sign of special honour conferred upon the person who is in this way

13 Hannestad 1986 figs 13, 11 and 8 respectively = Sydenham 1952: no 741, 833, 879.
14 The first woman of the imperial house to be depicted in this manner is Agrippina II on the coins minted by her son, Caligula; though the first woman to be represented in this manner was Octavia on an issue by Antony, Kent 1978: 274, no 103, pl 29, Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 75 n. 50, 79. That it is not an uncommon occurrence can be seen from Tables 3:1 and 3:2 under the headings of 'on rev.
depicted together and on an equal standing with the emperor.\textsuperscript{15} The reverse must in other words rather be understood in relation to the obverse type - or otherwise be accepted as pure decoration - though, of course a strong element of interaction is necessary to interpret the coin as a whole.\textsuperscript{16} It is this factor of relative dependency by the reverse face which makes the relationship between the two an ambiguous one. Placing depictions of gods and minor deities on the reverse increases the ambiguity in the statement made on the coin relative to the Republican obverse depictions. For instance, the coin reverse depicting Sulla and Jugurtha mentioned above is accompanied on the obverse by a bust of Diana. The reverse can conceivably be interpreted as an independent face: it is a composition with a strong narrative element and a definite historical-political context. However, having been placed on the reverse defines it as the ‘minor’ of the two types dependent on the obverse type for its narrative explanation. If Diana represents the state the coin is a glorification of the Roman state which has created and enabled men like Sulla to achieve these triumphs, and in whose glory they in turn carry out these actions. If Diana is seen as somehow referring back to Sulla’s own person, which is more likely since the obverse legend does not refer to Roma or similar, but simply give the name Faustus, then the coin is a glorification of Sulla himself: he has been capable of winning this battle because he stands in a special relationship to the gods. This may be by being helped or protected by them, by being related to them, or by somehow possessing some of their characteristics. When gods or related minor deities are relegated to the reverse on the imperial coinage in order to give way for the human portrait on the obverse, then this same type of special relationship becomes both the key and the factor of ambiguity for the interpretation, for now it is the gods themselves who are ‘explained’ by the emperor or empress.

When the depictions are of one or more of the twelve canonical gods the representation may seem easier to explain. They appear as more fully formed and complex characters with a multifaceted spheres of interest, and though their depiction on the coins may be interpreted in relation to the presence of the emperor or empress, their ‘existence’ need not be. They are the protectors and the patrons of the state - and more specifically of the emperor in whose person the state is represented, real or

\textsuperscript{15} I have not found an example of a double obverse depicting the same person among the material of portraits of the imperial women which I have looked at - but do not exclude that it may be the case among the far greater numbers of coins representing imperial men.

\textsuperscript{16} See also the discussion by A. Wallace-Hadrill (1986: 69-70) exemplifying how the binary characteristics of the coins form coherent wholes. His emphasis is slightly different from the above but I do not see any essential difference in the conclusions drawn.
symbolically - and so may at times be represented in this formal aspect. An aspect which in turn, though, also implies a consent on their part towards the emperor and his actions; in this capacity a rather formal and official consent. Often the gods may be tied to particular historical events, or to particular aspects which have a topical nature illustrating a particular achievement or concern of the imperial household and so are in this way tied to the presence of this.\(^\text{17}\) Further they may be seen as articulating within their divine sphere, a position or interests similar to those of the emperors and empresses: Juno represents the consort of the first among the gods in the same way as the empress is the consort of the first man of the empire, and Vesta is the divine protectress of the Roman state and family in the same way that the empress is often symbolically represented in this role. Deities represented on the reverse may in other words be interpreted as the patrons of the emperor, who protects and give official consent to his rule; as an illustration a particular event of topical interest for the public life of the emperor; or as a reflection of his person, character or status imbued with divine connotations. The personifications (no distinctions will be made here between so-called ‘virtues’, personified concepts, or minor deities as such) in contrast to the gods have less of an independent existence.\(^\text{18}\) Some were certainly in receipt of cult, even state cult, in Rome. Inside the city were dedicated several temples (three on the Quirinal and one on the Capitol) in honour of Fortuna, who also enjoyed an annual festival; to Concordia Tiberius himself re-dedicated and restored the temple in the Forum in AD 10; and also Spes, Pietas and Pudicitia received state dedications. They must, in other words, have been seen as more than abstractions or simple artistic conventions.\(^\text{19}\) However, by their very nature they are also less faceted, less composite than the canonical gods: their existence is not necessarily an objective one in the world but rather dependent on being perceived in relation to that of humans, actions, events, places, etc. They may be said to exist in a divine sphere but only gaining terrestrial expression through the actions of humans.\(^\text{20}\) Their presence on the coins consequently invites an interpretation directly connected with the presence and person depicted on the obverse.\(^\text{21}\)

\(^{17}\) The topicality may be referred to by the use of epithets: in this way Mars may be Ultor, the revenger; Venus may be Genetrix, the ancestress of the Roman people; and Juno be Lucina, the giver of easy child-birth; cf. Mattingly 1928: 159 and Tables 3:1 and 3:2.

\(^{18}\) The exact status of the personifications are difficult to determine and may vary. Note for instance the case of Fortuna which in Late Antiquity is considered in-appropriate in the same way as the pagan gods, and disappears from the coinage unlike most of the other personifications which continue to be used also in a Christian contexts. For this see Toynbee 1947: 135, n. 4.


\(^{21}\) For this see also Mattingly 1928: 164ff, Mattingly 1937: 112 and Wallace-Hadrill 1981: 315-316.
However, when interpreting the divine representations on coins there seem to be little real difference whether that divinity is a god or a personification and their role may be summarised as follows:

- The deities support the emperor in his actions. By virtue of their godlike status they may be seen as supporting or aiding the emperor in his public duties: a battle may have been won due to the aid of Fortuna (fortune), or prosperity ensured due to the presence of Felicitas (happiness/prosperity).

- The deities are the actions of the emperor. The personifications may represent actual actions or events instigated by the emperor: so Liberalitas may signify the largess given by the emperor, or Laetitia the shows paid for by him, or Annona the corn-supply secured by him. The gods may allude to specific events by reference to imperial actions made possible through their patronage.

- The deities work in the state because of the actions of the emperor. This seems to be a specific characteristic for the interpretation of the role of the personifications, who in turn may be seen as being in the power of the emperor. For instance, the presence of Pax (peace) within the empire may be due to the capabilities of the emperor as a statesman and military leader; Victoria (victory) may be due to his bravery; and Concordia (concord) secured due to his piety and observation of religious prescriptions.

- The deities 'are' the emperor. The divinities may be seen as being an aspect of him - in his official role and/or in his personality. In this way it may be his personal pietas (piety) which ensures the favourable aspects of the gods, or his personal virtus (bravery) as a general which ensures the victory and ensuing peace, or his quality of justitia (justice) which ensures that his reign is characterised by fairness and just dealings.

- The deities represent aspirational ideals. Important for the political nature of these messages is the fact that they should not be limited to be understood from a retrospective or even a contemporary point of view but encompass also a prospective point of view. That is, that they represent the ideal aspired to, the policies desired and - essentially in politics - the promises made to the receiving audience. For example: Fecunditas (fertility) or Ceres may signify the wish of the imperial household to secure the succession and thereby its promise to the populace to ensure stability and continuity in the state.

The difficulty comes if one attempts to distinguish between the various categories of interpretation. Continuing the example of Fecunditas: this deity when represented with the empress may at the same time signify the deity which helps the empress to get pregnant and give birth to heirs; a deity whose presence is secured by the empress in
one way or the other; the actual event of her giving birth to an heir; and her quality as a woman and empress to be fertile and secure the succession.

The coin legends too may help to establish the link between the obverse and reverse faces of the coin, by attaching the labels *Augusti* or *Augustus/a* to the name of the deity or personification thereby extending the official title of the ruler also to the figure on the reverse - as if stating publicly that that really is an aspect of himself. Mattingly suggests that the strength of the relationship between emperor and deity may be measured through the grammatical use of these labels: in this way the genitive *Augusti* signifies the reverse figure to be an aspect of the emperor himself, whereas the adjective *Augustus/a* points towards a looser and more generalised relationship.22 However, the examples given indicate that this division does not necessarily provide a key to the 'strength' of the relative importance of interpretation: ‘Pax Augusti’ should in this way denote the pacific temper of the emperor whereas ‘Pax Augusta’ should denote a vaguer but clearly more politically important idea of imperial peace. The grammatical presentation of the epithet must in other words have been selected on basis of what is deemed more advantageous for each individual image: where, in the context of a personal quality, it might be more beneficial to tie that closely to the person of the emperor; for a state deity or for an idea or ideal it may be more appropriate to be less specific, and thereby attempt to link it with the state as a whole. The very vagueness of the term renders it more politically powerful by blurring the lines of the interpretation and multiplying its possibilities.

3.1.2 Relationship between coin image and viewer

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill in his examination of representations of imperial virtues on coins, has come to the conclusion that no set canon existed for the choice of these; rather the virtues celebrated are ‘those that conformed to the general message of the benefits of autocratic power’.23 This strikes a parallel with findings made by Mattingly in relation to types celebrating the accession of an emperor: ‘there was no one special reverse type...’ but rather the chosen types were those ‘as seemed to answer the immediate needs of the time’.24 I find it entirely possible to see these findings as extendible to the choices of reverse types in general, that is, that the basis of the

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22 Mattingly 1928: 164-165. See also Sutherland 1963: 19 for an example of the various possibilities in interpreting the relationship between legend, image, and imperial personality.


24 Mattingly 1928: 146.
selection of images was one of political expediency / contemporary need and not one of ‘iconic’ repetition of stock or canonical types; for in this way the already accepted argument of the coinage being an active medium in the field of official message transmission is continued.\textsuperscript{25} Applying this argument to the coin type selection in general not only implies the element of choice on behalf of the imperial house but also implies the participation of the recipient of the coin, for if the image contains a message, and especially if it is a contemporary political message, this must be comprehensible - if the target audience does not understand the message the message itself is lost or useless. On the other hand, the very ‘vagueness’, the multiplicity of interpretations possible for the images and for their inter-connections, which has been observed above may also be the aspect which ‘engages’ the recipient by requiring him to ‘read’ the message and not simply ‘receive’ it.\textsuperscript{26}

The structure and images of the coins set up a complex relationship for the viewer to interpret: on one side, the obverse, he is presented with the portrait image of the reigning emperor most often literally surrounded by a legend listing his titles - this not only represents the status and position of the emperor but on a wide basis also the contemporary (or recently historical) socio-political and legalistic world of the viewer. On the other side, the reverse, the viewer is presented with a deity, mythological scene or symbol which connects into his cultural framework, with all that entails of sociological and personal identity, and which often also represent the mytho-historical world of the viewer.\textsuperscript{27} For example, the figure represented on the coin reverse could depict or be connected with Roman foundation myths, or the deity may be seen to

\textsuperscript{25} Also it explains the possibility of scholars such as A. Carandini and K. Fittcschen to undertake studies on the coin iconography of specific empresses and to interpret their findings in the light of events contemporary with the issue of the coins in question. A. Wallace-Hadrill (1981: 311) states that he sees, in the period from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine a meaningless and dull repetition of existing types, with no new types appearing. However, when looking at the evidence of the representations of the imperial women the trends seem to be different: there are a relatively greater spread in the variety of the types exactly in the third century AD; the types which appear may not be types which have not already been used before on coins but importantly, many are used now for the first time for women and so must from that point of view constitute an innovation.

\textsuperscript{26} For a fuller discussion of this and of the following especially see Elsner 1995: 167-172. Elsner’s discussion of the integration of the viewer is based on an analyses of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta; but as he quite rightly states: ‘this […] was not confined to images of Augustus or indeed to Roman imperial sculpture in general. It underlay the Principate’s self-presentation in every sphere’ (page 172). See also Christodoulou 1998: 51 who defines the relationship between image/issuer and viewer as ‘reciprocal’.

\textsuperscript{27} I think this may be applicable also to the people of the provinces; though themselves having and representing a different background - the very presence of that of Rome constitutes a reference point for questioning how the provincial local lifestyle may fit into this system and how to react to Roman values.
symbolise states or conditions of his contemporary world: peace, prosperity, food-supply, imperial largess, etc. This means that when presented with these coins the viewer is not only required to 'decipher' the message delivered on behalf of the emperor, and about the emperor, but does so in relation to his own world and his own person. In the very act of reading and understanding the coin message the viewer, in other words, participates in the politics and ideology of the Empire (and thereby of the emperor) - either directly by accepting the existence of the current political situation which has created the economic and sociological framework in which the particular coin may be used; or indirectly in aiding in the construction of the ideology of the empire by responding/reacting to the images promulgated by this.

The participation of the viewer giving social reference points to the visually presented image, as well as their sheer spread, makes coinage an effective medium for influencing public opinion. The reliance on the participatory input of the viewer may be one reason for the popularity of divine reverse images. Any medium relying on interpretation for the transmission of its message cannot be unequivocal in its content but must be suggestive. As discussed above, seeming 'vagueness' may at times carry greater implications. An example from the numismatic material may suggest that the divine figures depicted may have helped to confer divinity upon the emperor.\textsuperscript{28} The juxtaposition of the representations of the socio-political and the religious worlds must surely be seen as a possible further blurring of the status of the person of the emperor: the deities could be interpreted as representing aspects (and thereby indirectly associated with worship) of the emperor's \textit{Genius}.\textsuperscript{29} How directly or indirectly this divine status might have been interpreted is dependent in the individual recipient; but faced with a set of images which are already ambiguous, or at least highly multifaceted, some degree of conflation, understood as an imbuing of the divine on the socio-political world of the emperor, would seem to have been highly possible.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{28} Other aspects suggesting the ambiguity of the imperial position included the freedom of his worship in the provinces even when alive; the organised state-cult in Rome of already deified emperors which might have been blood-relations of the present emperor; the worship of the living Emperor's 'spirit' or \textit{Genius} ; and the divine attributes he might be adored with on his portrait representations - including those on the coins - like laureate of radiate crowns, the aegis, corn-ears etc. Elsner 1995: 169 and Mattingly 1928: 162f.

\textsuperscript{29} Mattingly 1937: 111.

\textsuperscript{30} Mattingly 1937: 111 sees a social distinction in the willingness to accept the god-like status of the emperor - with the 'common people' being more open to this than the 'educated classes'; so does, on a more general level Wallace-Hadrill 1981: 318.
3.2 The choice of depictions

The following section examines the various reverse types accompanying the obverse portraits of the imperial women. These will be looked at firstly as a chronological charting of trends in the attitudes to associating women with divine characters; then as a discussion of the goddesses and personifications represented on the coinages linked with imperial women.

The basis for the study is presented in Tables 3:1 and 3:2. These lists respectively the coin representations of women of the imperial household of the first and second centuries and of the third century with the name of the emperor minting the coin in brackets. For the purposes of accessibility the tables include only those goddesses and personifications which appear on the coinage of the respective centuries. Only those coins which both depict a portrait and state the name of the imperial women, and which do so on the obverse of the coin, have been selected in order to secure that the coin might really be seen as identifying and pertaining to the particular woman. Similarly, must the representations of the deities on the reverse include a depiction of a figure in order that the inter-relationship between imperial woman and deity might more securely be interpreted as aspects of each other. Without the presence of a figure it was felt that, for instance, in a depiction of a pair of clasped hand with the legend Concordia, the clasped hands and not the empress could be interpreted as the symbol of concord. Preferably also the name of the deity should be included. Where this is the case it has been marked with an ‘x’ in the tables - where no name forms part of the legend I have relied on the scholarship of Harold Mattingly and accepted his attributions but marked these instances with an ‘o’. A section has also been included detailing those cases in which the imperial woman is shown with the emperor or with her family, or which lists special honours granted to her. This has been done because the representations of women are so relatively few that any mention, and especially one which established a very direct relationship between her and the seat of power in this politicised public medium, is potentially interesting.

31 The tables have been created on basis of the information available in the volumes edited by Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981.
32 The only exceptions are the three so-called Livia coins of Salus, Justitia and Pietas minted by Tiberius for which the attribution to Livia is at best a very idealised portrait, as well as those coins depicting the imperial woman as the reverse type to that of the emperor himself.
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Coin representations of the third century
Notes for Tables 3:1 and 3:2

33 Obv.: Plotina; rev.: Matidia.
34 Legend on obv. with a bust, but no name given.
35 Legend, but no figure on rev. - only a peacock.
38 Celebration of Saeculares / Saeculum novum.
39 Legend on rev.: Augg. Figure depicted includes emperor, empress, prince.
40 Obv.: Philip II; rev.: Philip I and Otacilia Severa.
41 Rev.: goddess in temple. Legend Deae Segetiae (goddess presiding over corn - food-supply).
42 Obv.: empress; rev.: Fides and Sol, legend: Providen[ti]a deor[um].
45 Empress depicted on obv. and rev. Legend: Augusta in pace.
46 Obv.: empress; rev.: emperor and empress clasping hands, legend: Concordia Augg.
47 Obv.: empress; rev.: Concordia, legend: Concordia Augg.
48 Obv.: empress on throne with child, legend: Flavia Maximus Fausta Aug.;
   rev.: Felicitas and Pietas, legend: Pieta Augustae.
The method and manner of listing the coin representations done both in Tables 3:1 and 3:2 has two obvious disadvantages, which only further work on this subject might correct. Firstly, it allows for no method of recording the relative popularity of the various types but only notes the absolute presence of these. In this way a representation occurring only once on the coins of a particular empress is not distinguishable from that which might have been the overwhelmingly most popular for her. Secondly, it allows for no method of recording the relative chronology of the appearance of the types on the coinages. Only where more than one emperor has minted coins of a woman of his family can at least an outline chronology be established, but during a specific reign it is at the moment not possible to distinguish if certain types were more popular in the beginning or towards the end of this reign.

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill in 1981 compiled a chart similar to the Tables 3:1 and 3:2, but with reference only to reverse representations of personifications and using as his basis all coins of the Empire - making no distinction as to who was represented on the obverse. However, his discussion on the pattern of distribution revealed by this chart provides a rather interesting perspective for the survey here:

"Three periods may be identified. In the first, the Julio-Claudian period, personifications are scarce and spasmodic. Such as do occur are not repeated from reign to reign. There is no sign of a systematic attempt to put across any message. The second period stretches from the civil wars of 68/69 to Antoninus Pius. This is the heyday of personifications. Not only are the goddesses found in unprecedented number (32 as against 16 in the first period); a quite new pattern has emerged of repetition and continuation. The last period from Marcus onward (to, say, Diocletian) is only distinguished by its dullness. The repetition of types continues, more and more meaninglessly. It is most seldom that a new type appears."

A similar divisional overview would for the representations of women rather look like this: three periods may be identified, the reign of Hadrian bridging the first and second periods. In the first, from Augustus to Trajan/Hadrian, representations of women are scarce, in most cases uncertain, and with little pattern in the choice of usage. The second period stretches from Hadrian/Antoninus Pius to Alexander Severus, this is the hey-day of female representations. The last period, from Maximinus I to Constantine is a great deal more erratic; the political situation dictates, involuntarily or deliberately, whether women are represented at all, but their manner of representation, though generally subject to a contraction in terms of numbers do also see the introduction of one or two new types.

Compared to the findings of Andrew Wallace-Hadrill it would seem as if representations of women are lagging behind those of their male counterparts by a half to a whole century. Rather than the Civil War of 68/69 AD providing the impetus for the use of symbolic/allegoric messages, the turning point rather seems to come during the reign of Hadrian - and more specifically by his travels in Greece and the east. Though it is not visible from the table itself, there appears a change in the iconography of Sabina after each of Hadrian's travels in the Greek world and the years AD 125-128 and 134-137 are particularly rich and varied, not just for the representations of Sabina but compared to representations of empresses previously.\textsuperscript{51} Similarly, the reigns of the Antonines and the Severans do not see the beginning of dullness and lack of inventiveness but rather the contrary: a timespan of roughly a century where the women around the reigning emperor are very visible and depicted in a multiplicity of roles. Only with the start of a period where the power of the emperors himself was unstable, or where the political situation made the formation of old style family dynasties difficult, do the depictions of the women suffer correspondingly. Though, interestingly, when women are depicted their images are more 'innovative' and less prone to the level of repetition shown by Wallace-Hadrill. Why should the representations of women 'lag behind' that of the men? The most obvious suggestion may be that: since empresses do not posses the power, status, and position of the emperor it is not as essential to represent them, and consequently the 'propaganda potential' that their person represents is slow to be recognised. When they are represented it is at those times in which the emperor might have need of the special message which they embody. The latter suggestion being very close in nature to the study on official reliefs done by Natalie Kampen who identifies representations of imperial women on these as being almost exclusively concerned with fecundity and the succession.\textsuperscript{52} If a similar intention is the case also on the official depictions on coins, this might in turn explain not just the erratic nature of the later third and early fourth centuries (a familial dynasty might be the aim but not always possible), but might also explain why the Civil War of AD 68/69 does not create the same impetus for the women as it does for the men, since a familial line of succession and the creation of a dynasty, did not need to be promoted by either Vespasian, who had already ensured this by the time he assumed power (his sons being already adult), nor by Trajan nor Hadrian who rather made use of the method of adoption.

I want to look at each of these three periods in more detail in turn, and propose reasons why the pattern of female representations might differ from that of

male, but at this point it might prove useful to set some of this information in table form numerically. For the purpose of the tables Period 1 ranges from Augustus to Trajan; Period 2 ranges from Hadrian to Alexander Severus; and Period 3 ranges from Maximinus I to Constantine.

Table 3:3 Number of different types represented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st cent.</th>
<th>2nd cent.</th>
<th>3rd cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-deity(^{53})</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goddess / god</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personification</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table has been created to enable a comparison to be made with that of Wallace-Hadrill when he, as quoted above, states that between Augustus and the Civil Wars 16 different personification are represented, a figure which rises to 32 between AD 69 and AD 161. In the period from Marcus Aurelius to Diocletian 35 different types of personifications are represented in his chart. Compared to these counts for all coins it becomes clear that women are represented in much more restricted terms. The number of possible images open to them (or made open to them) are a lot smaller: only if goddesses too are included in the count do we get comparative numbers of types. A look at those types which on the base of this can be identified as exclusive to men will be discussed in Section 3.2.3. Also clear from Table 3:3 is the rapidness with which types are created. The numbers of types in each category rise in each century: overall there are roughly twice as many types available to women in the second century as in the first century. The post-Alexander Severus contraction of numbers mentioned above, is not visible from the division by century in Table 3:3. On the contrary, the are empresses of the third century associated with a greater number of deities than previously, suggesting that once the possibilities of this type of representation are realised they are not given up on again.\(^{54}\) Evident from Tables 3:1, 3:2 is the fact that it is not simply a case of more types being made available but that each woman is consistently associated with a greater variety of types during her ‘reign’. Visible is also the erratic characteristic identified for Period 3 earlier: without discarding a dramatic number of the types already available, the majority of the women represented during Period 3 are obviously at the same time making use of fewer types each.

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\(^{53}\) For all tables the term ‘non-deity’ signifies that group of representations which name special honours granted (including that of Diva), or which show the particular woman with the emperor or her family.

\(^{54}\) That is it not (simply) a case of fashion is surely evident by how rapidly they disappear post Constantine; cf. Toynbee 1947.
3.2.1 General trends in the first-third centuries

The most striking feature of the representations of women during the period from Augustus to Trajan is firstly the restricted range of representations and secondly, the predominance of representations related to actual events, status etc. and a corresponding relative lack of use of divine/semi-divine connotations. Those deities with which the women are associated are often characterised by a 'vagueness' of attribution which is not the case for the non-deity category. In other words, if we let the number of types also be an indication of the frequency, women are characteristically represented infrequently and preferable in a direct and unequivocal relation to the person of the emperor.

This preferred type of representation may be divided into two categories: those which seem to be concerned with specific events and those which show the woman in relation to the emperor. In the first category we find the granting of honours like the endowment of the title of Diva or the Carpentum procession (the symbol of recovery after serious illness), and the birth of children. Is it notable that an honour granted is represented much more frequently than familial events. Presumably since the succession could be celebrated through the promotion through the ranks of the adult heir-to-be (a creative act arguably almost on a par with that of child-rearing but of course managed by the emperor and not by his wife) the presence of a divinity, a Diva, in one's family or patronage was more directly useful. However, even the variety of honours granted are very few indeed, a fact which might have very good practical reasons. Since a Roman woman did not have access to political office, there was for her no cursus honorum to define her status in life or show her upward mobility during her lifetime; the title of Diva instead was granted posthumously, safe also from any implications of a woman taking active part in politics. To give public definition to her social status are there on the coins a greater preference for the second category where the individual woman is represented as the accompanying image to that of the emperor. That coins are minted in the name of anyone other than the reigning emperor must in itself be seen as a great honour and indicative of the social position of that person, and the usage suggests a development and definition (however vague) of the role of empress. The single most popular of the types listed in the Table 3:1 for this period is that of being represented as the reverse type to an obverse portrait of the emperor himself. Even though in itself it could be considered a minor honour compared to a coin in one's own name, there are in this period signs that this type is setting a kind of precedent for the public visibility of the empress, and it is the only type in this period.
which can truly be said to exist as a continuous type. Also, considering the relative lack of use of divine connotations in this period the proximity to the person of the emperor must surely be seen as significant. The associations with divinities which do occur during this period only do so rather late. During the reign of the Julio-Claudians practically no divine characters occur on the coin-reverses of the imperial women, the few that do are all, with the exception of the Antonia-Constantia, vague and non-specific in attribution. Only with the Flavians does a deliberate and more organised use of imagery start occurring, and it becomes possible to start tracing patterns of continuation and repetition between the coinages of the various imperial women. Note, for instance, the occurrence of the type of the peacock with the legend Concordia, or the use of the type of Nemesis with the legend Paci Aug. which are used for more than one of the women of the Flavian family (cf. Table 3:1 and notes). That these two versions are only found during the reign of the Flavian emperors does not diminish their significance in usage but may rather suggest a specificity of context for the Flavian house as well as a general ‘developmental’ stage in the use of the female coinages for the transmission of messages. Only slowly is the official role of the empress, empress-mother etc. being given a public face.

Almost the opposite of the opening sentence of the section could be said to be the characteristic of the period from Hadrian to Alexander Severus: the most striking features are firstly the wide range of representations available to women of this period, and secondly, the predominance of types which carry divine or semi-divine connotations. Table 3:3 shows that the non-deity representations do, in fact, show an increase in the number of types available through both the second and third century. One of these new representations is the new title of Mater Castrorum, Mother of the Camp. However, as Tables 3:1 and 3:2 show, the most popular new type (‘as couple with emperor’) is part of the concentration of representations around types presenting the imperial women together with the emperor, which forms the predominant aspect of the non-deity group of images. Increasingly the imperial women are depicted as integral to, or as aspects of, the imperial ruling power in the same way that personifications may be said to be. The honour of Diva still appears frequently and the predominance of mothers and grandmothers endowed with this honour is evidence of the successful creations of family dynasties in this period.55 This greater clarification in the status and position of the women at the court generally and the empresses especially, who increasingly appear in a role of ‘consort’ or ‘partner’ of the emperor may be a contributing factor to the greater visibility which women enjoyed in this

55 (Grand)mothers with the title Diva: Matidia (mother-in-law), Julia Domna, Julia Maesa. Wives with the title Diva: Sabina and Faustina I.
period and to the increased use of types associated with divinities. The greater visibility of the empresses on the coinage may suggest an acknowledgement of their status at court and a desire to articulate this in a suitable public and official manner. Since Roman women did not have access to formal political positions of power the divine associations would seem an ideal solution. However, considering the emperors had been depicted in the guises of gods and demi-gods from the period of the early empire, the intent behind the use of divine imagery is therefore not to illustrate position but to function as symbolic expressions of the woman’s qualities or actions - as discussed in Section 3.1.1.56 Another aspect which characterises this period is a preference for representing each woman in multiple types. This trend starts with the posthumous issues by Antoninus Pius in honour of his wife Fausta I: as Mattingly points out, it may have been easier after her death to associate her more closely with the divinities.57 But it establishes a pattern for the lifetime issues of successive women and Tables 3:1-2 show the period to be characterised by ‘clusters’ of many and repeated instances. Not surprisingly the repetition and continuity of types are especially strong within the two families of the Antonines and the Severans. The variations between the issues of the two families (discontinued types, additions without any previous precedents) illustrate how the message and its visual form were subject to organic choices and able to respond to the needs of the time; one of these obviously being the creation of dynastic identities. A last point which is worth noting is that in this period, contrary to the previous, most of the images are named. There is no longer the sense of vagueness and deliberate ambiguity in attribution or aim but rather a sense of a message, a public image which is being communicated in a manner as accessible as the medium and the social mores allows.

The final period, from Maximinus I to Constantine, has already been described as erratic. There is a noticeable but not dramatic drop in the numbers of types used (45 as opposed to 57 previously), though it is worth noting that twelve of these types occur only on the coinage of Gallienus for his wife Salonina. However, since each woman is now generally - the exception being Salonina - represented in fewer types it creates the sense of a less clear pattern (cf. Table 3:2). There are not the tight groups of ‘clusters’ observed in the previous period, but some patterns of continuity of the use of types do exist: either as a continued use of the same type or as a small cluster around versions of a particular goddess at certain times. Examples are Concordia who is popular almost throughout the period, and the versions of Juno and Venus occurring

56 The legal and political basis for the emperors’ rule is further normally detailed on the obverse of the coin linking it firmly with the emperor’s person - not with the divine association.
respectively in the earlier and later part of the period. The lack of any strong patterns of continuity must be attributed to the absence of family dynasties in this period. Each new imperial couple might have wanted to choose types which were felt to be distinctive to them or deliberately to break with the forms and patterns established for the previous persons in power. As mentioned already, only the coinage of Cornelia Salonina is represented in a great numbers of types. Significantly these are minted at a moment when the semblance of a family dynasty existed, and this may undoubtedly have been considered to be a fact worth drawing attention to. The category of non-deity types show the same concentration around versions depicting the imperial woman together with the emperor as was seen previously. Though by now these types seem no longer to be considered the ‘lesser’ honour. Rather than the sense of this type being ‘appropriate’ for women as found in the Julio-Claudian period, they seem to have become practically standard for all women except those honoured posthumously. This may suggest that the role of partner/consort is now accepted as being a symbol of power/position in the same way that the divine references may be seen to be. Only the coinages post-dating the reforms of the Tetrarchy, do not depict women in this manner.

3.2.2 Choice of goddesses

What I want to look at in this section is which gods, and types of gods, the imperial women are associated in order to present an effective symbol of their status and qualities to the public. The first noticeable aspect is that all the gods are female divinities - apart that is from the few and not securely attributable representations of Apollo and Sol in the third century. That that should be so be may initially not seem surprising - it could be an attempt at reinforcing the association between the two - until, that is, one remembers that the issues connected with men are not similarly mono-gendered. If only female deities are used for women it would suggest that this is a deliberate choice and indicative of the differing roles of the emperor and the empress: where the role of an emperor may be represented through a variety of associations - military, political, personal - the public function of an empress is symbolised by her own person. The reinforcement of the associated link between deity and empress is, in other words, also an articulation of the imperial woman’s public role.

Table 3:4 lists the gods depicted on the coinage of the imperial women according to their relative popularity across the first three centuries AD, based on the number of times a deity is listed in Tables 3:1, 3:2.
Table 3:4 The deities shown and their relative popularity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st cent.</th>
<th>2nd cent.</th>
<th>3rd cent.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juno</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesta</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceres</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cybele</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerva</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apollo/Sol</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luna</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemesis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table has been created in order that it might be easier to examine which deities are chosen to represent the women. The inclusion of the male gods of Sol and Apollo has been touched on; they both appear in the later half of the third century at a time when an interest in eastern religions generally and the worship of Sol Invictus in particular was becoming popular also among the people around the throne. A female equivalent of Sol might be traced in the presence of Luna, who as a reverse image appear only in the early third century, but whose symbol, the crescent moon, might be found as a personal attribute of the empress for the whole of this century. Under Aurelian, for instance, the most common reverse legends for his coins become those of *orien aug.* and *sol invictus* and though this legend is not used on the coins of his wife, Ulpia Severina, Sol does appears unnamed on one of her coin types and Ulpia Severina herself appears on the vast majority of her coins with her portrait bust set on a crescent.\(^{58}\) A strong interest in a particular patron god might therefore explain the presence of male deities on these coins, though it is worth noting that the identification is in most cases indirect and the figure of the deity not accompanied by a naming legend.

Nemesis too only appear on the coin types at a specific moment, that is, during the reigns of Titus and Domitian with the legend *paci aug.* and must therefore be interpreted as signifying a particular event. This event may very probably be the Victory won in Jerusalem - celebrated also on the so-called Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum which was completed during the reign of Domitian. Or it may signify the peace and good rule within the Flavian house, that is, the harmony between the two brothers leading to a just rule in the Empire. Minerva cuts a rather curious figure in the Tables

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3:1, 3:2. She must be counted among the primary twelve canonical gods of the Roman pantheon but her presence here is rather scarce and infrequent. One would have expected her to occur on the coins of Julia Titi or Domitia minted by Domitian since she was considered his patron deity. Rather she is conspicuous by her absence for the whole of the first two centuries AD - apart, that is, for a type of Plotina minted by Trajan. When she does appear it is on the coins of Julia Domna and Salonina, and as on of the two deities used by Orbiana. For Orbiana (less so for Julia Domna and Salonina who are both depicted in a greater variety of types than any other woman on the coins of the Empire) it is tempting to see the appearance of Minerva as significant especially as she appears as victrix. Orbiana represented probably the single greatest bid by Alexander Severus for independence from his mother, Julia Mamaea, and it is tempting to speculate if Minerva may represent the wisdom of this marriage or the wisdom which had (seemingly) won him independence.

Apart from Minerva the most frequent representation of deities are those of the main goddesses of the Roman pantheon, especially those listed in the di consentes. Cybele appears on the coins too, but it is Venus, Juno, Vesta, Ceres and Diana which are the most overwhelmingly popular types - in that order. Indeed, even within this limited range a definite hierarchy of popularity may be discerned: in Table 3:4 the depictions of Venus and Juno occur more frequently than the rest put together. Why should these in particular deities be popular and why in this order? A three part answer may be proposed for these questions.

- Most of the goddesses embody, in one way or another, fertility and motherhood. Venus is the mother of the Roman people by being the mother of Aeneas; Juno is the wife of Jupiter and a mother figure in terms of her status among the gods; Ceres is directly connected with fertility, renewal and growth by being the goddess of the corn and of nature; Vesta is the mother figure of the nation, the goddess who protects the home and the hearth; Cybele is Magna Mater, an almost archetypal earth mother figure; even the virgin goddess Diana is obliquely connected with fertility by being the protectress of women in labour.

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60 Minerva is generally much more popular on the coins of the emperors than on those minted for the imperial women, and appear throughout the first to third centuries. However, she is especially popular on the Severan coinage where she appears with the suffixes 'Sancta', 'Pacifera', and 'Victrix' - the latter two giving her a military aspect which may explain her unsuitability for female coinages.
61 The di consentes is the official list of twelve principal deities: Juno and Jupiter, Minerva and Neptune, Venus and Mars, Diana and Apollo, Vesta and Vulcan, Ceres and Mercury. See also Varro De Lingua Latina 8.70-71; Varro De Re Rustica 1.1.4 and the discussion in Section 4.1.
62 Horace Odes 3.22.
• The most popular of the goddesses - Venus, Juno and to some extent also Vesta - are partners and consorts of great men in leadership positions. Venus is the partner in love of the god Mars, the god which the emperors since the time of Augustus could claim as the symbol of themselves; Juno is, as already mentioned, the lawful wife of Jupiter, the first among the gods, and the two in this way a fitting symbol for the position of the empress/emperor; Vesta is not a wife or consort as such but her priestesses embodied a position of pre-eminence matching that of the position of Pontifex Maximus, an office held during the Empire by the emperor himself just as the empress was often made an honorary Vestal.

• If this latter interpretation is extended to signify not simply the position of wife and consort to the emperor but properly the position of 'first lady' or 'queen' the deities may be seen as representing positions of pre-eminence. Vesta is the female religious head of the nation matching that of the emperor as pontifex; Cybele as the Magna Mater may be included in her role as the first, the pre-eminent. Even Diana may in this way be included as a fitting symbol for the nation's first among women: either as Lucina, the giver of easy child-birth, or as Lucifera, the goddess of the night sky, in whose honour torches are carried by women as thanks for answered prayers.

The choice and order of preference may be explained as those deities who embodied more of the three aspects of motherhood, marriage and pre-eminence. A reason which inversely might also explain the little interest in Minerva - even among the coins minted by Domitian: she does not have a role as consort or partner, she has no family to bring up, and her attributes are war-like rather than creative and regenerative. She is in other words, despite her gender, much better suited as a symbol for the emperor. As an image the goddesses are a fitting choice not just for their fame but that by the very nature of having distinct personalities and multifaceted spheres of interest. It is possible to construct a complex interpretation of their symbolism, which, in turn, their renown ensures can be understood by the recipients.

A subtle, but not insignificant, change in the presentations of the deities evident in Tables 3:1-2 is the increased use of attached suffixes. In this way the aspect of a chosen deity is rendered less general, but also less complex by being more specific. For instance, Venus is in the third century no longer named simply as Venus on the coin representations but is now specifically Venus Genetrix (the ancestress of the Roman people) or Venus Victrix (Victorious). From being listed exclusively through their 'primary' name in the first century AD the goddesses during the second century appear in an almost equal number of instances under their 'primary' name alone as they do with a suffix name; by the first half of the third century the interest in
the use of suffixes clearly predominates and by the end of this century suffixes are now used almost as exclusively as the opposite had been the case two centuries earlier. Table 3:5 delineates this development and lists the various suffixes used. In order to prevent a bias of the results, the counts for the third century AD have been divided between early third century (period of the Severans) and late third century (period from Maximinus I to Constantine).

Table 3:5 Numbers and types of suffixes used (*denotes a shared suffix)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st cent.</th>
<th>2nd cent.</th>
<th>early 3rd</th>
<th>late 3rd</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no suffix</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suffix used</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victrix</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genetrix</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felix</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucifera</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucina</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservatrix</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caelestis</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frugifera</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mater</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of types used remain relatively constant through the second and third century (7 types are used in the second century, 12 in the early third, and 9 in the late third century); and relatively few instances of ‘doubling up’ occur in the suffix names between various goddesses. The most popular of the suffixes most often relate exactly to those aspects discussed above contributing to the popularity of particular goddesses. Regina, Victrix and Felix may symbolise the primary position of the empress by mirroring that of the emperor - either directly as ‘queen’ or indirectly by using terms more normally associated with the position gained by him: ‘victorious’ or ‘lucky/fortunate’. Genetrix and Lucina may refer to her role as mother of the dynasty and of the nation. Lucifera may either symbolise a focus for female aspiration as mentioned above, or be related to consecration i.e. an honour bestowed on the empress herself. A curious trend revealed in Table 3:5 is how relatively rare the use of suffixes is.

63 In Table 3:5 neither Apollo or Sol have been included in the count.
64 For Julia Domna the suffix Felix may also be a way in which a close correlation is established between her person and that of the divinity - since Julia Domna herself was given the title Felix (cf. Table 3:2 note 36).
‘Augusta’ appears to be. Considering that the male equivalent ‘Augustus’ is one of the more distinctive imperial titles and one ‘regularly assumed by the claimant to Empire’ the title also for women could have been presumed to be more common. However, as Marleen Flory has shown the implications of the title ‘Augusta’ are more complex than simply signifying ‘empress’ which could explain why the more straight-forward title of ‘Regina’ was preferred on the coinage. The implicit connotations of transmission of imperial power contained in the title of ‘Augusta’ may also have meant that the title was perceived as more appropriate to certain women at certain times. In the second century the suffix is applied to Venus whereas when it occurs during the third century it pertains to Juno - this is the only instance of a suffix applied to more than one goddess which is not evident in Table 3:5, exactly because the title is not shared between the two deities during the same period. The instances of shared suffixes are, as already mentioned, relatively few; despite four out of the nine titles serving for more than one goddess in the later third century. This statistic is, however, somewhat misleading and needs to be qualified. The joint use of a suffix is limited to being between two goddesses only, and for practically all the cases the cross-over use happens during the coinage of a single empress only, the instances therefore indicate a specific and localised event pertaining to the image of the empress and not an general lack of precision of the period. Victrix, originally a characteristic of Venus, is the only title which is used by more than one other goddess: in the third century it includes both Juno (mint of C. Salonina) and Minerva (mint of Orbiana). Venus shares her title of Felix with Vesta in the mint of C. Salonina; and Juno shares hers of Lucina with Diana in the mint of Faustina II. A couple of suffixes seem to pertain more closely to the deities than the empresses and so occur on the coinage of various reigns. Luciferia is applied to both Diana and Luna presumably because Luciferia (the night sky) could appropriately be characterised by a crescent moon and since Luna (the moon) was often seen as being an aspect of Diana. Similarly is Lucina (associated with childbirth) assigned both to Juno and Diana both of whom, as mentioned above, protect women in labour.

The representation of deities on the coinages and the increased use of applied suffixes must be interpreted as being attempts at articulating complex and specific messages. On one hand, do surprisingly few changes occur to the range of divine coin images, once a type has been established it continues to appear within the range of

66 Mattingly 1928: 147.
67 Flory 1997.
68 cf. also Mattingly’s observation that ‘there are no clear signs on the coins of that syncretism, or deliberate blending of several deities in one, which was so marked a feature of the religious thought of the third century’, Mattingly 1928: 162.
used images until the time of the Tetrarchy. On the other, may the complex and multifaceted identities of the gods themselves be seen to guarantee multiple associative possibilities even within a limited range. Adding a suffix to the name of a deity provides an opportunity for controlling which aspect is emphasised in the interpretation of the divine image - and consequently controlling the correlations made with the empress. In it interesting to note that representations of deity-with-suffix are most often used in order to achieve a greater range of aspects for one or two deities with whom the empress is associated. For instance, the association with a single aspect of specific deities like that of Sabina Tranquilina with Venus Victrix and Diana Lucifera is quite unusual. More common is the approach of Julia Mamaea who is depicted with Juno, Juno Augusta, Juno Conservatrix, Venus Felix, Venus Genetrix, and Venus Victrix; while emphasising her general similarity to Juno and Venus she highlights particular dynastic and imperial characteristics for the viewer to take note of and connect to events or policies as appropriate.

3.2.3 Choice of personifications

Similar developments of use and of popularity can be observed also for the images of personifications. The greater range of personified concepts which it is possible to depict, compared to the finite number of gods, is reflected in Table 3:3 as more types of personifications being used than deities; though, the differences are not great. However, their presence in numbers comparable to those of deities is unique to the medium of coins: of the works listed in the catalogue do personifications only constitute a quarter of all types of representations (cf. Table 4:1). The greater numbers of personifications on coins is undoubtedly related to the easier identification of these from the accompanying legends. Of significance is the fact that the use of both ‘kinds’ of divine figures on coins occur simultaneously and as a concurrent development. One group of divinities is therefore not less important or less politically eloquent, but both equally capable of transmitting its message about the public, official status of the imperial women.

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69 Only minor changes can be noted: Nemesis has a very short period of popularity, Cybele falls out of use after Alexander Severus, and Luna, Sol, and Apollo appear briefly during the third century. One of the major changes which can be noted is that divine representations all disappear from the Roman female coinage from the Tetrarchy onwards excepting Venus, who both Constantine and Galerius use on the coins of their respective wives.

70 Though see also Section 1.2 and the discussion in Section 4.1 for types of representations not included in the catalogue.
In Tables 3:1 and 3:2 the personifications are listed in alphabetical order
without any divisions in terms of status and interpretation. The intermingling of
personal and state ideals and the ambiguity found in the relationship between the two
coin faces renders divisions unnecessary and if anything obscures the fluid
interrelationship of meanings. The first thing to notice is great variations within levels
of popularity of types. The five to seven most popular personifications constitute
roughly 50% of all the occurrences of personifications on the female coinages, cf.
Table 3:6 below. This aspect is very similar to that found for the depictions of deities -
shown in Table 3:4. Secondly, a kind of three part division can be made of those
which have a continuous presence from the first to the third centuries, those which
exist from the second century onwards, and finally the types which exist only for a
short period before then falling out of use.71 A direct correlation between popularity
and length of use can be established, which shows - as Table 3:4 too had shown - that
though there is throughout a good spread in the types used, a kind of core group of
types exist which are very popular and which are popular throughout. I think it entirely
possible to construct the same type of interpretation for the choice of the
personifications as was done for the deities; that is, that the types which are
consistently the most popular are so because they symbolise the role of the empress as
mother, consort and ‘first lady’. However, the interpretations of the personifications
may seem more vague, since these in themselves represent general ideas (at least the
deities were seen to be multifaceted in their representations) and only rarely related to
specific or limited associations. Concord is the primary type of the wife/consort but the
harmony she ensures is not limited to the private sphere but symbolic of the harmony
in the state in general and the good management of state affairs by the imperial family.
Similarly Pietas and Pudicitia - duty and chastity acting as guarantors not just of her
personal qualities but through her as the guarantors of the religious and moral well-
being of the state, as well as depicting the empress fulfilling her role as primary female
religious figure and priestess of Vesta (mirroring the role of the emperor as Pontifex
Maximus). Salus, Fecunditas and Felicitas may be interpreted as related to the fertility
and prosperity of the imperial house as well as of the state, casting the empress in a
role as interlocutor between the private and public spheres of the imperial persona.

71 In the first category belongs Concordia, Pietas, Salus, Fortuna and (possibly) Securitas; in the
second Pudicitia, Fecunditas, Felicitas, Aequitas, Laetitia, Pax, Victoria, Roma and Spes.
Table 3:6 The personifications shown and their relative popularity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st cent.</th>
<th>2nd cent.</th>
<th>early 3rd</th>
<th>late 3rd</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pudicitia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fecunditas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felicitas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aequitas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortuna</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laetitia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilaritas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Securitas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pax</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abundantia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moneta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indulgentia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeternitas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fides Militum</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justitia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providentia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberalitas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uberitas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonus Eventus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libertas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If one selects those personifications which can be related to an event or a more specific association what is interesting is not only the changes in the role of empress which they might suggest, but also the omissions which this highlights in the types used for women.\[^73\]

- The corn supply. Annonna or Abundantia. This is a type which appears only in the third century; Cornelia Salonina was said to have concerned herself specifically with the food-supply of Rome.
- Largess of the emperor. Uberitas, Liberalitas, Aequitas, Moneta. Apart from Aequitas these are all types which only appear during the third century.

\[^72\] The divisions established for Table 3:5 have been maintained here, for the same reasons.

\[^73\] I here follow Mattingly (1928: 166-167) in his discussion of personified representations of events.
• Public games and shows. Laetitia, Hilaria. Both of these appear together in the second century and remain in use throughout; however, Hilaria may also be connected with the festival of the 'Hilaria' in the cult of Magna Mater, and Laetitia may be connected generally to the rejoicing in good events like the birth of an heir - both types in other words may carry aspects of fertility in their interpretation.

• Military virtues. Victory, Virtus, Fides, Constantia, Honos. For these the first four occur only rarely on coins associated with women, Honos does not appear at all.

• The succession. Providentia, Spes, Nobilitas. Nobilitas does not occur at all on the coins of women, and Providentia and Spes only rarely.

So how may these types be interpreted? For the first three groups I think it is possible to see the role of the empress as one who takes part in the actions of the state. This is not to say that she takes part in politics; the fact that the military issues, which, by nature of the political climate by the late Empire, must have been of important 'propaganda' value, are not or only rarely represented must indicate the limitations in the role of 'first lady'. However, the issues relating to the corn supply, imperial liberality, and games are all concerned with a role vital to securing and extending the patronage of the emperor and may be tied to actual events, for which the personifications may be an indication that it was considered appropriate for the empresses to play an active and public part in. Though, these aspects may also symbolically represent ideas of welfare, growth, life, giving/nurturing - that is, linked with the classic female role of fertility. That she was not allowed active part in (or not allowed to be seen to take part in) official policy making must be evident from the lack of military issues as stated but also from the lack of types relating to the succession. This latter may seem strange until one looks at the types more closely. Providentia is related to the wisdom exercised by the emperor in choosing an heir; Spes and Nobilitas both represent this heir - the hopes invested in him and his personal potential. These succession types are in other words concerned with issues of choosing, adopting and training an heir, and must be considered on a par with a public policy statement of the succession and not with aspects related to the female role of fertility.

As suggested earlier, there are differences in the types of associations used for respectively men and women.74 Some personifications are simply not depicted on the coinages of imperial women: Clementia, Honos, Moderatio, Nobilitas, Patientia, Tranquilitas and Tutela. Clementia and Honos can securely be said to be specifically male 'attributes' in a personal and ideological sense, Nobilitas and Tutela can be related

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74 The following discussion is based on a survey of the coinages of the emperors similar to that listed in Tables 3:1-2. However, since this material was created for purely comparative purposes the findings have not been included in table form.
to the adoption of an heir, whereas Patientia and Tranquilitas are at best ambiguous and less strongly ideologically determined in their specificity to men. However, apart from Clementia these are all personifications which occur only rarely on the imperial coinages. Conversely there are, in fact, no personifications which occur exclusively on the coins of women, though both Fecunditas and Pudicitia occur in such rare and single instances that they to all intents and purposes may be counted as exclusively female.\textsuperscript{75} Similarly do the preferred male choice of association, Providentia, figure so rarely among the female associations that that must be seen as exclusively male.\textsuperscript{76} However, the differences in the depictions between men and women are predominantly differences in emphasis (see list below). Comparing the relative popularity of personifications on the coins of the imperial women (cf. Table 3:6) with the preferred depictions for men reveal that six of the eight most common female associations are, indeed, also among those common for men. The most notable aspect is the emphasis on Concordia among the preferences for both genders, suggesting an interpretation of ‘partnership’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female preferences</th>
<th>Concordia</th>
<th>Pietas</th>
<th>Pudicitia</th>
<th>Salus</th>
<th>Fecunditas</th>
<th>Felicitas</th>
<th>Aequitas</th>
<th>Fortuna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male preferences</td>
<td>Providentia</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>Aequitas</td>
<td>Felicitas</td>
<td>Fortuna</td>
<td>Virtus</td>
<td>Libertas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pax</td>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>Salus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pietas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This suggests that the roles most often chosen for the imperial women (mother, wife, and empress) be interpreted as concerned with articulating a public persona for the empress as much as the coins minted for the emperors were concerned with presenting his official image and public role. However, contrary to the images open to the emperor those for the women seem rather restricted in nature, less because of an actual restriction of numbers (a difference in favour of men of ten types was noted earlier), rather it is an indirect restriction based on the fact that without the constitutional / legal / military basis existing for the position of the emperor it is a role which is defined on basis of her sexuality and which uses her person as a symbol of the private sphere. The coinage of Julia Domna may serve as an example. In her lifetime she is represented with more coin types than any other woman recorded in Tables 3:1-2 and so in theory should be the one which provides us with evidence of the greatest

\textsuperscript{75} Fecunditas is depicted on a coin of Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, Gallienus, and Claudius II - Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981 vol. 4.2: 39, 94 (no 164a, 305), vol. 5.1: 139, 214, 220 (no 101, 30, 120). Pudicitia is depicted on a coin of Hadrian and on one of Septimus Severus - Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981 vol. 2: 356 (no 135), vol. 4.1: 162 (no 524).

\textsuperscript{76} Other personifications preferred predominantly as a male association include Liberalitas, Libertas, Virtus, and (to a lesser degree) Spes.
diversity of messages and symbols. She is also described as having a reputation for being intelligent, influential and politically powerful and so ought to be a good example of a woman open to several variants in her (self)depiction; and she already had two sons by the time Septimus Severus ascended the throne one might expect a lesser emphasis on succession symbols, cf. Kampen 1991: 224.

78 Mater Castrorum, Mater Augg, Vesta Mater, Cybele (Magna Mater), Venus Genetrix and a depiction of Julia Domna herself with her sons.

79 For a fuller and more detailed discussion of the interpretation of the title of mater see Section 4.3.3. Similar conclusions on the messages conveyed in the representations of Julia Domna have been reached in studies using different media: Natalie Kampen (1991: 224-242) using official relief sculpture, and Jane Fejfer using inscriptions connected with official portrait statues, Fejfer 1985: 131, 133-134, Fejfer 1988: 296-298.

| Family member | Wife | Mother | Father | Daughter | Son | Sister | Brother | Niece | Grandparent | Grandson | Male cousin | Mother-in-law | Daughter-in-law | Other relation |
|---------------|------|--------|--------|----------|-----|--------|---------|-------|-------------|----------|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Augustus      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Tiberius      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Caligula      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Claudius      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                | xx^47          |               |
| Nero          |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | x^88          |
| Galba         |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | x^49          |
| Otho          |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Vitellius     |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Vespasian     |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Titus         |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Domitian      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Nerissa       |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Trajan        |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Hadrian       |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Antoninus Pius|      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Marcus Aurelius|     |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Lucius Verus  |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Commodus      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Pertinax      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| D. Julianus   |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Clodius       |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Pescen. Niger |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Septimius Severus|    |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | xx^49         |
| Caracalla     |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Geta          |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Macrinus      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | xx^52         |
| Elagabalus    |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Alexander Severus|     |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | xx^52         |
| Maximinianus  |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | xx^53         |
| Gordian I / II|      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Balbinus / Papienus|    |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Gordian III   |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Philip I      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Trajan Decius |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Trebonianus Gallus |    |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Volusian      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Aemilianus    |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Valerian I    |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | x             |
| Gallienus     |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Claudius II / Quintilius |   |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | x             |
| Aurelian      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Tacitus / Florianus|    |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Probus        |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Carus         |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | xx            |
| Carinus       |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                | xx            |
| Diocletian    |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Maximian      |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Constantius / Galerius| |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |
| Constantine   |      |        |        |          |     |        |         |       |             |          |             |               |                |                |               |

85
The Augustan issues of Livia are both from foreign mints and aimed more at establishing his victory over Antony among the local citizens than at presenting Livia, Kleiner 1992b: 365-366.

The depiction of August's daughter, Julia, is usually identified on a Roman issue of c. 12 BC with Augustus on the obv. and three unnamed busts on the rev. - Julia and her sons Gaius and Lucius.

The person referred to is Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law.

The attribution is uncertain and based entirely on the Justitia, Pietas and Salus issues on which the presumed portrait of Livia is highly idealised.

The representations are of Agrippa, Tiberius' father-in-law, and Germanicus, his nephew.

The two men depicted are Augustus, Caligula's great-grand-father, and Drusus Jr., the son of Tiberius.

The grand-parents appearing on the Claudian coinage are Augustus and Livia.

The person depicted is Augustus, the great-grand-father of Nero.

Galba interestingly does not represent members of his own family on his coinage, but chooses instead to depict Livia, who had been his patron and political supporter.

Since Trajan pointedly depicts both his real and his adoptive fathers I have decided to list these as two entries.

Septimus Severus adopted himself into the Antonine family; presenting Marcus Aurelius as his father and Commodus as his brother.

The person represented is the maternal grandmother, Julia Maesa.

Julia Domna, his grandmother's (Julia Maesa's) sister.
3.3 The person depicted

Where in Section 3.2 it was the intention to examine which divine person the real life women were associated with, and consequently in which role these women were cast, this section will rather be concerned with examining the women themselves. Firstly, by looking at how the women depicted are related to the emperor, and secondly, by examining if correlations can be established between a woman's familial relationship to the emperor and the way she is depicted.

Table 3:7 is intended as an overview of which family members each emperor chooses to include on the coinage of his reign, that is, which of his family are honoured by having their portrait included on a coin, be that the obverse, or the reverse. For the purposes of this table no distinctions have been made between blood or adoptive relationships. To accommodate relationships which could not be adequately named (cf. Caligula portraying Drusus the Younger) or where the status of the person may have been more - or as - important as the actual family relationships, a category of 'other' has been included and the details included in the footnotes. The first thing which becomes clear when looking at Table 3:7 is how limited a group of family members are represented: these are not issues celebrating great extended families (even when these are known to have existed, as in the period of the Julio-Claudians) but rather only the most immediate family members - most often only the members of the nuclear family group, that is parents, spouse and children. In fact, I think that it is possible to detect trends in the attitudes to the depiction of family members on coins, and (though the evidence is less strong here than that presented in Tables 3:1-2) on the basis of this to construct a division into three periods similar to those discussed in Section 3.2.

The first period which may be established covers the period from Augustus to Nerva, i.e. by coincidence roughly the period of the first century AD. This is characterised by the greatest number of family members represented by each emperor and the greatest spread in terms of who is represented among the family. The average number of people represented on the coins of those emperors who do include others are four persons. The choice of family members are predominantly centred around parents and potential successors, though the latter gives no impression of systematic

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94 Socalled Memorial Issues have not been included (like Vepasian including types of Augustus) since it was felt that these are solely politically motivated and not concerned, however distant, with a family relationship. The method of recording applied to Table 3:7 contain the same dual disadvantage as noted for Tables 3:1 and 3:2: neither the relative popularity of the various family members nor the relative chronology of the appearance of the family members on the coinages can be distinguished, see the discussion in Section 3.2.
approach. The second period covers the reigns from Trajan to Alexander Severus and is characterised by a more systematic approach of representing family members and by being centred around the wife of the emperor and on average two others - most often the father and the son. The third and last period extends from Maximinus to Constantine. This sees a sudden and drastic narrowing in the spread of family members represented; in fact, on average only two people are represented and these are in the majority of cases the wife of the emperor and their son. There is a rather obvious correlation between these observations and the periods identified in Tables 3:1 and 3:2: until women are systematically represented on coins there will not be any great use of divine persons representing them on the reverse either.

An interesting point to note from Table 3:7 and the observations made above is that the presence (or even predominance) of the person of the empress is not solely linked to political needs of articulating the succession. Certainly the heavy preponderance of parent relationships in the Julio-Claudian period must be related to ideas of a family dynasty being articulated by the position of the current ruler and his family background, less by statements concerning successors. The concentration upon wife-son images during the later third Century AD must be related to the fact that in a politically and militarily unstable time messages signalling stability and continuity must be kept simple and clear. However, there are periods where wives are conspicuous by their absence or very prominent despite the lack of a need to advertise a dynasty. The Flavians are an example of the first category where a family dynasty existed but few women are depicted in order to articulate this. Having neither aristocratic parentage nor a living wife Vespasian honours only his sons on his coinage, emphasising the line of succession and indirectly presenting himself as the parent and progenitor of this new line. His eldest son Titus continues the Julio-Claudian tradition of honouring both his parents though makes no reference to his deceased wife, Arrecina Tertulla, nor (understandably) to his estranged wife, Marcia Furnilla; the younger son, Domitian, is the first to depict his wife but not his parents. According to an interesting study by Eric Varner the inclusion of Domitia on the coinage of Domitian may have served equally as a reference to the succession as a Domitianic association with the aristocratic background of his wife. Certainly an implied gravitas in the representation of Domitia is evident by the repetition of types established by Titus for their mother Domitilla. The issues of Trajan, Hadrian, Elagabalus and Alexander Severus are examples of the second category where no

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95 Also the Julio-Claudian family is notoriously unable to find or maintain a direct father-son relationship for the succession.
96 Varner 1995: 188.
dynasty based on blood descendants existed but wives prevail on the coinages. In fact, the presence of the empress wife on the coinage becomes almost ubiquitous: from the time of Domitian only six of the imperial men who mint family members on their coins do not include their wives. This means that the presence of the empress must signify more than simply 'the mother of the heir' - indeed, that her presence in itself must be important for the message transmitted about emperorship; almost as if what the emperor is signalling in his coinage is that he does not come alone but that the public will receive a 'complete package' as part of his rule. This would tie in well with the interpretations made on the symbolism of the divine figures, that is, that the status of 'empress' itself is an aspect which is stressed, and it would tie in well with the findings made by Natalie Kampen when she states that representations of women may symbolise the private sphere but that 'ultimately the private roles of women are to be understood as political and thus public in their consequences'.

In this way it is possible to argue that the level of visibility of the empress in connected to a general realisation of the potential her presence and her person contain for the message transmitted and of the way that her presence may add to the range of powers, ideas, hopes etc. represented by the emperor. The role of 'mother' is, in other words, only one aspect of the sum of her range - but of course, it is often the easiest to recognise and identify.

The person within the female family circle who, indeed, may be seen almost exclusively to represent the succession is the daughter. She is almost the least represented person within the very immediate family circle - and occurs less than half as often as that of a son. In fact, her presence seems to be determined largely by there being no son to represent, either at all (as in the case of Augustus) or at the time of her representation (as in the case of Faustina II for Antoninus Pius and Lucilla for Marcus Aurelius). In these cases the daughter, though not of course able to succeed herself may at least be able to ensure that a future male successor is related to the emperor by blood or marriage. Daughters, in other words, predominantly act as indicators to identify a future heir; a role, by comparison, a great deal less faceted than that presented by the empress.

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97 Kampen 1991: 220.
3.3.1 Mothers, daughters, wives: characteristics of representations

The interpretations of the divine figures presented in Section 3.2 were based on a general look at all the available material making no distinctions in terms of the relationship of the women to the emperor or their roles within the imperial household. The following is an attempt at presenting the material with this particular aspect in mind. However, as listed in Tables 3:1-2 (and as was evident also from Table 3:7) the most predominant relationship of the women depicted to the minting emperor is that of his wife. Since empresses make up the vast majority of the cases it means that the interpretations made already regarding the status and the symbolism related to the role of women must be seen as relating fairly directly to that of the empress, and that there consequently must be a correlation between the discussion so far and the role of the wife. The present will therefore concentrate on representations of other family members, especially mothers and daughters, and the roles and symbols which may be connected to those. In fact, in order to make the most of the material the two groups will respectively include representations of women older and younger than the emperor. The dynamics related to changes in a woman’s status in her relationship with the reigning emperor, i.e. from daughter to wife, or from wife to mother, will also be examined. Though, since the examples are few the discussion will consequently be no more than a tentative examination of trends.

The aspect most immediately evident in the depiction of women older than the emperor is their preponderance among the category which earlier was entitled ‘non-deity’. Part of the reason for this may be purely practically motivated. For instance, since the title of Diva was granted posthumously it is more likely that a woman will receive this during the reign of her son than during the reign of her husband; indeed this title does occur more often for women during the reign of their sons. At the same time the predominance of mothers and grandmothers endowed with this honour is evidence of the promotion of successful creations of family dynasties and the implicit transmission of status to the emperor himself.\(^{98}\) As Marleen Flory has shown the cognomen ‘Augusta’ contained similar implications of identifying a woman as the transmitter of dynastic power.\(^{99}\) Though, as revealed in Table 3:5, the use of ‘Augusta’ as a suffix is relatively rare, which may seem especially surprising in view of Flory’s conclusion that ‘by the second century AD the term could have meant little more than a

\(^{98}\) (Grand)mothers with the title Diva: Matidia (mother-in-law), Julia Domna, Julia Maesa. Wives with the title Diva: Sabina and Faustina I.

female relative, particularly the wife, of the emperor’.\(^\text{100}\) Maybe the very connotation of dynastic transmission in the term may have meant that the more straight-forward title of ‘Regina’ was considered more suited to articulating the position of the empress - the group which after all predominates among female depictions on the coinages. One of the most common ways for women to be depicted is as the reverse type to an obverse portrait of the emperor himself. As already discussed the coin may in this way be read as a double obverse and as presenting the two as integral elements in an interlinked relationship. Further it is one of the most continuously used types and one almost exclusively granted to mothers and wives. With the exception of issues to Faustina II (by her father Antoninus Pius) and Salonina (by her father-in-law Valerian I) no daughters - nor any other female relation - are depicted in this manner suggesting that it was considered a representation appropriate to women whose public and social standing and proximity to the emperor was defined by virtue of her age.\(^\text{101}\) Compared to depictions of mothers and older women in general it is equally evident that the ‘non-deity’ category is a rather unpopular category for the daughters to be represented as.\(^\text{102}\) For both practical and symbolical reasons the associations surrounding younger family members express a potential where those made for mature women could achieve a greater impact by relying on actual honours achieved. For this reason daughters (in the first two centuries AD at least) are more commonly represented associated with a divine figure.\(^\text{103}\) Unfortunately daughters are depicted too rarely on the coinages to allow any conclusions to be drawn regarding specificity of associations for younger women similar to those made on basis of the catalogued representations, cf. Table 5:1. A similar problem exists for the representations of mothers in the first two centuries AD, though with the greater number of older women depicted in the first half of the third century it may at least be noted that Juno, Juno Conservatrix, Juno Regina, Fecunditas and Fides Militum in this period are used practically exclusively for this age.

\(^{100}\) Flory 1997: 129.

\(^{101}\) Livia, Antonia, Julia Domna and Helena are the only mothers not to be depicted on the reverse of their sons’ obverse portraits. Tiberius is notoriously careful with the honours accorded to his mother, whereas both Claudius and Caracalla granted greater honours to their mothers: the former reversing the type and depicting himself on the reverse to her obverse, the latter by making Julia Domna a Diva. With the issues of Constantine the previous trend of multiple representations of the imperial women is reversed and Helena is depicted on a single issue with Securitas Repubica on the reverse.

\(^{102}\) Only Faustina II and Salonina on the reverses mentioned above and Julia Titi honoured as Diva by her uncle Domitian are depicted types falling into the ‘non-deity’ category.

\(^{103}\) Titus’ multiple representations of his mother Domitilla is the only real exception to this rule. The evidence for the third century is somewhat different since no younger women, apart from Valerian I’s inclusion of Salonina, are depicted in this period whereas a greater number of mothers and grandmothers are represented than seen before.
group and not for wives.104 Though the evidence is slight it may nevertheless suggest that the suitability of associations was linked at least in part to the age and status of the person honoured.

This may be seen to be confirmed in the difference of associations discernible in issues by the same emperor but in honour of different women. Titus represents both his mother Domitilla and his daughter Julia Titi, though except for Concordia the two women share no divine associations for their reverse types. Antoninus Pius’ lifetime issues for his wife Faustina I show a preference for Juno Regina, Venus Augusta and Vesta compared to the depictions chosen for their daughter Faustina II. Though the issues in honour of the daughter to a great extent follow the types established for the posthumous issues of Faustina I there are certain associations which are used only for her: Diana Lucina, Venus Genetrix, Hilaritas, Indulgentia, Laetitia, Pudicitia and Spes. The rather obvious suggestion being that the depictions of the wife emphasises her role as empress, whereas the daughter’s imply the continuity of the dynasty and the hope for the future; significantly is Faustina II depicted as both Juno Regina, Venus Augusta and Vesta when she accedes the throne as the wife of Marcus Aurelius. The issues of Elagabalus are almost too wide-ranging to be able to establish clear differences between them though there would seem to be a slightly greater emphasis on associations with Venus (in her various guises) in the issues honouring his wives than in those honouring either his mother, Julia Soemias, or his grandmother, Julia Maesa. The same trend is evident also in the issues of Faustina II by her husband Marcus Aurelius in which she is associated with Venus as well as with Venus in the guises of Augusta, Felix, Genetrix and Victrix. The accentuation of this role appears as more emphatic if compared to her depiction on Antoninus Pius’ issues in which she is only associated with Venus and Venus Genetrix. The coinage of Faustina II represents the clearest example of the change in depiction following a change in status. As noted already her representation on her father’s issues stresses her youthfulness and her potentiality as the perpetuator of the family line; on her husband’s issues her association with Diana is discontinued in favour of connections with more mature deities like Vesta and Cybele, and with the personifications Aeternitas, Fecunditas and Fortuna proclaiming her contribution to the continuity of the dynasty as an achieved fact. The argued link between age / status and representational types seem further supported by the representations of Lucilla, the daughter of Faustina II and Marcus Aurelius. Her depiction follows very closely the types used for Faustina II on the issues of Antoninus Pius - that is, it copies her mother’s coinage at a moment when the

104 There is further a slight predominance of older women depicted as Vesta, Pudicitia and Felicitas - though not with any conclusive results.
intention was to articulate her status as the daughter of the imperial couple. The connection between Lucilla’s coinage and Faustina’s youthful types is especially clear in the choice of personifications and in the ‘de-emphasis’ of Venus associations. The coinage of Julia Domna show a similar change in status, in her case from wife to mother in the issues of Septimus Severus and Caracalla respectively. The range of divine associations in her later coinage represents a contraction compared to previously, and generally - apart from depictions of Juno - making use of fewer suffixes. The most significant areas of contraction are in her associations with Vesta and Venus. It is difficult to draw any clear interpretations from the former since Julia Domna is practically the only imperial woman to be associated with multiple guises of Vesta; however, based on the discussion above, the lesser emphasis on Venus in her later coinage would suggest that this goddess was considered more appropriate for wives than for any other age/status group.\textsuperscript{105} Within the range of personifications she stops being associated with deities connected to the presence of an heir (Boni Eventus, Spes) since that aspect quite rightly would be seen to have been achieved in the succession of Caracalla; and she also stops being associated with personifications which can be linked to events (Liberalitas, Securitas and Victoria) as if her son is keen to stress that her participation is symbolic rather than active. Most significant is undoubtedly the absence of issues depicting Concordia, making these later issues one of the few third-century, pre-Constantinian issues to a living woman not representing this deity; suggesting that Caracalla is emphasising the independence of his rule.

Uniformly, across the three centuries looked at, the representation of women on the imperial coinages gives prominence to the empress.\textsuperscript{106} Clearly observable is the greater range of types and associations used to represent wives, both in the instances of women whose roles change in relation to the minting emperor - from daughter to wife, or from wife to mother; and in the cases of an emperor issuing coins in honour of different women. The women of this status, through the divine associations, are provided with a fuller and more rounded public image comprising personal characteristics, achievements, aspirations and in some cases references to events making them appear more like the emperor himself than any other group of imperial women. The role of the empress as the partner of the emperor (on a wider basis than the purely personal) may therefore be suggested not just from their greater visibility on the coinages but also through the manner of their depiction on these.

\textsuperscript{105} The exception being the coinage of Julia Mamaea which not only associates her with Venus (and Juno) and hardly with any other goddess, but in which the emphasis on Venus is marked compared to the virtual absence of depictions of this goddess on the coinage of her daughter-in-law, Orbiana.

\textsuperscript{106} Two notable exceptions are evident in Table 3:2: both Julia Maesa and Julia Mamaea are more prominently represented than any of the wives of Elagabalus and Alexander Severus respectively.
3.4 Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of this chapter the singularity of the medium of coinage and of the person depicted are the reasons for the numismatic evidence not being included among the catalogued examples of women associated with divinities. What sets coin depictions apart from other representations - and especially from those of persons not belonging to the imperial family - is that they must be understood as purely political in their imagery. The particularity of the position of the imperial family requires simultaneously a projection of an image which explains and justifies this position, and an adherence to an image or to values expected of them by the recipients of the coin messages, in order to create a model of the ideal ruler. The popularity of concord is concurrently a projection of personal values onto a public plane, a policy statement regarding the social character and aspirations of the reign, and an assumption of an ideal integral to the sentiments and aspirations of the majority of their subjects. The biographical elements, the signs of affectionate relationships, and the events and honours with which they are linked form part of the official imperial persona based on construction and selection and ought not to be read at face value as necessarily ‘real’. However, since the coin images would have been interpreted in relation to the viewers’ own lives, and because of the complex relationships between personal and public values created (as discussed in Section 3.1.1), they may be used as comparative evidence for the catalogued material - despite their contextual specifics.

The combination of the multiple points of reference used to create the imperial persona and the multi-layered symbolism constituting it may make it especially difficult to interpret the position of the imperial women. The overlap between the person of the empress, the sphere of the family and the imperial programme obscures the identity of the empress and seems to connect her almost entirely to emblematic values linked to her sexuality. However, as noted above the medium of the coinage is not concerned with actual biography but with the creation of an effective imperial persona, and the projection of traditional moral values may function as a powerful ideological mechanism for presenting the ideal nature of the empress, protecting the imperial family from scandalous rumours and attacks, and inspiring loyalty, as well as disseminating information regarding the succession and reinforcing the imperial political programme. In this sense the presence of the imperial women serves similar

objectives as those of the emperor. The main difference between the two may arguably be seen as a difference in symbolic emphasis: stressing the political acumen and military prowess of the emperor in order to present him as a moral ideal and a guarantor for a peaceful and fruitful future. Indeed, the correspondence between the preferred personifications on male and female coinages was noted in Section 3.2.3. Further the role of mother and wife is not the only one through which the position of the empress is articulated; equally important, as shown in the examinations of the choices of goddesses and personifications, is that of 'partner in imperium'. The two roles are interlinked and may be expressed through the complex symbolism and associations inspired by the divine characters on the coins but equally also through the overlap between private and public associations connected to the position of the empress as imperial consort. Two aspects especially suggest the intention to express the empress' position of pre-eminence: the characteristics discussed in Section 3.3.1 in the representations of imperial women of various ages suggests not just a targeting of image to the age of the woman depicted but also to her status and proximity to imperial rule; and the predominance of wives (even above fathers and sons - evident from Table 3:7) as the persons singled out for inclusion suggests that their presence was considered integral to the imperial rule. The evolution charted in the presence of women on the imperial coinages must therefore also be interpreted as the development and gradual clarification of the official nature of the role of the empress especially. Indeed, it is interesting to notice how, as the public expression of the empress becomes established there is a corresponding shift towards a specificity in the articulation of the role through the increased use of suffixes added to the names of the deities. Similarly a new type is brought into use which depicts the imperial couple together on the same coin-face, establishing them clearly as a single unit. This type is a development of the double obverse version, which since the late Republic had been used to articulate alliances and partnership in imperium and which here has been shown predominantly to be used for wives and mothers. Indeed, this type may be seen to establish an interesting correlation with the interpretations proposed for the inter-relationship between the obverse and reverse faces of a coin depicting a deity: that is, as alternative visual representations of one idea.
CHAPTER 4

DEITIES AND FEMALE VIRTUES

The chapter will offer possible interpretations for the choices of deities in the guises of which Roman women were represented or represented themselves. The juxtaposition of a recognisable reality and a heightened reality in the representation of these associations raise a variety of interpretative questions regarding whether it is possible to establish a correlation between the mythological interpretation of a goddess and the socio-personal interpretation of an image of a mortal woman; the kind of message being communicated through the choice of a particular deity; and whether the choice of deity for association in some way may be seen to conform to established ideals for women. The chapter has been divided into three parts. Firstly, a rather straightforward examination of the various deities present in the catalogued works: examining the range of goddesses chosen not their mythological interpretation. In order to save space and increase legibility the latter type of approach has been included within the catalogue. There, before each group of catalogue entries, may be found a discussion of each of the deities occurring in the catalogue, dealing with their general iconography, and mythological interpretation. Much of the discussion in this first section will, in other words, base itself on the details and interpretations made within the discussion in the catalogue. Secondly, and in a sense parallel to the initial investigation, will follow a discussion of those ideals and virtues which are used to characterise women. Epigraphic and literary sources will form the basis of this in order to attain an image of the type of distinctions and attributes connected with women. However, simultaneously it is important to evaluate to how great an extent the image of women thus obtained is an expression of considered choices or simply conforms to a traditional ideal repeated as an appropriate topos for the occasion. The correlation between the first two parts will be the aim of the third section, with the view to discovering which values may be seen to be represented in the images dealt with here.
4.1 The range of deities chosen for association

Before any discussion regarding the relationship between the use of representations of deities and the expression of female virtues, I want to examine which deities are chosen for the depiction of or associated with Roman women. Table 4.1 gives an overview of the range of deities which appear in the catalogue. The table has been divided in four parts: goddesses, mythological figures who achieved divine status, personifications, and 'other' - that is, representations less easily classifiable. Within all four columns the various deities are arranged according to relative popularity, starting with those most commonly used.

Table 4.1 Range of deities appearing within the catalogue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goddess</th>
<th>Myth. figure</th>
<th>personification</th>
<th>'Other'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>Ariadne</td>
<td>Fortuna</td>
<td>with cornucopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceres</td>
<td>Psyche</td>
<td>Virtus</td>
<td>'Deity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>Rhea Silvia</td>
<td>Salus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muse</td>
<td></td>
<td>Roma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proserpina</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luna</td>
<td></td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juno</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cybele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nymph</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bona Dea</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hecate</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nemesis</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first and most obvious point to note is that all the deities chosen to be associated with Roman women are female.¹ This would suggest that what we are dealing with is a conflation of sign and signified as discussed in Section 2.3 and that the representations may be exemplifying a notion of a transference of qualities from the image onto the subject. The second point to note is the predominance of deities belonging to the Roman pantheon of gods. This may partly be explained by the methodological approach: by insisting on the presence of unequivocal attributes as basis for acceptance into the catalogue, an equivalent discouragement must be accepted for those representations - like the personifications - which embody ideas rather than depict individual divine personalities. That the preference of goddesses over personifications

¹ Male, oblique, associations with female deities do exist: Muse (Wrede 1981 no 239, 241, 255-258); city deity/Tyche (Wrede 1981 no 291); Proserpina (Davies 1986: 59 n. 1, no 1-2, 4-6). On coins the associations by emperors with female deities are quite common, cf. Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981: passim
should be the reverse of the situation found on the coins may in part be explained by the presence of the legends on the coins which on these render obvious the identity of the personifications. Thirdly, the presence of mythological figures is notable.\(^2\) Their presence here is significant from the point of view that it runs contrary to any trend found within coin representations. The different contextual requirements between coin representations and other media may in part be explicable for this. In fact, all three of the mythological figures appear in the catalogue exclusively and specifically within funerary contexts. However, the specificity of the presence of mythological characters would also signal that choice of representation was deliberate. The categories ‘with cornucopia’ and ‘Deity’ may correspond to those depictions of personifications without legend which were not included for consideration within chapter 3, but which do occur with some frequency throughout the emissions of the Emperors.\(^3\) Their very ‘vagueness’ and multiplicity of allusion must presuppose a common font of knowledge and shared reference-points between patron and spectator in order to have rendered the images intelligible to their intended audience.\(^4\)

The use of goddesses is relatively more common and is used with greater variety on the works catalogued than was found on the coin representations, where conversely, the use of personifications was found to be overwhelmingly more popular and varied (compare Table 3:6). Differences in social status may have meant that personifications were considered a more politically ‘safe’ method of depicting the members of the imperial house (significantly the majority of representations of empresses in the catalogue - where they are depicted as closely associated with a deity - belong to the medium of cameos; that is, works presumed to have had a limited circulation and to have been confined to view by the imperial circle and their associates). Where empresses are represented in the catalogue in media other than the glyptic they seem generally concentrated within the vaguer category of ‘with cornucopia’. Further, since designs on coins may be changed at each emission and between each mint, issues can afford to depict the empress within a narrower and more specific range of references. A private person, on the other hand, who might only have access to one representation of herself, say her tomb sculpture or sarcophagus, must

\(^{2}\) Again the methodological restraints within this study have imposed some limitations on the range of mythological figures included: since the interest here is specifically related to the depictions of divinities, only those mythological characters who achieve divine status have obviously been included. Rhea Silvia has tentatively been included among this group for the reasons stated in Section 1.2.1.

\(^{3}\) For a wide range of these see especially Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981 but also Kent 1978.

\(^{4}\) For this aspect of the complicity of understanding between spectator and patron in reading and interpreting an image see also Sections 2.2.2 on the imitative portrait and 2.3 on the ‘magical’ aspects of portraiture.
presumably have found it more appropriate to choose a subject which may be seen to
embody exactly the opposite: a broad-ranged and multifaceted depiction.

4.1.1 Similarities/characteristic within the range of choices

It seems that inherent in the nature of a divinity is a perception of the composite aspects
and ideas embodied within that deity. At times these ideas seem interlinked, as when
the connection which Ceres has with crops and corn becomes linked to fertility in
general, human and vegetal, and associated with the corn supply and, by extension,
with the well-being of the Roman populace. Other times the aspects may seem
contrasting, as in the status of Diana as the protectress of women in childbirth - when
she herself is a fierce defender of her own virginity. Each representation of a deity, as
each of the deities themselves, may in other words be understood as a complex of
associated aspects centred around a common framework or within a field of interests of
the deity. In much the same way some Roman women seem to be depicted as
multifaceted beings through the use of multiple images. Both Claudia Semne, Priscilla
and an unnamed woman were in their respective tombs depicted with several portraits
each in different divine guises, no doubt as illustrations of their various qualities. 5
Generally the aim seems to be to visualise a broadly over-arching theme which may be
interpreted as encompassing the essential quality of the person depicted.

Looking at the broad lines of similarities existing between the deities present
in the catalogue, various 'fields' or areas may be established. Due to the nature of the
material where many of the representations occur on objects or in contexts connected
with funerary aspects, there is naturally a considerable interest in subjects appropriate
for this context. That is, using deities - or adapting deities - to function as allegories of
the death of the individual and the hopes for a state of bliss in the other world. Apart
from Hecate, all the other deities (Ariadne, Luna, Proserpina, Psyche, Rhea Silvia,
and to a certain extent also Diana) represented in scenes connecting them with death do
in fact all share another common trait. That trait is an emphasis on the (married) couple
as the central, and in some cases singular, entity - notably a couple of which the
deceased is always one of the partners. Ariadne is usually depicted with Dionysus,
Luna with Endymion, Proserpina with Dis Pater, Psyche with Eros/Cupid, Rhea Silvia
with Mars, and in a series of third century representations Diana is linked with a

5 Claudia Semne: Spes (= Cat. 159), Venus, Fortuna, Wrede 1971; Wrede 1981 no 289. Priscilla:
Ceres, Ariadne/Diana, Maia, Venus, Wrede 1971: 163, AV 1. Unnamed woman: Venus (= Cat. 172,
Fig. 23), Graces, priestess, Walker 1985: 39-40, fig 28, Wrede 1981 no 310.
hunter. Further should be added Venus’ pairing with Mars, and the Muse who when depicted singly is usually shown with a poet/philosopher. That is, for a not inconsiderable third of the divinities chosen ‘the couple’ forms an important part of the interpretation. However, only for very few of these may the principal interest be seen as being the wedding itself (Cat. 5 Ariadne, Fig. 3; and with various explicitness the Venus representations Cat. 207, 208, 209, Fig. 25). Rather they seem to represent marriage as a symbol of the heroic act of a woman’s life and as a symbol of her personal ‘virtus’ which explains her promotion to a deity. Phyllis Katz has proposed such an interpretation for the myth of Amor and Psyche but I find it equally applicable for the interpretations of the other deities listed above.⁶ In her article Katz identifies the tests that Psyche has to accomplish as similar to those found in the tales of heroes, but intended to effect a marriage between herself and her partner. Katz mainly interprets this aspect of the myth as relating to a rite of passage which ‘initiates’ women into marriage and womanhood. However, considering that here, in the visual representations, the myths are found appropriate for mature as well as for young women and that in the majority of cases they occur exclusively in funerary contexts, I think that a retrospective rather than prospective interpretation is more pertinent.

There are deities which represent aspects of coming of age, marriage or motherhood more specifically. Indeed, if these are grouped together as expressions of female sexuality / stages in female lives, 40% of the goddesses chosen may be seen as being related to this: more or less equally divided between the three aspects. If a concern with fecundity in general is added to the group it represents over half of the total.⁷ Defining one-self as a woman would in other words seem to have been an important concern. Adolescence, marriage, and childbearing each represent important life-stages which are surrounded by rites and rituals enabling the transition from one to the other, and which would therefore have acted as strong markers of self-identification and as a gendered understanding of one self. It may be argued that to define oneself primarily according to one’s sexual status like this is to define oneself in relation to men: as a daughter, wife or mother. Indeed, these rites - marriage especially - institutionalises and domesticates female sexuality.⁸ However, more significantly it is a way to define oneself within the family, and for the family to express their emotional

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⁷ The deities counted are as follows. Coming of age: Ariadne, Diana, Proserpina, Psyche. Marriage and motherhood: Ceres, Cybele, Isis, Juno, Rhea Silvia. Fecundity: Bone Dea, Fortuna, Nymph, Venus, ‘Cornucopia’. Though there is naturally an overlap between one group an another each goddess is only present in one category at a time in order to avoid a distortion of the figures by the same deity being counted more than once.
⁸ For studies of Greek customs which suggest this to be the case, see King 1983: 111; D'Ambra 1994: 81 n. 43; Verman 1991: 207-219.
and familial ties with the person depicted; by making use of the social roles created for them women are participating in that society - these are clearly not women on the periphery of society but ones who claim as much status as may be gained from the titles available to them: *virgo*, *matrona*, *mater*, *uxor*.\(^9\) Few of the deities symbolise roles with reference to profession. Apart from Salus who by association with Hygieia may refer to a knowledge of medicine (cf. Cat. 155), both Minerva (crafts, intellect) and the Muses (arts, science) are somewhat oblique in their references. Minerva may represent traditional female non-commercial crafts like weaving and spinning; and the Muse(s) may refer to an educated, cultured person in general and not to a specific skill or interest.\(^10\) Tertullian is able to claim that a soldier may be immortalised as Mars and a smith as Vulcan; and Caterina Maderna has shown that Jupiter seems to have been thought more appropriate for men of the imperial house while Mercury served better for those engaged in trade and commerce; but for women the spectrum of goddesses available seem to furnish models which are all-together more oblique.\(^11\) However, part of the strength of a deity is to represent images more complex and allusive than mere two-dimensional representations of occupations.

A substantial number of deities can be interpreted as connected with ideas of social stability, (national) protection, and/or civic identity. In fact, almost half of the goddesses chosen may be characterised as such.\(^12\) Protective and civic aspects may be rather easily referable to individual deities: Fortuna and Minerva as examples of the former; Roma, Venus and Victoria as examples of the latter. Under the heading social stability has been included those goddesses who may be associated with laws and politics or who may be characterised as having a unifying effect among the various Roman social classes, like Ceres, Fortuna, Juno, Nemesis. That a category of this type can be made is interesting for it depicts Roman women as participants in Roman society and structures and in cultural debates on a general if not a specific level. That individual women too should be presented (present themselves) as part of this chain of interconnected units of individual - family - community - state would suggest that women were regarded as (implicitly) more actively partaking in family/public life than

---

\(^9\) Female sexuality and social roles may also be used as metaphors of political ideas, most obviously within representations of the women of the imperial house, see for instance Feijer 1985; Feijer 1998; Fittschen 1982; Kampen 1991; Kleiner 1992b.

\(^10\) Though, for depictions of women carrying out their professions see Kampen 1981b; Kampen 1982.

\(^11\) Tertullian *Ad Nationes* 1.10.27; Maderna 1988. Note also Ovid *Amores* 3.2.47-57 where a correlations are made for a whole series of deities: Neptune (sailors), Mars (soldiers), Apollo (augurs), Diana (hunters), Minerva (craftsmen), Ceres & Bacchus (farmers), Pollux (boxers), Castor (horsemens), Venus (lovers).

\(^12\) Belonging to this category would be: Ceres, Cybele, Fortuna, Juno, Minerva, Nemesis, Rhea Silvia, Roma, Salus, Venus, Victory, and Virtus; Proserpina has been included as possibly belonging here.
our emphasis on (explicit) political participation and economic independence have traditionally acknowledged. Certainly it is noteworthy that there is, also among women, an interest in and expression of what constitutes Roman identity and Roman character: a preoccupation which seems present in Roman society from the Republic onwards.\textsuperscript{13} What we might be seeing here is evidence of women taking part in the debate and picking up on the cultural implications of it. In other words, women (and representations of women) are capable of embodying symbols of the world other than that strictly and specifically linked with a feminine sphere. The depictions are not necessarily tied to an actuality of existence but should possibly rather be interpreted as relating to an extended reality of the world and include images of women also as citizens and Romans. From the range of canonical deities belonging to the Roman pantheon the most striking omission from the catalogue is Vesta; - a goddess who features prominently among the coin emissions of the empresses suggesting that the idea of Vesta might have been too closely bound up with the specific nature and status of the Vestals; a status and position which the empress could symbolically and politically appropriate on the coinage in order to signal her own status within the state and position as an 'honorary' Vestal, but which private individuals could not. Similarly the difference in popularity of representations of Juno: relatively less popular among the catalogued pieces this deity with her 'royal' connotations enjoy a very high degree of popularity on the coin emissions associated with empresses. In other words, the social contexts of the patrons and the contexts of display of the image would seem to be determining factors in the choice of specific goddesses in the representations of mortal women.

4.1.2 Trends and changes in the choice of deities

Table 4.2 below represents the relative popularity of the deities chosen for association; without regard for chronological changes or preferences. Arranged in this manner it reveals the sharp preferential differences which exists in the range of deities which in turn may be roughly divisible into three ranks: the very popular, the common and the sporadic. The first group is made up of one preferred choice of goddess which overwhelmingly dominates the selection and of two others in a somewhat supporting role to this; between them the three deities occur in c. 46% of the represented

\textsuperscript{13} For the construction of Roman identity during the Republic see Gruen 1993: especially chapters 1-4. For a similar debate during the reign of Augustus see Hbinek and Schiesaro 1997: especially
instances. The second group contains eight different deities much more equally balanced in preference than is the case of the former group; together they occur in c. 35% of the catalogued instances. The last group is numerically the largest with a choice of 14 different goddesses, however, few of these are represented in any significant number and the entire group only account for approximately 18% of the overall choice for representation. If a similar approach is applied to the relative popularity in the choice of funerary epithets a very similar result is obtained in terms of groupings and characteristics (see Table 4:4). The similarity of results may suggest a similarity of approach: that is, an aspiration to choose a characterisation of a woman which is both appropriate and multifaceted and which may be interpreted equally as a description of an individual and of a social persona.

Table 4:2 Relative popularity of representations, all periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Number in total (all periods)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceres</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muse</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariadne</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proserpina</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luna</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with cornucopia</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Deity'</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortuna</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juno</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cybele</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psyche</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtus</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nympha</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerva</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salus</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isis</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhea Silvia</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bona Dea</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hecate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemesis</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 deities 236 pieces

That images could be reshaped and identity almost re-invented by the emperors is shown in Zanker 1988.
Table 4:3 lists the choices for association by centuries, and it becomes clear from this that the ideal - or the choice deemed most appropriate - is not constant. During the first century AD the choice of depiction is predominantly directed towards images of general fecundity - with Ceres being the overwhelmingly most popular choice. The selection of representations for the second century AD conform in general more closely to the overall trend of groupings seen in Table 4:2: a few very popular associations dominating the selection and a range of other choices in varying popularity. Ceres is still a popular choice but now convincingly overtaken by Venus. Diana also appears among the most popular - only the (now) indeterminable 'Deity' remains as a relatively universal depiction of heightened self-representation.

Table 4:3 Popularity of representation, by centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C1</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>C3</th>
<th>C4</th>
<th>Date u/kn.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ariadne</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bona Dea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceres</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cybele</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortuna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hecate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isis</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juno</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerva</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemesis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nymph</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proserpina</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psyche</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhea Silvia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtus</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cornucopia'</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Deity'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6+</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the totals of numerical instances do not add up to the actual number of catalogued pieces. This is due to the fact that in some cases the datation of the piece spans two centuries, and each of these have been counted twice. The pieces in question are: 1st/2nd cent: Cat. 56 (Cybele), 135 (Proserpina). 2nd/3rd cent: Cat. 86, 87 (Fortuna), 112 (Minerva), 114 (Muse), 137 (Proserpina). 3rd/4th cent: Cat. 128 (Muse).
For the third century AD the trend of tripartite groupings is still evident though the differentiation in preference between the groups of most and lesser popularity is less pronounced. Venus and Diana are still to be reckoned among the more frequent representations but each of them have now been overtaken in popularity by respectively Muse and Ariadne; Ceres instead is hardly to be counted as a preferred choice. In fact, the preferences of associations of the third century reveal the influence of the medium of sarcophagi reliefs which allow for a more narrative approach suitable for the depiction of mythological story-telling, and consequently mythological characters make a more conspicuous appearance as a subject. In fact, even on the basis of the admittedly very limited statistical material presented in Table 4:3 it is tempting to see a manifestation of the 'zeitgeist' of the various periods. Ceres, Cybele, Roma, and woman with cornucopia are preferred as associations during the first century AD. That is, images of fertility, order, and a sense of place-specificity or 'nationalism' in a celebration of Rome and the security and prosperity of that city predominate. In the following century the choices which predominate are Diana, Fortuna, Isis, Juno, Minerva, Nymph, Salus, Spes, Venus, and 'Deity'. A much more wide-ranging choice which corresponds well with the evident interest in the use of this type of representation generally. However, the wider range may also be evidence of this type of images being found appropriate for a wider age-group: the presence of Diana, Nymph and 'Deity' in sizeable proportions would suggest that also children and young women are being represented in the guises of deities. Though it would seem difficult to draw many conclusions from the remaining preferences one may pose the suggestion that in the main the representations are socially directed: the ideal wife, mother and manager of the household - depicted in Juno, Venus, Isis, Spes, and Fortuna. The trends seem to clarify somewhat in the third century AD. Though Ariadne, Luna, Muse, Proserpina, Rhea Silvia, and Virtus do not share obvious interpretative characteristics, their style of representation is similar in that they are practically always represented as part of a couple. The basic nuclear family and the couple especially seem the obvious preferences and interests for depiction for this period. These suggestions for interpretations will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.3. The second and third centuries both represent the high-point of the usage of divinities as a vehicle for self-representation; - a trend which is also evident is the medium of coins (see Tables 3:7 and 3:9). Though contrary to the evidence here are the instances and breadth of choice on the coinage greater in the third century than the second. The tradition comes to a somewhat abrupt end in the fourth century AD; evident from the
sharp drop in the number and range of depictions found belonging to this century: four
different deities each represented once.

4.2 Female ideals and female virtues

Complementary to the examination of the iconographical evidence which forms the
greater and more important part of this chapter, I want to look at how women are
described in the written sources. That is, which adjectives are used to characterise
women, which aspects of their personalities or lives are chosen for comment, and
which are emphasised as being positive. This was prompted by the fact that since
many of the representations in the catalogue were intended for a funerary context, it
would seem obvious to correlate these with the epitaphs written for women. The
epitaphs can in many cases be considered as serving a function similar to that of a
visual representation, that is, to portray the deceased. However, the discussion will not
be limited to epigraphical evidence alone but will include also literary sources, since
various comparative studies have shown a convincing correlation in the outlooks
informing descriptions of women in works of both contexts.\footnote{For evidence that the outlook governing both epigraphical and various forms of literary sources are convincingly similar see Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: the arrangement of chapter 2 especially, Shelton 1990 esp: 164, 177-178, 186, Shelton 1998: chapter 13 especially, Treggiari 1991: 230.}

A study of this type must necessarily be accompanied by several caveats -
which as a body may be characterised as related to the conventions of funerary
memorials and the conventionality of the ideals expressed. A comparison between
accounts of the actions and activities that women do undertake and the seeming
consensus opinion on the type of virtues and behaviours which were considered
positive, reveal a discrepancy between the de facto lives of women and the
traditionality of the descriptions of them.\footnote{cf. Gordon, Beard et al. 1993: 151: ‘Funerary commemorations [...] are exactly those in which the greatest formality and least relationship to ordinary life is to be expected. An account of women’s honour or de facto power in the household, for example, could never be based on them’.} Despite the apparent correlation between
epigraphical / literary evidence and the types of representations catalogued here one
cannot presume a corresponding correlation in the sentiments prompting their
commission or in the moral outlook determining their fashioning. Presumably due to
the emphasis traditionally placed on the value of the written evidence, this disparity is
not made clear in the majority of the current studies, which tend to use funerary and
literary texts explicitly or implicitly as evidence for the lives of women. In the
following I therefore want to make a distinction, not between the types of sources as
such, but between those descriptions which conform to the ideals informing public representations of women, and those which provide evidence of the possible range of female action and influence. Only by being aware of the conventions which motivate (or characterise) certain choices may it be possible to begin to discuss how far the catalogued representations conform to traditional concerns or if it reasonable to see them serving as an indication of aspirational ideals. It is with this in mind that the epigraphical and literary material is seen as having the possibility of furnishing ulterior information and interpretative nuances for the catalogued material, whether funerary or otherwise in context.

Before examining the types of ideals which predominate in the descriptions of women, it may be worth briefly to look at why formality and traditionality may be expected in funerary inscriptions. Firstly, one must acknowledge a certain conservatism in the Roman outlook itself regarding the presentation of women. There is, in fact, some suggestion that the image presented, or even the very lives, of Roman women was considered both unchanging and shared between most women. The funerary oration to Murdia by her son of her first marriage is rather explicit about this:

"For these reasons, praise for all good women is simple and similar, since their native goodness and the trust they have maintained do not require a diversity of words. Sufficient is the fact that they have all done the same good deeds that deserve fine reputation, and since their lives fluctuate with less diversity, by necessity we pay tribute to values they hold in common, so that nothing may be lost from fair precepts and harm what remains." 17

The passage indicates both the standardisation of approach and a presumed unanimity of opinion, suggesting that for a Roman (male) viewer the image presented of women is a universal one. However, this standardisation is not exclusive to descriptions of women but may be considered inherent to the very act of composing funerary epitaphs. As J.A. North has pointed out, the language of epigraphic writing in general should be perceived as based on a series of stock ideas and themes which were considered appropriate to that particular context. 18 One can in other words not necessarily expect a text to provide an individualised or exclusive reflection of the personality and accomplishments of a particular person. Rather the text must be situated within a wider context of socially appropriate expressions. Secondly, the public and expressive aspects of Roman funerals and funeral customs would anchor their usage (and

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18 North 1983: 171; cf. Morris 1992: 159 who further points out that also the choice of relationships mentioned are determined by the funerary context.
consequently also the interpretation of these) more firmly in the world of the living
than in that of the deceased. Since funerary representations must be subject to the
conventions and needs of the dedicants the characterisation which they provide of the
deceased must be understood as being of that person's social persona. Only
secondarily may the representations be seen as a realistic (or naturalistic) descriptions.
Funerary - exactly as honorific - portraits are therefore subject to similar concerns
regarding presentation and representation as discussed previously for Roman
portraiture in general (Chapter 2).

An example of the conventionalised language used in the epitaphs may be
found in the results of a survey, quoted by Susan Treggiari, based on those epitaphs
listed in CIL vol. 6 which are from the city of Rome and for which a husband-wife
relationship may be established. Despite the obvious limitations of this study it may
work very well as a case-study and I think the findings are worth restating. In three out
of four epitaphs included in the survey, an adjective has been attached to the noun
stating the person's marital status. For the vast majority of the epitaphs a descriptive
expansion beyond the bare stating of identity and familial relationship has, in other
words, been considered desirable. This elaboration constitutes an explanation of why
the deceased merited the funeral commemoration, as well as suggesting an
individualisation of the dead. However, the adjectives chosen are rather essential in
nature and somewhat limited in range. Indeed, no more than eleven different adjectives
may be identified from which a relative popularity for women and for men may be
established. These are listed below in Table 4.4; the adjectives and adjectival
descriptions are arranged in order of popularity with the number of instances found
listed in brackets.

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references.
20 For a rather interesting discussion of funerary inscriptions and monuments as representing
respectively the portrait and a substitute of the deceased, see Häusle 1980.
since she does not distinguish between epitaphs used respectively for husbands and wives the data used
is that presented by Treggiari 1991.
22 If all commemorations are considered (excluding self-commemorations) the figure falls to 49%.
Since only 34% of commemorations include indications of age the figure may still point towards a
preference for the inclusion of an epithet Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 174-175.
23 The range of adjectives is even more limited when viewed for all commemorations: 84% of all
epiteths make use of bene merens, dulcissimus/a, carissimis/a, and pientissimus/a; if optimus/a,
sanctissimus/a and incomperabilis is included the percentage of epithets employing one or more of
these rises to 93% Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 175.
Table 4.4 Wife/husband descriptions in epitaphs from Rome

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>(total no. of epitaphs: 3728)</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>(total no. of epitaphs: 1241)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bene merens</td>
<td>well deserving (1305)</td>
<td>bene merens</td>
<td>well deserving (932)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carissima</td>
<td>very dear (576)</td>
<td>carissimus</td>
<td>very dear (265)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanctissima</td>
<td>very 'holy' (208)</td>
<td>optimus</td>
<td>excellent (70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optima</td>
<td>excellent (156)</td>
<td>piennissimus</td>
<td>very devoted (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dulcissima</td>
<td>very sweet (144)</td>
<td>dulcissimus</td>
<td>very sweet (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piennissima</td>
<td>very devoted (107)</td>
<td>sanctissimus</td>
<td>very 'holy' (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incomparabilis</td>
<td>incomparable (103)</td>
<td>incomparabilis</td>
<td>incomparable (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rarissima</td>
<td>exceptional (35)</td>
<td>rarissimus</td>
<td>exceptional (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amanissimus</td>
<td>very loving (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fidelissima</td>
<td>very loyal (24)</td>
<td>castissimus</td>
<td>very chaste (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fidelissimus</td>
<td>very loyal (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>castissima</td>
<td>very chaste (23)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amanissima</td>
<td>very loving (14)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The brevity of most epitaphs, as well as lack of space for inscriptions, costs of commission, conventionality of approach and cultural custom in general may explain the limited range of adjectives used and the somewhat formulaic approach to commemoration. However, Table 4.4 does reveal aspects which are of interest in the current examination. The most obvious - and possibly most surprising - aspect is the fact that none of the adjectives used pertain exclusively to either men or women. In fact, the similarity of use - in choice of words as well as in relative popularity - of the descriptions is extraordinary. If the adjective used is interpreted as descriptive of the dedicatee it may suggest a more uniform or reciprocal view of the marital roles than one might have expected. A couple of aspects, however, do seem to reveal a preferential difference. Most significant is the notable popularity of sanctissima, very holy, for women; a description which for men seems to be relatively unimportant. Conversely piennissimus/a (as well as amanissimus/a and castissimus/a though the evidence for these is too scant to be reliable) is relatively more popular for men than for women. Though the difference here is less conspicuous than was the case of sanctissimus/a it is never the less of interest since devoted (and loving and chaste) may have been an aspect which one more readily might have expected as characterising women. Another point which becomes clear from an examination of the table is that adjectives pertaining to duty and morality and those describing an affective relationship are intermixed. In fact, the second most popular choice after an expression of personal worth of the deceased, is one of affection for that person; - this is true of both men and women. An aspect which may provide evidence of an emotional investment contained
in the epitaphs. Indeed, it seems as if traditional virtues, apart that is from sanctissima for women, are either absent or little emphasised in descriptions between Roman spouses. Though, as pointed out above, where space is limited emphasis would quite naturally be on a more all-encompassing choice of words; hence the popularity of bene merens, optimus/a and incomparabilis.

4.2.1 Ideal behaviour - domesticity

A greater specificity of description may found where space allows: in longer inscriptions and in literature. In these it is notable how the portrayals of women are linked with the activities of the household, the marriage, and her person. The list of qualities enumerated for Amymone succinctly identify some characteristic descriptive values:

Hic sita est Amymone Marci optima et pulcherrima lanifica pia pudica frugi casta domiseda

Here lies Amymone wife of Marcus, best and most beautiful, worker in wool, pious, chaste, thrifty, faithful, a stay-at-home.

The description of the wool-working housewife is one which may be found in inscriptions, laudations and funerary art from the Republic to the late Empire. Once the theme enters political literature with Augustus describing the empress Livia as weaving his robes it becomes clear that the theme itself has become a symbol of a

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24 These are aspects which have been observed also by Saller 1994: 98: 'As brief and formulaic as the epitaph may be, its basic wording points to commemoration as a consequence of prior, reciprocal bonds of duty and affection between the living'.

25 CIL 6.11602. Translated by M. Lefkowitz/M.B. Fant (1992: 17, no 41) who date it to the first cent. BC. Treggiari 1991: 243 dates the inscription to the time of Hadrian; whereas Fantham, Foley et al. 1994: 369 characterise it as undated. N. Kampen translates the text as 'best and most beautiful, a wool-worker, pious, modest, thrifty, pure and home-loving'.

26 See the 2nd cent. BC inscription to Claudia (CIL 6.15346); the 1st cent. BC laudation called the 'Laudatio Turiae' (Dessau 1892-1962 vol 2, no 8393) (= CIL 6.1527); the Augustan eulogy to Murdia, (CIL 6.10230), also of the 1st cent. BC; and the late 3rd-4th cent. AD inscription to Allia Potestas (CIL 6.37965). As well as the late 1st/early 2nd cent. funerary relief of Ulpia Epigone, (Vatican Museo Gregorio Profano 1030, D'Ambra 1989); or the 1st cent. BC description of the motives on the inscription to a woman from Sardis (Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: 17, no 42); further may an early 3rd cent. life-size female statue from Carthage be depicted with a distaff and a ball of wool - though both objects are rather uncertain (Norman and Haeckl 1993: 244, fig 3, Bell pers.com.). I am grateful to Sinclair Bell for drawing my attention to this latter. A sign of the longevity of the image and its symbolic content may be evidenced by the annunciation scene in the 5th cent. mosaiced triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, where Mary (dressed as a Byzantine empress) is shown drawing wool onto her lap from a basket next to her (Matthiae 1987: 44, fig 31, 33).
concept. That is, a symbol of the hard-working and industrious wife who contributes to the family's wealth, and who, because the work confines her to the house, is also chaste and loyal to her husband. A symbol functioning as a shorthand for the wifely virtues incorporated in the figures of Penelope and Lucretia. In the inscription to Amymone above, the description as a wool-worker may in other words be intimately linked with most of the other adjectives listed. Though undoubtedly it was an activity which would have been carried out, or personally overseen, even by well-off women the description pertains primarily to moral concepts, and may be used as an analogous reference to a good and proper woman and as the antithesis of a luxurious, idle, pleasure-seeking wife who is bound, no doubt, also to be adulterous. Good management of the household as a whole and a woman's contribution to its economic fortunes are important aspects which may be expressed as industry and hard work, and through direct statements like "Everything we have was won by your hard work" and 'He [the husband], through my diligent performance of duty, flourished at all times'. Or it may be expressed as thrift and good judgement as in Pliny the Younger's complimentary description of his young wife Calpurnia. That one of Rome's richest people should choose thrift as the aspect to be singled out for public praise (for it should not be forgotten that all of Pliny's letters were edited by himself and intended for publication), suggests that in this context, too, we are dealing with a theme which as well as a practical and economic value also had a moral and symbolic content, and which like wool-working may be associated with restraint and modesty.

However, the domesticity of Roman matrons and the praise of them as hard-working and thrifty are not exclusively related to personal and moral qualities, but have also a public, social significance. That is, as the guardian of the household's wealth and welfare and as the manager who may increase its fortunes. In some of the longer laudations it is notable how often the good judgement and management, specifically in financial affairs, is singled out for comment. In both the eulogy delivered to Murdia by her son and the so-called 'Laudatio Turiae' the good management of the woman's own and of the family finances is made a significant aspects of approval; even the otherwise somewhat high flown inscription to Allia Potestas include a description of her as a

27 Suetonius Divo Augustus 64 and 73. Symbolism gained through the 'ritualisation' of an everyday female activity may be found also in the vestals' manufacture and use of the mola salsa, Wildfang 1999: 232, 234.
28 Homer The Odyssey 2.93, 19.139, 24.128, Livy 1.57.9.
30 Pliny Letters 4.19: Summum est acumen, summa frugalitas.
31 This is a point also made by Shelton 1990: 166 who characterises thrift as associated with temperance and contrary to promiscuity. See also her notes 9-11 for other examples of the usage of frugalitas.
The husband speaking in the ‘Laudatio Turiae’ describes their relationship as a division of duties: ‘I had the guardianship of your property and you had the care of mine’. His intent here is to stress their joint interests and their harmonious marriage, but the sentence also highlights the naturalness with which a woman may be described as the custos of the household. T.E.V. Pearce in a study of the word custos, and related descriptions of Roman wives, suggests that the concept may have formed part of the marriage ceremony with the bride being formally asked by the pronuba to be the guardian of the house. The stress on the good judgement and management exercised by women is, in other words, not solely an illustration of hard work and moral uprightness, but also a description of the wife’s official role in the household, an aspect which is further supported by the suggestion that a woman was the keeper of the keys of the house, and that these were given to her a sign of her married status. Being the warden of the keys implies a supervisory role, with control of access and administration. The role of the wife in this context must in other words be as the manager of the household and as the person whose actions formed part of, and could have significant consequences for, the fortunes and status of the family. The degree of independence allowed a Roman woman in managing the household is of course a matter of interpretation. Certainly, in the account we have where wives out of necessity have been left as the sole person in charge of the family’s interests - that is in the letters of Cicero and the poems of Ovid during their exiles there seem little doubt in the husbands’ opinions that their wives are both capable and fully qualified to undertake this role. Rather than endless strings of admonitions of how best to manage affairs the advice from the husbands is rather to judge and decide for themselves. These wives acted as the formal link to the exiled husband and in many cases also as important advisors. Though, as well as suggesting a managerial role with economic consequences, the status as custos and the holder of the keys also implies a formal socio-symbolic significance related to the wellbeing of the domus. To interpret the role of custos simply as that of a housekeeper is therefore to miss or

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32 CIL 6.10230; Dessau 1892-1962 no 8393; CIL 6.37965.
33 Translated by M. Lefkowitz/M.B. Fant, *ut ego tutelam tuae fortunae gererem, tu meae custodiams sustineres*. The sentence is a good expression of the legal view of Roman marriage: though the wife could be the manager of the household it was regarded as her husband’s; conversely could the husband use her dowry as he saw fit for the period of the marriage but it remained ‘hers’. Other property was defined as either the husband’s or the wife’s and was managed independently. Dixon 1984 is a particularly good and clear survey of this topic.
34 Pearce 1974.
35 cf. *Cicero Philippics* 2.69 - where the act of divorce is symbolised by the husband taking away her keys.
misunderstand crucial aspects of Roman social organisation. The Roman house, the *domus*, signified not only the house as a structure and the home as the centre of the family but also contained an aura of sanctity by being the place where the Lar was kept. Further, and more importantly, it was the physical symbol of the rank and social position of the family. Each morning, in a measure of the current power exercised by the family, clients, friends and peers would be received there for the *salutatio*. The more crowded the house the higher the prestige of its members. Conversely, to express (or to ensure) the destruction of a person and his social standing a judgement of capital punishment was not considered sufficient but the person’s house would also be razed to the ground. The *domus* in this sense symbolises the family, lineage, social standing and political involvement of its members. To manage and protect the house would therefore rather seem like an honourable duty of no little consequence.

4.2.2 Ideal behaviour - marriage

Returning to the epitaph of Amymone, her marital status is clearly stated by the genitive form of her husband’s name, Marcus. The further description of her as chaste, faithful and possibly also best may therefore be interpreted as referring to how she fulfilled that role. Again we find an overlap between a woman’s status, person, moral qualities. In descriptions of female marital behaviour in general it is worth bearing in mind that a recurring ideal is that of the wife tailoring her interests to those of her husband. Much of the praise Calpurnia receives from Pliny is related to how well she has adapted and made his interests and occupations her own - a capacity he puts down to her good upbringing and training, and to her affection, her *caritas*, for him. This aspect of wisely obligingness and affability is one which Pliny mentions elsewhere: in his description of Fannia Pliny calls her pleasing, courteous and amiable (*iucunda, comis, amabilis*) and an unnamed woman after 39 years of marriage is praised for the

37 Contra Hallett 1984a: 222 n. 11: ‘The symbolic association between as Roman wife and the household keys further point up this concept of the Roman wife as housekeeper.’
38 Saller 1994: 93.
39 According to Nepos *Proefatio* 6 it was considered normal and entirely proper for a Roman woman to be and to be seen within this ‘public’ part of the house, that is, to take part in the social identity of the family. See also Vitruvius 6.5 and Cicero *Verres* 2.66 for examples of how male-female segregation of the house is not part of a Roman mentality. For discussions of the *domus* as a symbol of status and family see Saller 1989: 57, Saller 1994: 88-95, Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 44-47, Wallace-Hadrill 1991: 214-passim.
40 Pliny *Letters* 4.19, 6.7. The very interesting discussion of this letter by Shelton 1990: 167-170, may, though, usefully be contrasted also by *Letters* 1.16, in which the role of listener belongs to the
respect (reverentiam) she showed her husband.\textsuperscript{41} The woman praised in the 'Laudatio Turiae' is characterised as behaving obligingly and as being good-natured (obsequium, facilitas); a description very similar to that of Murdia who maintained both her marriages with compliance and propriety (obsequium, probitas).\textsuperscript{42} In the translation of the latter two I have followed Susan Treggiari's interpretation of obsequium as denoting a term of approval without indications of a position of superiority/inferiority, translatable as compliance, complaisance and obligingness.\textsuperscript{43} Similarly various eulogies describe the marriage as sine offesa or sine querella, without quarrels.\textsuperscript{44} The ideal in other words seems to be of the wife who can unite her formal role as wife with a more informal one of partner. If we presume that for many Roman citizens their marriage was arranged by the family rather than formed by the prospective couple (or at least allowing for a good measure of familial approval being necessary for the marriage), this emphasis on a natural sweetness of nature becomes more nuanced. Rather than simply representing female passivity and reactive (rather than proactive) nature it may also highlight the conscious effort put into making the marriage a success. Indeed, that it should be a fact deemed worth mentioning may suggest an acknowledgement that this (as in any relationship) was not inconsiderable nor unconsidered undertaking. These descriptions may in other words represent an acknowledgement of women's contribution to the marital concordia.

Concordia seems to be a somewhat wide-spanning term, which by the Romans themselves appear to have been used as having a composite significance. It may be interpreted in a narrow sense of women adapting themselves to their husbands and their husbands interests - much as Pliny is at pains to point out when describing Calpurnia's efforts towards their married harmony.\textsuperscript{45} However, it may also be understood as the happy outcome of a possession of various virtues, like comisc/omitas (kind), facilitas (good natured), iucunda (agreeable), and obsequium (obliging). Though, according to Table 4:2 the most important virtue would seem to be pietas, devotion and dutifulness. Each of these virtues, as Susan Treggiari has pointed

\textsuperscript{41} Pliny Letters 7.19, 8.5.
\textsuperscript{42} CIL 1863-1986 6.1527, 6.10230.
\textsuperscript{43} Treggiari 1991: 239-240.
\textsuperscript{44} cf. Pliny Letters 8.5.1, CIL 1863-1986 6.1527. See also Lattimore 1942: 279 and n. 108 for more examples. In the present catalogue this type of description appear in the inscriptions of Cat. 89 and 95.
\textsuperscript{45} Pliny Letters 4.19. Note, though, that the real object of the letter is to thank Calpurnia's aunt, Calpurnia Hispulla, for arranging their marriage, and to assure her of their suitability for each other; both of which is done modestly indirectly by complimenting Calpurnia.
out, seem equally applicable to men and women. In other words, it may be more
reasonable to interpret the Roman ideal view of marriage not as a subjugation of the
wife to the will of the husband but as a relationship of reciprocity and cooperation.
This interpretation may also be supported by examinations of the system of funerary
dedications where the vast majority of dedicants at all times were drawn from the tight
nuclear family circle. If primary bonds of obligation exist between husband and wife,
and between parents and children it is fair to presume that these are also the primary
relationships of reliance. Indeed, Richard Saller has convincingly suggested that the
essence of pietas should be seen as being devotion. That is, a reciprocal, affective
relationship broader than notions of duty, obedience or social order. A reciprocal
interpretation of marital relations would also accord better with the ‘romantic’ or ideal
view of concordia which saw marriage as an eternal, or at least life-long, relationship.
Even during the period of the late Republic - when complex families created from
divorce and remarriage is most pronounced among the upper classes - the relations
formed are essentially serial nuclear formations. The ideal of the single life-long
marriage may also be the basis for the use of the epithet univira for women who had
married only once in their lives. Considering the rarity with which the term is applied
to men it may be that univira was related to ritual functions. According to T.E.V.
Pearce, only a woman who was univira could take the position of pronuba at
weddings. Similarly Tacitus relates that Agrippa’s daughter was considered
unqualified to be elected a Vestal on the grounds that her father’s divorce had ‘impaired
the credit of his household’ - though no social stigma is connected to divorce or
remarriage as such, it becomes an issue in connection with ritual purity. More likely
though the epithet may form part of a set of indicators of female status in general,
which may be characterised as related to a woman’s marital/familial status - like mater,
uxor, matrona - and based on the archetype of the loyal wife who stays constant in
marriage or widowhood to one man.

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46 Treggiari 1991: 238-243, 245-246. A similar trend of men and women being described in terms
which resemble each other may also be found in Italian honorific inscriptions Forbis 1990: 497,
passim.
passim.
49 Examples of the ideal of the longevity of the Roman marriage: Catullus 109.1-2, Ovid Tristia
50 Pearce 1974: 19. I have only found two examples similarly emphasising male monogamy: CIL
6.14404 (diceris coniunx una fuisset viri), and Plutarch Cato the Younger 7.3: ‘Laelius was more
fortunate, since in the course of his long life he knew but one woman, the wife of his youth’.
51 Tacitus Annals 2.86.
Amymone's epitaph accents one further characteristic in the descriptions of women: she is beautiful. Such an attribution may be found also in the eulogies to Marcia Helike, Statilia Tigris, Panthia, and most notably to Allia Potestas where the description of her is very detailed indeed.\textsuperscript{52} The fact that the description of Allia is significantly different from the others highlights the point that the aim was obviously not a real physical description but an emblematic and indicative use of 'beauty', most probably with a symbolic content. For practically all the descriptions of women their beauty is a mere statement of fact, without any qualifications. Since the term is a compliment on a natural accomplishment its use may most likely be interpreted as a term of endearment, related to descriptions like dulcis (sweet) or carissimus/a (dear, beloved), and may in this way be evidence of an affective relationship between Roman spouses.\textsuperscript{53} However, it is also quite likely that an attribution of beauty was symbolic of other, moral virtues - much like Ovid linking beauty, virtue and good reputation in his description of Venus.\textsuperscript{54}

4.2.3 Evidence of female influence

The following is intended as complementary to the previous two sections: where these may be described as what women are said to do, this is a short survey of what women may be seen to do. The use of the word 'influence' rather than 'power' is deliberate. Examinations of the status of Roman women have often focused on their lack of suffrage and access to political office, and have consequently been very negative in their conclusions.\textsuperscript{55} However, political access is a measure traditionally twentieth-century in its outlook, and though the observations made for Roman women in themselves are quite valid I doubt if such an exclusive emphasis tells the whole story. Indeed, the women whose lives are recounted in the sources seem neither quiet nor inactive. For this reason I have decided to use 'influence' as a basis of measure: an access to decision-making which is formally indirect.\textsuperscript{56} This distinction becomes more

\textsuperscript{52} Marcia Helike; Rome 2nd/3rd cent. AD (Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: 21, no 50). Statilia Tigris; Monferrato imperial (Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: 207, no 280). Panthia; Pergamum 2nd cent. AD (Lattimore 1942: 276; Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: 265, no 373). Allia Potestas; Rome late 3rd-4th cent. AD (Lattimore 1942: 298-299; Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: 19-20, no 47) - see both for as summary of the opinions and research on this as well as further bibliography.

\textsuperscript{53} The debate is thankfully changing towards a more nuanced view of the role and status of Roman women / wives; though, for an example of arguments against marital affection see Hallett 1984a.

\textsuperscript{54} Ovid Fasti 4.155-156.

\textsuperscript{55} See for instance Hallett 1984b, Pomeroy 1976.

\textsuperscript{56} A similar distinction and terminology to the subject has been applied also by Dixon 1983: 91, 94, 109, Glinister 1997: 117, 121 and Lefkowitz 1983.
pertinent if one considers the Roman political system itself largely to be based on a set of channels of communication and exchanges which are essentially indirect in their nature. In which case the ability to affect decision-making is not exclusively dependent on gender but on possession of factors which can be used to wield influence with others: wealth, lineage and connections.

Roman women clearly have access to all three of these factors. Wealth could be accumulated through inheritance, either from their husbands or their family, or through investments. And more importantly, it could be independently held and used; a trend which might have been emphasised by the change in tradition which made marriages *sine manu* the norm from the late Republic onwards. Admittedly, there is some evidence that women in order to effect financial transactions needed the support of an appointed guardian; however, the same evidence would seem to suggest that this was primarily a *pro forma* relationship. Similarly lineage may also pertain to Roman women. Despite the fact that they were unable to continue their family name in their children, and that they would automatically take their husband’s social status upon marriage, they themselves did not lose their family name upon marriage. Roman women in this way may be seen as being able to potentially benefit from status accruing to both their blood relations and their marriage relations. An example that family background could, and was, used to good effect - even in situations where a modern viewer might expect a marital relationship to be the predominate - is Livia’s restoration of the Temple of Fortuna Muliebris were she identifies herself as her

58 Gellius 17.6 and Saller 1987: 32 who points out that most women would have been *sui iuris* for most of the adult lives. For a discussion of the distinction expressed by Cicero between his property and that of his wife in *Cicero Letters to his Friends* 14.1.5 see Dixon 1984: 82-83, 90-91, 97; Gardner 1995: 377, 384-385, 391 in an examination of Roman law completely disregards the presence of tutors and instead defines a *mater familiae* as a married woman who is legally independent (*sui iuris*) pointing out that the number of women of this status would be increased when women marry *sine manu*. See also Carp 1981: 345. For concerns expressed that marriages *sine manu* would disadvantage women in inheriting from their husbands, note that Augustan laws made inheritance possible as long as the couple had (or had had) children; Clark 1981: 196.
59 Gardner 1986: 14-22, Gardner 1993: 89-97, Grubb 1993: 136-137, Harlow 1998: 162, Van Bremen 1983: 231-232, note also the complaints of Cato, and Livy’s juxtaposition of his (alleged) speech with the views of Valerius; Livy especially 34.2.11, 34.7.13. An example is Cicero’s wife Terentia who is able to undertake financial, property, and social arrangements without any mention of a tutor, cf. Carp 1981: 347-349 and n. 21, Dixon 1984: 84-85. Similarly does the presumption that a woman must be represented by a man in legal matters seem to have been a mix of social convention and women’s lack of *poiestas*, and not a wish to exclude women from the law: Gardner 1993: 100-101, Marshall 1989: 46-50; for examples of women engaging in legal matters, see Dixon 1983: 99-101 and MacMullen 1986: 439-440 and n. 18; that Constatine is reconstructed to issue several decrees in order to restrict the appearance of women in the courts, may suggest that they go against a previously common practice, Grubb 1993: 136-137.
father’s daughter before mentioning that she is the wife of Augustus.60 Domitia too, uses her familial lineage: it is her aristocratic Roman background which adds prestige and social status to the Flavian family, and it is the ‘anti-tyrannical’ background of her family which adds moral and symbolic ground to the Flavian rule. Note that it is, in fact, equally her mother’s lineage which contributed to this political symbolism.61 With wealth and lineage, one presumes, comes quite naturally connections. However, connections are also a commodity which can be inherited as exemplified by Corellius, who according to Pliny, tells his daughter on his death-bed that he had made many friends for her.62 That women may act as patrons for amici and clientes, is evidence of their potentiality for influencing decisions to their own and their family’s advantage as well as to their ability to hold a ‘position’ and to have a publicly identifiable profile. The circularity of this statement highlights the fluidity of the Roman system of connections and patronage, where degree of influence and of support each is a measure of the other. Indeed, exactly because the system was fluid it might have benefited women and allowed them to use the system, and I think it merits to be looked at in a little more detail how this might be the case.

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill summarises two previous definitions of the patronage system: that it is an exchange of political support for material benefits, and that it is extra-legislative in nature.63 The latter would explain quite obviously how women might be able to engage in the patron-client relationship: since the system itself is outside and complementary to the law, suffrage or being an office holder are not necessary elements in its effectuation. The former, though, poses the more interesting dilemma of if the patron’s services are proffered in exchange for political support what could women possibly gain by being patrons? The answer is no doubt that political support was only a part of what a patron desired to gain out of the relationship - as indeed Wallace-Hadrill himself later suggests somewhat obliquely. Of course women might use their wealth and connections in order to secure for their male relations the political posts which they themselves could not hold: the senatorial grant of Lucullus’ command in Cilicia in 74 BC is won through the influence of a woman, Praecia;

60 CIL 6.883 - LIVIA [DJRUSI F. UXOR CAESARIS AUGUSTI]; Purcell 1986: 88. Note that Livia retains her father’s filiation even after her adoption into the gens Iulia, see Flory 1997: n. 22.
61 Her father was G. Domitius Corbulo who allegedly conspired against Nero and was forced to suicide; her mother’s was a descendant of C. Cassius Longinus who partook in the killing of Julius Caesar. See Varner 1995: 187-188 for a discussion of this as well as further bibliographic references. Similar examples of status accruing from the mother’s family may be found in Cat. 82 (=153) where Claudius and Agrippina II are faced by her parents, Germanicus and Agrippina I; and in the story of Sulla’s son being given special treatment because his mother is Caecilia Metella Plutarch Cato the Younger 3.
62 Pliny Letters 4.17.9 ‘Multos quidem amicos tibi ut longiore vita paravi’.
63 Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 65 and 68; for a concise and lucid illustration of the fluidity of the of the system see also: 82-83.
Campia Severina, the chief Vestal, in 240 AD secured through her intervention the rank of equestrian and a second term of office for an Aemilius Pardalas; and Servilia in 44 BC managed to relieve her son Brutus of the grain commission imposed on him.\footnote{Lucullus: Plutarch \textit{Lucullus} 6.2-3; Campia Severina: Dessau 1892-1962 vol 2.1, no 4929, translated in MacMullen 1986: 434; Servilia: Cicero \textit{Letters to Atticus} 15.11.2 and 15.12.1.} However, integral to the \textit{clientela} system seems to have been the opportunity of self-representation which having clients offered - especially as the measure of status and social profile which this offered compared with one's peers; the 'symbolic capital' which it offered in the words of Richard Gordon - and here the benefits are direct, without any hint of ambitions fulfilled by proxy.\footnote{Gordon 1990a: 194, Gordon 1990b: 223. See also Dixon 1993 who emphasises the public gratitude expected as part of the repayment of a gift or loan. Examples of women having and being capable of calling on clients independently may be found in Dixon 1983: 99, Flory 1997: 120-121, Marshall 1989: 50-51, Van Bremen 1983: 228-229. For the status accruing to having ones house filled with clients and friends, and for how this may be read as a measure of comparative influence, see note 48 above. An example of this may be found in Cicero \textit{In Verrem} 2.1.120, 137 where he describes how the houses of the jurisconsuls were empty whereas that of the governors mistress was full.} It is of course possible to argue that the status of women as patrons was gained primarily on the basis of their male relations. However, as Richard Saller has shown, the system of patronage in its subtlety and nuance was an indicator of rank and modes of inter-relationships of which the Roman were very aware.\footnote{Saller 1989.} Which means that when the woman Menodora makes a donation of money to the people in her city of Silyon in Pamphylia - which clearly articulates the social hierarchy of the city and includes councillors, elders and members of the assembly as the main beneficiaries - she herself must have had a strong personal standing in the city. For if not it must surely have been seen as an insult to be given money not by a powerful man but by a person whom one would have seen only as his dependant.\footnote{see Gordon 1990b: 229 for an itemisation of the donation.} Menodora's donations are a rather explicit example of public euergetism, and an example of how the role of civic benefactor may be used to confirm one's standing as a patron: Menodora held both religious and civic offices: she was the high priestess of the Augusti and for the Eleusian mysteries, priestess of Demeter, \textit{dekaprotos}, \textit{demiourgos} and \textit{gymnasiarch} - the three latter all offices of civic prestige which gave ample opportunities for displays of public gift-giving. Her daughter, too, held the office of \textit{gymnasiarch}, and her son Megacles had been \textit{demiourgos}.\footnote{Gordon 1990b: 228-230, Van Bremen 1983: 223-224. That the son should be distinguished by being named as well as by having donation made in his named, and a statue erected to him was because he had recently died.} Menodora clearly belongs to an extremely rich family - the size of her donations and her family's capacity to 'monopolise' offices are evidence in themselves of this - but her public visibility is not in itself extraordinary. Public euergetism and the holding of
office, as in Menodora’s example, were practised and held both by men and women. The range of civic office open to women may be wider in the Greek east where the conflation between civic and religious posts was more explicit, but the tradition obliging holders of offices and liturgies to provide money for public use, the *summa honoraria*, existed in Rome already in the Republic and continued through the Principate. Indeed, according to Ramsay MacMullen the word ‘patroness’ was one which is introduced into Greek language from Latin. The relationship between financial capability and access to civic and religious office may at times be very implicitly stated but it applies equally to men and women, i.e. there is not a substantial difference in possibilities for social recognition between the genders. Where differences do exist it is rather between social classes: it is not surprisingly much easier for a rich women to engage in prominent gift-giving; indeed, where the social ranks of women are stated in Italian honorific inscriptions they are exclusively those of the senatorial and equestrian.

Emphasising a distinction not primarily between gender but between social/financial standing begs the question of the level of influence which was attainable for women who did not have access to wealth, lineage or connections. Is the evidence we are seeing for women of the elite being ‘influential’ simply an aberration socially accepted because they have the means to act like men, or is their influence a more explicit version of what was really socially acceptable? The problem in proposing an answer is naturally related to the correspondingly smaller amount of evidence available for the lives of non-elite women without the financial funds to effect a physical or politic impact on their community. However, a few general trends seem to support the proposition that what elite women are capable of achieving may indeed be more explicit and extrovert expressions of what was possible for ordinary women to effect. Firstly, the Augustan reforms linking the cults of the Lares and the Genius of the emperor to the office of the vicomagistri creates a possibility for freedmen and non-elite citizens to take part in the system which blends social responsibility and religious expression and to show themselves as upwardly mobile. That is, on the one hand a

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70 Gordon 1990b: 222-224.
72 See Forbis 1990 for examples of honorific inscriptions to Roman women. An example from the present catalogue is Cat. 27, the colossal statue of Livia being donated by the proconsul C. Rubellius Blandus and the woman (priestess?) Suphunibal who is called ‘adorer of her city’. As an example of how indirect the language of donations could be expressed, see the inscription erected to Indelvia Valerilla dated AD 161-200, quoted by Gordon 1990b: 226 and n. 71.
73 The behaviour of Agrippina is one which for Tacitus is more than once associated with male behaviour: Tacitus *Annals* 6.25 and 12.7, Cicero in exile compliments his wife as being stronger than
trend of liberalisation of social participation and on the other a suggestion that religious participation ought to be interpreted as also having a social, public function. Which means that when women partake in religious offices it, too, should undoubtedly be interpreted as giving them a public, socially participatory profile. Indeed, the majority of the women who state their rank in Italian honorific inscriptions do so using the title of priestess.74 Secondly, various aspects suggests that women within the sphere of the household also played an active and participatory role. As Susan Dixon has pointed out the evidence suggests that, though formally the decisions concerning marriages rested with the pater familias, it was expected that women took part in the discussions leading up to the decision - and, indeed, that they in the absence of their husbands were quite capable of arranging marriages and divorces on their own.75 Whether or not individual marriages were considered of political/social consequence or not, a woman’s participation in the decision-making would presuppose two aspects: that women were consulted within the family and their opinion freely sought and expressed; and that women were considered capable, informed and competent to have an opinion. Details of the formal education of women seem somewhat scarce, but nevertheless there are no shortage of examples of women described as educated, and, more significant, several examples of women who had been the admirable educators of their sons.76 The (potential) intelligence of women would, in other words, not seem to be in question - the problem would rather seem to be to explain where they got their actual knowledge from. If the formal education of women really was limited to the period before marriage, it would suggest that developing and updating this knowledge was gained by

a man: Cicero Letters to his Friends 14.7.2, and Sallust describes Sempronia as being of male daring SallustThe War with Catiline 25.2.

74 Forbis 1990 tables I-II. See also Purcell 1986: 85 and n. 39 for a similar approach to the role of priestesses.

75 Dixon 1983 102-108. It is worth noting that according to Richard Saller a minority of Roman women would have been in potestate at the age of first marriage (50% of senatorial women, 40% of other women), Saller 1987: 32, though, even when the pater familias is present the reality seems to have been for marriage/divorce arrangements to have been dependent on the consent of all parties, cf. Saller 1993. Only with the Constantinian laws of 331 are restrictions instumented on unilateral divorces (3.16.1), which further were harsher on women than men; however, consentual divorces which possibly were the more common remained unpunished, Grubbs 1993: 128.

Examples of wives instrumenting marriages or divorces for themselves or on behalf of their relatives may be found in: Plutarch Pompey 9.1, Cicero Letters to Atticus 5.4.1, 6.6.1; Cicero Letters to his Friends 3.12.2-3, 14.13, Cicero Pro Cluentio 14, 179 - further examples may be found in Treggiari 1984: 439-440. See also Livy 38.57 for Cornelia Aemilia’s anger at not being consulted in the arrangement of her daughter’s betrothal; and Virgil Aeneid 7.402 for Amata’s complaint that the ius maternum has been broken when Latinus betrothes their daughter without her being consulted.

76 The evidence, conditions and expectations of female education have been splendidly discussed by Emily Hemelrijk who characterises its most conspicuous trait to have been ‘that it varied so much’ (p 57), estimates the social spread to have included women not just of the upper classes but also the well-to-do and sub-elite Hemelrijk 1999. For specific examples of women as educators of their sons see also Best 1970. A summary and examples of female education is also given by Clark 1981: 199-200.
participation and involvement in the life of the family.\textsuperscript{77} There might not be anything unusual about the female members of the family being present or expressing their opinion at discussions of familial and political import, as in Cicero's meeting with Brutus at Antium in 44 BC where the mother and wife of Brutus as well as the wife of Cassius were present at the meeting even before Cassius himself was.\textsuperscript{78} In some cases it would seem to have been considered more appropriate for information to be passed between persons of the same gender: women speaking with women and men speaking with men; and it has been suggested that the ability of Roman women to act publicly was limited to her own gender.\textsuperscript{79} However, a closer examination of the context for some of the examples given in support of this argument would question the reality of this.\textsuperscript{80} Rather, the examples reinforce the claim of female participation and knowledge of social and political affairs; that they should choose to contact persons with whom they might already have established trust and confidence would seem only human. Certainly one wonders where women would have obtained information which could be related to others if not by conversation with their husbands, relatives, and friends. Indeed, in several instances it is the women who act as the link or point of contact between men. Crassus' wife, Tertulla, is the point of endorsement between Cicero and

\textsuperscript{77} A similar point has been made also by Dixon 1983: 97. Examples of women having access to the most prominent political circles may be found in interactions between the emperor and the 'leading' women of Rome (\textit{primoribus feminis}): Tacitus \textit{The Histories} 1.81.1, Dio 72.31.2, 79.18.2, Suetonius \textit{Caligula} 36.2, MacMullen 1986: 440-441 and n. 21, 22; and in the case of Livia Suetonius \textit{Augustus} 84.2, \textit{Claudius} 4.1, Dio 56.46.5, 57.12.2 and Julia Domna Dio 78.18.2 - note that Julia Domna is said to study philosophy with the leading men whom she banquets.

\textsuperscript{78} Cicero \textit{Letters to Atticus} 15.11.1-2. Indeed, this type of social interaction is exactly what would seem to have taken place in the Roman house - where it is entirely normal for women to be present: Nepos \textit{Praefatio}.6.

\textsuperscript{79} Laurence 1997: 134, Purcell 1986: 96. Examples which may suggest a gendered convention in lines of communication: To substantiate information from Sestius Cicero talks to Sestius' brother-in-law, and Cicero's wife, Terentia, talks to Sestius' wife, Cornelia Cicero \textit{Letters to his Friends} 5.6.1. Cicero asks his daughter, Tullia, to help in a matter between Gallus and Cassius which she does by approaching Cassius' sister Cicero \textit{Letters to his Friends} 7.23.4. To protest against the tax imposed by the triumvirs in 42 BC the women approach the sister of Octavian, and the mother and the wife of Antony - only when this fails do they petition in the Forum, Appian \textit{The Civil War} 4.5.32. When Cicero invites Atticus to his house saying that Terentia will invite Pomponia (Atticus' sister) it is left unsaid who will issue the invitation to Quintus (Cicero's brother and husband of Pomponia) Cicero \textit{Letters to Atticus} 2.3.4.

\textsuperscript{80} When for instance Tiberius three times during his reign feels the need to intervene in Livia's intentions of banqueting the senators and equities and their wives by insisting that he issues the invitations to the men and she hosts the women, it is clearly a political move to assert his own position in front of a woman who 'managed everything as if she was sole ruler', Dio 55.2.4, 55.8.2, 57.12.5 - the description of the status of Livia is 57.12.3. The occasions are respectively the triumph of Tiberius, the restoration of the Temple of Concord, and the dedication of an image to Augustus in the house of Livia. Similarly in a private context, for the banquet organised by Cicero's brother Quintus where he will invite the men and his wife, Pomponia, the women; the offer to involve Pomponia is made essentially.
Crassus; Fulvia aids the deal between Antony and Deiotarus, and is the one who supplies Cicero with the details of Catiline’s conspiracy; Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, even in her retirement is considered a point of contact for foreign allies of Rome; and Gavia Fabia Rufina is in an inscription erected by the city of Puteoli linked explicitly with three politically influential men of her family.  

The relationship between women of the elite and the non-elite as well as of the relative influence they were able to exercise must necessarily be somewhat vague since our sources tend to emphasise not just the elite but especially the actions of elite men. However, I do not find the argument that the actions of elite women happen in what amounts to a social vacuum very convincing: definitions of morals, values and limits of acceptability are rather based on social interrelationships. Women of means may have had more possibilities to realise their aspirations and to do so more explicitly but it does not follow that they therefore were able also to break an established moral code in their behaviour. Indeed, the very visibility of elite women might have imposed it own set of restrictions upon them: their actions and persons could in some cases function as symbolic figures for the aims and virtues of their male relations, and be the targets of attacks aimed to damage (the male members of) their family. The greater freedom afforded by greater visibility must necessarily be balanced with an amount of conformism to be acceptable. Though it is a somewhat circular and ‘backward’ argument I find the necessary compliance with normative values a key point in interpreting the evidence for non-elite women. The actions of elite women are acceptable when they are based on standards seen as normal for all women. In other words, there seems little to preclude that women had, and were regarded as having, a level of autonomy in the home and an independence of person which would make it

to show his reasonable nature in front of his brother Cicero Letters to Atticus 5.1 - the banquet has to all intents and purposes been organised and Pomponia quite rightly considers the offer patronising.

81 Tertullia: Cicero Letters to his Friends 5.8.2-3 - note that Cicero presumes without question that Tertullia will regularly update her husband with all relevant events and details. Fulvia: Cicero Phillipes 2.95 and Sallust The War with Catiline 2.95. Cornelia: Plutarch Tiberius Gracchus 1.5. Gavia: CIL 10.1785; Forbis 1990: 503, 511 n 24. Other examples include Libo asking leading women to accompany him to the houses of his wife’s relations when charged with treason Tacitus Annals 2.29.1; Julia Domna holding public receptions for men exactly as did Caracalla Dio 78.18.2; and Messalina being present at Claudius’ trial of Asiaticus Tacitus Annals 11.2.


83 Similar thoughts have been expressed by Wood 1999: 319: "The images of imperial women give us reason to suspect that although Roman society expected women to accept a subordinate role to that of men, women of will and intelligence found ways within the structure of that society to empower themselves. And a similar case has been argued for women of the early middle ages: the status of royal wives correspond to the status of women in general Stafford 1978: 84 quoted by Glinister 1997: 122.
quite natural for them to participate in the life and decisions of their family, express their opinion, and be consulted as partners.

4.3 Choice of deity: identity, sexuality, persona

As stated above (Section 4.2), the aim of the discourse on female ideals and possibilities was exactly to highlight the ambiguity which seems to govern the view of what constituted acceptable female behaviour: it often seems as if women could have a level of autonomy but that they should somehow not be seen to use it too explicitly. Fantham et al. draw the conclusion that for women of the upper strata political activity and sexual misconduct were both unacceptable and transgressive, whereas public benefaction and religious participation were considered acceptable outlets for female independence.\footnote{Fantham, Foley et al. 1994: 368.} Considering that religion and benefactions are both closely connected to political participation and patronage, it seems to me that they in this case are trying to draw distinctions between aspects which are really interconnected. I wonder if female influence was not accepted as a fact of Roman life and social make-up, but at times feared more than others: not primarily because women engaged in this kind of ‘lobbying’ - but because the system of patronage was outside the law and therefore not subject to public control. It is surely not a coincidence that the period of the most severe view of exertion of influence by imperial women, and the greatest admonitions to women to be quiet, and not seek to interfere, is that from Trajan to Antoninus Pius in which the system of succession depended on adoption rather than on transmission of power through direct bloodlines. That is, a period in which the selection of a successor is not a foregone conclusion and the internal competition between noble men therefore most pronounced. Any lobbying by imperial women would in other words have been feared as a potential destabilising attempt at individual male efforts in getting close to the emperor.\footnote{Boatwright 1991 esp.: 530, 536 provides the essential study of this period; see also Kampen 1994: 126 and Laurence 1997: 132.}

Where an ambiguity does exist it is in the discrepancy between what might have been considered acceptable actions and the manner and emphasis on how women were presented, and it is this which renders it so difficult to interpret the status and lives of Roman women. Further the representational ideal also seems to have been the traditional format for female representations - that is, the values and virtues belonging to this ideal persist in being the preferred manner of presentation. Indeed, the
correlation which is made between women as individuals and their roles within the family may be found for all levels of Roman society: both empresses and private women are seemingly mainly defined according to their familial status - either in actual terms as wife and mother or in symbolic terms as illustrations of fertility and welfare. An example of the pervasiveness of this correlation between person and sexuality, as well as of how the traditional female role could be used for ideological purposes, may be found in an examination of a period which tries to limit female visibility. The early second century AD is, as mentioned above, a period in which the significance of women is presented as restrained (and restricted). For the reign of Trajan the lack of access to depicting the imperial women as public signifiers of imperial ideology means that the person of the emperor himself became the symbolic focus of fertility. As Natalie Kampen has pointed out, Pliny's passage on Trajan's triumphal entry into Rome in 99 AD is fraught with sexual undertones which eloquently render the emperor the focus of an erotic/sensual response by the populace, and the symbol of peace and fertility in general. And in visual representations of imperial largesse and benefaction, as in the panels depicting the alimenta on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento and reused on the Arch of Constantine, the emperor appears alone as the complete parent without a female counter-part. However, once it is possible to argue that the image of the ideal wife is in fact not a full or necessarily a realistic mode of depiction, it would seem reasonable to wonder if the longevity of the ideal does not suggest that it had a wider and more symbolic scope of interpretation than the strictly personal. If the idealised representation may in fact not represent (an aspect of) the female public persona and an articulation of Roman identity: that is, a representation of female status and social engagement; - no matter if one interprets the ideal as the acceptable expression of female status or as a pure symbolic representation of this. An example may clarify the idea of the interplay between persona, status and identity. The stola was the long garment promoted by Augustus as the sign of the Roman matron, it is often interpreted by modern scholars as signifying the private role of the modest, sexually virtuous wife - that is, a role similar to that found in epigraphic descriptions of women. There is in

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86 Pliny Panegyricus 22, Kampen 1994: 113, Kampen 1997: 271 and n. 15 - the latter includes a good analyses of the Latin, though in my opinion the language of Pliny is even more 'pregnant' than given credit for here.
88 A similar idea has been expressed also by Cooper 1996: 4 who emphasise that both men and women represent personae of the qualities and claims of the household. Fantham, Foley et al. 1994: 346 do point out how the traditional gender ideal may be an aspect of identity and belonging - though they only see it as pertaining to people in the provinces aspiring to be Roman.
my opinion nothing to suggest that this interpretation as such is false; - when read in conjunction with other aspects, like social legislation and the context in which the stola is depicted, a traditionality of values does seem to be inherent in the usage of this garment. However, there is a lot to suggest that this interpretation is not the only one appropriate for the use of the stola. Essentially, the stola was the female version of the male toga and must be interpreted in similar terms. That is, as the garment of the adult Roman citizen. Where boys assumed the toga virilis as a sign of coming of age and being ready to participate in public affairs, girls would upon marriage don the stola as a sign of their sexual maturity and their assumption of a role which gave them a public profile. Just as the wearing of the toga was subject to defined usage and was strictly controlled, so the wearing of the stola seems to have been reserved for women of the elite. However, its significance is dual in its scope, and it seems uncertain where the dividing line should be drawn between the two aspects. On one hand the stola was a sign of status: Martial equating women wearing the stola with men allowed to carry the purple, i.e. senators and magistrates, is clearly making a statement of the respect due to the most prominent members of Roman society. On the other hand several references exist which simply seem to connect the stola itself with a symbol of marriage. The stola is both a sign of social status, and a sign of marital status; the fact that the dividing line between the two seems vague suggests to me that both refer to public roles. Further, as the inscription in CIL 1.1194 points out, the stola is a sign of social identity: it denotes Roman citizenship and social participation. Indeed, as Ramsay MacMullen points out, the term 'matrona stolata' was imported into the language in Roman Egypt. In one common aspect of Roman life, the stola, we are faced with a symbolism which encompassed moral ideals, social and personal status, and national identity. Most significantly of all, though, is the fact that all three aspects are interrelated and related to personal public identity. Admittedly, the image presented may be realistic, aspirational, idealised, or symbolic - and the emphasis in the presentation may be more on one aspect than another; but then identity and representation are after all not static but responsive means of communication.

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90 cf. Varro De Lingua Latina 8.28, 9.48, 10.27, Martial 10.5.1. The two differ in the sense of the stola being a symbol of class, the toga a symbol of citizenship.
91 Martial 10.5.1. See also Purcell 1986: 79 and n. 9 for examples of the term stolata as sign of rank.
92 Two pertinent examples are: Cicero Philippics 2.18.44-45 'as if (Cicero is addressing a man) he had given you a stola, established you in an enduring and stable wedlock'; and CIL 1.1194 a funerary inscription in which a freedwoman thanks her for masters for her freedom and her stola - ita letibertate illei me, hic me decorarjrat stola.
4.3.1 Personal qualities

Somewhat ironically - given that personal/portrait features are insisted on in the catalogue - personal qualities are probably the hardest to identify. The two-way influence between the sign and the signifier obscures the extent to which the images should be interpreted as biographical and/or symbolic. However, some qualitative values can be attributed to the works, either as aspects which refer to personal characteristics or which are related to personal accomplishments.

'Beauty' is without doubt the most popular personal characteristic of all, the sheer predominance of Venus as a choice for representation would point to this. Modern social psychological studies may offer reasons why this should be the case, since it has been consistently shown that people not only respond more positively to an attractive than an unattractive person, but that they also attribute a more positive social evaluation to an attractive person. Persons regarded as beautiful are generally considered to be of higher social status; to be endowed with desirable personal characteristics; having better personal, marital and parenting skills; and as being happier.94 For a woman to be depicted as associated with Venus may, in other words, be seen as a statement (or compliment) of more than simply a perceived physical fact. It may also be a comment on her social qualities and standing, and of her attractiveness as a person, marriage partner and parent - irrespective of whether this is conceived as a prospective or retrospective view. The social aspect of beauty may in the representations be further underscored by the addition of other attributes, like a fashionable hairstyle or jewellery to give a contemporary, status-oriented image which depict the woman as partaking in cultured, sophisticated society.95 Related to the concept of beauty are also aspects of desirability and sensuality which may be viewed as fundamental aspects in securing a stable and harmonious marriage; the image of the beautiful woman may in this way represent both the ideal wife and the successful marriage as such.96 On a more personal level it is possible that 'beauty' may have been chosen as a sign of an affective relationship, and to correspond in some way to the epigraphic adjectives of carissima and dulcissima. Both terms denote close

94 Bruce and Young 1998: 130-131 with further references. There may in other words be more to 'beauty' than the 'bland characterisation [...] rich in implications for the secondary status of women' seen by Bartman 1999: 3.
95 D'Ambrat 1989: 398-400; D'Ambrat 1998; Bartman 1999 chapter 3; see further Livy 34.7.8-10 where Roman women argue that dress and jewellery were their signs of honour. Contemporary hairstyles are a common feature of the catalogued pieces, Cat. 9 (Fig. 4) and 203 further adds bracelets.
96 cf. Plutarch Antony 31.2: 'They hoped that Octavia, who, besides her great beauty, had intelligence and dignity, when united to Antony and beloved by him, as such a woman naturally must be, would restore harmony' (my italics).
relationships based on family-ties or trust, but where *carus/a* is slightly more 'formal' and may be used also in political contexts, *dulcis* rather denotes a sexual relationship or an address by an adult to a child.\(^{97}\) Indeed, 'beauty' may represent a euphemism for sexual attraction. Though, it seems to have been a pretty standard view that physical intercourse bound the marriage partners together in a harmonious relationship - and good looks were considered conducive for this for both men and women; it is at the same time also a feature which, if recognised too explicitly, may suggest that the choice of partner was not based on considered arguments.\(^{98}\) In this way is it thought more honourable for Cicero to claim that he had married Publilia for her money rather than because he was in love with her.\(^{99}\)

Associated with aspects of beauty and desirability one might expect also youth, or at least youthfulness, to feature. Some of the deities do seem to embody youth in their characteristics, like Diana and Nymph, but much more significant is the fact that a larger proportion of the deities represent women at the age of her first marriage; - like Ariadne, Luna, Proserpina, Psyche and Rhea Silvia. This suggests that youth is only relevant in as far as it is tied to sexuality, and especially to the acceptable outlets of marriage and fertility. Indeed, it has been noted how in funerary representations a discrepancy may exist between the visual representation of a person and either the epigraphical details given or the social possibilities open to the one depicted.\(^{100}\) This aspect seems less accentuated in the catalogued pieces but may be noted in the image of Julia Procula, Cat. 66 (Fig. 8), in which both mature and childish physical characteristics are mixed. Though those representations of young girls associated with deities which add a more mature aspect to their depiction should possibly also be included. Children are associated with Ariadne (Cat. 4), Muse and philosopher (Cat. 122, Fig. 13), Venus (Cat. 204 - possibly also 180, 201), and Virtus (Cat. 216, Fig. 28); whereas young women may be associated with Ceres (Cat. 35, 38, 52), Cybele (Cat. 55), and Fortuna (Cat. 86, 89). For the latter the perceived discrepancy may be less accentuated considering the relatively early marriage age of Roman women. However, it suggests that maturity in some cases may have been considered aspirational either as a description of the potentiality of the person, or in order to convey authority. The emphasis on sexual maturity may be gathered also from

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\(^{99}\) Quoted in Treggiari 1984: 431. A similar use of sexual attraction as an attack on the abilities for considered decision-making in a man pervades the (Augustan) description of Mark Antony’s relationship with Cleopatra.  
\(^{100}\) D’Ambra 1989: 395-396, Kleiner 1987a: 29, Varner 1995: 203 n. 87, Fittschen and Zanker 1983 no 94. See also the relief of Scaevina Procula depicted in Kampen 1994 fig 10 she is said to be 18 years of age but the facial features look considerably older.
the popularity of Diana. This goddess is almost exclusively chosen for children and young women for whom she may represent not just a virginal state but possibly rather the rite of passage into maturity: a prospective, aspirational view rather than a contemporary, factual description. Considering the frequency with which hard working, dutiful, and chaste appear in the written evidence, one might have presumed that this would somehow also feature in the catalogued pieces. Indeed, Minerva would seem to offer an ideal possibility for representing the wool-working wife. This interpretation may be a feature of the cameo representation of Agrippina the Younger, Cat. 110, where she is depicted as Minerva paired with a Juno representation of her mother. However, the scarcity of Minerva associations in the catalogue would suggest that this aspect was not considered primary for representation, or that the fiercely virginal aspect of this deity was considered too fundamental to her interpretation and therefore not only overshadowed her intellectual, artisanal qualities, but also made her less popular as a representational model in a context which seems to have favoured sexual maturity.

Illustrations of personal accomplishments are rather limited in range, and only more amply explored in the associations with the Muses. As noted for Cat. 155, the statue of Julia Procula from Isola Sacra, representations as Salus may refer to a knowledge of medicine. The allusion in general is somewhat indirect and dependent on an association between Salus and Hygieia, and in neither of the three catalogued works is the relationship with scientific knowledge more than potentially hinted at. Indeed, for the sarcophagus to Cornelia Hygia, Cat. 157, the association seem primarily based on a correlation with her name. However, the obvious emphasis on medicinal knowledge used for the tomb decoration of the family of Julia Procula suggests that her representation was deliberately chosen to include her in the iconographical theme for the family, and therefore that she might have had an active participatory role in the family’s accomplishments. Representations in the guise of a Muse are instead one of the more popular choices, especially in the third century AD (see Table 4:3), and some effort has been made in identifying individual Muses on basis of typological studies and individual attributes.\(^{101}\) However, I wonder if specificity to a particular Muse was foremost in a Roman’s mind when selecting this as a representative model. Especially when one notes that pose and attribute do not always correspond, that there may be a doubling of a particular Muse to accommodate the deceased, or that the Muses may be represented without any attributes at all. Indeed, the approach seems instead somewhat generic in intent: it seems to be less important with which Muse one is associated, than

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\(^{101}\) Wegner 1966, especially, includes a very clear and detailed study.
to convey that an association is intended.\textsuperscript{102} This suggests that the aim of representation is not a realistic depiction of skills acquired but a symbolic representation of a literate, educated and cultured person. As has already been noted above, the cultural efforts of Calpurnia are one of the major points complimented by Pliny in his letters to her and to her family; and several women both of the late republic and the empire are described as educated.\textsuperscript{103} Though Pompey’s wife Cornelia is said to have been good at geometry it seems that is was especially knowledge of literature, music, and philosophy which were admired as accomplishments in women, and the Muses would seem to amply encompass such characteristics. It is tempting to see the gendered division between men as philosophers and women as muses as a difference in active - passive roles, but I think it is too simplistic.\textsuperscript{104} The emphasis in both Muse and poet/sage representations seems to me to be the usage of available and immediately comprehensive iconography to convey a message. Indeed, with nine individualised Muses at their disposition women would, in fact, have had a greater and more differentiated choice at their disposition than men in generic poet or undifferentiated sage guises; if that had been the intent, that is. In the instances where a specific Muse may, indeed, be identified the choice of association has most often fallen on Kalliope, the ‘head’ Muse, in whom all the skills and virtues of the other eight may be contained: a ‘generic’, all-encompassing expression of desirable virtues and qualities rather than a specificity of characteristics.

\textbf{4.3.2 Marriage}

As noted above marriage may be used as an expression of female sexuality and maturity. But the married state also denotes status in the sense that it provides a publicly defined role for women, as well as denoting the free citizen status for the lower social classes in general by illustrating their right to marry. It is therefore not surprising that many of the representations should focus on the couple as the central narrative entity. However, the particular interest of this group of works is that in the majority of cases they abandon the traditional iconographic symbol of marriage, the

\textsuperscript{102} Only Cat. 124 (Fig. 14) seem different in this respect; the ordering of the Muses in the central field, placing the muses associated with science closer to the husband and those associated with lyre playing closer the wife, would suggest a specificity of approach.

\textsuperscript{103} Pliny \textit{Letters} 4.19, 6.7, Dio 78.18.2, Plutarch \textit{Pompey} 55.1, and Best 1970: passim.

\textsuperscript{104} See for instance Fantham, Foley \textit{et al.} 1994: 373, 349 who also note Pliny’s comment on the letters read to him by Saturninus as being evidence either of Saturninus’ good education (if he is the author), or (if the wife is the author) of his cultivation of his wife’s skills, Pliny \textit{Letters} 1.16.1.
dextrarum iunctio, in favour of a mythological setting.\textsuperscript{105} It would therefore be reasonable to inquire what it is the patrons hope to express through this change in the iconography. There seems to me to be two main aspects which achieve an added emphasis in this way: an articulation of virtues pertaining to the person of the woman, and a visualisation of the marriage and the ensuing virtues of the couple as an entity.

It has already been pointed out in Section 4.1.1 how the representations of Ariadne, Luna, Proserpina, Psyche, and Rhea Silvia share a common motif of a state of transition / alterity which the female must overcome and the reward for which is her promotion to the status of a deity. The woman must in other words behave like a hero and apply her courage and loyalty, her virtus and fides, and if she does so a marriage will be effected between herself and a god. However, different from most tales of heroic men the act of heroism is not an end in itself, rather there is here a conflation between aim and reward: the establishment of a successful marriage, which because it is with a deity explains and illustrates the deification of the woman.\textsuperscript{106} I am here not making any distinction between representations in the guises of figures which may or may not from the outset be divine. Central to these images is the use of (or potential for) portrait features: that is, the contemporaneity of status between original mortal state and achieved divine one - irrespective of the choice of divine association. The choice of these mythological representations may, in other words, be seen as a heroisation of the role and the status of the wife. Through the exemplary performance of this role a woman may aspire to and be equated with a divinity. In this sense the performance of the role of the wife may be equated with the representations of men as public persons. That is, as socialised, fulfilling public duties, and complying with accepted values. Just as the series of sarcophagi reliefs which used to be categorised as 'biographical' in theme are now generally accepted to be pertaining to allegorical representations of the cardinal virtues of pietas, virtus, concordia and clementia, so ought these mythological representations to be interpreted as symbolic or allegorical of the virtues of the woman and not as descriptions pertaining exclusively to the woman's life while alive or to her life after death. In common with most mythological stories on sarcophagi the moments, or parts, of the mythological narrative chosen here, are selective, limited and standardised. Characteristics which further support the thesis that

\textsuperscript{105} The dextrarum iunctio gesture may be found in Cat. 17 (cameo of Livia as Ceres), 144 (funerary altar with Proserpina motif), 174, 208, 209 (Venus-Concordia motives, Fig. 22, 24), 207 (socalled Balbinus sarcophagus with Venus motif, Fig. 26). Note, however, that apart from Cat. 174 the dextrarum iunctio is incomplete or not central in the depiction. Further do Cat. 5 (Fig. 3) depict a scene which is most likely interpreted as the wedding of Ariadne and Dionysus.

\textsuperscript{106} As pointed out above, this is an extension of a theme introduced by Phyllis Katz for the myth of Amor and Psyche, Katz 1976. Admittedly the marriage link is somewhat vague for Rhea Silvia for whom it is implied through her heroic motherhood.
the representations should be interpreted as symbolic in nature, that is, as pertaining to certain aspects and not to the myth as a whole. As Dagmar Grassinger has pointed out these mythical reliefs may advantageously be compared in format and aim to the so-called exemplum literature: 'a self-contained short story illustrating a particular cultural value'.

The virtue of fides inherent in the narrative of these mythical stories is a standard quality also in the tales of loyal wives. Appian, Cassius Dio, Pliny, Plutarch, Tacitus, Valerius Maximus, and Velleius Paterculus all recount remarkably similar stories of wives who sought to protect their husbands or followed them into exile or, if no salvation was possible, aided their husbands in suicide before committing suicide themselves. That is, women who were ready to abandon their own safety in order to save, or simply to stand by, their husbands; and who in return are immortalised by being remembered. A similar theme of the heroic female may be found also in descriptions of contemporary wives, like Ovid who in exile ascribes to his wife the virtues of pudica, probitas and fides and likens her to the heroines Andromache and Penelope; and Statius who claims that only good fortune prevented Pricilla showing her endurance in the face of adversity. Fides, loyalty, must in other words be ranked as a cardinal virtue of the heroic woman. However, integrally linked with this is also the notion of courage, virtus: the loyalty that the wives of the exemplum literature display can hardly be characterised as passive. On the contrary it is they, who in the face of their husbands' inability to act take charge of the situation. The reason that virtus is so comparatively rare as an attribution compared to the ubiquitous fides is undoubtedly more indicative of a bias in the literary tradition than to any inappropriateness in ascribing this virtue to a woman. Indeed, part of the aim of this type of literature is to function as a normative influence: if the female exempla were credited with masculine qualities the status of their husbands in the tales would be correspondingly emasculated. The status quo of the gender relationships is upheld by

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108 The wife of Aruntius, the wife of Ligarius, the wife of Acilius and Sulpicia wife of Lentulus, the wife of Rheius and the wife of Apuleius, the wife of Virginis - Appian The Civil Wars 4.21, 4.23, 4.39, 4.40, 4.48. Mutilia Prisca wife of Gaius Fufius Geminus - Dio 58.4.5-6. Arria wife of Caecina Paetus, unnamed couple, Fannia wife of Helvidius Priscus - Pliny Letters 3.16, 6.24, 7.19; Martial 1.13; Dio 60.16.5-6. Calpurnia wife of Antistius - Plutarch Pompey 9.3; Velleius Paterculus 2.26.3. Paxaea wife of Pomponius Labeo and Sextia wife of Mamercus Scaurus, Antistia Pollita wife of Rubellius Plautus, Pompeia Pauline wife of Seneca, Artoria Flaxilla wife of Novus Priscus, Arria wife of Thrasea Prætus - Tacitus Annals 6.29, 14.22 (16.10-11), 15.63-64, 15.71-73, 16.34. Porcia wife of Brutus, Turia wife of Vespilio - Valerius Maximus 4.6.5, 6.7.2; Dio 47.49.3. Servilia wife of Marcus Lepidus - Velleius Paterculus 2.88.3.
109 cf. Statius Silvae 5.1.12 the poetic epitaph ensures the enduring remembrance of Pricilla; and Pliny Letters 6.24 where the juxtaposition is made not between degrees of heroism but of the accident of remembrance; the implicit reason for Pliny to recount the story of the unnamed woman is to ensure also her immortality.
110 Ovid Tristia 5.5.41-45, Statius Silvae 5.1.66-70, 125-131.
the women linking their own fate to that of their men - and implicitly acknowledging that their lives are dependent on that of their husbands. However, some indications of a positive usage of *virtus* as a description of women may be found in the sources. Porcia, the daughter of Cato the Younger and wife of Brutus, is said have lacked neither wisdom nor courage, and Epicharis defies her torturer, Nero and the general expectation of female weakness by showing herself to be braver than a man.\textsuperscript{111} The link with *virtus* is further supported by works in the present catalogue. Six pieces depict a woman directly in the guise of Virtus partaking in a scene denoting the heroic hunt; four of the sarcophagi reliefs catalogued as Diana depict this goddess as associated with a hunter and a hunting scene similar to that in Virtus or Hippolytos scenes; and in the so-called Balbinus sarcophagus the deity closest to the woman is a Diana/Virtus type.\textsuperscript{112} Significantly all of these representations depict a husband - wife couple, that is, they share the characteristics observed above. In some of the depictions of a single female figure a distinct amazonian characteristic may be found: in Cat. 66 the right breast of the figure is bared (Fig. 8), in Cat. 111 the helmet and hairstyle are equally appropriate for Minerva, Roma or Virtus, and the Nemesis representation, Cat. 129, share dress and stance with those of amazons. Though the relationship between amazonian characteristics and *virtus* as a virtue may seem somewhat vague, it is worth noting that such a correlation is, in fact, made by Statius in his description of Priscilla’s courage.\textsuperscript{113}

The deities of Ariadne, Luna, Proserpina, Psyche, Rhea Silvia, and Virtus - together with Diana, Venus and Muse - are often, or most often, depicted as part of a couple. For the first six the iconographical representation of them together with their male counterpart may, apart from a few singular examples, be characterised as standard or characteristic of these deities. For the latter three deities the depiction as a couple is less ubiquitous, though for Venus one suspects that the depiction of her as the counterpart of Mars was so widespread as to make his ‘presence’ almost inherent in hers. In the representations of all of these deities the presence of the male partner may be further accentuated by the use of (or potential for) portrait features also for him.\textsuperscript{114} This group of representations may in other words be characterised as works in which an emphasis is placed on marriage and marital unity. Also in this case I want to argue that the aim is a symbolic / allegorical representation of virtues. The virtues

\textsuperscript{111} Plutarch *Cato the Younger* 73.4, *Tacitus Annals* 15.57.
\textsuperscript{112} Diana hunting scenes: Cat. 75, 76, 77, and 78 (Fig. 9-10); Balbinus sarcophagus: Cat. 207 (Fig. 25).
\textsuperscript{113} Statius *Silvae* 5.1.125-131.
\textsuperscript{114} This may be found in 21 cases of these deities as well as in one for Isis: Cat. 93, 103, 107, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 144, 168 (Fig. 19), 174 (Fig. 22), 176, 177, 182, 190, 206, 207 (Fig. 25), 208 (Fig. 24, 209, 215).
expressed in this manner would be concordia and pietas - especially if pietas is interpreted as 'devotion'. The virtue of pietas is quite obviously integrally linked with the display of fides discussed above: for it a woman's devotion to her husband which induces her to apply her faith and courage to save him and their relationship. That she should choose to do so was clearly not seen as automatic by the ancient writers. For a wife (especially if married sine manu) was not formally considered a member of her husband's household, that is, she was not under any formal bonds of loyalty towards him as were his blood relatives of their children and his family. Velleius Paterculus' famous comment that 'towards the proscribed their wives showed the greatest loyalty, their freedmen not a little, their slaves some, their sons none' (2.67.2) is expressed exactly because it depicts an inversion of the expected expressions of relationship. Conversely a woman's relationship with her husband may be seen as necessitating special action in order to articulate it - which her relationship with her agnatic family did not.\footnote{cf. Holt Parker's interpretation of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi: 'She achieved honour and fame because she was the daughter of Scipio Africanus, because she was the “mother of the Gracchi”. But as the wife of Tiberius Gracchus she must do something.' Parker 1998: 169.} However, the status of female marital loyalty as outside the ordinary is not the full picture. For while going beyond the call of duty might be considered unexpected and extraordinary there is also an expectation of a woman to conform to her duty as a wife. The effort of adapting herself to the role of Pliny's wife is, as observed above, the very thing which wins her his praise. Similarly affection is expected in marriage at the same time as legally and economically the partners were seen as separate. Devotion may in other words be considered simultaneously extrinsic and intrinsic to the role of the wife.\footnote{For an interesting discussion of the status of Roman women as being simultaneously inside and outside, same and other, to that of a Roman male perception of the world see Hallett 1989.} To achieve it, to embody the virtue of pietas, may therefore not only be seen as a heroic act but also as an act of duty. This corresponds closely to the usages of pietas and bene merens found in the funerary epitaphs: 'as having done what he or she was expected to do and thus deserving gratitude'.\footnote{Pietas is therefore a fulfilment of social participation and of conforming to normative expectations; in which the role of the wife may for a woman be seen as the performance of a public role. In other words, the representation of a woman as emphatically part of a couple may in itself be interpreted as a symbol of her pietas. At the same time the emotional investment, which such an iconographic choice implies, may of course also be very real. The type of representation may well have been chosen because the commissioner or buyer of the piece felt it to have expressed a realistic characterisation of the marital relationship and not just an appropriate representation of it. These two aspects, this dualism of approach, have in the past been one of the main components of the idealised image of women in art.}
focuses of debate for the interpretation of Roman marriage. However, I doubt if a Roman audience would have questioned the veracity of marital affection - or indeed questioned the formalised language in which it was expressed. Just as no problems or queries seem to have been expressed concerning the simultaneous existence of an ideal of a life-long marital relationship, and of the prevailing reality of serial marriages. Marriages were characterised as devoted because they were, because they were expected to be, and because that was how marriages were depicted.

However, the role of the wife is not just an expression of her personal pietas, her devotion is also an expression of their marital harmony and their success as a partnership. That is, the public face, or persona, of their marriage which may define them socially. Indeed, in the cases where a exemplary wife is not able to save her husband, she is through heroic suicide able to save their joint honour. Aspects of real marital harmony and formalisation of available iconography naturally influence the interpretation of concordia in the same manner that these did in representations of pietas. Though, the pervasiveness and emphasis of the notion of concordia, for both men and women, suggest that it represented an ideal with a public message. So what could a couple or family hope to gain by emphasising the concept of concordia? Firstly, the couple may represent the two families joined in alliance: each is worthy of the other and acknowledged as such. Note for instance that Mark Antony on his coinage illustrates his alliance with Octavian of 40 BC by paired portraits of himself and Octavian or of himself and Octavia, Octavian’s sister whom he had married as part of the cementing of this alliance. Or when the alliance between Pompey and Caesar finally breaks down in 49 BC, Plutarch attributes the cause as being the insincere pledges of friendship in the family alliance, and in the marriage between Pompey and Julia, Caesar’s daughter. The devotion of the married couple to each other symbolises the loyalty of the two families. In these aristocratic marriages it is tempting to see the role of the women as the ‘temporary cement’ of the political alliances. However, the two cited examples alone suggest that the relationship is much closer: the wife is the official representative of her family within the family of her husband, and the spokesperson of her husband within her own family. Which means that she may act as the official line of communication between the two families: it is Octavia who persuades her husband and her brother to re-establish their alliance and sign the treaty

118 As representations of the viewpoints expressed may be cited Hallet 1984a, who fails to see any significant emotional ties between Roman husbands and wives; and Dixon 1992 and Treggiari 1991, who instead have emphasised the affective ties between Roman spouses.
119 Plutarch Pompey 70.4. After the death of Julia in 54 BC, there were no familial ties between the two men which could have added a sense of personal obligation or duty to the political relationship.
120 Hallet 1984b: 245.
of Tarentum, and it is she who intercedes on her husband’s behalf when he is away, indeed, she rejects her brother’s urging to divorce Antony in 35 BC and only does so in 32 BC when Antony is the one to ask.\textsuperscript{121} There may therefore be convincing political reasons why the families of the couple should wish to emphasise their mutual concordia, but also from the points of view of the husband and of the wife it would have been important to stress their marital harmony. For her devotion to him is a sign of the fact that, for the duration of the marriage at least, she will act on behalf of her husband rather than primarily for her family; that she has, in other words, stated her commitment to her husband, despite not formally being part of his family. That their relationship should be based on pietas and concordia further acts as a sign not just of her personal qualities but also of his. It secures his familial background in the confrontation and competition with other men and acts as a protection against the innuendoes and allegations of sexual misconduct which was a standard method of political attack.\textsuperscript{122} Also it establishes symbolically his authority and moderation by drawing a parallel between his dealings with his family and his administration of his public duties.\textsuperscript{123} For the woman the virtues of pietas and concordia articulate her persona, her official role, as wife which gives her a public profile. His devotion to her underscores her right to act in an official capacity as the mediator of the two families and as the guarantor of the future success of the families. The socially responsible wife is also the one who may guide her husband, like Octavia, or her sons, like Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi, to socially responsible behaviour and actions for the common good rather than self-interest. The devoted and loyal wife is therefore an important symbol of social stability and cohesion, and the public advertisement of these qualities serves a dual rhetorical purpose of promoting personal / familial aspirations and normative ideals.

Though the opposite character to the virtuous wife is often presented as the sexually immoderate illicit lover - as in the contrasting portraits of Octavia and Cleopatra - it is not always the full picture. Even socially acknowledged wives may be considered an obstruction to approved social behaviour. Mark Antony’s third wife, Fulvia, is (in the writings of Augustus) universally held responsible for the Perusine War and blamed for the estrangement of Octavian and Antony in 40 BC; and Julia, the wife of Pompey, is indirectly blamed for his lack of interest in public affairs by tempting him to spend time with her instead - ‘either because he loved her, or because

\textsuperscript{121} For details and further bibliographic references see Kleiner 1992b: 363-364.

\textsuperscript{122} The slanderous attack on female relatives in order to damage the reputation of a man is a tactic commonly practised by Cicero, Delia 1991: 199 & n. 20, 201.

\textsuperscript{123} cf. Saller 1993: 102). Cooper 1996 chapter 1 is a particularly good discussion of the uses and consequences of female virtues by and on men.
she loved him so that he could not bear to leave her.\textsuperscript{124} It is not always enough simply to stress the marital status of a woman. For the representations associated with the deities discussed here, it is therefore not sufficient to interpret them as wives, as partners in a recognised couple. To have a symbolic significance they must be wives of recognised virtue. I therefore want to propose that a set of cardinal virtues existed and were articulated in these depictions of women: \textit{fides, virtus, pietas}, and \textit{concordia}. It is notable how similar these virtues are to those aimed at men; the only difference being a substitution of \textit{fides} for \textit{clementia} - which may symbolise the different spheres of (public) action available to men and women.\textsuperscript{125} However, if one accepts the interpretation of these reliefs along similar lines to those of men, - that is as allegorical representations of virtues - is it correspondingly tempting to wonder if the victory element which is found in some of the catalogued representations may not be interpreted as personifying the achievement of these aspirational virtues. In Cat. 141, 207, and 209 (Fig. 17, 25) the couple is accompanied by Victoria, the first even depicting the couple as if partaking in a triumph; and in the Venus and Mars groups, Cat. 176, 177, 184, and 190 (Fig. 20), her stance is assimilated to that of Victory inscribing the list of virtues on the shield of Mars.\textsuperscript{126} The victorious achievement of virtue might offer an explanation why the couple should be heroised in this manner.

4.3.3 Motherhood

The deities of Ariadne, Diana, Luna Proserpina, and Psyche are not the only divinities which may be interpreted as symbolising the expression of female sexuality within the socially approved perimeters of marriage. However, what principally distinguishes these from goddesses like Ceres, Cybele, Isis, and Juno is a relative difference in age. Where the former are rather youthful and may be seen as of an age ready to enter into (a first) marriage, the latter are a great deal more mature. Their sexual powers or social efforts are less connected to the achievement of marriage and the attainment of the position of wife, than to the possible longevity of that marriage and the expression of this in terms of children. Their physical maturity alone distinguish these as mothers.


\textsuperscript{125} The similarities between male and female virtues was observed also by the 1st cent. AD writer Musonius Rufus who argued that both men and women needed to be prudent, just, temperate and courageous Musonius Rufus \textit{Diatribes} 9.

\textsuperscript{126} Cat. 174 is similar to these latter representations though her arm posture has been changed to accommodate the \textit{dextrarum iunctio} (Fig. 22). In Ovid \textit{Amores} 3.2.45-46 Victoria is called upon to aid the victory of love - a sentiment which would seem very appropriate in the context of the representations of couples.
To the group may be added another couple of deities who on mythological grounds are associated with motherhood: Rhea Silvia and Venus - the progenitresses of Romulus and Aeneas. The expectation of children seems to have been integral to the idea of Roman marriage. As Susan Treggiari has shown the rituals performed before the sexual consummation on the wedding night may contain the parallel function of symbolically breaking the hymen and preparing for childbirth.\textsuperscript{127} Indeed for some, children were seen as the \textit{raison d'etre} for marriage: the gynaecologist Soranus stresses the physical health of a woman 'since women are usually married for the sake of children and succession'; and Valerius Maximus relates how the will of Septicia in favour of her second husband rather the children of her first, was revoked by Augustus on the grounds that the advanced age of the couple proved that the marriage had not been undertaken for the purpose of producing children and that it therefore could not be considered a proper marriage; - similarly the woman in the so-called 'Laudatio Turiae' is willing to accept divorce on the ground that she has proved infertile.\textsuperscript{128} However, these seem extreme examples; indeed, 'Turia's' husband firmly rejects her offer as one not to be considered. Similarly the emphasis on the 'proven fertility' in the descriptions of women of the imperial household seems more reasonably to be connected to specific political and dynastic concerns than to a generally applied significance in the quality of a wife.\textsuperscript{129} It seems hardly likely that a society which did not view consummation as a validation of marriage and which seems to have been in need of legislative measures to increase the birth-rate would have considered the procreation of children a marital prerogative.\textsuperscript{130} Rather it may have been a generally held assumption and have been considered a natural part of marriage that a couple would want to have children; - and familial and community encouragements would undoubtedly, directly or indirectly, have ensured that the couple agreed with this assumption. None of the representations catalogued here depict women in 'mothering' poses holding infants and only very few are shown with children in a context which unequivocally presents these as their offspring. Only roughly a dozen examples may be found in the catalogue. Of these, one half are representations of imperial family members and identifiable on iconographical grounds, the other

\textsuperscript{127} Treggiari 1994 325-326.
\textsuperscript{129} Description of Agrippina the Younger as 'femina expertae fecundatis': Tacitus \textit{Annals} 12.2. For the relationship between the presentation of imperial women and dynastic concerns, see for instance Feijer 1985; Feijer 1998; Kampen 1991; Smith 1982: 228-229; Varner 1995: 187, 194, 203; Wood 1995: 457, 459, 482.
\textsuperscript{130} For the centrality, but not legally validating status, of the wedding night in Roman ritual see Treggiari 1994: 323-328. A good summary of Roman legislation concerned with promoting maternity may be found in Dixon 1988 chapter 4.
representations of non-elite people are identifiable on basis of inscriptions or family-group depiction. Considering that depictions of members of the imperial house only constitute just over one quarter of the entries it suggests that this group makes a proportionally greater use of family emphasis in this type of representations. As pointed out above most of the deities are identifiable as mothers only on the basis of their relative maturity. The absence of representations of mothers with infants or small children is not unusual in Roman art: though scenes of this type may be found in the imperial coinage, most notably of Faustina the Younger, it is a theme whose use is limited and, when shown, does often not have the mothering aspect as its primary emphasis. Despite how surprising that may seem considering the central role of the family and the expectation of children in Roman society this does in fact correspond well with the analyses of the role of the Roman mother made by Susan Dixon, who concludes that ‘mothers seem to have had an important role, but probably not the specialised and exclusive care of small children’. From this point of view the absence of a certain category of images may therefore be seen as conforming to reality rather than to represent a discrepancy. However, it does obviously also raise questions regarding the nature of motherhood: emblematic or honorific, referring to social status or to personal virtues.

Natalie Kampen has suggested that the predominant body-type chosen for depictions of Roman women - be it clothed or naked as in the representations of Venus - represent an ideal of the woman who could and would have children. That is, that in many cases her physical maturity, with broad hips, full breasts and rounded stomach, ought indeed to be interpreted as a sign of her fecundity - real or potential. Though, simultaneously it would also offer the possibility that the procreative powers presented are of an emblematic nature: that the aim of the representation may not exclusively be aimed at suggesting the generation of children but may also represent fertility in general. Such an interpretation would seem to be supported by some of the types of depictions catalogued here. Both Ceres, Cybele and Isis are closely connected to the fertility of the land and the changing of the seasons, that is, to a fecundity of a more all-encompassing nature; articulated through the predominant attributes for these as either ears of corn - sometimes combined with poppy seed-heads - or a cornucopia.

131 Depictions of the imperial family: Cat. 17, 21, 25, 26, 31, 94=110. Depictions of non-elite family relationship: Cat. 132, 145=165, 174; 117, 182, 189 (possibly); 147, 180, 201 (only the child/children are associated with deities).
132 For the coinage of Julia and Faustina the Younger see Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981, vol 1: 76, no 166, pl 2.19; vol 3: 95, no 512, pl 4.98; 192, no 1382, 1386. For a discussion of the rarity of Roman representations of pregnant women or women with infants, see Kampen 1994 esp.: 113-117.
133 Dixon 1988: 35.
134 Kampen 1994: 119; see also D'Ambrusa 1996.
The latter is an attribute which also Bona Dea and Fortuna share and which here may further be found as a singular identifying attribute of divinity (the category of woman 'with cornucopia'). The significance of both corn-ears and the cornucopia is their association not simply with abundance and fruitfulness but one which is obtained effortlessly from cultivated land, that is, a symbol of the good life or of the archetypal golden age. The mixture of the fruits and grains contained in the horn of the cornucopia is an especially clear example of the all-encompassing plenty which it symbolises. A choice of depiction in the guise of these deities or with this type of attributes does not necessarily only refer to the giving, nurturing role of a woman as a mother but may also give an impression of the woman as the *custos* of the household which through her good management prospers and grows. In other words, this type of depiction may depict a woman in a social context. The public and 'official' aspect of this context becomes particularly evident when one notes the popularity of exactly these goddesses and attributes for the representations of women of the imperial family. Other than stressing the imperial family as a dynastic concept the depictions also symbolise the nature and aspirations of the imperial rule.\textsuperscript{135} That the idea of motherhood is still integral to the concept of fertility - even when the aim is a socio/political or generic symbolism - may be shown by comparing the above deities with Diana or Nymph. The latter, too, are associated with nature but in their cases with a wild, and uncultivated nature. The non-domestication of these two deities leaves them on the borderline stage of child and adult and they represent youth and initiation into motherhood rather than the mature, nurturing mother.\textsuperscript{136}

The inherent link which may be seen to exist between being a mother and presenting a social identity suggests a further interpretation of these representations. The maturity with which these women are represented not only indicates their physical capacity to have children but also their social status as mothers. The title of mother, *mater*, described not just a familial relationship but was also a title or rank; most evident, of course, in the titles given to empresses. Despite Tiberius' refusal to deify his mother, Livia, she was apparently among members of the senate referred to as *mater* (or *parens*) *patriae* (mother (or parent) of the fatherland), a title concordant with

\textsuperscript{135} A good visual articulation of this aim is the coin minted under the reign of Caligula depicting his three sisters as Securitas, Concord and Fortuna - the unifying attribute between them all is a cornucopia Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981 vol 1: 117, no 26, pl 7.115.

\textsuperscript{136} The sarcophagus Cat. 132 (Fig. 15) and sarcophagus-lid Cat. 133 highlight the nuances to this general statement. Though the nymphs are usually depicted as youthful they are also said in some cases to form marital relationships - hence, no doubt, the association here with mature women.
that of *pater patriae* granted to Augustus. Other officially granted titles of this nature include that of *mater castrorum* (mother of the camp) given to Faustina the Younger and to Julia Domna; and that of *mater senatus et patriae* (mother of the senate and the fatherland) also conferred on Julia Domna. However, this idea of honorific motherhood may also be found in other more oblique contexts. Part of the Augustan legislation to promote marriage included the granting of the privilege *ius liberorum*, that is, the freedom from tutelage and favourable inheritance rights, to women who had three legitimate children (four if the woman was a freedwoman). Since, as it has been discussed above, the presence of tutors for most free-born women might have been little more than a formality it suggests that the grant of *ius liberorum* had an honorific significance rather than being a practical incentive. Augustus himself bestowed this grant on Livia and Octavia as part of state celebrations and in relation to other personal honours granted to them, despite neither of them having produced the required amount of children. Indeed, the privileges of the *ius liberorum* were much sought also by men and could be conferred even to the childless by special grant of the emperor. What is interesting in this context is how being a parent through a claim of privilege itself may be presented and sought as an emblem of status. The honorific nature of parenthood is especially evident in the cases when this privilege is granted to those who do not fulfil its legal requirements. The prestige in the title of *mater* and the possibility of conferring this without reference to any strict biological capacity is evident also in the word *mater familias*. Strictly speaking the word signified a married woman much as did *matrona* (similarly *uxor* though this denotes rather a personal relationship as wife). Originally the term *mater familias* may only have referred to women married in *manus*, but gradually it came so signify a (married) woman who was legally independent (*sui iuris*). That is, it indicated a legal right and a social

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137 On the political and dynastic implication of this senatorial debate, and of the significance of the imperial honours of 'Augusta' as a transmitter (biologically or politically) of the dynastic power, see Flory 1997: 120-121 and passim.
139 This is an argument presented by Dixon 1988: 89-90 who also give examples of how this right was presented as an emblem of status; for instance CIL 6.1877: 'Cornelia Zosima enjoying the right of four children' or CIL 6.10246: 'Septimia Dionisias holder of *ius liberum*'. The opposite view has been expressed by Pomeroy 1976: 225.
140 Dio 49.38.1, 55.2.5-7.
143 cf. Cicero Topica 3.14 for old definition. Gardner 1995: 383-387 provides a good discussion of the implications of the term, though she does not choose to see the similarities in status with *pater familias* and emphasises instead a biological basis for the attribution of the title to women. For a legal and non-legal investigation of the usage and implications of the term, as well as a comparison
status. The term quite obviously posed a similarity in terminology and in legal
definition - and no doubt in daily parlance also in status - to that of *pater
familias*: in both cases is signified a person in no-one’s *potestas*, that is, with independent propert
rights and for neither is parenthood a requisite.\textsuperscript{144}

However, the definition of a *mater familias* may also have been seen as
descriptive of personal qualities. According to Ulpian the title of *mater
familias* is applicable to a woman ‘who lives not dishonorably. For character
distinguishes and separates a *mater familias* from other women; accordingly it makes no difference
whether she is married or a widow, freedborn or freed; for neither marriage nor birth
make a *mater familias*, but good character’.\textsuperscript{145} The status of being a *mater familias* and
the ensuing implication of honorific motherhood may be seen as having been
obtainable by all women on basis of personal merit rather than legal or familial status.
The sense of honorific status and the relationship with personal qualities and the
fulfilment of duty may, to some extent, be found mirrored also in the epitaphs. The
overwhelmingly more popular choice of description of a spouse was as *bene merens*,
well deserving, cf. Table 4:4. In fact, Sigismund Nielsen who has worked statistically
with this material is able to show that 34% of epithets for spouses make use of this
wording (42% in the cases where only a single adjective is used). To give a
comparison, the only other percentually significant description is that of *carissimus/a*,
very dear, which only occurs in 17% of the dedications to spouses (15% for the single
epithet commemorations).\textsuperscript{146} In itself this may not seem very relevant other than
suggesting that a fair amount of Roman marriages were retrospectively presented as a
relationship where the partners deserved *gratia* by having fulfilled their expected duty.
Indeed, the most common usage of *bene merens* may, not surprisingly, be found as an
epithet for a patron (55% - 61% when a single epithet). However, what does seem
significant in this context is the corresponding higher age of the persons to whom *bene
merens* is attributed than the average of all epitaphs in general. Whereas the peak age
distribution in the epitaphs listed in CIL 6 is between 5 and 25 years of age, that of

\textsuperscript{144} The difference between the two terms is in application and inference of the words: where a
*paterfamilias* was in the position of holding another person in his *potestas*, a *mater familias* only

\textsuperscript{145} Ulpian *Digest* 50.16.46.1 ‘quia non inhoneste vixit.Matrem enim familias a ceteris feminis mores
discernunt atque separat; proinde nihil intererit, nupta sit an vidua, ingenua sit an libertina; nam
neque nuptiae neque natales faciunt matrem familias, sed boni mores’) - cited in and translated by
Saller 1999: 194 and Gardner 1995: 386 and n. 23. A similar descriptive implication is suggested for

\textsuperscript{146} Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 184-185, tables 8.5, 8.6.
persons described as well deserving is between 15 and 45 years of age.\textsuperscript{147} That is, an age group of people who would normally have been married and expected to have established a family. The gratia implied in the choice of term corresponds with the honorific, status-defining aspect of the title mater and it may indeed have been the fulfilment of the role of wife / mother / mater familias which is acknowledged in this way. It would support the notion that the role of the wife and mother was considered a public one in which a woman may be acknowledged for her efforts and contributions in the same manner as a patron would be due public gratitude for gifts and services rendered. Once this similarity is accepted, it would further suggest that the basic view of marriage, too, was of an interactive, reciprocal, and continuing relationship with a moral implication for both parties.\textsuperscript{148} The primary moral incentive for the partner to whom gratia is due was to be seen as honourable; and part of the gratia would have been to publicly ensure this. There is in other words a direct correlation between the ideal of the good wife, the woman of boni mores and auctoritas feminam, and the award of the title of mater familias. Where in this context the link with motherhood (other than through the oblique implications of titular prerogatives) may seem weak, the interpretation as a whole may be seen to correspond well with the image of the deities as presented initially: they are characterised by their physical and mental maturity. Their gravitas, experience, and sense of social responsibility unite both Ceres, Cybele, and Juno irrespective of mythological narrative details in an image of acceptance of the 'wifely' role and the implication of motherhood.

\subsection*{4.3.4 Identity}

The aspect which to modern eyes may seem surprisingly absent from the previous section's discussion on motherhood is a notion of motherhood as personal self-fulfilment and gratification. Identity for a Roman woman does not seem to have been linked with any ideas of being specifically a mother, just as motherhood does not appear to have been a defining aspect in characterising a woman as a 'real woman'.\textsuperscript{149} Children were undoubtedly expected and wished in marriage and may be presented as a sign of a successful union but parenthood would seem equally important to both

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\textsuperscript{147} Sigismund Nielsen 1997 here esp. fig 8.1, 8.2: the frequency of age indication with the usage of bene merens is equal to that for epithets in general, and the diversity in age groupings is therefore not caused by a discrepancy of this nature.

\textsuperscript{148} For a very good analyses of the gift - debt relationship in Rome, based on moral implications rather than economic or social ones, see Dixon 1993.
partners and not a defining feature of personal identity of one; note, for instance, how Augustan family legislation affects both men and women. Hence presumably the absence of depictions of women with infants and small children outside the most generic of contexts - like the so-called Tellus relief on the Ara Pacis Augustae; or the most specific - like the dynastic advertisements on the imperial coinage. For Roman women it may rather be considered that it is their sexuality, or sexual status, in general which defined female identity. It would be tempting to understand this in terms of life-stages, and to a certain extent it is true that a woman's identity is framed by her physical development. It may be seen reflected in the present catalogue in the choice of deities used for representations of girls, young women and matrons respectively. Where Diana is the most popular choice for children, this goddess is only the second choice for young women for whom instead Venus is the preferred association; for matrons the primary choices of association are almost equally divided between Venus and Ceres (see Table 5:1). However, as touched on more than once in the above sections is there an interconnection between traditional ideals, social status, and public persona in the description of a woman which would counter any suggestion of the existence of a singular identifying aspect. Though 'sexuality' may be as close to an encompassing category as one may get, even this may be seen as a simultaneous composite of age, marital status and sexual morality which as a whole creates a social identity. The following is in other words not intended as proposing the existence of a singular view of female identity - on the contrary, what I hope to achieve is to suggest ways in which the composite aspects may be seen as intersecting, and indicate how female sexuality may be seen as an inherent part of female social roles.150

Age is naturally an inherent part of any view of life-stages and may be traced in the present catalogue as outlined above, just as it may be traced through the language: the normal term for a girl being puella, that of adult woman matrona. However, for a woman the transition from child to adult is determined not solely by age and sexual maturity but formally through marital status. A girl came of age when she married. That both a young woman on her wedding day and a young man when donning the toga virilis would from that day stop wearing the toga praetexta and on that day wear the tunica recta connects both rituals with purity, coming of age, and acceptance of public responsibility.151 Though, where the expression of public identity

149 cf. Dixon 1988: 73: 'the emotional rewards of motherhood [...] was not a feature. Selffulfillment [through motherhood] is barely discernible'.
150 Similar multifaceted views of the sexuality of Roman women has been put forward by Hallett 1989; Stehle 1989; and most recently Staples 1998.
151 For a discussion of this argument see Staples 1998: 88. An argumentation based solely on age may be found in: Weaver 1991: 168 who defines a puella as younger than 12 years, and in Shelton 1990: 165 n. 7 who considers the term appropriate for girls up to the age of 17.
for a man may then be articulated through the roles and duties he is now initiated to
fulfil, for a woman the only expression of public identity available seems that of
matrimony. The centrality of this aspect in female identity has been evident throughout
the discussion in the above sections, and it is further emphasised when one notes that
no word exists in Latin to express the concept of ‘spinster’ but that a mature unmarried
woman, whether she is a widow or single, is a vidua; a word which denotes her lack
of ‘two-ness’, the fact that she is not part of a couple.152 The terminology which in this
way may be a defining feature of female identity also points up the restrictions in this
view: there are no adequate terms to characterise those women who fall outside the
norm, and even those who adhere to the accepted pattern are only really ‘whole’
women when associated with a man. Marriage is further also the ritual which, in
theory at least, changes a girl from a virgin to a woman.153 And though Roman law
may not emphasise sexual union as the determining basis for marriage there is other
evidence to suggest a strong link between sexuality and marriage. Most notable is the
fact that the marriage-bed functioned as a symbol of marriage, either in manner of
speaking as when Ovid has Juno wondering why Jupiter does not marry Callisto:
‘Why does he not drive out Juno and put her in my bedroom and take Lycaon as his
father-in-law’, or as a feature in the house by placing (actually or symbolically) the
lectus genialis in the atrium.154 The public display of the marriage-bed has two obvious
consequences for how women were viewed. One is the public nature, and status which
the role of wife confers on a woman: the atrium, as discussed above, was the public
part of the house where friends and clients were received and the prestige of the family
asserted. Another consequence is the linking of female sexuality to the institution of
marriage: through marriage a woman’s sexuality is given an acceptable expression and
is contained within a controllable framework. The articulation of Roman sexual
morality through myth has been explored lucidly by Ariadne Staples who presents the
cult of Ceres as mediating the male and female sexuality symbolically presented by
Liber and Libera and regulating this within a framework of marriage.155 Ceres is in
other words, eminently suitable as a representation of the matron, the married woman
whose sexuality and fertility is bound to that of her husband, and the materfamilias
symbolically embodying the prestige of the family. Her sexuality is validated by being
expressed through the acceptable medium of a socially sanctioned institution, and her

153 For references, see Treggiari 1994: 328 n. 57.
154 Ovid Metamorphoses 2.525-526 translation given is by Susan Treggiari; the lectus genialis:
155 Staples 1998 chapter 2. See also the introductory notes to Ceres in the catalogue.
physicality given respectability through the medium of children and status clothing.\textsuperscript{156} Venus may seem the contrasting element to Ceres: her many mythological guises seem to represent a fragmentation of the singular emphasis of Ceres and her sensuality and ambiguity of marital status a negation of the centrality of marriage. However, the composite nature of the cults of Venus may present her as a deity which integrates disparate aspects of female sexuality.\textsuperscript{157} By ritually highlighting the various categories created for Roman women: the prostitute, the matron, and the Vestal, the cult of Venus not only exemplifies the sliding scale of possible personae but also the composite sexual nature of women as individuals. By giving a ritual outlet for the coexistence of these aspects the inherent dangers of the extremes of these may be neutralised and a balancing, equalising effect for society as a whole created.

However, female social identity expressed through sexuality may be concerned not only with personal status but may be asserted also as a ‘national’ identity: as a statement of Romanness. Using the tripartite division of prostitute, matron and Vestal, the obvious symbol of Romanness is the Vestal: the priestess of a cult symbolising the state and concerned with national security and well-being. However, the body of the Vestal was also a national symbol and she achieved this by being excluded from legal and familial relationships normally pertaining to women and, most importantly, by a repression of her sexual and procreative potential.\textsuperscript{158} By being placed completely outside normal societal formations there were no obvious points of identification and allegiance between Vestals and other Romans (men or women) - other than that of being Roman. By not being part of anything a Vestal might symbolise the whole. The complete negation of sexuality which the Vestals embody - they must be virgins not just virtuous - would, if adopted by women in general, represent a danger to the survival and regeneration of society and as a role-model must from that point of view be considered highly undesirable. Undoubtedly the deliberate adoption and institutionalising of a small group of women in this role was intended to neutralise this threat. Similarly undesirable as a societal rolemodel was the prostitute. Her sexuality was not framed within any form of marriage, and especially it was outside the legal format of the iustum matrimonium which ensured the authority of the father over any possible children by making them socially and legally part of his

\textsuperscript{156} A modern simile is expressed by Wurtzel 1998 on the subject of the respectability of the female sexuality which is expressed through motherhood: ‘Pamela Anderson Lee has got to be sick of being all tits all the time. So now she’s a mom: she’s got real work to do. She’s a mom: her time is valuable. She’s a mom: her slut days are over. She’s a mom: her sexuality is natural, sensual, not carved out on an operating table’.

\textsuperscript{157} Staples 1998 chapter 3. See also the introductory notes to Venus in the catalogue.

family. This meant that, apart from any possible moral objections to the profession of the prostitute, her sexuality per se from the point of view of society was an undermining of and threat to the authority of patria potestas. But the very status of the prostitute was further not only on the fringes of acceptable female identity but may be seen as an undermining of such an identity by creating an ambiguity between male and female characteristics. In dress the prostitute was specifically forbidden to wear the stola but she could wear the toga - something in turn forbidden the matron - and to use the feminine form of togatus, togata, denoted a prostitute. But the prostitute not only dressed like a man, her unrestricted, active sexuality was in itself masculine in character. As Holt Parker has shown Roman sexuality is divisible not only along gender lines but more clearly according to an active - passive distinction. The normal male is active in his sexual activities and pursuits, the normal female is passive. The active and dispersed nature of the prostitute’s sexuality would in other words be enough to present her as an abnormal female - and thereby a weakening of the socially construed image of a woman. However, her masculine characteristics were also potentially a threat to the socially acceptable image of a man. For the presence of sexually active women - and especially if a man lets himself be the subject of their active behaviour - would feminise and emasculate him and present him as an abnormal male. Male fear of being seen as passive and subjected to the will of women has been noted more than once in both Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, indeed, as it has been noted it was one of the most common invectives against men in political attacks and rivalries. The matron is, obviously, the ideal rolemodel for women and was to be promoted and reinforced by society as a whole. She exists as a sexual being: she is neither physically (a child) or religiously (a Vestal) out-of-bounds, but an adult participant in the social construction of the world. However, her sexuality is expressed within the contained and controlled environment of the marriage. In this way she may be seen as an affirmative symbol of the normative values of both male and female sexuality - though of course, only if it is certain that she despite her legalised marital status has not transgressed acceptable sexual boundaries. Her chastity, her pudicitia, must therefore be beyond doubt - hence the need for the constant and public assertions of female virtue. But though the chastity of a matron was by no means as essential to the survival of the state as the virginity of the Vestal, it may still be interpreted as a fundamental component in the matrix of Roman identity. The unchaste matron seems an oxymoron almost on a par with the effeminate or non-sexual man, cf. the Galli at the cult of

161 Parker 1997.
Cybele to which priesthood significantly no Roman was admitted. The symbol of the chaste matron confirms the image of the ideal Roman woman just as the virtue of virtus denotes an essential characteristic of the ideal Roman man. In Roman cults it is notable how often the chastity of women - and especially of matrons - is connected to the introduction, founding or performance of ritual: Claudia Quinta pulling the boat of Cybele into Rome; the dedication of the statue to Venus Verticordia; the sexual abstinence of women during the festival of the Cerealia. Though equally interesting is how matronal chastity may be juxtaposed with military prowess, most explicitly expressed in the cult of Venus Obsequiae. The chaste matron and the brave man not only ensure the survival and maintenance of the state but do so by behaving like Romans, by being Romans. Aspiring to or presenting oneself in the guise of the female ideal of the matron may in other words be another way of expressing an aspiration or adherence to being Roman. This symbol, like the foundation myths, is part of a 'national' self-identification which may also be used to express a personal identity and pertinence to a cultural group.

4.4 Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter three questions were posed as underpinning the discussion for the chapter as a whole: the possible relationship between the mythological interpretation pertaining to the divinity and the socio-personal interpretation pertaining to the image of the woman; the kind of message inherent in the representation of particular deities; and if the choice of representation (and its message) in some way conforms to traditional ideals. I have tried to deal with all of these questions, but especially the last two, as explicitly as appropriate in the discussions and evaluations within the individual sections. Briefly, a summary answer may be said to be that clearly, yes, particular deities do seem to represent differing, though often associated and overlapping, messages and interpretations. What there has not been space for here is a detailed interpretation of the images of deities, deciphering their individual and contextual meanings. That is the work of a separate study. What I attempted here is to suggest avenues of interpretations and contexts to open up ways of explaining the association with a deity on grounds broader than the strictly personal and/or descriptive. In Section 4.3 it has in this way been my suggestion that images

may be symbolic representations of cardinal virtues, that they may be emblematic and concerned with an articulation of social or honorific status, and that they may be expressions of social and ‘national’ identity - be that as an actual or an aspirational sense of identification. Similarly the third question may be answered in the affirmative: the representations do conform to established ideals. The otherwise rather predictable interpretation has, though, been tempered by an attempt at reading also the very ideals with greater nuance and in a wider context trying to show that the ideals of or for women pertain to them as social (public) beings and are connected with social responsibility and status presentation. However, it is a question which together with the first invites further discussion. For in the evaluation of the usage of portrait representations in the guise of divinities what is of interest is not simply what the viewer is (passively) told by the image, but also how the viewer (actively) reacts to the image. I find this especially interesting in a consideration of how women may have reacted to images of themselves or of other women.

In Section 4.1 it was suggested that this type of image at times may be seen as representing a conflation of the sign and the signified, that is, a conflation of qualities of the mortal and the divine personality. If one accepts this as a reasonable interpretation of the images it would seem equally reasonable to presuppose that the female reaction to these images should have been equally personal. Since the image in this way would represent aspects of personal qualities and social persona, it suggests the possibility of the response being based on identification: either as an identification of the self with the image or as an aspirational identification of what one might desire to be.\footnote{For details see the introductory notes to Cybele, Venus and Ceres in the catalogue.} The addition of a divine aspect in a portrait representation in other words opens the possibility for identifications based on a desire to be in the place of the goddess, to be like the goddess, to be the goddess, or an aspiration towards what the goddess symbolises. Examples of this type of interpretation may be an aspiration to be desired eternally by a god or hero; to be an ideal mater familias like Ceres; or to be Venus herself in ones beauty and desirability; or to be associated with the Romanness, honour and status inherent in Cybele or Virtus. Such a direct and personal relationship of identification with an image presents, as Natalie Kampen has also pointed out, the female viewer as engaged in complex relationships and responses to the representation and in a position as an active, participatory viewer.\footnote{The use the terms ‘desire’ and ‘desirability’ in the interpretation of images from the Roman world are ones which have been introduced by Kampen 1997 and in the following I am much indebted to the ideas presented there.} In other words, these images of women do not solely represent a one-sided male view of the female body and the

\footnote{Kampen 1997: 268, 273.}
female role, but a view in which women, too, are participants by virtue of the affective complicity which exists between image and spectator (see Section 2.3 for a discussion of this).

As I have sought to point out, the images ought principally to be interpreted as representing a female persona; that is, they represent primarily a socialised view of women. Similarly Kampen has proposed a definition for the role of images in general as being that of reconfiguring the world in a manner where, through the challenge to or reproduction of social arrangements, practices and institutions are made to seem natural and universal. The depictions of women in the guise of deities do on the one hand represent a normalising, socialised image of women which affirms acceptable values and which through the empathetic responses of women has a conformist effect on their possible self-image. On the other hand the empathising identification of women with the images does not only have the effect of ultimately influencing the image - as all presentations are influenced by their reception - but of presenting a participatory view of women. Because of the aspirational quality of the image it may present both an ideal example and a model of achievable ambition. Women who, in the wording of Judith Hallett, may have been suspected of being ‘other’, of being outside or on the fringes of recognised society and practices, are brought in as ‘same’ and as partakers in the configuration of social values and expressions; and therefore ultimately as participants in society.167

166 Kampen 1997: 267.
167 Hallett 1989. These ideas may usefully be juxtaposed with the discussion of the introduction into Rome of the cults of Cybele and Venus Erycina presented by Stehle 1989 and Staples 1998.
CHAPTER 5

USING DIVINE ASSOCIATIONS

The following chapter is intended as a pendant to the previous. Similar to the previous chapter an integral part of the consideration here will be to examine correlations between the real lives (as far as they can be established) of women, and the heightened reality of the divine context in which they are represented. However, where Chapter 4 presented the range of deities with which Roman women were associated and proposed avenues of interpretations for these divine allusions, the present chapter will concern itself with the women presented in the divine guises and offer suggestions for methods of interpreting the use of divine associations. The chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, an examination of the various ‘categories’ of women and their respective choices of representation, and of affinities between social status and mythological depiction. Secondly, a look at the role of the mythological representations themselves; how to locate their narratives and the ‘reading’ of the representations in time and the effects this may have for their interpretation, and how the narratives may be employed in the transmission of messages and especially the way they may be seen as instruments of social interaction and reinforcements of social identity. In this connection a theme already touched upon in the previous chapter, the Roman exemplum tradition, will be examined in order to establish a relationship between this and the visual narratives of mythological depictions. The concluding part will concentrate on the creative input of the spectator and examine how the representations may invite reactions encouraging the participation of the viewer as well the consequences this has for the reading of the depictions. This will include a discussion of the aspect which may be see as constituting the representations in the guise of divinities: the amalgamation of the portrait face and the divine body - and the relationship between the two. That is, how the two aspects may been seen to interact - as a costume applied to or worn by the individual, and/or as part of an inter-related process of juxtaposition - and how the interpretation of the viewer may configure a new identity for the person depicted.
5.1 Status specific choices

The choice of the word 'status' in this connection is intended to signify a composite term. That is, not class or rank framed by legal and familial conventions; but the complex perception (and presentation) of a person's standing made up of aspects like birth, rank, wealth, achievements, education and marriage.¹ This definition would pertain to all members of Roman society, though specifically for women it will provide a better way to evaluate status which seems composed of a variety of elements, like marital status and sexual maturity/morality. In the following the emphasis will be on establishing various categories within what knowledge is available regarding the women represented in the catalogued material in order to examine how far the real-life background of these women might have influenced or is reflected in their choice of divine guise.

Such an approach is naturally not without its problems since elements of female status may simultaneously be multi-faceted in nature and not all measurable. For example, there is a lack of real information provided by the representations regarding the standing of the women. Economically the catalogued works represent a self-selecting sample: those who could afford a portrait depiction of this type are represented, those who could not are lacking; at most one may differentiate levels of economic means within the difference in expenditure required in commissioning an ash-chest or a free-standing, life-size statue.² And there is an absence of clear references to professions in these works (combined of course with the impossibility of applying distinctions of office to women); differentiations which are often very important in depictions of men. A further difficulty imposed on the works is the lack of any attributable archaeological context. Over half of the catalogued works are of unknown provenance, and for many of the remaining the established provenance is little more than an associated place name, like 'Rome' or 'Ostia'.

However, despite the various caveats on the material an examination of status still represents a relevant aspect of investigation, in as far as it may serve to contextualise the choices made for the representative allusions. A survey of the information available on the women themselves may, in other words, provide points of

¹ Similar differentiations have been applied by several authors, in recognition that the perception of a Roman citizen would have depended on the mix and degree of contributing factors; and that investigation of 'status' may therefore give a more nuanced picture of social standing; Garsey and Saller 1987: 118-123; Hemelrijk 1999: 225 n. 19; Hopkins 1965: 14; Weaver 1967: 3.
² However, the pieces in themselves do not give any indication of how habitual such an expenditure might have been for the patron; that is, whether it should be seen as evidence of long-term surplus wealth or a one-off investment.
references for correlating the individualising and the idealising aspects of these depictions. The intention is to establish a framework for the social roles of these women by drawing on the composite aspects of personal and social characteristics which, as discussed in the previous chapter, get closest to outlining female social identity.

5.1.1 Life-stages

The most obvious aspect of personal characteristic is the combination of age and assumption of familial and social roles which each stage infers. Where it has been possible the women depicted in the catalogued works have been categorised as respectively children, young women, and matrons. The perception of a human life being divisible in stages which are characterised by specific moral qualities is echoed in the letters of Pliny in which the wife of Macrinus is described as having ‘assembled in herself the virtues of every stage in life’ and the young daughter of Fundanus as combining ‘the wisdom … and dignity of womanhood with the sweetness and modesty of youth’. Indeed, the broad divisions established here find correspondences in the type-series of representations of women belonging to the imperial family. Agrippina the Younger, Sabina and Faustina the Younger all had a life-long public visibility (if not from childhood then from youth through maturity) which is reflected in major portrait-types. Table 5:1 is an overview of occurrence of divine guise according to these main life-stages as they appear in the catalogued material. In fairness to the representations intermediate categories have been created to accommodate those instances in which there was some significant doubt whether they belonged fully into one or other category; however, in the end these do not change the overall trends in preferences visible in the table.

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3 Pliny Letters 8.5, 5.16.
4 Agrippina the Younger: Sande 1985: 197 - five portrait-types (daughter, sister, bride, Augusta, mother); Sabina: Carandini 1969: 133-198, 223-239 - three broad groups of portrait-types and hairstyles (wife/empress, Augusta, Diva); Faustina the Younger: Smith 1982: 228 - nine hairtypes representing the birth of each of her children, but only three portrait-types (marriageable girl, young mother, matron). A similar tripartite division of age categories may be found in the masking conventions of ancient theatre where it is used without gradation or development as one of the central conventions for person-characterisation; Marshall 1999: 191.
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For clarity the significant preferences of each section have been highlighted in bold. There seems little doubt that a correspondence exists between assumption of social role and the manner of articulating this symbolically in the use of a divine guise. Each of the three main life-stage categories show a preference for two divinities; in the transition from one category to the following one of these deities remain part of the preferred choice while the other changes. Children are associated mainly with Psyche and Diana; young women with Diana and Venus; and matrons with Venus and Ceres - overall the preferences seem to articulate a sliding scale of sexual maturation. A more detailed examination would seem to further confirm the notion of life-stages being articulated in the representations. For instance, certain divine guises may be found to be exclusive to specific 'age'-groups. Only children are associated with Psyche, a goddess who is often depicted with distinctly child-like features and who despite her marriage with Amor may have been seen as occupying a socially ephemeral status.
similar to that of children - or seen as appropriate for these by suggesting potential or prospective aspects. Only matrons, on the other hand, are depicted in the guise of Juno - the image of the wife *par excellence*. Further may a range of deities be seen as so clearly preferred by/for matrons than any other group that they to all intents and purposes may be considered as exclusive to mature women: Ceres, Cybele, Fortuna, Muse, and women holding a cornucopia. Since the former three are goddesses associated with guidance, social adaptation and fertility, and who are usually depicted as physically mature - the preference of these for matrons is hardly surprising. To the group of young women occupying the middle ground between these two groups no representational choice is exclusive, reinforcing the view that 'maturity' is developmental and a composite notion.\(^6\)

Two of the deities used to represent matrons may at first seem anomalous choices: Muse and Diana. The former may suggest intellectual maturity but does not seem otherwise to belong among the group of physically and sexually mature goddesses, the latter is a youthful virgin who as a deity is more closely linked with sexual initiation than maturity. The aspect which cannot be seen in Table 5:1 is the changes in preference and usage which occur during the first to fourth centuries AD, and in both cases the answer must be sought in the historical context in which the preference for these deities appear, that is, during the third century AD.\(^7\) The four instances catalogued as matrons in the guise of Diana have all significantly changed the iconographical type of the goddess and put an increased emphasis on the aspect of hunting as virtus.\(^8\) In these cases Diana must be seen as a symbol of one of the adult cardinal virtues rather than referring to a rite of maturation. During the third century images of learned men and women became symbols of social status or aspiration, and depictions in association with a Muse would therefore be appropriate for a mature woman who by stressing her social identity could simultaneously imply her marital role.\(^9\) Indeed, during this period - together with associations with Venus - Muse

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\(^5\) As may be seen in Table 5:1 are depictions in the guises of Rhea Silvia, Salus, Spes and Victoria also exclusively used for matrons; however, the low numerical instances in which these occur make them uncertain as evidence.

\(^6\) In this sense it may be interesting to note that Ariadne is more popular among the group of 'youth/adult' than any other - corresponding well with Ariadne's own status as a youthful matron.

\(^7\) Cat. 62, the Flavian matron depicted in the type of Artemis Versailles - is an exception to the explanation proposed both in terms of type and date. The Muse sarcophagus, Cat. 128, may extend the date for the preference of this deity into the fourth cent.

\(^8\) Cat. 75, 76, 77, 78 (Fig. 9-10). Note that depictions in the guise of Virtus is only used in the third cent. - and (apart from a single example for a child, Cat. 216 (Fig. 28), in which she is conflated with Psyche) only among matrons or 'youth/adults'.

depictions are the more popular choices, supplanting the preference for Ceres in earlier periods.

It is worth noting that the evidence in Table 5:1 is considerably influenced by second century preferences which are numerically substantial enough to have an effect on the overall data. However, in terms of the various life-stage groupings only that of 'matron' is subject to variation in any significant degree, and the evidence may be summarised here. During the first century AD the range of deities used for depictions is relatively narrower than in succeeding periods, with an overwhelming bias for Ceres though also depictions with cornucopia may be counted as popular. The range of choices in deities used in the second century is roughly equal to that of the preceding century but the spread in preferences is now greater, and preferential differences less clearly marked. Venus is now the preferred guise for representation with Ceres relegated to a secondary position. This 'slip' in the popularity of Ceres continues through the third century until she can hardly be considered of significance. Instead Muse and Venus are now the preferred deities - with a possible slight bias in favour of the guise of Muses.¹⁰ Both range of choice and spread in preferences are greater in this period making the pattern less clearly differentiated; much, indeed, as was found to be the case for the coin evidence (see Section 3.2.1), suggesting that the approach to the use of divine guises in general was influenced by historical context and presented solutions to contemporary needs. That choices and preferences for association may be seen to be variable is interesting, for it suggests that articulation or visualisation of female life-stages is not the whole story. Though the female role to a modern viewer may seem static, the articulation of this was for a Roman viewer obviously subject to reinterpretation or reconstruction over time (the related point of the influence posed by social context will be discussed below).¹¹ Further does it suggest that - as pointed out in Section 4.3.4 - the aspect of particular interest in these types of representations are the creation of a social identity, and the articulation and assumption of social roles. Since the most visible female role and the one with the greatest individual and familial consequences was that of the matron (the wife / mother) that would explain the distinct preference for depicting mature women: the group of matrons alone represent over 50% of all the catalogued works.¹² As Eve D'Ambra has pointed out indications of age

¹⁰ Depending on how the instances are counted: if one only looks at the group of matrons the two goddesses are roughly equal in popularity; if the group of youth/adult is included Muses become the preferred choice.

¹¹ A similar point of view may be found also for the articulation of masculinity and the male role as multifaceted and subject to revision over time: Alston 1998: 220.

¹² It is at the same time also true that a mature woman would have had greater possibility to be honoured with a representation: it could be a acknowledgement of public benefactions or achievement,
and maturity are often applied to funerary portraits in order to emphasise that a woman had achieved the mature dignity associated with the matronal role.\textsuperscript{13} Indeed, seeing life-stages as assumptions of social roles might help to explain why Roman women so often are referred to as daughters, wives and mothers since in these instances the female social \textit{personae} are most clearly articulated.\textsuperscript{14}

\subsection*{5.1.2 Social status}

As noted in Section 5.1 the works themselves provide very little concrete evidence for the social standing of the women depicted. This lack of evidence for class or social rank - which one might have expected in works originating in a society as hierarchical and aware of status symbolism as the Roman - may to a certain extent be explained by the loss of possible added details (in paint or in other materials) and inscriptions intended to accompany the sculptural representations.\textsuperscript{15} In other words, a combination of archaeological accident and decontextualisation of the works over time; in fact, only roughly a fifth of the catalogued works still preserve some kind of inscription. However, even in these surviving cases references detailing social standing are a rarity; names of the recipient and the patron are usually given, ages occur at times in funerary monuments as do occasionally familial relationships, but specification of 'class' is rare.\textsuperscript{16} This would suggest that a characterisation of an individual and/or family in these terms was not considered an important individualising factor; - or at least that within possible limitations set by space and cost of an inscription, this aspect was

\footnotesize{and it could be an expression of either filial or marital affection and duty. However, the level of honour/commemoration paid to various members of the Roman family was intimately linked to perceptions of status and public identity of the family; see Thompson 1994 and especially Saller and Shaw 1984.

\textsuperscript{13} D'Ambra 1989; D'Ambra 1998. Accepting that a social role is the aim of depiction would also explain the use of conventional features to represent age rather than observance of physical portrait characteristics; cf. observations on this point made by D'Ambra 1989: 395-396; Fittschen 1978: 78; Smith 1996: 46; Varner 1995 n. 87.

\textsuperscript{14} Restating the composite nature of the female public role (traditional ideal, social and marital status, and sexual morality) - it may, in fact, be argued that an acceptance of these roles is not necessarily or only a limitation of female representation, but may in fact be interpreted as an attempt at projecting an image into the public sphere using the available points of reference.

\textsuperscript{15} It is possible that insignia referring to status may have been painted on sculptural representations of clothing, and - at least in major or honorific works - an intricate interplay existed between dress style, stance, portrait type, and inscription in the interpretation of the person depicted, cf. Smith 1998; Smith 1999 and Fejfer 1985: 129.

\textsuperscript{16} A similar observation has been made by Richard Saller in an investigation of funerary epitaphs: 'The social class of the deceased often cannot be determined with precision', Saller 1987: 24.}
considered one of lesser importance. A similar observation has been made by Hanne Sigismund Nielsen who has examined the epithets listed in CIL volume six. She observes that social status is only referred to in those cases where it may clarify the relationship between the commemorated and the commemorator.  

That is, 'class' status is not in itself considered important as a factor in describing identity, but may be listed primarily in cases where it takes the place of familial or blood relationships.

Some of the catalogued works may on stylistic or iconographic grounds be identified or proposed as portraits of women of the imperial family, a further few may from the details given in the inscriptions be identified as depicting women of libertae status or closely associated with liberti (daughters, wives of), but the vast majority cannot formally be assigned to a specific social rank or class. Henning Wrede has argued that this type of representation in general were dedications made by persons belonging within the social milieu of freedmen; a statement he makes on basis of their non-Latin names, and general proximity of certain freedmen to the imperial house which would have given them richer possibilities for emulation of imperial practices.

Arguing from a slightly different starting point, Diana Kleiner claims that in funerary altars of Roman freedmen allusions to deities are most common for children and matrons and rare for adult men. Since associations of men with deities are clearly not a rarity in the catalogue presented by Wrede, it may suggest that the presumed freedman status has been overestimated by Wrede and/or that results are influenced by the time-frame to which the materials belong. Jane Whitehead, in an analysis of Petronius' portrayal of Trimalchio, proposes that a characteristic of the freedman class was a tendency towards the overstated biography - hence the use of divine guises.

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18 In the catalogued pieces this is the case in Cat. 157, 134, and possibly 189 which were all dedications by freedmen to their patrons.
19 Wrede 1981: 95-102, 159-164. Previous studies on specific topics would seem to confirm this: Kleiner 1981, Wrede 1971; though in general the argument for using non-Latin names as indications of servile/freedman status seem to me too vague to be of any real decisive influence. This argument has also been made by Christer Bruun, who has shown that a little over 10% of children born to parents both with Latin names are given a Greek cognomen, and who has further pointed to the impossibility for most cases of establishing how direct any possible link with servile origins may have been: a son of a freeborn man could still hold the name of his freedman grandfather but would presumably not consider himself (or be considered) as socially inferior, Bruun 2000.
20 Kleiner 1987a: 87.
21 For the period to the mid second cent., to which the use of funerary altars belong, the use of divine associations are in general much less common as evident both in the catalogue assembled by Wrede and in the material presented here. Cf. Tables 3:7, 3:9, 4:3 and discussions.
22 Whitehead 1993: 318, and 301, 319. The discussion in Pliny Letters 9.19 ought, however, to suggest that taste is too subjective a measure of social class: the argumentation is similar - reticence.
Though neither of the three approaches may present evidence or arguments which are necessarily wrong, it seems to me that the caveats which must accompany each (presumed status, fonts of inspiration, historical variabilities, and valuation of taste) are substantial enough to suggest that it may be more correct to see the majority of non-imperial works as commissions of the middle-class groups of Roman society.\textsuperscript{23} Or, following the terminology set out in Section 5.1, of middle-status. In this sense it becomes easier to accept the pieces as descriptions and aspirations of persons of complex social backgrounds and connections without engaging in lengthy discussions of exact position, changes in assimilation-patterns of the socially mobile, or aristocratic hostility in the sources - neither of which are within the scope of this study. Though, acknowledging that status was a perceived and composite matter for both men and women also makes it easier to accept that the images of women, too, must be read as participating within a social framework of articulating (and promoting) status - which is within the present objective.

For the purpose of clarity the only distinction which will be applied in the following is that between images of imperial and non-imperial (private) women.\textsuperscript{24} Table 5:2 traces the representational preferences for these two groups according to century, using as a basis exclusively depictions of matrons - the only life-stage group for whom enough instances exist to be able to show variations over time. Within each of the first to third centuries the two highest numerical instances have been highlighted in bold.

The first and most noticeable aspect revealed in the table is the development in the use of divine guises from being employed predominantly by imperial women in the first century to being increasingly more popular among private women in the following centuries. The two most widely used guises in each century belong either entirely among the group of imperial women or among non-imperial women. This would suggest that the impetus for the creation of this type of image came from the elite and that the later diffusion among private persons was an attempt at emulating elite models as a sign of honour, proclamation as sign of immodesty; though here both men under discussion are nobles. See also the discussion of this letter in Section 5.2.

\textsuperscript{23} In fairness, Wrede does suggest a similar line or argument and Whitehead does emphasise that parameters of taste are invisible to the uninitiated (among which modern interpreters must surely be counted), but neither in the end follow these points through; Wrede 1981: 96; Whitehead 1993: 301. For a succinct discussion of the difficulties in attributing a singular aspect to the status of freedmen in Roman society see, Gardner 1993: 50-51, with 33-36.

\textsuperscript{24} 'Private' is here used as a convenient short-hand signifying depictions of women who are not part of the imperial family; cf. also Smith 1998: 56 for a similar use of terminology.
- much as has been suggested by both Henning Wrede and Natalie Kampen.25 That the catalogued depictions of matrons in this manner are dominated by one or the other social group suggests that the relative preferences registered in the previous section may be socially determined as well as signifying a reinterpretation of the female role.

The change in preferences from Ceres to Venus to Muse correspond to the change in prominence between imperial and private women: it is predominantly the imperial women of the first century who are depicted as Ceres or as holding a cornucopia, whereas the preference for Venus is concentrated among non-imperial women of the following centuries, and the use of Muses is exclusive to this latter group.

Table 5:2 Choice of guise for private and imperial matrons

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On the basis of this it would seem that the images are chosen on basis of social context and social emulation. Despite the much reduced number of instances of imperial portraits catalogued for the second and third centuries it may still be possible to argue that there is a slight preference for Venus as a model also here; an argument which could be further backed up by the clear preference for Venus on the coinage of imperial women (cf. Table 3:4). Conversely, despite the decrease in the use of associations with Ceres over the three centuries, the significance which this image did have among private representations of the second century could be seen as a ‘residual’ influence from first century imperial models. However, other indications to the effect that divine associations were used as expressions of social identities may be seen from Table 5:2. Only imperial women are represented in the guises of Roma or Victoria or holding a cornucopia, that is, referring to images characteristic of the state or of imperial policy.26 Contrasting with this are only non-imperial matrons depicted in the guise of Ariadne, Diana, Luna, Muse or Salus (and Nymph, Rhea Silvia, Spes, Proserpina and Virtus - if one includes also the less commonly used images). As discussed in Sections 4.1.1 and 4.3.2 do the majority of these representations share the characteristic of most commonly being depicted as part of a couple, suggesting that within the sculptural medium a symbolic expression of marriage and marital unity was of greater interest among private persons.27 Following this line of argument, it may seem slightly surprising that a couple of deities obviously were considered appropriate for both imperial and non-imperial matrons: one might have expected Juno with her royal connotations and emphatic presence among the coin-images to be exclusive to imperial women, and Fortuna to have been a choice more suitable for the self-made middle-classes.28 In fact, a certain predominance of the respective social groups may be found within each of these deities; more convincingly for Fortuna than Juno who after all also symbolises the mature wife and matron in general.

However, that an overlap of usage exists ought not to surprise; once images and their symbolic contents enter a public sphere of visibility they must to a certain extent be considered common property able to communicate with and have an effect on

26 The number of instances are admittedly few - but the general trend may still be gathered from the table.
27 As discussed in Chapter 3 is marital concord clearly also a point of emphasis for imperial women, though in the medium of coins it may be expressed through associations with Concordia, or in double obverse representations with the emperor, cf. Tables 3:1-2. In freestanding sculpture the same idea may be articulated through juxtapositions in sculptural groups - and aspect which it is difficult to ascertain in the catalogued works.
28 The latter is an argument also proposed by H. Wrede who sees Fortuna as a female version of Mercury - the god of trade and success so popular among the middle-classes; Wrede 1981: 99, cf. Maderna 1988.
anyone who viewed them. Further, as discussed in Section 3.4, the efficacy of the imperial persona depends also on being able to embody the ideals and expectations of the various social ranks. The strict emphasis on the direction of influence from the elite to the lower classes, as referred to above, may therefore be an aspect worth modifying. Rather than seeing the diffusion of ideas as an attempt at imitating elite ideals, it would provide a more flexible and workable model to see it as an employment of the most effective cultural language available, - which is most often that of the dominant class.\textsuperscript{29} Indeed, the material here would seem to bear out exactly this point of view. The inspirational stimulus of imperial representations may have been stronger in the first and early second century as the tradition of divine guises became established in the Roman world, but the evidence of the subsequent centuries would suggest a fragmentation and especially a diversification of use tailored to individual and social needs. Hence the increasing specificity of representation according to life-stage and social status. Simultaneously social aspirations could also be articulated by emulation of elite models, just as the very use of the cultural language pertaining to the elite would consolidate and affirm the social values of this social group. This interplay between diversification and 'individualisation' in the imagery, and the legitimisation of representational values will form part of the discussion in the following section.

5.2 Interpreting mythological narrative

In the preceding chapter, the suggestions made for how to approach an interpretation of the divine associations used by or for Roman women centred on interpretations of the deities and of their depiction in their mythological narratives. In the following the emphasis will be on examining how the mythological narratives are presented visually and to present an analysis of the effects this has for the interpretation of their representations of women and of their underlying narrative message. Concentrating on depictions of mythological narratives naturally adds certain constraints to the examples available. Firstly, by limiting possible examples to those which explicitly seek to visualise or convey narrative structures, that is, relief depictions rather than free-standing sculptural depictions. Secondly, by belonging overwhelmingly to a specific context and time-span. The majority of the works will be

\textsuperscript{29} This aspect is discussed by Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 14.
funerary in nature and in the main be decorations of sarcophagi, that is, belong within a period from the mid second century onwards.30

One further point ought to be made, concerning my approach to the material. Considering that the representations are found predominantly on media belonging to a funerary context, this has in most studies provided the predominant point of view for their interpretations too. Consequently the mythological scenes are most often seen as symbolic depictions of the deceased - at the moment of the person's (untimely) death or of the prospective fate of the deceased in the here-after.31 In the following the attempt will not be to negate this aspect of interpretation for the representations - much of Section 5.1 has after all been concerned with investigating a correlation between image and context - but an attempt at expanding it to examine how the scenes may be read as narratives with a wider social relevance and implication. Indeed, much of the following will be concerned with the question of why mythological representations as a genre, as opposed to any individual narrative, should have been seen as suitable for a funerary context. Part of the answer would certainly be to add or visualise the pathos of the death of an individual, and to symbolically expiate the emotional impact of the event and the unpredictability of fate; just as for young children it would undoubtedly have been to provide the addition of a symbolic biography elucidating the unfulfilled qualities of the child and replacing the void of unaccomplished achievements with a validating presence of prospects. But it must also be because the mythological format and its narrative character deal with complex approaches to individual and social identity. The intent of the following is to emphasise an interpretation which gets closer to the sentiment expressed by Pliny in a letter to Cremutius Ruso:

'Everyone who has done some great and memorable deed should, I think, not only be excused but even praised if he wishes to ensure the immortality he has earned, and by the very words of his epitaph seeks to perpetuate the undying glory of his name' 32

30 Though, these considerations do not necessarily need to signify limitations on the interpretation of the images: conversely it may be argued that by concentrating the available material in terms of medium, context and time a closer and more detailed examination of the representations may be possible.
31 In one of the most recent works on the mythological sarcophagi, by Michael Koortbojian - with by far the more interesting and multifaceted discussions of their context and meaning - it is still possible to perceive an underlying approach to the interpretations of the scenes as aimed primarily at symbolic articulations of death and the afterlife: 'Adonis provided a literal heroic image of death, while Endymion offered an evocative metaphor of the afterlife' Koortbojian 1995a: 22, cf. p 58, 61.
32 Pliny Letters 9.19. The letter concludes as follows: Verginius who ordered an inscription for his tomb and Frontinus who forbade any monument to be set up at all '...both hoped for fame though they sought it by different roads, one by claiming the epitaph which was his due, the other by professing to despise it'.

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Following the premise that images may function as visual epitaphs I want to examine the mythological depictions as concerned simultaneously with an articulation of achievements attained and a perpetuation of social recognition, in an environment in which the very act of doing so could itself be a praise-worthy element. Indeed, the discourse in Pliny’s letter is an examination of whether it shows a person as better and more noble to claim an honorific epitaph or to refuse it. Pliny comes out in favour of the former but also concludes that in reality there is little difference in intent between the two: both are attempts at obtaining fame. In other words, the inherent aim in funerary representations may be seen (putting it in somewhat simplistic terms) as a dual approach of visually articulating existing qualities and achievements, and of obtaining the qualities which are stated visually - a perceived interconnection between achieving and visualising which was also inherent in the suggestions proposed in Section 2.3.1 for how to interpret portrait depictions. Similarly, the ‘achievement’ itself may be perceived as composite in nature, and honour be due for deeds performed in the sphere of the physical world, for virtues attained in the sphere of personal development and culture, - and for behaving as, or displaying the characteristics of, a person of honour.\footnote{cf. Saller 1999: 186 quoting Ulpian (Digest 14.6.3pr): ‘he appeared generally in public to be a pater familias by behaving, conducting business, and carrying out obligations as such’ - the legal inference being that a person behaving like a pater familias is to be considered as such; see also Gardner 1993: 189-190 for a discussion of the modus vivendi of Roman civil law which assumes persons to have the personal status which they lay claim to, and Grubbs 1993: 132-133 for Constantinian attempts at re-establishing social distinctions in a society where status under the law did not always correspond to actual position in society. See also the discussion of the title of mater and mater familias in Section 4.3.3.}

5.2.1 Narrative time

Expanding the contextual frame for the representations has consequences also for the interpretation of the narrative time employed in the depictions. Continuing the interpretation proposed above the representations may be understood as simultaneously visualising a retrospective depiction of status gained, a prospective depiction of honours due, and a depiction of the essential characteristics of the person - which in its essentiality may be felt to be outside time. A discussion of the narrative time in these reliefs is therefore pertinent to the present examination; not the less since the works under consideration present a combination of mythological (time-indefinite) setting and a contemporary (time-specific) portrait for the depiction of the main protagonists.
Indeed, the representation of a mythological narrative within a sculpted relief format presents intersecting and internal dichotomies for its reading.

- Synchronicity. The medium of sculpture is essentially synchronic since it by being solid and unmovable must sum up all the particulars and details aimed for in the subject characterisation within a single composition; characteristics which may equally be physical as symbolic. Compared to literature sculpture may be seen as having a much more difficult task when dealing with time and chronicity.34

- Diachronicity. The rectangular relief format may aid the sculptor in rendering a diachronistic narrative representation (and therefore seem to conform to the structure of a verbal narration), since its shape encourages the viewer to ‘read’ the field from left to right. Further does the box-shape of a traditional sarcophagus create a series of primary and secondary fields by the difference in size and relative visibility of the reliefs, which may be juxtaposed in a chronistic relationship.35 However, the choice and arrangement of scenes would still be subject to practical and spatial restrictions, just as the attempt at diachronic narration within a synchronic medium would create an internal tension which a sculptor needed to solve to achieve an effective composition.

- Sequenciality. The width of the field of a sarcophagus front would often be too great to be taken in as a whole and so would encourage a sequential reading. The left to right reading of the sarcophagus front may be counteracted by an emphasis on the centre, either directly by prominence being given to this in the composition or indirectly by perceiving the field as an individual whole within the implied hierarchy of fields. The narrative reading may in its sequenciality therefore equally be structured from left to right as from the centre outwards. The narrative itself may then appear diachronic while simultaneously containing elements of synchronicity (or at the very least a ‘momentary’ aspect).36

- Symbolism. Yet another aspect which creates complexities in the interpretation of the scenes on mythological sarcophagi is the preference for ‘synoptic abstraction’ in the mode or choice of representation of the mythological story.37 One way the

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34 This is a sculptural characteristic acknowledged also in antiquity, and discussed by comparison with poetry by Dio Chrysotom 12.49-85, esp. 12.70; cf. also the discussion of this passage by Sharrock 1996: 103-104.


36 See also Koortbojian 1995b: 425-426 who rightly notes that the central, emphasised motif does not necessarily depict the first scene of the narration but may equally be the last with preceding events flanking it.

37 I am here following Richard Brilliant’s usage of ‘synoptic abstraction’ as meaning a composition aimed at conveying a single unified meaning or narrative, even though it may consist of more than
sculptor could deal successfully with the tensions within the medium was by a condensation of the narrative by emphasising key moments rather than a developmental sequence; in this manner creating a field visually more cohesive and with a greater narrative depth by implying a synecdochal quality to the depicted scenes (fewer scenes symbolically referring to the greater whole). However, though this approach may create a compositionally more harmonious field and represent a greater interpretative challenge to the viewer, an increased emphasis on the symbolic or allegorical content in the depictions may have implications for their conception of time by letting the scenes pose and function as if outside of time.

- Timelessness. The 'heroic moment' - that is, the moment of display of heroic virtues or of encounter with the divine - which is by far the most popular choice for representation in all the myths depicted - attaches a timeless, universal quality to the narration. Since the heroic scenes are also the ones favoured for the addition of the portrait features of the deceased, the strain on the location of these scenes within time (human or mythological) may be felt increased.

The perception of narrative time within the relief depictions are, in other words, influenced by a series of aspects pertaining to the sculptural medium, the mythological story, the artistic approach, and the funerary context - each of which may suggest different directions of interpretation, but which together constitute the total sum of the mythological sarcophagi. However, the viewer's reading and interpretation of the visual narrative contained in the relief is made easier by the fact that in reality there may be less discrepancy between these elements than may at first appear.

The sculptural medium is the aspect which dictates the form - no matter in which format the individual work is rendered - and this form is, as argued above, inherently synchronic in approach. This has most obviously consequences for the artistic and compositional configurations which are directly within the controlling sphere of the sculptor. The accentuation of key moments, and the awareness of (often with a deliberate emphasis on) the relief centre aids the synchronic reading by presenting each relief field as an independent and self-contained whole, and encouraging interpretation based on the juxtaposition of the depicted aspects rather than on a narrative sequentiality. Similarly do visual conflations of (or similarities between) different myths invite the viewer to establish correlations not just by juxtaposition of parts but via allegory and symbolism across individual mythological narratives. 38

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38 Visual conflation and similarities in renderings may be found, just to mention a few: in the posture of Ariadne, Rhea Silvia and Endymion; and in the corresponding posture of Dionysus, Mars and Luna;

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one element and may rely on a conflation of mythological references to do so; Brilliant 1984: 161-162. See also Koortbojian 1995b: 426-427.
A synchronic aspect in the nature of the mythological narrative may be more
difficult to perceive, since the knowledge of the mythological story-line for the viewer
(ancient as modern) directly or indirectly often is seen as based on a literary
(diachronic) format. However, parallels may be found between literary styles and
sculptural approach in, for instance, an approach of selectivity and preferentiality. This
is most clearly applicable in visual depictions where the aim is clearly not to show the
biography of the mythological hero; indeed, as Richard Brilliant has suggested, the life
of Meleager is described as if beginning in medias res (if the viewer desires details of
previous and subsequent events he is presumed to be able to furnish these from his
own knowledge). However, a similar approach may be found in characterisations in
the Homeric poems. Erich Auerbach in his analysis of ancient literature describes the
Homerian style as 'a procession of phenomena [which] takes place in the foreground -
that is, in a local and temporal present which is absolute'. As he goes on to show,
even events pertaining to the hero's past are presented as independent presents and not
in a perspectival relationship to the main narrative line; indeed, most of the heroes seem
of a fixed age throughout, even in narratives spanning long periods. What is
emphasised in both media is the event immediately before the viewer's or reader's
eyes. That is not to say that a relationship between events is unimportant, but that it is
not articulated through historical or psychological developments as in more modern
literary styles, instead, a theme of preordained destiny or foreshadowing often
underlies and links the narrated events. References to past events or stories inserted
into the main narrative serve to illustrate or comment on the narrative present and to
draw the reader's attention forward to crucial episodes in the subsequent action. The
result is two-fold: an emphasis on the 'temporal present' and on the 'heroic moment'
- both of which, as noted above, are characteristics of the sculptural approach in the
rendering of mythological narrative. A second aspect common to the two media, and
linked to the theme of foreshadowing, is explaining actions as entirely shaped by

in the gesture of Meleager and Hippolytos in the hunt; and in the limited number of types of animals
faced in hunt scenes.

Note for instance how Richard Brilliant use of the notion of 'biography' in relation to the narratives
of both Achilles and Meleager; that is, establishes a developmental, chronistic basis for the
understanding of both; Brilliant 1984 esp.: 135-148.

Cf. Brilliant's own groupings of aspects depicted on Meleager sarcophagi, fig. 4.4, and observation
that the hero's early history is deliberately neglected, his later history altogether ignored, and the
emphasis is on the heroic part of his history (from hunt to entombment), with a clear preference for

Auerbach 1953: 7; the evidence presented in chapters 1-3 (p 3-76) form the basis for much of the
following discussion. I am grateful to Sharon Salvadori for drawing my attention to this splendid
work.

Cf. Davies 1989 with examples from Homeric epic and Greek tragic drama.
character. This may be most clearly demonstrated in texts pertaining to mythological characters as, for instance, Achilles’ pride and courage and Odysseus’ cunning explain their actions, but as Erich Auerbach has shown it is an approach which may be found also in the social satire of Petronius and the historiographical accounts of Tacitus.\(^{43}\) It is the personal virtues and qualities of the individual which cause the events and determine their outcome not, as already noted, social forces.\(^{44}\) The actions and events of an individual’s life are therefore conversely to be interpreted morally and as expressions of the character of the individual. In the sculptural medium this view may find its clearest expression in the prospective depictions of children depicted as having achieved the prestige and position foretold for them by their own personal qualities, but also the heroic emphasis in adult representations embodies this outlook by appearing as the signifier of the person’s virtues and qualities and inviting a synchronic interpretation of the representation. A further parallel between literary and visual representations may be found in representations of the self - that is, in biographies and portraiture - and especially in the awareness of the interplay between the person depicted and the reader or viewer addressed. Catharine Edwards has examined the approach to self-representation in the Letters of Seneca emphasising the interiorised aspect and the stress upon personal development which is presented as autobiography in these.\(^{45}\) However, she also notes how the Letters, by being structured as a correspondence and designed for publication, implicates the recipients of the texts in the construction of the presented ‘self’ and therefore are neither self-contained nor aimed at presenting an universal image.\(^{46}\) The engagement which in this way is required by the reader is similar to the participation of the viewer when confronted with a portrait representation (cf. Chapter 2), implying that in both media the narrative time of the image may be perceived as partaking in the present of the recipient.\(^{47}\)

The points of correspondence which have been found between the literary and visual media suggest that a Roman viewing the mythological sarcophagi may have perceived the combination of references as less heterogeneous than they may present themselves to a modern viewer since the narrative approach in both text and image in many cases are similar; and further that the textual and visual references ought to be seen as establishing a complex interplay in which one ought not to establish an

\(^{43}\) Auerbach 1953: 12, 30-33, 36-39.
\(^{44}\) On this see also Levick 1982: esp. 53-55, 60-61, who has traced the tradition in the works of ancient writers of linking the fall of the Republic to failure of character.
\(^{45}\) Edwards 1997.
\(^{47}\) It is worth noting that both Edwards 1997: 28 and Nodelman 1993: 20-21 see this as a Roman trait distinctly different from a Hellenistic approach to the representation of the self.
automatic primacy of one medium over the other. 48 Similarly the synchronic approach which has been argued for these narratives establishes a simultaneity of time and event able to contain multiple and complex interpretations without favouring one direction over another. 49 I will return to the subjects of simultaneity and composite representation in the discussion in Section 5.3.2.

5.2.2 The myth employed

As already touched upon the mythological narrative presents complex spheres of interpretation. Explicitly the myths present concerns pertaining to a specific and often simplified reality or person or event and may offer explanations for actions (and reactions) within the realm thus presented - as, for instance, when confronted with the pathos of death and the unpredictability of fate. The implicit content must be read symbolically as concerning both the (simplified) specific and the universal - as blending object and symbol (or 'the symbolic ideal and existential real') 50 - and is therefore capable of suggesting moral guidelines and providing an ethical context for the individual. The following is intended as an examination of the function and use of myth specifically in regard to identity - both individual and social identity - and to clarify the theoretical framework within which also the discussion in the following section will be located. The definitions proposed will be based on an ideological and functionalist approach to the interpretation of mythological narratives, and not on a religious or ritualistic approach despite the presence of divinities as active agents within the narratives. 51 This has been done for the simple reason that once a mythological framework is adapted to describe a mortal person - as is the case on the sarkophagus reliefs - the religious significance of the myth is diminished (or rejected) in favour of a characterisation of the individual and a use of the myth as a social phenomenon linked to biography. 52

48 Both Brilliant 1984: 53 and Sharrock 1996: 103 and n. 43 discuss the complementary aspects between literature and visual arts - the latter arguing more forcefully for a conceptual relationship between the two and suggesting that perception (through interpretation) is linkable to verbal representation.

49 The relationship between synopsis and simultaneity has been noted also by Arnheim 1986: 79 'In order to comprehend an event as a whole, one must view it in simultaneity'.

50 Bidney 1968: 11.

51 For the following I would like to acknowledge my debt to Helle Overballe Mogensen whose inspiring discussions and generous sharing of unpublished material initiated the investigation.

52 Cf. Talbert 1978: 1635, 1641 though he still situates his discussion within a cultic/religious perspective. I do not deny the function and capacity of myth to explain cultic ritual or social practices.
The appropriation of mythological characteristics in the biographical descriptions of individuals is not an uncommon occurrence in the ancient world, and though it may be most directly employed in detailing the careers and backgrounds of (legendary) rulers and founders the format was also used to create family histories. Charles Talbert has presented a survey of instances from Egypt, Greece and Rome and identified the various ways that renditions of the lives of individual philosophers and rulers may be employed for instructive or propagandistic purposes; and T.P. Wiseman, concentrating on Republican evidence, has shown how mythological aspects may be employed as identificatory features of whole family genealogies.\(^{53}\) Attaching mythological characteristics to an individual emphasises the singularity of that person and may confirm his status, may serve to legitimise his position and actions, and may be used as a focal-point of allegiance and identity for a wider community, and is, in its most classic form, achieved by describing the unusual parentage of the person (most often one parent is a divinity) and especially the unusual events surrounding his death and concomitant evidence of some form of deification; evidence for which may be established by signs and omens or though sworn testimonies.\(^{54}\) Despite the familial links to the divine world and the heroised format established, the person in question importantly retains his links with the 'real' world by having been born as a mortal and having had an earthly life and career - the transformation occurring at the end of his life is not a replacement of the recognisable aspects of humanity but a reflection of the quality of these, just as conversely the exceptional life may be explainable by the extraordinary parentage. This format of heroisation has long been recognised as a cross-cultural archetype - affirming its significance as a personal and social symbol.\(^{55}\) Two aspects are of specific significance in this context: the use of the heroic format as a deliberately applied device in the creation of biographical narrative, and its application to historical figures of the recent past or (near) contemporary with the target audience. At Rome mythological characteristics of the unusual parentage and transformation at death type were most famously applied to the biographies of Aeneas and Romulus, the legendary founders of Rome and symbols of the identity of the state itself (and therefore also of a collective identity of 'Roman-ness') by the intermingling of their biographies with the history of

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\(^{54}\) See Talbert 1978: 1628-1629 which references to specific examples.

Rome.\textsuperscript{56} But extraordinary biographical details are also attached to the lives of Servius Tullius, who may himself have been the creator of the story that he was the lover of the goddess Fortuna, and of Augustus for whom the details surrounding his birth/parentage and death are rendered as conforming closely to the pattern established for Aeneas and Romulus (and, as noted, for the archetypal hero).\textsuperscript{57} The propagandistic aim may be more explicit when the subject hero is also the controlling agency in the myth creation but essentially there is little difference between these and the biographies of Aeneas and Romulus promoted by a community, or, indeed, with those presented by individual families, in the sense that they all concern and illustrate a projected identity. The aspect of the heroic (or mythologising) format which is more ambiguous is the relationship between biography and character, since, as already noted, there exists a significant interrelationship between the outstanding life of the hero and his unique birth / death in which the two reflect on and explain each other. Indeed, as Charles Talbert has noted for both pagan and Christian cultural contexts, it was possible for a person to be considered in ‘heroic’ terms if that person was seen to possess characteristics normally associated with the outstanding and exceptional individual, indifferent of parentage.\textsuperscript{58} These characteristic may have been manifested in physical terms, like great beauty, but more commonly in the possession of virtue - which (like the ‘heroic’ status itself) could be attained from birth or by deliberate endeavour in life.\textsuperscript{59} The emphasis which in this way is placed upon the individual and on individual effort explains how the mythological format may have been found appropriate and accessible by a broader circle of individuals, and it articulates the specific (the virtuous individual) which constitutes the explicit message of the narrative. The implicit concerns are expressed in the linking of the individual with the social symbol of the ideal citizen, drawing upon a common cultural matrix and

\textsuperscript{56} Bremmer 1987: 48 offers the suggestion that the details pertaining to the life of Romulus was ‘developed by the city in order to assert its status against its powerful neighbours’. Romulus: Cicero \textit{Republic}: 1.41, 2.2, 2.10, 6.21, Florus 1.1, Livy 1.16, Ovid \textit{Fasti}: 2.491-508, Ovid \textit{Metamorphoses}: 14.805-828, Plutarch \textit{Romulus} 2, 27-28. Aeneas: Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.64.4-5, Livy 1.3.6-10, Virgil \textit{Aeneid}: 6.760ff.

\textsuperscript{57} Servius Tullius: Glinister 1997: 123; Servius’ alleged servile parentage may explain the need to legitimise his status in this manner, though his ‘unusual’ origins still fit within the pattern of the singular individual; cf. Bremmer 1987: 32. Augustus: Dio 45.1, 56.46.2, Suetonius \textit{Augustus}: 94.4; see also Bremmer 1987: 30, Price 1987: 73-77 and Talbert 1978: 1634.

\textsuperscript{58} Talbert 1978: 1626-1627, 1637-1639; cf. Flory 1997: 119 and Price 1987: 87-91 for virtue as a criterion for deification. Note also the link suggested by Wiseman 1974: 159 between the greatness of a gens and the appropriateness of therefore establishing a divine or heroic origin for it.

\textsuperscript{59} Talbert 1978: 1627 with further references and page 1634 n. 76 (beauty). The link between beauty and (self-attained) virtue may be found also in late antique Christian sources, cf. Clark 1998: 178.
accepted social value objectives in order to project an identity for the individual as the socialised citizen.

The use of mythological references in order to characterise the individual and to create at least a nominal biographical framework for the person which is established in this way, in other words, fit within the mythological narrative form and may be set within a broader theoretical context offering suggestions for the popularity of the format for self-representation among individual, ‘ordinary’ citizens. By approaching mythological narratives as a genre studies in the field of literary criticism have formulated methods by which to analyse and interpret these, and have shown how the approach is applicable also to visual narratives as long as these conform to an epic style format in which a narrative process is a central element.\(^6\) The structural similarities discussed in the previous section between literary narratives and visual narratives as presented on mythological sarcophagi, as well as the primacy of narration in these reliefs - whether explicitly rendered or presumed by the interpretation of the viewer - suggest that these methods form an appropriate tool for understanding the underlying disposition of the sarcophagi images.\(^6\)

The theory proposed presents a functionalistic approach considering the function of the narrative to be ideological in intent with the aim of legitimising social contrasts for the individual and creating a mediating process of integration of the individual into his contemporary community. The mythological format provides the dual mode for achieving this aim: the narrative process forms the framework for a developmental course of events during which the protagonist is changed and by inference therefore also the contrasts experienced by the protagonist; further the mythological setting creates a narrative universe which is simultaneously identificatory for the reader (or person interacting with the narrative) and radically different - that is, presenting an environment which is both ‘same’ and ‘other’. The contrasts and problems facing the individual are usually characterised as a conflict between personal desire and social convention which initially may seem contrasting and the fulfilment of which virtually mutually exclusive, but which both present aspects attractive to the individual; an example could be the expression of audacious individualism versus

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\(^6\) I want to stress that this approach neither represents the only way to interpret mythological narratives and representations nor that it should be applied as the exclusive approach - for all types of myths, legends and tales a more profound comprehension may be achieved by avoiding singular categorisations; the following is dealt with in some detail for the perspectives it offers in the present context.
social acceptance. The mediating process between the two is achieved through the identification of the individual with the bold and intrepid hero while simultaneously leading the person to accept the myth’s normative value-set as represented by the cultural references inherent in the mythological narrative and by persuading him to distance himself from persons or events which in the framework of the narrative represents ‘anti-social’ elements. Returning to the subjects of virtue and identity discussed above, the structural format of mythological narration may in other words give expression to aspirations of heroic individuality by identification with the heroic protagonist, and to present these aspirations as achievable by the emphasis on virtue as attainable through personal endeavour rather than explainable by divine parentage. Simultaneously the emphasis on virtue and the correct behaviour presented by the hero channels the individual’s aspirations into a framework of socially acceptable values - like piety or honour - characteristic of the ideal citizen, and induces a disapproval of behaviour counter to these - like selfishness, base calculation or impiety. The ideological impact may, in other words, be summarised as offering avenues for self-fulfilment through socialisation and cultural integration.

5.2.3 The magic mirror: myth and exempla

The title of this section has been chosen as an analogy of how to interpret and understand the use of myth on sarcophagi. Firstly, by illustrating the composite nature of myths which ought to be read simultaneously exactly for what they say, for what they symbolise and for what they select to include. In this sense the narrative depicted (or implied) on sarcophagi is like a mirror which reflects and gives a mimetic impression of the person, which refracts and narrates related aspects, and which frames and add boundaries and contexts. Secondly, by illustrating how the multiple nature of myth is capable of developing new meanings without losing its essential meaning or its immediacy. Jerome J. Pollitt has suggested that the ancient view of myth and mythological representation may be characterised as ‘polysemantic' noting how the myths’ adaptability allowed them to retain vigour and relevance across

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62 cf. Kirk 1970: 40 - ‘myths tend to possess that element of “seriousness”, in establishing and confirming rights and institutions or exploring and reflecting problems or preoccupations'; or Warner 1994: xx, referring specifically to fairytales - '[the] boundlessness serve the moral purpose of the tales, which is precisely to teach where boundaries lie', a view echoed by Bacchilega 1997:5-7.

63 I am paraphrasing Bacchilega 1997: 10 ‘As I see it, the tale of magic’s controlling metaphor is the magic mirror, because it conflates mimesis (reflection), refraction (varying desires), and framing (artifice)’. 
centuries of use, in both elite and popular and in public and private contexts without losing or contradicting their basic substance. I want to examine one of these 'new' meanings in the use of mythological representations, that is, the relationship between these and the presentation of the individual as an exemplum - an aspect already briefly been touched on in Section 4.3.2 as a mean of suggesting female virtues. Here I want to propose a wider spectrum of associations as well as contextualise the phenomenon as a method of creating socialised identities for women.

The exemplum tradition has most commonly been identified as a feature of ancient history-writing and oratory in which exemplary individuals are identified and held up as examples to be imitated; however, increasingly it is being recognised as an aspect permeating ancient culture on a much wider basis and finding expression in both the visual and literary arts. In its strictest sense the exemplum has been defined as a self-contained entity, or a selective aspect, intended to illustrate a particular moral or cultural value and to present a model of ideal code of conduct. This corresponds closely to the format and aim of sarcophagus representations: the selectivity of scenes chosen for representation in the reliefs, the prominence often given to the centre and especially the emphasis on the 'heroic moment' attach, as noted in Section 5.2.1, a timeless quality to the scenes making each relief field appear as an independent and self-contained narrative unit and encourages an interpretation based symbolism and analogy. The correspondence in format and interpretative approach of the two media establishes an equivalence which must surely be seen as intentional. There is, in fact, a further point of similarity between the two in their construction and use of the past as an ideal model. Most of the literary exempla are located in the near past of the late republican or early imperial period, that is, within a historical framework which is suitably close to be recognisable and offer parallels of identification while simultaneously being distant enough to be different from the contemporary world of the author and reader. In this way the past and especially the exempla may be presented as contrasting with the present by appearing as an ideal, and they may be presented as models offering a combination of moral solutions to present problems and as aspirational ideals to be emulated. A similar trend has been identified as a characteristic also of the ancient novel - only here a geographical displacement (the world outside the city walls) often takes the place of a chronological displacement as a


65 On the influence of the exemplum tradition see, for instance, Cooper 1996: chap. 2 passim, Maslakov 1984: 441, 455, Parker 1998: n. 1.


location which is both known and unknown.\textsuperscript{68} Indeed, the creation of a narrative universe which is both 'same' and 'other' may be identified as a key characteristic for all types of narratives which have a normative and socialising function - including the mythological narrative, as noted in the previous section.

The use of the past as a model and a measure of excellence may be found also in descriptions of individual women: Pliny describes his friend Fannia as a woman who while alive could be admired 'as much as the heroines of history' and the (unnamed) wife of Macrinus as 'one who would have been exemplary even in former times' and Ovid likens his wife to the heroines Andromache and Penelope.\textsuperscript{69} There may, in other words, be a direct and personal relationship between history and individuals which goes beyond a mere theoretical connection. Indeed, examples worthy of emulation (or dissuasion) may also be found in writers' contemporary history and own lives: Horace's father is described as referring to the actions of named persons from Horace's circle in order to teach his son; Pliny welcomes news as examples by which to 'study the art of living'; and Seneca uses incidents from his own life as \textit{exempla} in his letters.\textsuperscript{70} The impoverishing effect which some modern scholars has seen the use of \textit{exempla} as having on literary and oratorical works is therefore not the full picture of a tradition which in other contexts retained a sense of vivacity and relevance.\textsuperscript{71} The personal relevance in making a correlation between a mythical model and a contemporary person is emphasised in the catalogued sarcophagus reliefs by the rather obvious technique of using portrait features for the protagonist - an aspect which further draws the depiction into the contemporary world of the patron and viewer. It also establishes the clearest example of the reflective quality of the representation as a 'mirror' to an extent of leaving the exact relationship between the mythical and contemporary depictions ambiguous: simultaneously the mythological aspects may be seen as the model aspired to and emulated and it may be seen as a sign indicating the achievement of these aspiration - that the woman depicted in this manner ought to be

\textsuperscript{68} Cooper 1996: 33, 37, Montague 1992: 235. For a critical survey of 20 cent. anthropological theories concerning the past (interestingly, bearing a striking similarity to ancient approaches) see Moreland 2000: 22-25.

\textsuperscript{69} Pliny \textit{Letters} 7.19.7, 8.5.1 - my italics; Ovid \textit{Tristia} 5.5.41-45.

\textsuperscript{70} Horace \textit{Satires} 1.4.105-128, Pliny \textit{Letters} 8.18.12, Edwards 1997: 23. Note also Seneca 'all those who wish to give anyone admonition commonly begin with precepts, and end with examples' Seneca \textit{De consolatione ad Marciam} 1.2.1. The use of \textit{exempla} may also serve as literary constructs, as, indeed, most of the descriptions of women in the letters of Pliny, cf. Shelton 1990: 176.

\textsuperscript{71} For the effect of standardisation on the rendition of biographies in the context of historiography and oratory see Maslakov 1984: 484 and especially Sage 1979: 207-210. It is, however, worth bearing in mind that these represent modern approaches to history which presupposes investigations of social forces, unlike the ancient approach (as detailed by Erich Auerbach) emphasising personal virtue as a determining effect.
considered as an example. Similarly are the 'heroines of history' in the letter of Pliny referred to both as the models Fannia resembles and as signs affirming her excellence. The mythological content of the depictions establishes the person as a singular individual in a manner similar to the heroic biographies discussed in the previous section and suggests that the mythological format should be read as a 'heroic' biography of the woman portrayed. Indeed, the correlations which were found between the status of the women represented and their chosen guise of depiction would support the argument for a personal relevance in the choice which is suggestive of a biographical approach in the interpretation - or at the very least suggest an awareness of tailoring depiction to 'reality'. However, where there was found to be a significant interrelationship between the life and the parentage of the hero this is not the case in the mythological depictions on sarcophagi; rather the elevation to heroic status may be seen as occurring at the end of the woman's life (the funerary context is clearly not unimportant) on the basis of a retrospective evaluation of her life and character.72 In this connection it must surely be significant that most of the women on mythological sarcophagi are depicted in scenes of encounters with the divine or in scenes of action, that is, at the moment of recognition and acknowledgement of her exceptional nature - a recognition made either by a divinity or by the viewer of the relief.73 The absence of divine parentage as an explaining factor in the achievement of heroic status adds a corresponding emphasis on the achievement as being deliberately and autonomously attained.

The mythological format may, in other words, indicate that the woman is to be considered in possession of exceptional characteristics revealed through extraordinary action or virtue - a heroisation which establishes the depicted women as exempla like, for instance, the woman described in the so-called Turia eulogy and the women described by Valerius Maximus and others. Refracted from this mirror-reflection (continuing the analogy of the title) are the various aspects and virtues which set the woman apart. At times the intended virtue may be clearly rendered in visual terms, like the concordia of the couples in Cat. 5, 141, 206 (Fig. 3, 17); or the virtue of the women in Cat. 213, 216, 217, 218 (Fig. 27-29). At other times the emphasis on the couple and the depiction of husband and wife as a unit within the overall

72 Depictions in the guise of a deity may arguably fall outside the traditional heroic format, since their very essence as divine characterises them as unique and precludes them from an earthly, mortal existence, however, the human aspect of the portrait also in these cases adds a metamorphic element of transition and elevation.

73 The Proserpina scenes, Cat. 139 and 142 (Fig. 18), are especially illuminating in this context since in these portrait features have been applied to the protagonists in the flower-picking scene and not the
composition may imply that the aim is to depict concordia and pietas. As discussed in Section 4.3.2, there are correlations between literary and sculptural expressions of virtues which often highlight the concordia, pietas, fides and virtus of the woman and of the couple. Dagmar Grassinger quite rightly stresses the importance of the Bildsprache, or pictorial language, of the depictions for an interpretation, however to limit the interpretative possibilities only to the Bildsprache I think is to circumscribe the scope of the visual analogy and association unnecessarily. Two further aspects may, in fact, be intimately linked to the desire of appearing as an exemplum - neither of which depend exclusively on set gestures for their articulation but often on the context in general. One is to achieve fame and be remembered; the other to appear as a desired and desiring person and related to sexuality as a element of identity. Though specific virtues may be highlighted in order to explain the special achievement of a woman the end result is often fame itself. Pliny, in the passage cited above in Section 5.2, refers to a generic 'memorable deed' in order to explain how that may be (and ought to be) used for a more particular purpose: to 'ensure immortality', 'perpetuate undying glory' and attain the fame that both men in question hoped for; similarly does he recount the details of the life of an un-named woman with the implicit intent of ensuring her immortality by preventing that the woman's deeds be forgotten. Roman women, described though their epitaphs, also highlight how their similarity to a mythological character further than giving expression to a personal characteristic and virtue will also gain them a fame and remembrance equal to the mythological heroine: for instance, one states that 'instead of me she is dead and has fame and praise - like Alcestis', a statement which perfectly summaries the sentiments given to Alcestis herself in the Barcelona papyrus: 'immense glory will be in store for me after my death; true, I shall be no more but my feat will be remembered through centuries to come'. The repeated and emphasised references to fame, remembrance and immortality makes it clear that these are not accidental by-products of ideal behaviour but integral to the motivations for erecting a (funerary) monument. The significance may also be observed in cases of abduction scene, in other words a deliberate choice emphasising the moment of recognition rather than the rape.

Grassinger 1994: 96-104; indeed, her interpretation of Alcestis sarcophagi can only establish Alcestis as an exemplum pulchritudinis (concordia and pietas are both discounted since she translates pietas as 'duty' and therefore cannot see the scene representing a loving relationship).

Pliny Letters 9.19, 6.24; cf. also Statius Silvae 5.1.12 where the poetic epitaph ensures the enduring remembrance of Pricilla, Cicero De oratore 2.87.335 where undying memory, glory and moral worth are seen as intimately linked, and Dessau 1892-1962: 6261 an epitaph using Arria, the wife of Paetus, as a comparative of exemplum status and fame.

destruction of monuments in which the original purpose of the image is reversed. Though Peter Stewart has recently argued that the so-called damnatio memoria is less concerned with the obliteration of memory than with preventing the represented person obtaining immortality the two aspects are clearly linked - as evidenced by the quotes above. The strictest sense the image may help a person to be remembered, though the aspect which ensures a person's immortality in image terms is the projected identity which it presents; in this context the symbolic articulation of great deeds and virtues. The heroised images on the mythological sarcophagi therefore express a desire for fame and immortality by establishing (or reinforcing) a social persona of public identity for the person depicted. The other aspect, desire and sexuality, may be more clearly perceived in the sculptural reliefs, especially in the depictions of Ariadne and Rhea Silvia, though it may also be implicitly expressed in an exchange of looks and touch like the couple on the Diana sarcophagi with hunting scenes (Cat. 76, 77, 78, Fig. 9-10) - a gesture which seem to echo in mood and composition the two-figure groups of Mars and Venus (Cat. 176, 177, 184, 190 - Fig. 20). The subject is clearly a delicate and potentially difficult one to depict and one should not expect a single view-point or approach. The depictions of Ariadne and Rhea Silvia represent the most explicitly erotic scenes, not simply because of the full or partial nudity of the female figure (to which the attention is drawn by the arrangement of the framing and revealing drapery), but more particularly due to their half-reclining, open body-posture with one or both arms raised above their heads which accentuate their nakedness and sleeping vulnerability. In more than one sense the women are the objects of interest of the scenes: asleep and unaware of their surroundings Ariadne and Rhea Silvia are approached by and gazed upon by Dionysus and Mars - the significance of the gaze highlighted in many of the reliefs by the presence of a satyr or cupid who draws back their drapery and quite literally reveal them to the male protagonist and establish them as physical beings. The force of this gaze - which even in the melee of the Dionysiac group or in the crowded composition of Cat. 152 is capable of singling out the protagonists as an identifiable unit - creates a tension within the composition which may be read as both erotic and disturbing. The voyeuristic aspects make it abundantly clear that the viewer is presented with a sexually charged situation, what is far from

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77 Stewart 1999: 167. I agree with his interpretation in the cases of the deliberately partial destruction of an image which constitutes damnatio memoria (it is important to remember who has been erased), though in a complete destruction - as in the creation - of an image memory and immortality must be interlinked.

78 Social persona and historical existence are conversely also the aspects obliterated with the destruction of an image; cf. Gregory 1994: 97 and Stewart 1999: 161.
clear is the outcome of this situation: will the male protagonist leave the female to sleep, wake her, or rape her? However, various aspects point to an interpretation of a union rather than a rape. Despite the ambiguity of the scenes there is not the underlying violence which may be found in, for instance, the representations of Proserpina and Pluto. In the latter the viewer is left without doubt of the intentions of the male protagonist, even the two examples (Cat. 139 and 142 - Fig. 18) in which the flower-picking scene is emphasised contain a menacing tone in the dominating posture of Pluto above the kneeling Proserpina. Compared to these the depictions of Ariadne/Dionysus and Rhea Silvia/Mars seem more equal and balanced - a fact further corroborated by the greater confidence exuded by the female figures; despite their sleep and lack of conscious awareness they both have a certain self-possession and assured sensuality which is not just a lack of fear. Indeed, the pose may be seen as anticipating (and synchronically containing) a post-coital languidness suggesting at least a tacit acceptance and adding another nuance to their sleep-like pose by likening sleep, death and orgasm. In this connection it is particularly interesting to note that the roles are not intrinsically gender determined and may be reversed, as in the Luna/Endymion reliefs and in the Nymph/Hylas relief, Cat. 132 (Fig. 15), in which the female characters act as the desiring agents. Each of the protagonists in the scenes gives the impression of having some intrinsic quality (like divinity and beauty) and a reciprocity of 'desire' capable of matching the other. Faced with the beauty of the mortal the divinity is 'struck with love' suggesting that 'beauty' is not simply a virtue (or a sign of virtue) but may be considered an aspect in the articulation of a loving relationship. Indeed, the Eros/Cupid figures which often surround the protagonists may be seen as reinforcing this aspect; similarly may the female centaur with children which is present

79 The erotic quality of Ariadne is evident also in literary references to her; cf. Catullus 64.50-264, Nonnos Dionysiaca 47.271-294, Propertius 1.3.1-20, 2.3.17-20, Xenophon Symposium 9.3-7.
80 Or, indeed, in most of the rapes/metamorphoses narrated by Ovid in which the beauty of the female is described as heightened by her fear; Curran 1984: 275, Richlin 1992: 162.
81 The violence of the female and inequality between the two protagonists may suggest one reason why depictions of Proserpina are relatively less popular as loci for portraiture - despite the scene's emblematic quality as a funerary symbol. The presence of Venus directly behind the couple in the flower-picking scenes may be an attempt at toning down the aggression and stressing a loving/marital aspect. The 'triumpfal' character of Cat. 141 clearly sets it apart from the rest (Fig. 17).
82 See Clarke 1998:68-70 (and fig 7, 23 34, 69 for explicitly sexual scenes making use of the gesture/pose of Ariadne/Rhea Silvia) and Sichtermann 1992: 33-35. The Barcelona papyrus' rendition of the story of Alcestis establishes both the links between sleep and death (p 39, lines 117-125), and between sleep and eroticism (p 33, lines 86-90); similarly has R. Mitchell observed the links between death and defloration in the Aeneid, Mitchell 1991: 224-235.
83 The sarcophagus Cat. 151 (Fig. 16) juxtaposes desire and desirability quite explicitly in its double depiction of Mars/Rhea Silvia and Luna/Endymion.
in the centre foreground of some of the Ariadne depictions (Cat. 9, 10 - Fig. 4) allude to domesticity and fertility. As discussed in Chapter 4 the presentation of a successful and harmonious marriage may be an important political safeguard and an essential aspect of a couple’s public persona; depicting this in the guise of the sensuality of a mythological scene may have been one way to give expression to a certain intimacy without transgressing socially acceptable norms for its depiction and to establish the couple as worthy of receiving devotion and as extending devotion to their partner. The ambiguity of the status of Ariadne - being simultaneously youthful and unwed (i.e. a virgin), and seemingly sexually mature and in a harmonious relationship - makes her naturally a possible role-model for both young and mature women who each may see her as reflecting particular characteristics of theirs and as embodying both aspiration and achievement.

The reflected and refracted images presented via the mythological format - possession of acknowledged virtues, achievement of immortality through fame, being an ideal partner - are both essentially private and individual in nature, and entirely part of social prescriptions and ideals. The virtues of Ariadne not only explain her achievement (of maturity, marriage and fame) but her achievement creates the norms and boundaries for her aspirations. The framing device of the mythological narrative becomes the mediation between personal desire and social convention which channels aspirations into normative ideals. The success of the format lies in its capacity to offer both aspects (individual and social aspirations) as achievable: rather than imposing a value-set the format encourages the individual to make the correct choice. The impact for women may be seen as creating a double bind of not only affirming traditional roles but in a somewhat insidious manner making them participants in the re-affirmation of these roles. As Natalie Kampen rightly argues the format controls, disarms and mutes eccentricity and alterity. However, the format also creates avenues of self-expression which allows women to present themselves as participants on a wider social scene in a manner similar to or equal with those of men, and to create a series of social personae for themselves. Conformity may in other words also mean prevention of marginalisation. I want to highlight three interrelated aspects which more or less explicitly may be seen as forming part of the presentation of a public persona: cultural

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85 This is a point which has been identified by N. Kampen drawing attention not just to the meaning of the images but also to their function: ‘[the depictions] spoke in terms that educated, powerful, and independent women could understand. Rather than asking such women simply to become domestic blissful creatures, this classical position permitted them to ... become heroic - not mere women, but moral women’, Kampen 1988: 18, cf. also page 15.
belonging, status and benefaction. The most immediately perceivable *persona* which the mythological representations offer is that of educational and cultural belonging. The significance of the depictions is derived from knowledge of the narrative framework and context of individual myths and from a capacity to draw upon a common cultural background in order to interpret these and establishing parallels in both narrated and visual formats, and hence depicting oneself (or a family member) quite literally within a mythological representation not only situates the patron as aware of a cultural background but also as a participant in a current discourse of references which renders it significant. However, cultural belonging may also be expressed in a more oblique manner by conforming to recognisable *mores*. For instance, the devotion, or *pietas*, which the depictions give a shape to is not just an integral part of Roman social and familial relations - and giving expression to this therefore locates the person as part of the cultural framework - but the Roman perception of it as both expected (natural) and chosen makes it as a cultural value very close to the format of correct choice of behaviour identified in the mythological depictions. As Richard Saller has shown *pietas* may be defined as ‘well-wishing duty’, that is, as a mixture of desire (devotion) and socialisation (duty) - in which the individual is encouraged that through correct behaviour both aspects may be fulfilled.87 The sense of ‘self-policing’ which may seem especially suspect to modern interpreters does, in fact, offer several points of similarity with Roman cultural constructs and social relations. Another aspect of a public *persona* presented by the association with mythological heroines is that of being of a standing worthy of being an *exemplum*. At its most straight-forward this signifies being in possession of requisite and acknowledged virtues, as discussed above; however, various indications suggest an implication of a qualitative aspect in the possession of virtues. Firstly, because possession depends on personal effort: as detailed by Cicero the instinct for virtue may be part of the essential nature of man but in the end what wins a person immortality and glory are the deeds realised on the basis of virtue.88 This conforms to the outlook identified in the mythological reliefs of heroisation being won not inborn. Secondly, because the virtues possessed must be exceptional or at least possessed to an exceptional degree; a qualitative evaluation of

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87 Saller 1994: 113 - quoting Cicero *De inventione* 2.161. This bears a striking similarity to interpretations of the character of Psyche/Beauty, cf. Bucchilega 1997: 169 n. 17: ‘opposite interpretations of Beauty’s personality are symptomatic of the paradox which constitutes her: she always chooses to fulfil her obligation because of her willingness to be dominated and to serve’ (her italics).

88 Cicero *Pro Sextio* 143-144.
virtue which is most clearly expressed by Pliny in his letter regarding the illness of Fannia:

‘To me it seems as though her whole house is shaken to its very foundations and is tottering to its fall, even though she may leave descendants; for how can their deeds and merits be sufficient to assure that the last of her line has not perished with her?’

The association with heroic ideal establishes the individual not just as a virtuous person but implies that the standing as such has been achieved through exceptional virtue and exceptional deeds. To appear as an exemplum in this manner may seem somewhat theoretical, though a further point suggests a social significance for the presentation of oneself (or a family member) as such. The Constantinian family legislation sought to establish rules regarding the correct behaviour of women and to protect female modesty (pudor) in the face of the law; however, these measures were only considered to apply to women of a certain social level since only from women of some rank ‘a standard of modesty (pudicitia) is required’. It may suggest that in the period of social mobility of the third century AD, if not previously, appearing as a person of a certain standard of virtue may equally have reflected a social standing and rank for that person, and that the status consciousness expressed may also be interpreted quite literally as social status. A last aspect to the identity and persona suggested by use of mythic models is that of appearing as a benefactor. Kate Cooper has shown benefaction as a recurrent theme in Longus’ tale of Daphnis and Chloe: it frames the central narrative of the young lovers serving both to introduce them and to draw final conclusions, indeed, the work itself may be seen as the artist work of benefaction. It is clearly not an isolated example but a format which taps into a wider cultural framework of honorific references. Dennis Hughes has shown how the Greek hero cult essentially remain unchanged except for the fact that in the Roman period it becomes a way of posthumously acknowledging the civic works of euergetai, and how the title of ‘hero’ may have been used as an honorific title without necessarily implying the establishment of a civic cult. This may have been more or particularly pertinent for works from the (Greek) provinces, though the inference of the socially responsible individual would have been relevant anywhere in the Roman world. Indeed, Pliny obliquely characterises Vespasian as an immortal hero by saying that “To enrol such men among the deities is the most ancient method of paying them gratitude for their

89 Pliny Letters 7.19.8.
92 Hughes 1999: 172-173, it is worth noting that the title seems applicable also to women.
benefactions'. Euergetism in this context is correlated to the deeds of Hercules: the exceptional individual who is granted divine status on basis of his efforts, characteristics and civic duty - who most clearly epitomises the elevation of the individual.

5.3 In the eye of the beholder: empathy

So far the examination of how divine associations may be put to use has centred on the patron and the depicted individual (who may or may not be the same person) and the discussion has concentrated on individuating the messages projected from the depiction and about the person depicted. In the following the emphasis will shift to incorporate the viewer - the beholder of the image. The motivation for this change is grounded in the inter-relationship between image and spectator which, as has been noted in the discussion in the previous chapters, I find is an integral aspect to the perception and interpretation of the images in the present context. Put simply, there would be little sense in constructing a particular visual message if that message was not intended to have a receiving audience. However, the question is, in fact, more complex than this for it would be to undervalue the impact of the image (and thereby the efficacy of the message) to perceive it simply as a monologue communicating in one direction only from a commissioning patron to a passively receiving spectator; rather each image ought to be seen as part of a dialogue in which the creative input of the viewer is fundamental. The following will, in other words, be concerned with the viewer's perception of and interaction with the images - how the viewer may be understood to make use of the images. The present section will deal with empathetic response, the following two with the perception of the relationship between portrait face and divine body and the viewer's reconstruction of the parts presented into a coherent whole of individual identity.

One point ought to be made. The dialogue established via the visual medium takes place between a variety of participants which not necessarily form a relationship of 'other' to the depicted person, it is also potentially a dialogue which the depicted person forms with himself (herself) in a complex subject-object relationship of gazing

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94 This is a point which has been identified as a characteristic of Roman art and portraiture in general - supporting the necessity to investigate it also for the images catalogued here; cf. for instance Gruen 1996, Nodelman 1993, as well as previous chapters.
upon (an image of) oneself.\textsuperscript{95} Indeed, it will be argued that the potential for identification in the image will in all or most viewer-responses establish a fluid relationship between spectator and image.

The notion of empathy is especially pertinent in the light of the discussion of the previous section. Accepting that mythological representations are intended to present the depicted individual as an example worthy of emulation the inspirational impetus for imitation is provided through the creation of an empathic response. Empathy is the capacity to perceive what is felt by another person, not simply by comparative reference to past personal experience but in a manner of affective identification with the other person to a degree of establishing a ‘congruity’ of feelings.\textsuperscript{96} It is the identification, the lack of distance felt by the spectator to that presented, which allows empathy to function as a bridge between message and imitation - as David Freedberg has pointed out, it is not possible to feel empathy with a general concept but only with the specific.\textsuperscript{97} The response is generated by the image and - if the image is suitably efficacious - allows the spectator to enter into the world of the image, though by doing so the spectator partakes in and configures the emotional parameters of the image through interpretation - which finally may encourage emulation, that is, the transportation of salient points of the image into the life and world of the spectator. An emotional response pattern may naturally be generated by a variety of media, like music, performance or rhetoric, though undoubtedly the most evocative effect is achieved visually, and for the purposes of the present the emphasis will be on images.\textsuperscript{98}

The representations catalogued here, and especially the sarcophagi depictions, represent an interesting duality in their function as empathetic instigators. On one hand their particularising effect is clearly heightened by the use of portrait features just as the figurative (and often narrative) approach ensures the images’ accessibility for viewer

\textsuperscript{95} In all cases where the depicted person is also the commissioning patron of the representation the person in question will be involved in self-referring dialogue of identity and depiction - irrespective of the context of the image’s display, and irrespective of whether the patron literally gets to gaze upon the image. An example of spectators forming an ‘other’ to the depicted person may be in publicly erected imperial images; a less clearly defined group is that of the familial or other type of kinship group - though for both it is possible to imagine cultural, political and social similarities aiding identification.

\textsuperscript{96} I have borrowed the term ‘congruity’ from Ismena Lada, who provides probably the fullest definition of empathy, including the related terms sympathy and identification , Lada 1994: 100-101. See also Arneheim 1986: 53-55.

\textsuperscript{97} Freedberg 1989: 167, cf. 179. See also Lada 1994: 102 for the difference between empathy and pity - the latter of which entails a certain emotional distance to the object or the other person.

\textsuperscript{98} Indeed, it is worth noting the relationship between speaking and visualisation acknowledged as a specific exercise in ancient rhetoric, on this see for instance Keuls 1978.
identification. Most of the reliefs are further structured with an explicit dramatic effect encouraging the spectator not just to partake in their emotional impact (the fear and surprise of Proserpina, the eroticism of Ariadne, the bravery of Virtus) but to participate in the narrative contextualisation of the depiction and to furnish additional details and nuances beyond what is shown - like the repeated visitations and constancy of devotion of Luna to Endymion, or the birth of Romulus and Remus and the resulting foundation of Rome from the encounter of Mars and Rhea Silvia. Though, the implicit reliance on the participation of the spectator may be most manifest in the scenes relying on tension as opposed to sheer dramatic effect. The juxtaposition of characters in compositions of encounter (like Ariadne/Dionysus, Luna/Endymion and Rhea Silvia/Mars) creates an unresolved narrative situation which the spectator is required to resolve in an imaginative completion of possible variants of outcome. The emphasis on the gaze in these not only mirrors the spectator's gazing upon the depicted scene but offers the gazing character as a mediator, or even substitute, between the viewer and the character gazed upon, creating within the relief a dual subject-object emphasis of desire. In gazing upon the scene the spectator may simultaneously identify with the desiring agent and the desired object - with desiring and being desirable. On the other hand, the emphasis on few (or a single) image to signify the whole, the repetition of motifs and the sharing of compositional elements between mythological narratives may create a sense of formalisation and condensation which in some ways amounts to almost an abstraction of the narrative. At first glance this would seem to counteract the figurative 'naturalism' and thereby the possibilities of empathetic involvement by reducing the scenes to tableauxs. However, the 'abstraction' requires a greater imaginative and interpretative effort of the spectator aiding the process of contextualisation and potentially drawing the spectator into the image by making him the protagonist in the narrative process. Only by empathetically participating in the scene before him can the spectator further add a psychological depth to the actions of the depicted characters - and thereby add an interpretative significance to the scene as a whole. The elder Philostratus in a description of a depiction of a hunter, adds

'Doubtless many a one will praise his cheeks and the proportions of his nose and each several feature of his face, but I admire his spiritness; for as a hunter he is vigorous and is proud of his horse, and he is conscious of the fact that he is beloved'.


100 Philostratus I 'Hunters' Imagines 1.28-35. See also Onians 1980: 3-6 for a discussion of this and other passages in the context of literary developments of the third-fourth cent. AD.
A description of character and mental state which goes beyond an objective account of what could reasonably have been visible. Condensation and reduction may also suggest an essentiality and universality which takes the image beyond the specific of the scene and its characters and into the world of the viewer by appearing as a symbolic value. The ‘abstracted’ image may, in other words, acquire an intrinsic quality applicable both to depicted and spectator and from which moral lessons may be grasped. Applying a process of identification the spectator will not see an image of ‘another’ but and image of himself.

One further aspect connected to empathy is worth noting, though in essence it is not related to visual expression but to narrative form: the narrative - the stories presented - are bewitching. This, I think, is another reason (or facet to) why mythological narrative as a genre should have been popular as depiction on sarcophagi and elsewhere. The mythological narratives, like folk- and fairy tales, draw in the audience and ask them to accept the fantastical and extraordinary of their world on its own terms, and entice the audience into their world. In this sense a bewitching tale is like an empathetic image - the audience enters the reality of the tales like the spectator identifies with the characters depicted, and a congruity is established. It is in this sense that it can rightly be argued that the narratives mean exactly what they say: they speak about an engagement of wonder. And so, I think, do the visual representations of myths; their ‘other-worldliness’ create a fantastical universe where the impossible is possible, where desires are realised, and where the world is given meaning and remade in the eyes of the spectator.

5.3.1 Divinity as costume

An empathetic response to images and representations clearly depend on a totality of vision - a holistic interpretation of the subject depicted - and on being able to accept the reality which the image presents as reality. However, equally clear is the fact that the spectator also looks at the image as a totality of parts, that is, that the spectator is aware

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104 Cf. Thompson 1968: 177; however see especially Warner 1994: xx who characterise wonder as 'pleasure in the fantastic, curiosity about the real' and in general gives the best empathetic analysis of the style.
105 'The meaning they generate are themselves magic shape-shifters, dancing to the needs of their audience' - Marina Warner (1994: xxiv) on fairy-tales; but applicable to the genre in general.
of and interprets the individual parts of which the depiction is constructed. In
depictions in the guises of divinities the composite aspects of the representations are
not only obvious, they are deliberately drawn attention to - the message construction of
the image depends on the viewer being able to decipher it as a composite of different
elements.\(^{106}\) The divine element may be presented as a symbolic or descriptive
characterisation of the person whose portrait features or name adorn the representation,
though, being invited in this way to tap into a set of associations which are clearly
primarily related to aspects outside the normal world of humans, the spectator is at the
same time also being invited to apply a dualistic approach to the representation. That is,
to acknowledge that the image also consists of a conceit: that the presentation of the
person consists of an aspect which is ‘applied’ and which is worn on the person much
as is a disguise or a costume.

The idea that the physical aspect of a representation may constitute a costume
has been put forward by Larissa Bonfante for Greek and Etruscan art and applied by
Eve D’Ambra also to the representations of Roman women in the guise of Venus.\(^{107}\)
Though both apply the idea specifically to nudity I think it is equally convincing for
divine guises in general. Indeed, it may explain the instances where a single woman is
represented in multiple guises. The tomb of Claudia Semne, for instance, was
furnished with representations of her as Spes, Fortuna and Venus; while Priscilla in
her tomb on the Via Appia was more splendidly depicted as Ceres and Ariadne (or
Diana) in bronze and as Venus and Maia in marble; a third, unnamed, woman was
depicted in one relief as Venus, another apparently show her as a priestess while a
third depict the three Graces, no doubt as a further illustration of her qualities.\(^{108}\) These
multiple associations depict various aspects of the person, each guise emphasising a
particular set of qualities, and when displayed in close proximity articulate a
changeable quality - exactly like an outfit of clothes. An analogous example is the
variety of official representations of the emperor, each articulating a specific aspect of
his rule: the military, the civilian, the religious, the divine. Here the changes of
costume are often very literally a change of clothes.\(^{109}\) Ritual nudity, like dress, may
also function as a costume, as in the case of the Luperci, and, as Ariadne Staples has

\(^{106}\) An analogous example may be found in Lucian Essays in portraiture 6-8 in which a beautiful
woman is described by an assemblage of various parts of famous statues.

\(^{107}\) Bonfante 1989 and D’Ambra 1996: 219-220; cf. also Section 1.2.3 where the nudity of Venus was
seen as her attribute.

1. Unnamed woman: Walker 1985: 40, fig 28, Wrede 1981 no 310, Cat. 172 (Venus, Fig. 23).

\(^{109}\) Though most often each of these outfits is firmly rooted in the real world and connected to the
emblems of office, within each representation there is also a symbolic content pertaining to the
qualities and virtues of the emperor and the nature of his rule.
pointed out, the sight of Mark Antony, who in 44 BC was both consul and Lupercus, appearing in the Forum in toga or running naked along the Via Sacra seems not to have been found remarkable but accepted as dress-codes appropriate to their respective occasions.\textsuperscript{110} This sense of appropriateness to the situation may be one manner of viewing also the representations of women appearing with portrait faces and divine bodies. Their composite nature is acceptable exactly because it is clear that the references made are not to life but to a set of references ‘outside’ life pertaining to a particular message.\textsuperscript{111} An image of this type posing as drawn from life risks being shocking or seen as presumptuous or even ridiculous, whereas the ‘distance’ - the conceit of the composition - facilitates its understanding as a symbolic value. The reconstruction of the image as a totality, in other words, does not take place in the presentation of the image - in which it is important to signal clearly its composite construction - but in the interpretation made by the spectator. The image may be considered appropriate because the identity it signals is a \textit{persona} not a verisimilitude.

In this sense the divinity of the representations functions like a mask presenting and projecting an identity of the wearer into the world of the spectator. In at least one example the parallel between projected identity and a mask is explicitly rendered: the grave relief of Tiberius Claudius Tiberinus, a poet performer, is adorned with three theatrical masks which (together with an epigram speaking in the first person) amount to a portrait of Tiberinus in the guise of a performer - his professional \textit{persona}.\textsuperscript{112} But the analogy may also applied on a more general level. A masked actor more clearly than any other actor projects a character which is outside (applied to) his own body, the audience cannot but be aware of this but the character will come to life (and even seem to change facial expressions) when the audience enters into the complicity and accepts the mask as the character in a unison with the actor behind it, and a reality will be constructed by the audience based on what they see on stage combined with their perception of this.\textsuperscript{113} Similarly for the representations - there is no essential contrast in the spectator’s awareness of the divine guise as a costume/mask and the possibility of creatively interacting with the image. The viewer’s role is to use

\textsuperscript{110} Staples 1998: 69.

\textsuperscript{111} This is a point made by Tom Stevenson for nude honorific statuary: ‘The reference is not to life; it is to [...] the ideas behind them. The nudity of a statue is obviously different from that of a living man’; Stevenson 1998: 48. The case of C. Hostilius Mancinus is curious though: defeated by the Spaniards in 137 BC the Senate turned him over to them naked and in chains; he later erected a statue of himself - naked, to commemorate the event as a \textit{symbol} of his pietas; in other words, his ‘real’ nudity has been transposed into a symbol, a costume, signalling his virtue; see Gruen 1996: 218 n. 12, Pliny \textit{Natural History} 34.18.

\textsuperscript{112} For details of this relief see the discussion by Koortbojian 1996: 228-229, fig 36 and CIL 6.10098. Date: late first cent. AD.
his perception of the guise to reconstruct a reality for the depicted person - if the two can be accepted as a unity the constructed reality will appear as 'the' reality of the image, despite the spectator's awareness of the representation's composite nature.\textsuperscript{114} Accepting the 'conceit' of the image does not, in other words, obstruct the establishment of an empathetic relationship with the image but may co-exist simultaneously in the spectators interpretation of the image and the represented.

5.3.2 Divinity as metamorphic moment

Viewing the relationship between portrait representation and divine guise as a costume applied to the self undoubtedly presents the most obvious interpretation of the duality of this type of depiction. It is a point of view inherent in most modern reactions to the phenomenon and explains the sense of incongruity and contrast with which the various elements of the depictions are often treated. I want to propose another manner of interpreting the composite aspect of these representations which relies less on seeing the relationship of the parts as one of 'self' and 'other', but rather emphasises an inter-related process of 'self' to 'self'. The interpretation presented here is not necessarily mutually exclusive to seeing the divinity of the depictions as a costume; as argued in Section 2.1.1 the face represent a primary point of reference which may not only draw our attention to an overwhelming degree but which may by inference also exert a preponderant influence in our viewing of the whole. However, by choosing a divine guise the depicted individuals are represented in close association with an individualised entity complete with independent identity and characteristics which may assert its own influence - and require an interpretation as a separate subject in relation to the particularised subject depicted in the portrait. The relationship between the two may therefore advantageously be interpreted as a fluid process of change and transfiguration - of metamorphosis.

The visual depiction of metamorphosis - as opposed to a narrated description - necessitates a certain artistic manipulation of the image in order to obtain a sense of fluidity. The diachronic rendering of a change from one state to another which is possible by gradual revelation (description) in a narrated version must by necessity be delivered synchronically when rendered in visual form. The most efficient way to

\textsuperscript{113} On this see, for instance, Marshall 1999 - especially page 189-190, n. 23.

\textsuperscript{114} On the response to images which are less than unusually lifelike see Freedberg 1989: 245 - 'we seek to reconstitute the reality of the signified in the sign. Sign fuses with signified to become the only present reality. The smallest number of clues suffices to precipitate the search for more'.

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translate the motion of change into a single image is to depict the metamorphosis as a double moment, which may be obtained by actual depiction of a duality in which the viewer must disentangle and reconstruct the elements and thereby contribute to the sensation of change and instability, or by suggestion - relying for instance on a depiction from the very beginning or very end of the narrative - in which the spectator contributes the ‘missing’ elements and constructs the entire narrative of change. ¹¹⁵ However, the double moment may also be achieved by a combination of, rather than a choice between, the two approaches. This would seem to be the case in the statue-group of Diana and Actaeon described by Apuleius:

In the middle of the marble foliage the image of Actaeon could be seen, both in stone and in the spring’s reflection, leaning towards the goddess with an inquisitive stare, in the very act of changing into a stag and waiting for Diana to step into the bath. ¹¹⁶

Here the composition situates the protagonists at the beginning of the narrative while simultaneously Actaeon would seem to be shown half metamorphosed, in this way conflating not just the two approaches but also the beginning and end of the narrative. ¹¹⁷ At its most straight-forward a representation of an individual in the guise of a deity is a depiction of a part-metamorphised person: a duality of elements contribute to the depicted identity - like portrait individuality and corporeal divinity - and by juxtaposing and disentangling these elements the spectator is invited to create a narrative of development and change for that person. That narrative may include a chronistic interpretation, for instance by seeing the depiction as concerned with the happy afterlife for a person who had lived an exemplary life. Some of the representations catalogued here combine the two approaches of depiction; that is especially the case in the images on mythological sarcophagi in which the portrayed person is depicted within a known narrative framework. For instance, a woman depicted in the guise of Ariadne may be seen as being simultaneously part-metamorphosed as Ariadne (or into a mytho-divine state) and as being a partaker in the narrative concerning Ariadne; since most of these representations rely on the

¹¹⁵ A couple of more recent art-works may serve as the clearest examples of these two approaches: Bernini’s Apollo and Daphne in the Villa Borghese, Rome, uses the first technique and depicts Daphne as a half transformed girl with hands and arms as leaves and branches; Titian’s Death of Actaeon in the National Gallery, Edinburgh, makes use of the second technique depicting an as yet untransformed Actaeon at the moment of seeing the goddess, with elements in the background alluding to the further events.

¹¹⁶ Apuleius Metamorphoses 2.4.

¹¹⁷ The statue-group may of course also be interpreted as depicting solely the start of the narrative; in which case the sentence ‘in the very act of changing into a stag’ must be read as a statement of the suggestive force of the composition, creating in the viewer’s eyes and imagination the process of transformation.
suggestive force of implying the future events and consequence of the encounter between Ariadne and Dionysus, so the individual appearing in her guise may also be seen as being visually in a pre-metamorphic state and implied as being already metamorphosed.

But more important than the artistic and compositional particularities of presentation is the viewer’s reading of these types of representations, and - given the construction taking place in the viewing - the interpretation of time. As argued in Section 5.2.1 the narrative presented on the mythological sarcophagi is essentially synchronic; similarly does the possible simultaneity of various forms - as in the example of Ariadne above - pose some difficulty in applying a chronistic sequence to the interpretation. For Alison Sharrock metamorphosis is necessarily anti-static and by definition diachronic - but really it seems more complex than that. ¹¹⁸ To my eyes it seems that metamorphosis is by definition anti-static (about change) and inherently synchronic; that is, being simultaneously divisible parts and multiple whole. I want to argue that that is possible because the identities (the parts) depicted in the end characterise aspects of the self (the whole); the oscillation created by the viewer’s juxtaposition of the identifying parts produce the effect of change necessary for understanding the image as being metamorphic.¹¹⁹ Two examples may serve as illustrations. The simplest metamorphic being may be said to be the hybrid, in the sense that the duality of the hybrid is not achieved through development but is part of the nature of the being; however, even in these cases both literary and visual representation use oscillation of perception in order to characterise them. The Minotaur is described by Ovid as ‘the half-bull man and half-man bull’ eloquently summarising its composite and synchronic nature.¹²⁰ Similarly the double-gendered hybrid of the hermaphrodite, who significantly is described as ‘a double form’, reveals that dual nature most clearly through juxtaposition of composite parts - and through a revelation which is articulated by the spectator’s process of viewing this form, confronting the viewer’s expectation of what he thinks he will see with what he does see.¹²¹ Indeed, Philostratus makes the point that to represent the various aspects of a hybrid is easy,

¹¹⁸ Sharrock 1996: 107; her literary and my visual emphasis may go some way to explain the difference in viewpoint, though in effect her discussion and observations do acknowledge an inherent synchronicity. See also Leonard Barkan’s analysis of Ovid’s Metamorphoses showing the poem’s use of metamorphosis to be more complex than a simple diachronic relationship, Barkan 1986 chapter 2.
¹¹⁹ Similarities may be found to be inherent to the underlying intent of in Ovid, cf. Barkan 1986: 20 - The ‘opening lines establish two paths that continue throughout the work: constant change and a unified eternal poem’; see also page 32.
the difficulty is the juncture which makes them into a whole while still challenging the
discussion of the various visual representations of the hermaphrodite, see Ajootian 1997.} The same process is true for the more complex, 'true'
metamorphoses in which a change is effected - Actaeon may serve as an example.
Actaeon’s change from a man to a stag at its simplest represents his punishment for
Spying on Diana, but it may also be understood as a revelation of the nature of
Actaeon: as a hunter the stag is not just his opposite (the prey) but an integral part of
his identity as a hunter. His physical change in this way represents simply a change in
view-point on an identity already existing. The transformation is also a mirroring of
himself in the divinity - a juxtaposition of two hunters - and a way of entering the
goddess’ sphere by taking on the guise of one of her attributes.

The metamorphic moment - the moment of juncture between the various
identities - is difficult exactly because in that lies the identity of the metamorphic being:
the whole being created by the interpenetration of the different identities. A person
represented in the guise of a deity may similarly be understood as a characterisation of
a composite identity in which the divine part may function as a revelation of essential
form, a (magic) mirror image and a juxtaposition - that is, as a part of the metamorphic
process; and the whole which is presented being a simultaneous image of the various
identities and of their inter-relationship. The divinity of these representations are
therefore not just a foil for a message but part of the creation of a new message. A
representation in the guise of a divinity, like the process of metamorphosis, draws on
pre-existing characteristics - the change apparent to the eyes of the spectator is effected
not created; though, at the same time the image, the metamorphic identity, presented is
entirely different. A parallel may be found in Seneca’s correspondence with Lucilius in
which he exclaims: ‘now I recognise my Lucilius! He is starting to reveal himself as
the man he promised to be’\footnote{Philostratus I ‘The Education of Achilles’ \textit{Imagines} 2.28-32; cf. Sharrock 1996: 129.}.\footnote{Seneca \textit{Letters} 31.1 cf. \textit{Letters} 6.1 ‘I am being not just reformed but transformed’, see also Edwards 1997.} The revelation is a revelation of the self achieved
through a process of self-improvement intended to lead to a transformation of the self.
Similar to a metamorphic change is the self-transformation entirely rooted in the actual
existing identity of the individual, and similarly is the result of the transformation the
creation of a new, transfigured identity. Like Actaeon revealing an essential part of
himself in the transformation to a stag, Lucilius draws on his own characteristics to
effect a self-transformation, or the person worthy of being an example may be metamorphosed into an exemplum, but once like that they are never the same again.\textsuperscript{124}

Conclusion

As detailed at the beginning, the chapter has been divided into three main sections each intended to examine possible uses and approaches to portrayal in association with a deity - though to do so from three different perspectives: the woman depicted, the narrative with which she is associated, and the spectator viewing the image. The structure may at first glance seem heterogeneous - and that is not necessarily a bad thing. The 'polysemantic' nature which has been argued for myths - and by inference mythological representations and mythological narrative - is exactly their ability to appear in and adapt to various contexts without losing essential qualities or characteristics. The intention has been to examine or at least get closer to the relevance posed by the myths in the particular context of the material catalogued here; and because of the narrow context the discussion in the three sections have revealed a certain concurrence of outlook.

The first part confirmed the biographical intent inherent in these depictions. Despite all the necessary caveats and the uncertainty in identifying the actual status of the depicted women the correspondences which can be established suggest that part of the narration of the works concerns the depiction of the women as they would have been seen (and saw themselves) to their contemporaries in terms of age and social status. This would partly have been a visualisation of actual, measurable reality, partly of social identity; though potentially different there is not an inherent opposition between the two: both essentially belong to a first-hand expression of identity, of 'to be'. By concentrating on the mytho-divine part of the representations the second part of the chapter showed how this may function as a mirror on the presented identity. The heroic format in which the women appear may be used as a sign posing as a biographical device and in which the blending of object and symbol creates an inherent symbolic framework with which to interpret the biographical narrative. This narrative may concern an 'internalised' aspect articulating personal virtues and exceptional characteristics which more or less directly may be associated with a heroic biographical framework, and it may concern an 'externalised' aspect in which the individual is located within a cultural and social framework. The determinant which was

\textsuperscript{124} In a sense this to me is the difference between the hybrid and the 'true' metamorphosis: the former may be a composite characterisation, the latter is a complex creation.
concentrated on in the section was the presentation of the person as an exemplum, that is, as the sum of the projected personal identity and public persona characterising the individual who through personal effort and a sense of social responsibility appears as exemplary and worthy of imitation. As part of the discussion in this section some effort was made to show that this could be achieved not simply through the appearance or interpretation of the mythological figure but also through the very structure of the mythological narrative. Appearing as a singular individual also requires a delicate balancing act between personal desire and social convention - aspects which potentially may be conflicting. Applying a structuralist approach to the interpretation of the narrative format reveals the mediating content of the mythological narrative capable of resolving these conflicts by providing a process of affirmative goals and encouraging the individual to make socially correct choices. In the context of the lives of women it is worth bearing in mind the composite consequences this resolution entails: on one hand, the mediating process will affirm current social values and may be used as an instrument of social control, on the other, the process also creates a social integration in which the individual is located as participating in the construction of the contemporary world. The mirroring effect of the divine association is clearly not a monologue which the depicted person has with him or herself, but a dialogue between the individual and the world in which their representation appears. In recognition of this, the third and last section examined the impact the image may have on the spectator and the impact the spectator’s viewing may have for the perception (and efficacy) of the image. Related to the former it was argued that an empathetic response pattern was a fundamental aspect in the involvement of the viewer: creating a method of identification allowing the representation to appear as an identity to emulate by making it appear as an image of ‘self’ rather than ‘other’. This, however, raises another point integral to the latter investigation of viewer perception, for the image of a person in the guise of a deity is clearly a construct of parts. Two possible - though not mutually exclusive - interpretations were proposed in which the duality of the image is an essential part of the viewers configuration of the image and, in turn, the viewer’s (re)construction of its message. The relationship between the parts may be understood as a juxtaposition of ‘other’ to ‘other’ - as differing aspects applied to each other. Viewed like this the image may appear most clearly as a symbolic representation; highlighting, in a sense, the mirroring effect between the types of identities discussed in the first two sections of the chapter. But the relationship may also be understood as a change between ‘self’ and ‘self’ - as a moment of chronistic and spatial collapse between two equally true identities. Viewed like this the image appears as an interpenetration of the different identities discussed, suggesting that the image is not
simply a statement of identity but that it, too, by requiring a complex response forms part of the construction of identity.
CONCLUSION

REALITY AND CONSTRUCT IN FEMALE IMAGING

The three themes of representation, perception and identity have been the point of
departure for the investigation, and each of the chapters - with their various focal
points - have contributed different views and approaches on these themes. At times the
focus may be more particularly on one aspect than another but in all the inter-connected
nature and effects of these themes have been recognised.

Chapter three on the numismatic evidence offers possibly the most emphatic
emphasis of all on the aspect of representation. This has been done in recognition of
the politicised nature of the imagery which they contain; though the depictions of the
imperial women in many ways conform to the images of women in other media the
context of their depiction effect an overwhelming influence on the interpretations which
can be drawn. More clearly than in any other types of depictions do the women appear
within an emblematic framework and value-set in which individual identity is
overshadowed by position, familial relationships and political programme - and
especially by the need to create an effective imperial persona. The image most
consistently presented is that of wife and mother, though, what proved interesting was
the evidence that these traditional roles, seemingly offering women an identity tied
almost exclusively to their sexuality, may in fact be qualified as denoting a public,
politcised identity. It is, in fact, possible to show not only that age may be used as a
sign of status and proximity to imperial power, but also that the position of the
empress (the wife) develops to become an integral aspect of imperial rule to be
considered as complimentary to that of the emperor. The moral values with which the
imperial women are connected may be traditional but the conclusion which was
proposed is that these values ought to be considered as the most effective language
with which to articulate the composite, idealised nature of imperial rule.

Chapter four, investigating the values and virtues accruing to women outside
the imperial circle (the preponderance of non-imperial depictions in the catalogued
material may for the present purpose allow this rough distinction) through an
association with a particular deity, illustrated a similar emphasis on marriage and
motherhood as in the numismatic material. The correspondences with epigraphic and
literary descriptions of women confirmed both the traditionality of the ideals and the
need to qualify these ideals in an interpretation which goes beyond the strictly personal to encompass social identity. The imaging of women ought therefore to be seen as pertaining to a public persona articulating a series of cardinal virtues, characterising the individual as a socially responsible citizen and in general making use of a language, or references, belonging to the realm of social and honorific status. At the same time, as the initial part of Chapter five made clear, the representations also have an obvious biographical intent - and correlations can be established between age / status and representational guise. The two objectives may appear different but are not inherently conflicting: not only do both concern presentation of identity but, as in the media of coins, can private identity be used as a sign for public status.

The theme of perception has been most fully discussed in Chapter two on the construction and interpretation of portraiture. The impact of the human face - and especially of the individualised resemblance - has profound consequences for the way that image is read: by being recognised as individualised it attains a living presence and the perception of reality. A portrait image may therefore simultaneously be read as a sign for the person depicted and as that person, and the message which the image signals as both symbolic identity and 'real' measurable identity. The conflation of sign and individual aids a symbolic, or abstract, reading of the image as an expression of personal characteristics and accomplishments and of social and cultural identity; the spectator therefore participates in the configuration of the message and the perception of the image becomes an integral part of its efficacy. Conversely the projected identity expressed in the image may also be applied to the person and the qualities identified be attributed to the individual; the act of viewing therefore also invests the image with the capacity to construct a persona for an individual. Chapter two concentrated on the direct relationship between image and signified but the implication of the representation in the construction and transformation of identity also exists when viewed as a body of works - these images of women may come to represent not just the embodiment of a collective view but they invite the viewers to think about women and female identity in the terms presented.

Chapter five examined the theme of identity using the framing device of the mythological narrative and the implications of the heroic biographical format. Part of the chapter assessed the significance the mythological framework has for the articulation of individual identity, part examined the response pattern of the viewer and the implications for the interpretation of identity. The heroic format efficiently signals the depicted person as a singular individual and elevates the individual to exemplary status; the symbolic framework of interpretation which it offers presenting a variety of avenues from personal characteristic, to familial relationship and social responsibility -
the unifying feature being the achievement and application of the individual. The elevated position is significantly not a deification but a heroisation: the individual is being recognised on basis of personal effort and the development of potential characteristics and virtues. This naturally establishes the depicted person as a model for emulation - the conflation of the sign and the signified has in this case created a context in which the object of identification is not simply the deity and the symbolic or associative values embodied in the deity, but the individual presented and the virtues characterising that individual. The empathetic response which the image offers for the process of identification further establishes the individual as a model of achievable ambition and social recognition. However, the mythological format also poses as a mediator between personal desire and social constraint offering a process of affirmation and integration which has consequence both for the interpretation of the depicted person and for the viewer by promoting a socialised view of the ideal citizen.

The image which confronts us is clearly a construct: a selective view pertaining to a *persona* of the person in question. The format encourages us to interpret its composite of signs in a symbolic manner, inviting us see personal characteristics and moral values. At the same time the representation, through its resembling features, pose as a real-life individual with whom it is possible to identify, even emulate. Inherent in the construct of the image is the idea that it ought to be read as a revelation of identity - of self. I have proposed that the depictions of women in divine guises should be interpreted as metamorphic images; though the physical sculptural representation may suggest a head and body joined together, the interpretative values which the image presents obscures this joint and it becomes difficult to determine where one ends and one begins - inviting an oscillating change from self to self, a projection of simultaneous constructed identities.
CATALOGUE
Ariadne

Number of entries in the catalogue: 14
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: first half of third century AD
Media of depictions: all catalogued depictions occur on sarcophagi.
Addenda s.v. Ariadne: 1050-1051; Lyons 1997 esp: 124-128; Roscher 1884-1937
s.v. Ariadne; Wissowa 1894-1972 s.v. Ariadne. Catullus 64.50-264; Diodorus of
Sicily 4.61.5, 5.51.4; Hesiod Theogony 947-949; Nonnos Dionysiaca 47.265-471;
Ovid Fasti 3.459-516; Ovid Metamorphoses 8.172-182; Pausanias 2.23.8, 9.40.4;
Plutarch Theseus 19-20.

The daughter of Minos and Parsiphae of Crete, who helped Theseus to overcome the
Minotaur; she followed him as his bride on board his ship but was left behind on the
island of Naxos either through the faithlessness of Theseus, misadventure, or the
machinations of a deity. There she is found by the god Dionysus who falls in love with
her, marries her, and through that marriage has her admitted into the circle of the gods
on Olympus. She is usually depicted as sleeping and most often nude except for the
mantle which surrounds her and covers her legs. She lies on the rocky ground in a half
raised position, with her right arm drawn up and bent over her head, and with her legs
slightly bent at the knee. In this the representation of Ariadne closely correspond to the
model used for the depiction of Endymion. The vast majority of the catalogued
representations depict the moment when Dionysus finds the sleeping Ariadne, though
in three cases (Cat. 7, 13 and 14) the identity of Ariadne is attributable solely through
the typological posture of her figure, and in one (Cat. 5, Fig. 3) she is depicted in a
composition with Dionysus which may only be interpreted as their wedding feast.
Only Cat. 12 include in the representation the figure of Theseus and must therefore be
understood as depicting a sequentially earlier moment of the myth.

Ariadne may be seen as symbolising the rite of passage between puberty and
adulthood, the maturity of female sexuality, as well as preparation for and success in
marriage. The death of the Minotaur also symbolises the end of the non-domesticated
part of herself - greatly through her own actions and intellectual efforts. Theseus has
developed and harnessed her sexuality within a domestic, marital context. The
centrality of marriage, love and sexual potential in the myth is emphasised by her
connection to Venus; whose image she is given as the new symbolic representation of
herself on her departure from her home. Indeed, Plutarch (Theseus 20.5) recounts a
story relating that there may have been two Ariadne’s connected to Naxos, one who is
celebrated by revelry and joy, the other who is associated with sorrow and mourning.
This duality points to a cyclical nature of Ariadne and it gives symbolic expression to
the death and rebirth of Ariadne herself: through her coming of age and through her

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apothecosis. On a personal level Ariadne presents a strong role model by her intelligence, wit and initiative as well as her connection to technological innovation in her mortal life combined with her capacity for channelling these qualities into an acceptable social and cohesive context. See also the discussion of Psyche, with whom Ariadne shares significant structural and interpretative aspects: for both it may be said the virtues and comportment displayed in their 'mortal' lives are the heroic act which secures their attainment of divine status. Associations emphasising the couple as the essential expressive unit are here exhibited through the figure of Dionysus as the husband and their relationship as the ideal marriage.

Cat. 1. Sarcophagus. (Date: 170-190 AD)
Paris, art market. Provenance: Mirabella-Eclano (Campania). Marble. 65 x 217 x 75 cm. Inscription: None.
Matronly looking woman in the guise of Ariadne placed at the centre of the composition. She is lying on the ground in the pose of the sleeping Ariadne but her eyes are shown as open. She is nude apart from the mantle which a small satyr draws away to reveal her to the gaze of Dionysus - shown standing in his carriage on the left. According to Matz her hairstyle is comparable to that of Faustina II/Lucilla. On the far left a kneeling female centaur with a top-knot hairstyle embraces a centaur-child in a pose echoing the compositional effect of the form of Ariadne. On the far right a sacrifice is taking place.

Cat. 2. Lenos sarcophagus. (Date: 190-210 AD)
Bolsena, Town Hall. Provenance: Unknown. Marble. 95 x 221 x 91 cm. Inscription: None.
Standing, frontal Dionysus represented at the centre of the relief between Hercules and Pan. On the right, underneath the lion head lies a youthful looking matron in the pose of Ariadne, nude apart from the mantle wrapped around her legs; below the drapery by her left arm is represented a snake. Her face is much worn but show signs of portrait features and she is depicted with a hairstyle which, according to Wrede (1981), is of late Antonine fashion. Under the left-hand lion-head reclines a woman in a pose mirroring that of Ariadne. She wears a chiton slipping off her shoulder to expose her right breast and holds a cornucopia with both hands - an attribute which may suggest her identity as Tellus. The composition for all its liveliness is symmetrical and directed towards the spectator with no eye contact between Ariadne and Dionysus. The narrative relationship between the protagonists depend entirely on their juxtaposition in the scene and interpretation of the elements made by the viewer.

Cat. 3. Sarcophagus fragment. (Date: 200-210 AD)
Marble. 61 x 60 cm. Inscription: None.
Fragment from the right curved end of a lenos sarcophagus. Three figures may be distinguished: Herakles and a satyr moving right towards the rear of the sarcophagus, and the torso of Ariadne from the front relief field. Her face is rather idealised and there may be some doubt if it should be seen as having portrait features though her hairstyle may be of Severan fashion. She looks very youthful and is depicted in the traditional pose of the sleeping Ariadne, nude apart from the mantle and with one arm raised above her head. Below her left arm are two sleeping figures, most likely Cupid and Psyche.
Cat. 4. Sarcophagus of Maconiana Severiana. (Date: 210-220 AD)
Inscription: D.M. / Maconianae Severianae / filiae dulcissimae / M. Sempronius Proculus / Faustinianus v. c. et / Praecilia Severina C. f. / parentes.
Dionysus in centre of relief field in an accentuated contra-posto pose, with his right arm raised above his head, and a mantle draped around his legs in a manner which seems to echo the pose of the sleeping Ariadne. He looks directly at Ariadne whom a satyr reveals to his gaze by drawing back her mantle. Ariadne is depicted centrally on the right half of the field; her face has been left as a boss. On the rear of the sarcophagus satyrs are shown crushing grapes. The front raised edge of the lid consists of a series of individual fields each depicting a single small satyr; in a larger central rectangular field is placed the inscription. A certain discrepancy exists between the style of the chest, lid and inscription which is not easily explainable but which, as discussed by Walker (1990), may suggest either a delay in use or a (possibly deliberate) contemporaneity of different styles. The front relief is usually agreed to be Severan in style, and for the present this date has been maintained.

Cat. 5. Sarcophagus. (Date: 210-220 AD)
Marble. 94 x 229 x 98 cm (chest) 28 x 229 x 98 cm (lid). Inscription: None.
An unusual composition of Dionysus and Ariadne placed centrally in half-reclining poses facing each other in front of a parapetasma. He is nude apart from the mantle draped across his shoulder and thighs; she is shown fully dressed with her mantle drawn up as a veil. They are surrounded by a group of maenads, Pan and Hermes all looking towards the couple; below them a small Silenus, satyr and two cupids play. Both faces of the protagonists are left as a boss though some outlining has been done for the facial features and hair. On the lid the couple of the facing Dionysus and Ariadne is repeated, this time reclining; behind him is depicted a flying Cupid holding a lit torch, behind her Psyche holding a garland. The most probable interpretation of the scene is as depiction of the wedding feast of Dionysus and Ariadne.

Cat. 6. Lenos sarcophagus. (Date: 220-230 AD)
Marble. 81 x 220 cm. Inscription: None.
Central standing Dionysus leaning on a thyrsus is depicted looking at Ariadne. By his left leg stands a small Eros who seem to be calling his attention to her. She lies on the ground in the traditional pose with her arms raised above her head and her mantle draped around her legs. Her face has been left as a boss. On the rear Dionysus is depicted in a composition similar to the front, though here he is draped and flanked by a naked, sleeping (drunk) Herakles.

Cat. 7. Lenos sarcophagus. (Date: 220-230 AD)
Ariadne lying on a rocky ground occupies most of the relief field. Her reclining pose and arms raised above her head correspond to the traditional image of the sleeping Ariadne, though here she is depicted wearing a high-belted chiton which slips off her right shoulder to reveal her breast, and with part of the mantle drawn up along her right arm to form an accentuated circular framing of her head and torso. Her
face is not clearly recognisable as a portrait, the features are somewhat non-descript, however, the difference in handling of her hair compared to the other figures may suggest that the intention was to indicate an individualised presence. According to Wrede (1981) her hairstyle is similar to that of Julia Domna and the wife of Balbinus. She is approached by three Cupids - two bearing garlands, one carrying a peacock. Similar in composition to Cat. 13 which may be the product of the same Campanian workshop. On both the short sides are depicted a lion attacking a prey.

**Cat. 8. Sarcophagus front. (Date: 220-235 AD)**
Leningrad. Hermitage. Provenance: Unknown. Marble. 54.5 x 211 cm. Inscription: None.
Half-draped Dionysus - in contra-posto pose and with his right arm raised above his head - depicted just off-centre in the relief field. He looks toward Ariadne whom a small satyr reveals to his gaze by drawing back her mantle. Ariadne lies on the ground to his left draped only in her mantle and with both arms raised above her head. Her long and narrow facial features have the character of a portrait, and Matz (1968-1969) identifies her hairstyle as being that of Julia Aquila and Julia Mammæa. Her elongated body with long arms and narrow shoulders give her figure a somewhat youthful impression.

**Cat. 9. Sarcophagus. (Date: 230-240 AD)**
Marble. 63 x 210 x 60 cm (chest) 36 x 210 x 60 cm (lid). Inscription: None.
The centre of the relief is organised around the figure of a kneeling female centaur embracing her child. She is framed by a male satyr and by the figure of Dionysus descending from his chariot. Dionysus is garlanded and draped in a mantle, and looks directly at the sleeping figure of Ariadne. She is depicted half-draped with her arms above her head - her face and hair have been left as a boss, though the outline for the hair would suggest a Severan hairstyle. Her figure forms a symmetrical composition with the reclining, draped maenad at the left of the field. On the lid a central, empty inscription field is framed by a scene of Dionysus in a carriage drawn by lions and by the bust of a togate male holding a scroll and framed by small maenad and satyr figures. The face of the togate bust, too, has been left as a boss - providing the possibility of adding both (or either) a male and female portrait. The sarcophagus was found with one depicting Endymion (Robert 1897-1919, vol 3.1, no 72) which could also be adapted for both a male and female portrait. The Ariadne sarcophagus contained a female skeleton, the Endymion sarcophagus a male skeleton.

**Cat. 10. Sarcophagus. (Date: a. 230 AD)**
Marble. 65 x 219 x 69,5 cm. Inscription: None.
In the centre of the field Dionysus is represented descending from a carriage drawn by centaurs, of which has knelt down to embrace her child. Moving toward her Dionysus looks directly at Ariadne who is depicted in her traditional sleeping pose on the right part of relief. She is, however, not shown nude but wearing a chiton which slips off her right shoulder to reveal her breast. Her hair and facial features are somewhat worn but have the characteristics of a portrait. A winged Cupid draws away the mantle of Ariadne to reveal her to the gaze of the god, another smaller Cupid crouches below her left arm.

**Cat. 11. Fragment of a lenos sarcophagus. (Date: a. 230 AD)**
Marble. 85 x 63 cm. Inscription: None.
Right edge fragment of a sarcophagus with a lion head, under which lies the figure of Ariadne. She is represented in the traditional sleeping pose with both arms raised above her head; she wears a mantle and a belted chiton which slips off her left shoulder to reveal her breast. Her face has been left as a boss, though Wrede (1981) is able to detect the outlining of a Severan hairstyle. Various child-like figures surrounding her may represent the seasons; of these is drawing away her mantle.

**Cat. 12. Theseus sarcophagus. (Date: 240-260 AD)**
Cliveden, Astor collection. Provenance: Castel Giubileo (Fidenae). Marble. 80 x 192 x 87 cm. Inscription: None.
A central column divides the relief field into two compositional halves. On the left Theseus - with portrait features - addresses Minos, surrounded by several deities who all look at him: Eros, Venus, Minerva, Virtus and Honos. On the damaged right half Theseus (still with portrait features) is depicted twice: on the right addressing Daedalus in the company of Mercury with the dead minotaur by his feet, on the left in his ship. Centrally between these two scenes is represented Ariadne in her tradition pose; she too has portrait features which according to Wrede (1981) are of Gallienic date with a hairstyle in the manner of Salonina. An unusual and somehow puzzling depiction of the myth, which on the right would seem to depict the faithlessness of Theseus by abandoning Ariadne on Naxos. The departure of Theseus may hint at the couple's separation in death, while the standard representation of Ariadne and the multiplicity of deities accompanying Theseus simultaneously establish the couple as heroic individuals. The two fields may also be interpreted as each accentuating the moment when respectively he and she fulfil their heroic potential - with the aid of the other. Within the choice of gods articulating his virtues in the left field Ariadne is the implicit presence who by her love (Venus and Eros) for Theseus help him to return from the labyrinth as a victor. On the right her body posture suggests the more commonly represented moment of her discovery by Dionysus, an event made possible by the departure of Theseus.

**Cat. 13. Sarcophagus. (Date: 260-270 AD)**
The large figure of Ariadne occupy the centre of the sarcophagus field in a manner similar to Cat. 7. Her face is rather damaged but the hairstyle suggests that it would have been intended as a portrait. She wears a high-belted chiton which has slipped off her left shoulder to reveal her breast; her mantle is not drawn up above her but draped around her hips. Surrounding her on a double groundline (broken only by the monumentality of Ariadne) are Cupids engaged in various activities; at the uppermost corners are respectively Sol and Luna in their carriages, and on the end reliefs are depicted the four seasons - time or eternity would therefore be seen to be a concern of the depiction.

**Cat. 14. Sarcophagus lid. (Date: Unknown)**
According to Wrede (1981) a naked female figure wrapped in a mantle and with her arms raised above or towards her head is depicted on the front of a sloping roof lid for a house sarcophagus. The pose and nudity suggests the identity of Ariadne. She is surrounded by Dionysiac figures, Cupids and an Eros. The inscription is not antique.
Bona Dea

Number of entries in the catalogue: 1
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: mid to third quarter of the third century AD
Medium of depiction: statuette; uncertain if of honorific or funerary context.

The wife (or daughter) of Faunus, also known as Fauna, who drank a jug of wine and was beaten to death by her husband with myrtle branches for her drunkenness, after which she was raised to the status of a divinity. The wine became an integral part of the cultic ritual, known as ‘milk’. Her cult was exclusive to women and conducted in great secrecy, a breach of both tenets was famously attempted by Clodius in 62 BC; ceremonies seem to have been carried out by women of the highest social rank and by the Vestals. The most famous sanctuary in Rome, on the Aventine, had a temple allegedly built by the Vestal virgin Claudia, and renewed by Livia. According to CIL 6.2238 the cult may have been managed by a collegium of priestesses led by a magistrate. Her temples often housed pharmacies - symbolising her connection with science and with healing; in CIL 6.72 she is given the name Bona Dea Hygiae, and often she is depicted with a snake (cf. CIL 6.55). She seems to be associated with the fecundity of the land and is known as Augusta Bona Dea Cereria (CIL 5.761), Bona Dea Agresti Felix (CIL 6.68), and Bona Dea Nutrix (CIL 6.74).

The ritual ‘milk’ and the epithets of nutrix and cereria connect her to depictions of earth- or mother-goddesses: lifegivers who do not necessarily have children of their own, but who’s children all nature and humans are. The epithet in CIL 6.73, Bona Dea Lucifera, links her with childbirth (cf. Diana and Juno). This combined with the exclusivity of the cult might suggest that the association with pharmacies was related to traditionally female sciences of aiding and healing, including midwifery and gynaecology (according to Plutarch the goddess is known as Gynaecia in-Greek).

Cat. 15. Statuette of Rufina. (Date: 240-270 AD)
Formerly in Albano. Decorated the garden fountain of Sig. Enrico Franz. Provenance: Unknown.
Greek Marble. H. 45 cm. Inscription: Ex visu iussu Bonae Deae / sacr. / Callistus Rufinae n. act.
References: CIL 14.2251; Marucchi 1879; Wrede 1981 no 58.
Figure of a woman seated in a high-backed chair; she wears a high-belted chiton and a mantle draped over her shoulders and over her thighs. In her left arm she holds a cornucopia as a symbol of the gifts of fecundity and plenty which she is able to bestow. The attribute is one she shares with Fortuna and with Cybele, though other deities in special guises may also be given this attribute. Most of her right arm is missing but may have held a patera. The portrait head is, according to Wrede (1981), a third century replacement of the original veiled head necessitating an adaptation of the mantle folds on the figure's shoulders; he further identifies the hairstyle as reminiscent of Tranquillina. Inscription set on the front of the base of the figure.
Ceres

Number of entries in the catalogue: 34
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 18
Main period of popularity: Julio-Claudian period and second century AD.
Media of depictions: The vast majority (21) are marble statues, which for depictions of empresses must be presumed to be honorific on intent; for private women attribution is a great deal more difficult, though two may be funerary and five are certainly non-
funerary in context. Nine entries are in cameo form; four are reliefs of which three can be securely placed in a funerary context.
s.v. Ceres. Tacitus Annals 2.49.

The cult of Ceres is centred on the fruitfulness of the land and of cultivated crops, especially grain and corn, and Ceres is most often represented with corn-ears (also holding a torch or a snake emphasising her chthonic element). Traditionally the cult is said to be one of the oldest in Rome with a temple near the Circus Maximus dedicated to Ceres, Liber and Libera in 493 BC, forming a plebeian counterpoint to the aristocratic Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva creating two political centres of the early Republic. The temple was rebuilt by Augustus and Tiberius; and the cult continued into the fourth century AD.

She is often linked with Tellus, the earth (Horace Carmen Saeculare 30; Ovid Fasti 1.670). During the Augustan period the image of Ceres is connected to the person of the emperor - or with the female members of his family - symbolically representing the peace established by him after the civil wars (cf. Ovid Fasti 1.704, 4.407-408). The popularity of Ceres in imperial circles is evident among the catalogued works: all the representations datable to the Julio-Claudian period depict women of the imperial household - and the overwhelming majority of imperial women depicted in the guise of Ceres belong to the Julio-Claudian line, in fact, only a single representation of Sabina, Lucilla and Julia Domna respectively occur outside that period. On the imperial coinage Ceres appears associated with personifications symbolising social stability and beneficence: Annona, Concordia, Fides Publica, Pax and Salus (Mattingly and Sydenham 1923-1981 passim; Spaeth 1996: 28). The fertile power of Ceres links her with the fertility of humans, establishing a special relationship with matrons, however, rather than being related to childbirth she represents marriage as an institution. Ceres seems equally a symbol of the rite of passage of entering into marriage, as to symbolise the maintenance of social order and stability in the private sphere through marriage. The Cerealia was conducted by (married) women who for its duration abstained from sexual intercourse with their husbands (Ovid Metamorphoses 10.431-5). The animal associated with Ceres and
offered to her in sacrifice was the pig - an animal which was also a symbol of female sexual organs and of the readiness for marriage (Kilmer 1982: 107; Varro *De Re Rustica* 2.4.10). However, pigs were sacrificed also to cement peace-treaties and at the marriage rituals of ancient kings (cf. Virgil *Aeneid* 4.58-59); and Ceres is said to be related to some of the oldest laws regarding the protection of wives at divorce (Plutarch *Romulus* 22; Varro *De Re Rustica* 2.4.9). According to Cicero the gifts of Ceres consisted of 'food and nourishment, virtue and law, and gentleness and culture' (Cicero *The Verrine Orations* 5.187).

**Cat. 16.** Sardonyx cameo depicting Livia. (Date: 10-37 AD)
Sardonyx. H. 4.8 cm, L. 4.6 cm. Inscription: None.
The surviving right part of the cameo depicts Livia in profile to the left. She wears a tunic, stola and a mantle drawn up over her head; from below the veil the *infula* can be seen falling down her shoulders. She is represented with a rich floral wreath consisting of olive- and laurel leaves, corn ears and poppies. On her right part of a male togaed figure can be identified, presumably Divus Augustus.

**Cat. 17.** Sardonyx cameo depicting Augustus, Livia and a boy. (Date: 14-20 AD)
Circular cameo with central perforation. Busts Augustus and Livia depicted facing each other, in the upper field between them is a frontal bust of a young boy (Tiberius? Nero?). Livia wears a tunic and a mantle drawn up over her head; and in her hair a wreath of corn ears and poppies. Augustus is depicted wearing a toga and a crown of rays. Both hold out their right hands with the palms ups, but do not clasp hands as in a *dextrarum iunctio*. Reworked (possibly more than once) in the third century AD - reworking: her hair, crown of rays.

**Cat. 18.** Sardonyx cameo with bust of Livilla(?). (Date: 14-20 AD)
Sardonyx. 3,5 x 2,5 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Megow 1987: 296, no D24, pl 12.5.
Oval cameo with bust-length portrait of Livilla(?) in profile right. She wears a wreath of corn ears and poppies, a tunic and a mantle a part of which she clasps in her left hand. See also Cat. 25 and 26.

**Cat. 19.** Statue of Julia with inscribed base. (Date: 14-29 AD)
Inscription: *Cereri Julia Augusta / divi Augusti / Ti Caesaris Augusti / Lutaria c f sacerdos Augustae imp. perpet. / uxor M. livi M. f optatis flaminis g. vi. / Iuliae Augusti imp. perpet. cum v. liberis s. p. consacravit."
A life-size draped statue for which the head does not survive but which from the inscription may be identified as presumably having depicted Livia as Ceres Julia Augusta.
Cat. 20. Sardonyx cameo with head of Livia. (Date: 14-37 AD)
Sardonyx. 4,5 x 3,9 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Bartman 1999: 190, no 98, fig 185; LIMC, 1981-1997 s.v. Demeter/Ceres: 172, pl 609;
Megow 1987: 255, no B17, pl 13.9; Vollenweider 1966: 69 n 25, 118, pl 76.4; Winkes 1997: 102,
no 27, fig 27.
Profile head of Livia looking left. She is veiled and wears a rich floral crown consisting of corn ears
and poppies in her hair.

Cat. 21. Sardonyx cameo with busts of Tiberius and Livia. (Date: 14-37 AD)
Sardonyx. 5,5 cm (H. 4,8 cm acc. to Megow). Inscription: None.
References: Megow 1987:179, no A49, pl 10.10; Vollenweider 1966: 69 n. 26, 118, pl 76.3; Winkes
Overlapping profile bust-length portraits of Tiberius and Livia - both facing right. Tiberius represented
in the front plane, nude wearing a laurel wreath. Behind him Livia in tunic and mantle and wearing a
diadem and a wreath of corn ears and poppies in her hair; a lock of hair falling over her right shoulder.
Her features are matronal with some signs of age.

Cat. 22. Head of Livia. (Date: 14-37 AD)
Marble. H. 31 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Fittschen and Zanker 1983, no 3 n. 9; Winkes 1997: 190, no 118, fig 118.
Head of Livia from a portrait statue; broken at neck level. Her head is frontal with a slight turn to her
right; mantle drawn over her head as a veil still survives to frame her face. She wears a wreath of corn
ears and poppies, and the strands of the infula are visible among the fold of the veil.

Cat. 23. Head of Livia with wreath. (Date: 14-37 AD)
White marble. H. 28 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Bartman 1999: 161, no 36, fig 87, 142; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, no 4 n. 9d; Johansen,
A soft-featured, youthful portrait head of Livia broken irregularly at neck-level. On her head she wears
a wreath of corn ears and poppies, and from behind her ears hands the strands of a double infula which
may suggest her status as priestess of Divus Augustus.

Cat. 24. Head of Livia. (Date: 14-37/41-54 AD)
St. Petersburg, Hermitage A 116. Provenance: Unknown; possibly Italy.
White marble. H 37 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Bartman 1999: 164-165, no 43, fig 82; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 4 n. 9b.
Head designed for insertion in a statue; includes certain modern restorations: tip of nose, crown and
back of head, nearly all of floral crown. Livia wears a wreath of corn ears in which is interlaced the
infula - strands of which are visible hanging down the back. An idealised representation which never
the less suggests a certain maturity.

Cat. 25. Sardonyx cameo of Livilla and children. (Date: 19-23 AD)
Sardonyx. 6,1 x 5 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Megow 1987: 296, no D23, pl 12.6; West 1933, vol 1: 219; pl 60.262 (Messalina);
Wood 1999: 196ff, fig 78.
Portrait bust representation of Livilla, the wife of Drusus minor and daughter-in-law of Tiberius, facing left. She wears a tunic, necklace and a mantle, the hem of which she clasps in her raised right hand; on her head she wears a wreath of corn ears and poppies with a central fir cone. In the lower fold created by her mantle are depicted two small naked children. See also Cat. 18 and 26.

Cat. 26. Sardonyx cameo of Livilla and children. (Date: 19-23 AD)
Provenance: Unknown. Sardonyx. 7.6 x 6 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Megow 1987: 295-296, no D22, pl 12.7; Vollenweider 1966: 73 and n. 59, 120, pl 84.2; Wood 1999: 196ff, fig 79.
Bust-length portrait of Livilla, the wife of Drusus minor and daughter-in-law of Tiberius. As on Cat. 25 she is shown facing left, wearing a tunic, a wreath of corn ears and poppies, and clasping the hem of her mantle in her right hand; here further earrings and a bulla-like pendant has been added. Here, too, two small (male?) children are depicted in the lower fold of her mantle; they may be holding a cornucopia and a snake(?). Cameo may have been cut to celebrate the birth of her twin sons Tiberius Gemellus and Germanicus II (born 19 AD); consistent with the greater public visibility she and Drusus minor gained after the death of Germanicus. See also Cat. 18 and 25.

Cat. 27. Statue of Livia as Ceres Augusta. (Date: 30-37 AD)
Pentelic marble. H. 310 cm.
References: Bartman 1999: 179-180, no 74, fig 85 (Tyche/Ceres); Fittschen and Zanker 1983, no 3 n. 9; Sande 1985: 154-159, fig 2 (Magna Mater); Winckes 1997: 184, no 107, fig 107; Wood, 1999: 121-122, fig 49; Zanker 1988, fig 185.
Twice life-size statue of Livia identifiable as Ceres Augusta from the inscription. She wears a tunic and mantle, and on her head a turret crown like Cybele and a wreath of corn ears, poppies and myrtle(?) like Ceres. Both arms are missing from elbows, head has been broken and reattached with plaster. Dedicated as a cult statue by the proconsul of 35/36 AD Rubellius Blandus and Suphunibal, a woman called the adorer of her city.

Cat. 28. Portrait of Livia. (Date: 35-54 AD)
Rome. Museo Capitolino 144 (Stanza degli Imperatori 9). Provenance: Unknown. Formerly in the Alban collection. Luna marble. H. 26.3 cm (head); 36 cm (incl. diadem). Inscription: None.
References: Bartman 1999: 148, no 5, fig 123 (diadem not original); Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 3-4, no 3, pl 2.3, 3.3 (late Tiberian/Claudian); Winckes 1997: 156, no 81, fig 81; Wood 1999: 129, fig 47.
The bust on which the head sits does not belong; the nose, lower part of the neck, and small rim pieces of the diadem are restored; the bun of hair is added but may belong. She wears an unusual, high diadem decorated with corn ears and poppies rising out of acanthus leaves; the latter suggesting a posthumous image as Ceres Augusta.

Cat. 29. Statue of Livia. (Date: 41-54 AD)
Present location unknown. Formerly at Lowther Castle. Provenance: Unknown. Possibly Italy.
White marble. H. 204 cm (incl. plinth). Inscription: None.
References: Bartman 1999: 162, no 38, fig 144; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, no 3 n. 9; Winckes 1997: 129, no 53, fig 53.
Portrait head of Livia made separately but quite possibly belonging to statue. Nose, part of upper lip, right arm and hand, left hand, right breast, central part of wreath and all of diadem restored. Floral crown consisting of corn ears and poppies.
Cat. 30. Large head of Livia with floral crown. (Date: 41-54 AD)
White marble. H 41 cm. Incription: None.
References: Bartman 1999: 180, no 76, fig 168; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 4 n. 9e.
Large portrait head of Livia broken at neck level. Image is rather worn and nose and central part of lips are missing but the carving is crisp and precise. On her head she wears a diadem and a wreath of corn ears, poppies and flowers, and possibly an *infula*.

Cat. 31. Grand Camee de France. (Date: c. 50 AD)
Sardonyx. 31 x 26.5 cm. Incription: None.
References: Kampen 1996, fig 7 (c. 20 AD); Kleiner 1992: 149-151, fig 126; Megow 1987: 202-207, no A85, pl 32.5-10, 33; Vollenweider 1966: 68 n 24, 117, pl 73.6 (c. 20 AD); Winkes 1997 145, no 71, fig 71.
Livia seated on a double throne with Tiberius, like Roma with Augustus on the Gemma Augustus. She wears a belted chiton and mantle, on her head she wears a laurel wreath and in her hand she holds two corn ears and two poppy heads.

Cat. 32. Sardonyx cameo with Claudius and Agrippina II. (Date: 49-54 AD)
References: Megow 1987: 69 n. 218, 207, pl 27.3.
Claudius and Agrippina II (or possibly Messalina) in a carriage drawn by winged snakes. Megow (1987) identifies her hairstyle as similar to that worn by Agrippina II. He wears armour and paludamentum, she is sleeveless chiton and mantle holding corn ears and poppies in her left hand. The couple may be associated with Triptolemus and Ceres. The ground behind Claudius is a modern restoration - explaining his missing right arm.

Cat. 33. Sebastoion relief. (Date: 49-54 AD)
Aphrodisias Museum. Provenance: Sebastoion. Found in front of Room 1, but probably occupied the central space of Room 2. Marble. 160 x170/164 x 43 cm. Incription: None.
References: Smith 1987: 106-110, no 3, pl 8; Wood 1999: 301, fig 141.
High relief depicting Claudius standing facing the front between (and slightly forward of) a togate personification (Roman people/senate?) on his right and his wife Agrippina II on his left. He is shown nude apart from his mantle and is being crowned with an oak wreath by the personification. Agrippina wears a chiton and mantle wrapped around her body, and holds a bunch of corn ears and poppies associating her with Ceres. The couple clasp right hands in the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio*. See also Cat. 225.

Cat. 34. Ashchest of Sallia Daphne. (Date: 80-100 AD)
Incription: *D.M. / Ti. Claudius Eros / Salliae Daphne t. s. / b. m. fecit.*
References: CIL 6.15034; Wrede 1981 no 76; Wrede 1978: 432 and n. 106, pl 140.3.
Matronly looking woman shown seated on the front of the ash chest. She wears a chiton and mantle, in her left hand she holds a burning torch, in her right a patera with large, upright corn ears. Her hair is articulated with deep drilling suggesting a Flavian date. Her enthroned pose combined with the architectural detail (tall corner columns, rustication) and the position of the inscription almost as a podium for her, give her the aspect of a cult image in a temple. Her Greek name and lack of filiation suggest to Wrede (1981: 96) that she is of slave origin.
Cat. 35. Statue of a woman as Ceres. (Date: 98-117 AD)
Marble. H. 198 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Bieber 1977, fig 730 (Matidia); Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, no 230, pl 124.1, 127.1-2 (private); Kruse 1968 (1975), A2 (Matidia);
Pasinli 1996, no 63; Toynbee 1965: 36, 244, fig 13; Wrede 1981: 214 n. 5.1 (Empress).
A young woman with a somewhat matronly body and demeanour represented standing in a posture (type) similar to Cat. 37 though with the variation that her bent right arm is extended away from her body. She wears a chiton and a mantle draped around her body and over her head as a veil. With her left hand she lifts the hem of the mantle and holds two corn ears and a poppy seed-head. The reattached head depict her with a characteristic Trajanic hairstyle.

Cat. 36. Statue of woman as Ceres. (Date: a. 100 AD)
Marble. H. 193 cm. Inscription: None.
A very worn image of a woman depicted in sculptural type similar to Cat. 37, though with the difference that her right arm is raised and not bent close to her body. In her left hand the remains of corn ears and poppies may be made out.

Cat. 37. Statue of woman as Ceres. (Date: 110-120 AD) (Fig. 5)
Marble. H. 192 cm (incl. plinth). Inscription: None.
Woman standing in contra-posto pose with her left leg set slightly back. She wears a chiton and mantle wrapped around her emphasising the curves of her body and posture. Her left arm is bent at the elbow but the hand is missing and no attribute can be determined. Her left arm is extended along her side and with her hand she lifts up the hem of the mantle above her thigh; between thumb and forefinger she holds a corn ear and two poppies. Hairstyle similar to that of Marciana.

Cat. 38. Statue of woman as Ceres. (Date: 115-120 AD)
Woman standing in a pose corresponding closely to that of Cat. 37. The head, which was found separately, is very badly damaged and a certain identity cannot be established. In her left hand she hold a small bunch of corn ears.

Cat. 39. Statue of Sabina as Ceres. (Date: 130-138 AD)
Over life-size depiction of Sabina in a statue-type similar to Cat. 37, though with the differences that she is veiled and that her bent right arm is turned upwards. The gesture of lifting the hem of the mantle is accentuated by the long curve of her left leg; in her left hand she holds two corn ears and two poppies. According to Calza (1964) probably a posthumous portrait - possibly on occasion of her apotheosis in 136 AD. Unrestored.
Cat. 40. Statue of woman as Ceres. (Date: 140-150 AD)
A representation of a woman in a sculptural type similar to Cat. 39. The right underarm and the torch are restored. In her left hand she holds two corn ears and two poppies. Hairstyle similar to that worn by Faustina I.

Cat. 41. Sarcophagus fragment. (Date: 140-150 AD)
References: Blome 1978: 453-455, pl 146.2; Calza 1964: 98-99, no 160, pl 94 (Selene); Wrede 1981 no 77.
Fragment of the left end of a sarcophagus depicting a female character holding a long torch and a woman with portrait features (and a hairstyle similar to Faustina I) standing in a carriage. The woman wears a chiton which has slipped off her right shoulder forming a soft fold over her breast, her mantle has been drawn over her head but in her rapid movement is billowing out behind her, in her right hand she holds two corn ears. Her position on the sarcophagus relief and in her carriage, her rapid movement, and the corn ears suggest her identity as Ceres in a composition representing the rape of Proserpina.

Cat. 42. Statue of a woman as Ceres. (Date: a. 150 AD)
References: Kruse 1968 (1975), no. A9, pl 4; Wrede 1981 no 64.
A depiction of a woman in a sculptural type similar to Cat. 39. The face is much worn and damaged but the hairstyle bears similarities to that of Faustina I. In her right hand she holds corn ears and poppies.

Cat. 43. Statue of a woman as Ceres. (Date: a. 150 AD)
References: Feifer 1991: 38 n. 8; Visconti 1884: 251, no 358, pl 88.
Depiction of a veiled woman with a diadem. Her left arm is bent at the elbow and holds a patera, in her raised right she holds a bunch of corn ears.

Cat. 44. Statue of a woman as Ceres. (Date: a. 150 AD)
A veiled woman represented in a sculptural type similar to Cat. 39. In her raised right hand she supported a large torch, the end of which can be seen on the ground by her right foot; in her left hand she held corn ears and poppies.

Cat. 45. Statue of Lucilla as Ceres. (Date: 161-169 AD)
References: Yacoub 1993: 47, fig 41 (Lucilla); Kruse 1968 (1975), no A37, pl 10.2; Wrede 1981: 214 n. 4.7 (Lucilla).
Lucilla, the wife of Lucius Verus, depicted wearing a chiton and large mantle. In her right hand she holds a bunch of corn ears and poppies, in her left a torch around which is entwined a snake.
Cat. 46. Statue of a woman as Ceres. (Date: a. 170 AD)
A depiction of a woman in a manner similar to Cat. 39, though with the difference that she holds corn ears in her right hand and not her left. The upper part of the corn ears are, according to Wrede (1981) an antique restoration. The figure is somewhat disproportionate with large hands, a long neck and relatively small head.

Cat. 47. Statue of a woman as Ceres. (Date: a. 170 AD)
Depiction of a veiled woman in a manner similar to Cat. 39. Her right hand is missing but in her left she holds two corn ears and two poppies rendered prominently. Wrede (1981) identifies the hairstyle as resembling that of Faustina II.

Cat. 48. Statue of a woman as Ceres. (Date: 190-200 AD)
A representation of a veiled woman which would seem to bear resemblance to Cat. 39 though the upper body is badly damaged and the right shoulder and arm entirely missing. The woman's facial features are full and rounded fitting well with the full body type; in her left hand the remains of a bunch of corn ears seem visible.

Cat. 49. Statue of a woman as Ceres. (Date: a. 200 AD)
An elderly looking matron with deep-set eyes and accentuated naso-labial lines. She is depicted in a sculptural type similar to Cat. 39. Her right hand is missing but a support on the outer edge of her veil may be evidence that held a tall object like a torch; in her left hand a prominent bunch of two corn ears and a poppy seed-head is shown. Hairstyle and sculptural rendering dated by Wrede (1981) as being Severan.

Cat. 50. Julia Domna as Ceres. (Date: 203-217 AD)
Statue of Julia Domna apparently having been deliberately buried and protected by a wooden crate. She is depicted in a manner similar to the representation of Sabina, Cat. 39, also from Ostia. In her left hand she holds two corn ears and two poppies arranged symmetrically.

Cat. 51. Statue of a woman as Ceres. (Date: 210-220 AD)

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A young woman depicted in a manner similar to Cat. 39. The nose, lips, right underarm and hand, and left index finger are restorations. Head is proportionally too small for the body and the folds of the veiling seem overly heavy as is face was reworked; however, according to Carpecci (1979) the heads pertain and is contemporary with the body - his suggestion is that a life-size portrait was given to the otherwise over-life-size figure in order to avoid technical complications of enlargement. In her left hand she holds corn ears and poppies.

Cat. 52. Grave relief for Antonia. (Date: 301 AD)
Malibu. J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.79. Provenance: Unknown. Marble. 69.5 x 34.5 cm.
Inscription: In the year 301, in the month of Audnaios [Nov 23 - Dec 23], Ioulia and Alkipiades honoured Antonia, [their] foster child [by erecting this stone] in her memory (Transl. by G. Koch).
References: Koch 1988: 100-101, no 36, fig 36.
A tapering stele crowned by a pediment with palmettes. In a recessed field on the front is depicted a young woman in frontal view wearing a long chiton. Her right arm is bent at the elbow, her left extended by her side - somewhat in the manner of Cat. 37. She holds objects in both hand, which, however, cannot be identified with certainty; in her right she hold a circular object (a pomegranate?), in her left an irregular oblong which seem similar to a bunch of corn ears. The piece, despite its uncertainty of attribution, has been accepted on basis of the similarity with the vegetal object held by a woman of a funerary stele at Tunis (cf. LIMC s.v. Iuno, no 166, fig 166). Inscription incised on the front of the stele below the figure.

Cybele

Number of entries in the catalogue: 6
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 2
Main period of popularity: spread across mid first century - mid second century AD.
Media of depictions: All but one are representations in marble for which a context is difficult to determine. The remaining is a cameo for which a honofric context may be attributed.
For an interpretation of the figure of Attis, see Weigert-Vowinkel 1938.

Cybele's official title was Mater Deum Magna, and she known also as Mater Magna or the Great Mother. She was not a Roman goddess but conspicuously one imported from Phrygia as the only remedy for the safeguarding of Rome during the Second Punic War. And the goddess - or rather the meteorite which represented the goddess - was brought to Rome and established in a temple within the pomerium of the city - despite being a foreign goddess - high-lighting her importance and the centrality of the cult. The introduction seems to have been linked to aristocratic concerns and propaganda and the goddess is met by the best man and woman in the city of Rome: Publius Scipio and Claudia Quinta. By the time of Ovid the role of Claudia Quinta has grown and the cult has come to symbolise the chastity and propriety of women. The cult, during the reign of Augustus, was linked with the imperial house and with Livia

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in particular, who as a Claudian could trace her descent back to Claudia Quinta. At this period Cybele is presented as the protectress of Aeneas, and thereby also as the protectress of the princeps and of Rome. The link between Augustus and the goddess is articulated physically by the proximity on the Palatine between his house and the temple. Cybele is most often represented seated, enthroned or in a carriage, and surrounded by lions (by her side, on her lap, pulling her carriage, etc.). She is usually dressed, in a long, sleeved chiton and with a large mantle drawn over her head as a veil. On her head she wears a mural crown and in her hands a combination of tympanum, corn ears, cornucopia, rudder, and poppies. Four of the six catalogued works are depicted with only one attribute: the mural crown.

The title of ‘mother’ explains the matronly nature of the goddess. She is not simply a nature and vegetation deity but the earth itself, and beyond cyclical changing season. As Eva Stehle has pointed out, Cybele enters Rome as a bride, bringing with her the gifts of a symbolic dowry, and establishes herself as a mother. Cybele gains the epithet Genetrix (Ovid Metamorphoses 14.536), linking her by association to the Julian/Claudian familial line. The female sexuality symbolised and state-approved in the figure of Cybele seems one concerned with correct behaviour: with chastity and propriety as exemplified in the person of Claudia Quinta. She is rather less popular for associations than one might have expected - even among women of the imperial family. It would be tempting to attribute this to the vagueness of her sexuality, which might have made her less easy to identify with as a human being. It is note-worthy that the two association included here which are certain in their attribution to the goddess, both make use of further attributes which may be linked to fertility similar to that of Ceres (corn ears, poppy seed-heads, cornucopia) or to a sensuality similar to that of Venus (slipping drapery motif).

Cat. 53. Sardonyx cameo of Livia. (Date: 14-20 AD) (Fig. 6)
Sardonyx: 9 x 6.6 cm. Inscription: None.
Profile portrait of Livia facing left. She is depicted enthroned holding a small bust of the Divo Augusto (with laurel wreath and crown of rays) in her right hand; she wears a diadem, chiton, stola and a mantle drawn up as a veil. She is further given various attributes which in various ways associate her with different deities. On her head she wears a mural crown like Cybele - an association emphasised by the lion decorated tympanon in which she rests her left underarm; in her left hand she holds a bunch of corn ears and poppies like Ceres; and her chiton is shown as slipping off her left shoulder in a gesture which signals femininity and may lead one to think of Venus, just as throne and the diadem may associate her with Juno.
Cat. 54. Statue of a woman a Cybele. (Date: a. 50 AD)
References: Bartsch 1999: 222, appendix C no 8 (not Livia); Bieber 1968 (Livia, 140-160 AD); Kleiner 1996: 97-98, no 64; Sande 1985: 226-231, fig 29-30 (imperial person); Vermeule 1981, fig 250; Winkes 1997: 202, no 171 (private); Wrede 1981, no 78 (private, 90-120 AD).
A matronly looking woman depicted seated on a throne; she wears a high-belted chiton and has her mantle drawn up as a veil and across her legs. The heavy roundness of the figure as well as the pronounced facial features (deep-set eyes, deep naso-labial lined, thins lips) give the impression of a mature woman. The lion by her right leg, the mural crown on her head and the seated posture suggests the identity as Cybele; in her right hand she holds a bunch of corn ears and poppies - appropriate both to Cybele and Ceres; by her left arm stands a cornucopia - appropriate to Cybele though shared with several deities; on her left is also a rudder - an attribute of Fortuna.

Cat. 55. Head of Messalina with mural crown. (Date: 41-48 AD)
Marble. No measurements available. Inscription: None.
References: Kersauson 1986: 200; Sande 1985: 206-211, fig 16-17 (Claudia Octavia - daughter of Messalina); West 1933 vol 1: 218, pl 59.259; Wood 1992: 219, 225 & n. 4, fig 5-6 (Messalina); Wood 1999: 276, fig 126-127; Wrede 1981: 74, 305 no 290.
Head of a young woman broken from a portrait statue; the head itself being split into four fragments - the front of the crown is a restoration, the restored nose now removed. On her head she wears an laurel wreath and a mural crown like Cybele - though this may also be an attribute of certain place personifications.

Cat. 56. Portrait head with mural crown. (Date: 90-120 AD)
References: Sande 1985: 233f, fig 32-33 (of imperial house?); Wrede 1971: 164, Bi 2 (Fortuna); Wrede 1981, no 79 (Cybele).
Portrait head of a mature woman with thin lips, close-set eyes, and lines around her mouth and eyes. On her head she wears a mural crown complete with rustication, gates and towers. As for Cat. 55 the attribution as Cybele is based on the presence of the mural crown though the attribute may also be appropriate for other deities.

Cat. 57. Portrait head of a vestal with mural crown. (Date: 130-150 AD)
Marble. No measurements available. Inscription: None.
The rather dry rendering and long outline of the face with thin lips and pronounced chin give the portrait head the impression of being of a mature woman (the nose is a restoration). Her six-banded hairstyle identify her as a vestal. On her head she wears a polos-like head-dress with details suggestive of towers - hence the identification as a mural crown. Since the attribute may be appropriate for various deities it is possible that the vestal is represented in the guise of a place personification, like Roma.

Cat. 58. Portrait head with mural crown. (Date: 150-170 AD)
Luna marble. H. 75 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Sande 1985: 235-238, fig 35 (Faustina II); Visconti 1884; 62, no 103, pl 26 (private); Wrede 1981, no 81 (private).
A monumental and somewhat stylised portrait head of a mature looking woman. She wears a high diadem on her head in which is set a tall polos-like head-dress which bears has been interpreted as a mural crown with towers as on Cat. 57.

Diana

Number of entries in the catalogue: 23
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: c. 125 - 175 AD and the first half of the third century AD.
Media of depictions: Just under two-thirds of the representations occur within contexts which are clearly funerary, that is, stelai, sarcophagi and grave altars, though a bust and a full length figure may also belong in this context. The remaining are practical all full length, life sized figures for which a context is difficult to attribute.

The sister of Apollo and associated with the moon. During the reign of Augustus she achieved a considerable presence within official arts, since Augustus as his patron deity chose Apollo. As a goddess connected with the moon she acts as the protectress of the fertility of plants, animal and humans; and she is especially associated with uncultivated, non-domesticated nature. Though a virginal goddess herself she becomes the protectress of women in labour (Horace Odes 3.22) - as Diana Lucina, the bringer of light - an epithet and role she shares with Juno (cf. Catullus 34.13-14 who equates the two deities; Ovid Fasti 2.435-6, 446-452; Varro De Lingua Latina 5.69); though, she may also be known as Diana Genitalis (Horace Carmen Saeculare 15). The goddess’ special interest in the sphere of life beyond the boundaries of normal society associate her naturally too with death; and sudden death is described as being hit by Diana’s arrows, (Homer The Odyssey 5.123, 11.172-173, 18.202, 20.60 & 80).

The vast majority of the representations catalogued depict the Roman women in the guise of Diana the huntress (short, sleeveless chiton belted at the waist, ankle-length hunting boots, a quiver strapped across her torso, usually depicted reaching for an arrow with her right hand, and at times in swift movement). Other attributes include a hunting dog and a stag, associating her with her dual role of being linked to the wild nature and being the hunter of wild things. Her depiction align her also with the warrior aspect of an amazon, with whom she shares her mode of dress and as whom at times she is represented with one breast bared. A series of representations, all dating to the third century AD, depict her associated with a hunt and a male hunter, much as is the case for representations of Virtus; cf. Ovid (Fasti 3.80-81) who lists Diana as one of the deities (together with Minerva, Juno, and Mars) of warlike nature.
The aspect differentiating Diana from Ceres and Juno is her placement outside the boundaries of society, articulated with references to wild, non-domesticated nature, and her virginity. She represents the potentiality of female sexuality - as yet unfulfilled and therefore somehow outside prescribed, normative perimeters of female self-expression. Diana represent the rite of passage itself from childhood to adulthood - from virgin to mother. Indeed, the majority of the works included in the catalogue are dedicated to children or young women. Her association with Luna connects her both to a cyclical view of natural fertility, and to a symbolic representation of the existence beyond life. She was a popular deity also among soldiers and is often given the epithets of conservatrix, victrix and invicta. The aspect of hunting/warfare come to the fore in the representations of the third century AD: mature women in a closer, more ‘literal’ relationship with the hunt than before. They may be representations of social status through the status activity of big game hunting, but more likely they are related to symbolic expressions articulating the virtus of the participant. Though, the women here are not depicted as engaged in the hunt (as are the men) but as the goddess, which suggests that it is Diana’s aspect of ‘otherness’ which offers the connection for a woman of such virtue that she is rated on a masculine scale. Through the use of the representation of Diana she may cross this border of feminine perimeters and enter a male frame of reference, contemporaneously maintaining an equilibrium of status as ‘other’ and ‘same’ within gendered status and virtues.

Cat. 59. Statue of girl with panther skin and quiver. (Date: early C1 AD)
Pentelic marble. H. 69 cm. Inscription: None.
An unusual representation of a young girl seemingly combining versions of Diana and the Thracian goddess Bendis. The attributes of the latter include the animal skin worn over the chiton and the mantle carried over the arm; these have been added to an iconographic type of Diana with a short chiton and her right arm raised reaching for the quiver creating an image if Diana the hunter. Her skull-cap was made separately and is now missing. Despite the damage of the face, the round, chubby features are suggestive of a child.

Cat. 60. Painting of a young woman. (Date: 65-79 AD)
A tondo painting of a young woman with rather expressive eyes, who may have been a member of the family living in the house in which her image adorned the wall. The condition of the painting is poor and only faintly is a quiver visible behind her right shoulder - the attribute providing the basis for her identification as Diana.
Cat. 61. Statue of a young woman. (Date: 70-90 AD)
A life-size statue of a young woman with idealised features. She wears the short, double belted chiton of Diana, a quiver for which she reaches with her right arm, hunting boots with panther head decoration (just visible on her ankles), and is accompanied by a dog (next to tree-trunk support). Hands and feet no longer surviving.

Cat. 62. Funerary altar of un-named matron. (Date: 80-90 AD)
References: Kleiner 1987, no. 35; Wrede 1981, no 90, fig 1, pl 12.
A funerary altar with a single deep relief field on the front. In this is depicted a matronly looking woman standing in front pose filling the entire height of the field, flanked by a dog and a deer. Iconographically she is similar to Cat. 61 and to the so-called Artemis Versailles type: short, double belted chiton, boots, quiver, raised right arm, holding a bow in her left hand. She is represented on a base which give her a statuary impression, just as the flanking, symmetrical animals add a heraldic aspect to the composition. Her hairstyle is of Flavian date.

Cat. 63. Statuette of an adolescent girl. (Date: 120-130 AD)
References: LIMC s.v. Diana no 27k; Wrede 1981, no 84, fig 1 and 2, pl 11.
Statuette of a girl missing head, right leg and foot, upper part of her quiver, as well as the head of her dog. The head, which once existed and is considered the original, had round, chubby facial features - which together with the relative small size of the figure affirm the identification as a child. She is depicted in movement like the Artemis Versailles type, with which she also shares various iconographic similarities like the short chiton with the mantle wrapped around her waist, boots, quiver, dog, and her gesture of the raised right arm.

Cat. 64. Bust of a girl. (Date: 130-140 AD)
References: Fittschen 1992, pl 84.1; Visconti 1884: 78, no 85, pl 26; Wrede 1981, no 86, fig 1, pl 10.
Bust of young girl (child) with melonenfrisur type hairstyle and incised pupils. Her large eyes, full, round cheeks, and unpronounced chin give her a child-like aspect. Small acanthus leaves at the base suggest that the image was intended for a funerary context. The association with Diana is achieved by the inclusion of a quiver behind her right shoulder.

Cat. 65. Statue of a young woman. (Date: 130-150 AD)
References: Visconti 1884: 4-5, no 6, pl 11 (Trajan); Wrede 1981, no 85, fig 3, pl 11.
Statue of a young woman missing the entire right arm, the lower part and hand of the left and both legs from the knees. Head is broken but may pertain. She wears the double belted chiton of Diana the hunter and carries a quiver over her right shoulder; the break of the right arm suggests that the arm was raised as in the Artemis Versailles type.
Cat. 66. Funerary altar of Aelia Proculla. (Date: c. 140 AD) (Fig. 8)
References: CIL 6.10958; Bieber 1977: 73, fig 268; Cumont 1942: 243 n. 5; Kleiner 1987, no. 104; LIMC s.v. Artemis-Diana: 137 (Neronian); Matheson 1996, fig 9; Wrede 1981, no 91, fig 2, pl 12.
The depiction of Aelia Proculla is set in a round-arched niche with fluted pilaster. She is shown in rapid movement striding to the right - though her face is turned towards the spectator - and accompanied by a dog. She wears the short chiton of Diana with the mantle tucked over her shoulder; in her left hand she hold a bow, with her right she reaches for the quiver behind her shoulder. The chiton has slipped off her right shoulder to reveal a breast which seems too developed for the child-like impression communicated by her facial features. The altar is dedicated jointly to Aelia and to Diana and erected by a freedman of Hadrian.

Cat. 67. Funerary stele of Aelia Tyche. (Date: 140-150 AD).
Inscription: Dis Manibus/Aelia Tyche P. Aelius Helix et Aelia Tyche/parentes filiae piissimiae et Aelia Marciana/sorori optimae fecerunt et sibi posterisque suis.
According to the description given by Wrede (1981) the stele depicts a young girl in a guise similar to Cat. 66: moving to the right with mantle billowing behind her, short tunic bearing her right breast, left outstretched arm with a bow, the right arm bent towards to quiver, and with a dog beside her.

Cat. 68. Funerary altar of Cornelia Tyche and Iulia Secunda. (Date: 150-170 AD)
Inscription: Above the figures: IULIAE SECUNDAE FILIAE - CORNEIAE TYCHES UXORIS Iulia Secunda: et forma singulari et / moribus piissimis doctrinaq. superlegitinaq / sexus sui aetatem praestantissimae quae vixit / anno XI mens. VIII d. XX.
Cornelia Tyche: et incomparabilis erga / maritum affectus sanctitatisque et eximiae erga / liberos pietatis quae vixit annis XXXVIIII mens III d VII, ex is mecum ann XI.
Busts of a mother and daughter set in a niche flanked by columns on the front of the altar; both died in a storm off the Spanish coast and the busts terminate in acanthus leaves. In the pedimental space above them are depicted two thrones; flanked on the side of the daughter by a bow and quiver, on the side of the mother by a cornucopia, torch, rudder on a globe and wheel. Iulia Secunda's association with Diana is further emphasised by the depiction of a deer on the left side of the altar. Dedicated by their husband/father. See also Cat. 84.

Cat. 69. Statue of a young woman. (Date: 150-170 AD)
References: Kersauson 1996: 300-301, no 136; LIMC II s.v. Diana no 26b; Wrede 1981, no 88.
A depiction of a young woman similar to the so-called Artemis Versailles. She is show standing, like Cat. 61, 62, with a dog sitting by her right foot. She wears a short chiton with her mantle wrapped around her waist and shoulder, probably with a bow in her left hand, the right reaching for an arrow in the quiver behind her right shoulder. head is broken but probably pertains. The right arm from the elbow, nose, bow and left hand are restorations. Hairstyle is, according to Wrede (1981) in the manner of Faustina II.

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Cat. 70. Statue-group with a woman as Diana. (Date: 150-170 AD)
A large statue of a young matron grasping the horns of an animal with her right hand, holding a torch in her right, and with a small female figure, who may be Iphigeneia, kneeling on the ground beside her left leg. The woman wears the short tunic and boots of Diana, an identification supported by her rapid movement and the hind(?), though she carried neither bow nor quiver. Her mantle billows out behind her shoulder in a manner of velificatio and her hair is arranged in a top-knot as may often be found in depictions of Venus. Her round face and emphasised eyelids give her the individualised aspect of a portrait.

Cat. 71. Statue of a young woman. (Date: 160-180 AD)
Marble. No measurements available. Inscription: None.
References: Wrede 1981, no 89.
Standing figure of a young woman depicted in a manner similar to Cat. 69: short tunic, boots, dog, and the gesture of reaching for an arrow with her right arm. Head is said to pertain, and identified as having a hairstyle similar to Julia Domna (Wrede 1981).

Cat. 72. Sarcophagus of Antonia Attikia and Antonia Pistis. (Date: 150-200 AD)
Sarcophagus with two small relief fields framed by columns on the other wise undecorated front. In the left niche is depicted Venus, in the right Diana. The latter goddess is represented in the manner of the Artemis Versailles type: moving to the right accompanied by a dog; bow in her left hand; her right breast bared. A hind is further incised on the sarcophagus outside the relief field. Neither deity is given the portrait features of the sisters, the association is made through the inscription of their names along the sarcophagus lid and through a depiction of their brother as Hercules (cf. Wrede 1981 no 144).
See also Cat. 178.

Cat. 73. Funerary stele of Denaia Iulia. (Date: 150-250 AD)
Once in Thessalonika - now lost. Provenance: Thessalonika, city wall.
Marble. No measurements available.
Inscription: K. Denaiai Telesphoros let the stele be set up for his daughter Denaia Iulia (transl. Wrede)
According to the description given by Wrede (1981) the representation of Diana on the stele is in the manner of the Artemis Versailles. The goddess is not given the portrait features of Denaia Iulia but the association established via the inscription of her name.

Cat. 74. Funerary stele of Zeipas and Sekounda. (Date: 2nd cent. AD)
Marble. No measurement available.
Inscription: To the children Zeipas and Secunda, to consecrate their memory and represent them as they were in life (transl. after Heuzey).
The rectangular stele is decorated with two relief fields, in the smaller, lower one sits a veiled woman in profile left, in the larger, upper field is represented Apollo and Diana. Though neither deity is given portrait features the association is established via the dedication to the two children. The figure of Diana is a frontal, standing version of the Artemis Versailles.

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Cat. 75. Sarcophagus of C. Flavius Hostilius and Domitia Severa. (Date: 210-220 AD)
References: CIL 5.2044; LIMC II s.v. Diana no 144; Wede 1981, no 94.
The couple is represented on the two end panels of the sarcophagus: on the right C. Flavius Hostilius
is depicted on horseback, on the left Domitia Severa in the guise of Diana. The manner of her
representation is unusual; though the short tunic, boots, and her rapid movement to the right
correspond with Diana she is not shown with bow and quiver but in the act of wrestling a hind to the
ground by its antlers. Her depiction may therefore be understood to stress a similarity also with Virtus
- an aspect which would correspond to his heroic equestrian depiction. Her face is rather damaged but a
hairstyle similar to that worn by Julia Domna establishes the intention as a portrait.

Cat. 76. Sarcophagus with hunting scene. (Date: c. 220 AD)
References: Brilliant 1984:159-161, pl 4.22 (Atalanta); Jung 1978: 343ff, fig 9-11; Koch and
Sichtermann 1982: 93, pl 80; Robert 1897-1919, vol 3.2: 218, no 179, fig 179a-b; Wede 1981, no
95, fig 4, pl 5 &12.
Two thirds of the sarcophagus front is given to the depiction of a boarhunt and the figure of a man on
horseback accompanied by Virtus. The left third of the relief depicts a standing couple with portrait
features in hunting outfits and with a dear boar lying on the ground between them. The arrangement of
her short chiton and mantle, her boots, quiver and hunting dog associate her with Diana. The
relationship with the hunting scene and her iconographic similarities with Virtus would suggest that
this is an aspects which is implicitly stressed in the composition. Another implicit association is with
Mars and Venus since the couple is depicted looking at each other and with her touching his chest with
her outstretched right hand - as on Cat. 176, 177. Her hairstyle is variously seen as similar to that of
Julia Mamaea and Aquilia Severa.

Cat. 77. Sarcophagus fragment. (Date: 225-250 AD)  (Fig. 9)
Marble. 82 x 50 cm. Inscription: None.
The left end of a sarcophagus front depicting a couple with portrait features in a manner similar to Cat.
76. He is nude apart from the mantle; she is characterised as Diana by her belted chiton, boots, bow,
quiver and hunting dog. The couple look at each other and she touches his chest with her right hand.

Cat. 78. Sarcophagus with lion hunt. (Date: c. 240 AD)  (Fig. 10)
Barcelona. Museo Arqueològico. Provenance: Unknown; listed as existing in Barcelona 1391.
White marble. 76 x 240 x 81 cm. Inscription: None.
References: García y Bellido 1949: 253-255, no 263, pl 202-205; Koch and Sichtermann 1982: 93, pl
81; Melucco 1963-1964: 27, no 21, pl 16.37 (280-290 AD); Wede 1981, no 96.
As on Cat. 76 two thirds of the sarcophagus relief depicts a hunt - this time a lionhunt - with a man
on horseback accompanied by Virtus; and the left third depicts a couple with portrait features. He wears
a tunic and mantle, she wears the short chiton and mantle of Diana round her waist; behind them is
suspended a parapetasma. She repeats the gesture recognisable from representations of Mars and Venus,
an association which is further underscored here by the Cupid standing by her right leg. On the left
short end is a scene with a pledge to a figure of Diana; on the right a return from the hunt(?).

Cat. 79. Bust of a child. (Date: c. 250 AD)
Marble. No measurements available. Inscription: None.
A waist-length bust of a young girl in a high-belted chiton. The strap crossing her chest diagonally from the right shoulder bears striking similarities with the quiver strap of Diana - to which goddess the depiction may refer.

Cat. 80. Bust of a child. (Date: c. 250 AD)
Marble. No measurements available. Inscription: None.
A portrait bust of a young girl wearing a belted sleeved chiton. A strap crosses her chest diagonally, though here from the left shoulder. The arrangement of the strap is unusual and makes the association with Diana uncertain, though another example may be found of a left shoulder-strap for Diana, cf. LIMC II s.v. Artemis/Diana: 636, no 126, pl 454.

Cat. 81. Funerary altar of Fulvia Trophima Benedicta. (Date: unknown)
Inscription: D.M. / Fulvia Trophimate / Benedictae / M. Sergius Phoebus coliugi sanctae cum qua / vixit ann. XL in quib. / annis nihil umquam / de ea questus est.
References: Wrede 1981, no 103.
A funerary altar which, according to Wrede (1981) is known from the Codex Pighianus, but the inscription is not listed in CIL. His description of the piece is of a dog leaping on a hind - a relief set below the inscription and framed by two trees; to the right are a bow and arrow, to the left a quiver. The various attributes suggests an association with Diana - a link the husband may have sought to make given his own names of Phoebus, and in order for them to appear, however indirectly, as a divine couple.

Fortuna

Number of entries in the catalogue: 9
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 1
Main period of popularity: mid second century onwards - with a parameter of uncertainty stretching between 150-165 to 150-250 AD. One entry is datable to the mid first century, and one other to the first decade of the second century AD, one is of the third century AD and two lost pieces cannot be dated.
 Média of depictions: The majority were intended for a funerary context, and occur mainly in depictions in relief on grave altars, stelai or sarcophagi. The statue of Claudia Iusta, too, on basis of its provenance and inscription, would seem to be of a funerary context. Only one work is definitely honorific rather than funerary: the cameo representation of Agrippina the Younger. One work, the statuette from the Ince Blundell Collection, cannot be placed with certainty.

Fortuna is the bringer of good luck or success. The name of Servius Tullius is linked with the foundation of the temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna, and Fors Fortuna (Livy 5.19.6; Ovid Fasti 6.773-774); the official sanction of the Quirinal Fortuna

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being reflected in her official title of Fortuna publica populi Romani Quiritium primigenia - the Fortuna of the Roman people. Later, Fortuna is associated with Tyche. A duality of nature is hinted at in the character of Fortuna Primigenia, said to be both the mother and the daughter of Jupiter (Cicero De divinatione 2.41.85; and CIL 14.2862); her cult represents both fertility (mothering) and chance (divination by lot). Most often represented as a fully draped figure standing or seated, holding a cornucopia in one hand and a rudder in the other. The rudder must refer to her guiding capabilities and the cornucopia to the gifts she is capable of bestowing.

As the bringer of success and good luck Fortuna may be the guardian of a place, an event, a person, or of a whole people and receives a multiplicity of epithets (see Kajanto 1981: 510-516). During the Empire she became very popular as Fortuna Augusti/a, the guardian of the person of the emperor or the empress, and as Fortuna Redux, the guardian of the safe return of the emperor from dangerous travels. Certain epithets and rituals link Fortuna more specifically with the lives of women: the temple of Fortuna Muliebris is said to have been exclusive to women who had only been married once, though both Plutarch and Livy describe it as a temple to the fortune of women in general (Livy 2.40.11-12; Plutarch Coriolanus 37); the Fortuna in the Forum Boarium (often given the epithet virgo) was said to be the deity to whom young women dedicated their robes of childhood before marriage; the temple to Fortuna Virilis was object of an annual ritual specifically for women (Ovid Fasti 4.145-150). The common thread seems to be a concern with the institution of marriage. Her interest in the institutional framework of women's lives also give her an important civic aspect - similar to the goddess Ceres. There are some suggestions that the rituals offered to Fortuna Virilis were "class" determined (see Beard, North et al. 1998 vol. 2.; 65, Champeaux 1982-1987 vol I: 378-395, Degrassi 1963: 127, Schilling 1954: 231-232, Ioannes Lydus De Mensibus 4.65 and CIL vol 1.1: 235, 314), though Ovid on the contrary speaks in an inclusive manner and without mention of social distinctions. Indeed, one of the prime aspects of Fortuna would seem to be her capacity and involvement in social cohesion: in Ovid (Fasti 6.773-784) she is described as offering a point of identification for people of all social levels. Being concerned with fortune the fruitful aspect of Fortuna is less a cyclical one but rather one which is connected to uncertainty: uncertainty on the part of the person requesting her aid and uncertainty in whether she will be disposed in granting the request.
Cat. 82. Gemma Claudia. (Date: 49 AD)
Sardonyx. 12 x 15,2 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Megow 1987: 200-201, no A81, pl 31, 32.1,2,4; Sande 1985: 165-166, fig 4;
Vollenweider 1966: 79; West 1933 vol I: 232, pl 59.264 (Agrippina II); Wood 1988: 422 n. 37, fig
13; Wood 1992 n. 23, fig 9; Wood 1999: 306-308, fig 95.
Cameo depicting two pairs of jugate portraits. On the right the parents of Agrippina II: Germanicus and
Agrippina I; on the left Agrippina II herself with Claudius. The rich cornucopias (grapes, corn
ears, poppies, pomegranates) are set on military spoils and between them stand an eagle without-spread
wings - visually expressing the prosperity won through military exploits. Germanicus wears a
paludamentum and an oak wreath; Claudius an oak wreath and the aegis of Jupiter. The elder Agrippina
is represented with a chiton and mantle, and an Attic helmet encircled by a laurel wreath; the younger
Agrippina in chiton and mantle, and a mural crown encircled by a wreath of corn ears and poppies.
The military prowess of the men are in other words juxtaposed by peace and prosperity represented via
the attributes of the women rendering them in the guises of Roma and Fortuna. The two Agrippinae may
further, as suggested by Wood (1988), be seen as juxtaposed in a manner similar to the Roma and
Tellus on the Ara Pacis: Agrippina I representing Roma (Rome of virtus), Agrippina II Fortuna
(Rome of Ceres/Cybele). Another, less likely, possibility is to see the women as the two Fortunae of
Antium (one with helmet and bearded breast, the other with diadem, cf. Simon 1990: 63-64 fig 81 for
an Augustan coin depicting these). See also Cat. 153.

Cat. 83. Statue of Claudia Iustia. (Date: 100-110 AD)
References: CIL 6.3679, 6.30873; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 56, no 73, pl 91.73; Kruse 1968
(1975), no D7; Wrede 1971: 145, 164, Bri 1, pl 85.2; Wrede 1981, no 107.
Life-size statue of a diademed woman in a chiton and mantle holding a cornucopia in her left arm and
supporting a rudder set on a globe with her right. The statue is set on a step-like base on which is
given the inscription. The back of the statue is roughly rendered suggesting that it was intended to
stand in a niche. The nose and the left ear are restored in plaster. The body is broken below the chest,
the head at the neck. Large part of the rudder, the lower part of the cornucopia and he tip of the right
foot are missing. The statue was found with a altar erected by the veteran C. Iulius Germanus to his
wife Aurelia Gratta and daughter Iulia Germania as Fortuna Primigenia - which would seems to be of
later date than the figure. Fittschen and Zanker suggest that the statue could originally have been
intended for a mausoleum and only later moved to a private Fortuna sanctuary.

Cat. 84. Funerary altar of Cornelia Tyche and Iulia Secunda. (Date: 150-165 AD)
Inscription: Above the figures: Iulia Secundae filiae - Cornelia Tyche uxoris
Iulia Secunda: et forma singulari et / moribus piiissimis doctrinaq. superlegitiim / sexus sui aetatem
praetantissimae quae xixit / anni XI mens. VIII d. XX.
Cornelia Tyche: et incomparabilis erga / maritum adventus sanctitatisque et extimiae erga / liberos
pietatis quae xixit annis XXXVIIIIII mens III d VII, ex is mecum ann XI.
Kleiner 1987, no 113, fig 3, pl LXIII; Vermeule 1960, no 230, pl 80; Wrede 1971: 165, Bri 1; Wrede
1981, no 93.
Busts of a mother and daughter set in a niche flanked by columns on the front of the altar; both died in
a storm off the Spanish coast and the busts terminate in acanthus leaves. In the pedimental space
above them are depicted two thrones; flanked on the side of the daughter by a bow and quiver, on the
side of the mother by a cornucopia, torch, rudder on a globe and wheel. On the right side of the altar
was originally an image of a mirror which - together with her name - may further support the
association of Cornelia Tyche with Fortuna, though the mirror may also be interpreted as a symbol of
beauty and an attribute of Venus. Dedicated by their husband/father. See also Cat. 68.
Cat. 85. Statuette of a woman as Fortuna. (Date: c. 150 AD)
Marble. H. 73 cm. Inscription: None.
Description of a young matron seated in a high-backed throne with a rudder on a globe in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left. Cornucopia (except for small piece at left arm), left arm from sleeve, right arm from sleeve and handle of rudder are restorations. Statuette is cut from one piece; head is unbroken. She is shown wearing a diadem, chiton, mantle and sandals; and a hairstyle in the manner of Faustina II.

Cat. 86. Grave altar of C. Cassius Ianuarius and his family. (Date: 150-250 AD)
Two figures are represented under a garland, set in a deep niche on the front of the altar: a togaed man and a woman in chiton and mantle. The figure on the right side of the altar with a mural crown, and the cornucopia and rudder of Fortuna in her right hand is apparently intended as an association for the daughter.

Cat. 87. Grave stele. (Date: 150-250 AD)
The description of the stele given by Wrede (1981) suggests its similarity to Cat. 86. Decorated on garlands on three sides, a couple depicted in a deep niche on the front - here in the act of making a sacrifice. She holds a cornucopia in her left hand which, on basis of Cat. 86, has been interpreted as Fortuna. The faces of both of the two figures have been removed; however, the sacrifice scene suggests they were intended as an individualised and not a wholly divine couple.

Cat. 88. Gravestone or grave altar. (Date: unknown)
Marble. 75 x 43 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Wrede 1971 165, Bl 5; Wrede 1981, no 112.
According to Wrede (1981) the front depicted an elderly matron in the guise of Fortuna - holding a cornucopia in her held arm a rudder on a globe in her right. Possibly identical with Cat. 89.

Cat. 89. Gravestone of Octavia Severa. (Date: unknown)
References: CIL 6.23360; Wrede 1971: 166, Bl 1 (without portrait features); Wrede 1981, no 110.
According to Wrede (1981) a figure of Fortuna with portrait features was represented on the front of the stele, above the inscription.
Hecate

Number of entries in the catalogue: 1
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: first half of third century AD.
Media of depictions: the catalogued representation occurs on a funerary stele.

Hecate’s spheres of influence seem more often articulated within relationships of syncretism with other deities than as parts of a singular individuality. However, one aspect does seem an integral signifying aspect of Hecate: that she is triformis (often expressed with the epithet Trivia), of triple form. Most often she is depicted as three alike figures each of whom may hold similar or differing attributes: torches, bowl, whip, dog.

Being three-formed Hecate is usually identified with aspects of change and choice: she is the goddess of crossroads and become connected with the underworld associating her rather naturally with the moon. In this way Hecate may be seen as connected in nature with Diana, Proserpina and even Juno. Though in the Roman world the relationship with Diana is much the stronger - Diana herself is often given the epithet Trivia (CIL 10.3795, 14.2867) or described as being of triple form (Catullus 34.15; Horace Carmina 3.22 or Virgil Aeneid 4.511). It would seem reasonable to interpret Hecate along the same lines as Diana: related to change, ‘otherness’, and transgression of borders; though, seemingly with a darker, more chthonic side to her nature.

Cat. 90. Grave stele of Ioulia. (Date: 200-250 AD)
References: Kazarow 1930; Wrede 1981, no 120.
The stele is decorated in three registers. In the first is depicted two dogs hunting a hare; in the second a Ioulia with portrait features is seated in a carriage holding a torch in both hands, she is accompanied by two men; in the third is a frontal representation of Ioulia holding two torches, to her right two women carry a mirror, a basket and a vessel. In the pediment Diana is depicted flanked by a dog and a hind, she holds a bow in her left hand and reaches for her quiver with her right. The double representation of Ioulia combined with the depiction of Diana (with whom Hecate is associated) indicates the association with triform Hecate.
Isis

Number of entries in the catalogue: 3
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 1
Main period of popularity: 130-150 AD and a posthumous dedication to Faustina II.
Media of depictions: a context can be established for neither the bust nor the portrait
statue, whereas the cameo is clearly honorific in nature...

Bibliographical references: Arslan 1997; LIMC 1981- vol V s.v. Isis: 761-762;
Roscher 1884-1937 s.v. Isis; Turcan 1996 75-129; Wissowa 1894-1972 s.v. Isis.
Apuleius Metamorphoses 11.1-2, 5, 26; Dio 47.15.4.

Among the main deities of the Egyptian pantheon (wife-sister of Osiris, mother of
Horos). In Rome the cult was for long viewed with suspicion and regularly subject to
suppression and destruction of privately constructed temples (cf. Dio 40.47.3,
42.26.2). Public recognition in Rome came only in 42 BC with the voting of a temple
to Serapis and Isis (Dio 47.15.4). The goddess gained popularity from Hadrian
onwards, peaking in popularity in the third century AD. Attributes characteristic of the
goddess are the tall crown in the shape of a lotus flower and the so-called Isiac knot
with which her garments are tied across her chest; at times depicted with the symbol of
the moon or with a cornucopia and rudder, or naked. Both the pieces in the catalogue
show affinities with deities other than Isis, Cat. 91 with Fortuna and Cat. 92 with
Luna. To a certain extent the small number of works accepted in the Catalogue belies
the number of Isis references which exist in the plastic arts; however, in the vast
majority of cases have I felt it more likely that these representations were of priestesses
rather than of women represented as the deity herself.

Though the goddess may represent various aspects in common with other
goddesses (cf. Apuleius Metamorphoses 11.1-2) her dominant aspects seem to have
been as a mother goddess and as a queen, and her influence and reign reach beyond
even this life and into the next and with powers of salvation (Apuleius Metamorphoses
26.6).

Cat. 91. Statue of a woman as Isis. (Date: c. 130 AD)
The under life-size statue depict a mature looking woman with rather angular features. She wears a
chiton and mantle and holds a cornucopia in her left arm. On her head she wears an elaborate head-dress
or diadem decorated with snakes and centrally with a moon-sickle, a sun-disk and corn ears which
associates her with Isis.

Cat. 92. Bust of a woman as Isis. (Date: 130-150 AD)
Marble. Measurements not available. Inscription: None.
References: Breccia 1914: 219, no 12, fig 81(Demeter/Selene); Wrede 1981, no 166.
The bust represents a young woman with idealised features - only the small and slightly irregular mouth suggests that the depiction is a portrait. She is shown wearing a chiton, mantle drawn up as a veil, a diadem - and two horns on her forehead similar to the tips of a crescent moon.

**Cat. 93.** Cameo of Isis and Serapis with inscription to Faustina and Marcus Aurelius. (Date: 161-180 AD) Vienna. Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. IX A 8. Provenance: unknown. Sardonyx cameo. 3.9 x 3.2 cm (incl. mount).

Inscription: *Marcus Aurelius Imper(ator) et D(iva) Faustina coniux.*


A double overlapping depiction of Serapis and Isis shown in profile right. He wears a paludamentum and has full, curly hair and beard; she wears a complex necklace and equally complex crown encircled with a wreath of corn ears. The inscription indicates the association between the deities and the imperial couple.

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**Juno**

Number of entries in the catalogue: 7
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 4
Main period of popularity: mid first century to end of second century AD.
Media of depictions: the four works depicting empresses may all be honorific in content, though for two of the works the contextual attribution may depend on interpretation. The cameo depicting Domitia on a peacock may possibly be funerary in context, and the capital from Lorium depicting Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder would certainly have been created after her death though the intent may rather be seen as being honorific. The three pieces created for private individuals do all occur within a funerary context of grave altars and stelai.


Plutarch defines Juno as that which grows new or young and associates her with the moon. Her cult in Rome was very widespread (cf. Ovid *Fasti* 6.55: Juno celebrated at a hundred altars) and together with Jupiter and Minerva, Juno forms the triad on the Capitoline Hill; she was honoured officially by giving her name to the month of June (Ovid *Fasti* 6.40, 59-61). Juno is said to be the wife (and sister) of Jupiter, the mother of Mars, and the grandmother of Romulus. With Jupiter she shares certain similarities of name and sphere of interest: both are related to celestial aspects, to fertility, to marriage, and contain certain martial characteristics. Indeed, Pliny tells the story of how the cult statues of the temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina in the Campus Martius were in fact interchanged (Pliny *Natural History* 36.43). An obvious and popular choice of association for women of the imperial house (cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.649-650). Juno is traditionally depicted either seated (enthroned) or standing, holding a
long sceptre in her left hand and a patera in her right. She is usually depicted wearing a diadem and may be veiled or unveiled; next to her is often represented a peacock.

Juno is one of the more pluriform deities of the Roman pantheon with a far greater number of epithets than any other female deity. Marriage be seen as being the central thread to the interpretation of her: she may be invoked as Februata, Gamelia, Jugals or Pronuba (with powers of preserving marriages), as Juno Prema (from *premo*, pressing together) and Juno Viriplace (soothing the anger of man). As Juno Domiduca and Interduca she conducts the bride into the house of her husband, and as Juno Unxia oversees the anointment of the threshold; as Juno Cinxia she alludes to the symbolic untwining of the bride’s girdle, and as Juno Pertunda to the consummation of marriage (from *pertundo*, to perforate). Juno is also a goddess to be invoked in childbirth, and with Diana she shares the epithet Lucina, the bringer of light, and an association with the moon. As Regina Juno also symbolises the wife, mother and protectress on a cosmic and national scale. As Juno Curitis she appeared as an armed goddess who protected the Curia and its members (see Palmer 1974: 5 for details), and Ovid (*Fasti* 3.80-81) lists her as one of the deities (together with Minerva, Diana, and Mars) of a warlike nature. As Juno Capratina and Juno Moneta she has preserved the city of Rome from invading armies on specific occasions (*Varro De Lingua Latina* 6.18; Plutarch *Romulus* 29, *Camillus* 33; Livy 5.47) - as Juno Sospita (in warrior guise closely related to that of Minerva) and as Juno Populonia she acts as the protectress of the Roman people as a whole. Juno is more than the fertile mother/wife symbol and her role of protection is integral to her position and status as Regina: as seen in the Dacian inscription set up by a legionary legate and his wife during the reign of Commodus: *Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina Populonia deae patriae, et Minerva* (Palmer 1974: 7). Juno is not a goddess of the fringes or the obscure, or a transgressor of values but a highly political deity with the ability to cross between and to relate the private and the public - without negating her own or the traditional values of femininity. She must necessarily be a goddess expressing ideas acceptable to the state, being as she is at the centre of official symbolism, but what makes her an interesting personage is the fact that she manages to be highly visible on a public scene by using means and values available to most women from their personal/private lives.

Cat. 94. Sardonyx cameo. (Date: 54-68 AD)
London. British Museum 3584 (Inv 90.6-1.2). Provenance: unknown.
Sardonyx. 7.3 x 5.7 cm. Inscription: None.
References: LIMC 1981- s.v. Juno no 275, pl 547; Megow 1987: 260, no B27, pl 29.3 (Agrippina I/II); Walters 1926: 337, no 3584, pl 40 (Julia / Livia); Winkes 1997: 202, no 167 (Agrippina I/II).
A double, overlapping portrait representation of Agrippina the elder and younger, both depicted in profile right. The younger Agrippina is depicted at the front with an Attic helmet and aegis and
paludamentum in the guise of Minerva; her mother behind her wears a chiton and hairband and should probably be interpreted as Juno. See also Cat. 110.

**Cat. 95.** Grave altar of L. Marcius Anicetus, Marcia Helpis and T. Flavius Hermes. (Date: 70-90 AD) Velletri. Museo Civico. Provenance: Via Appia. Le Incudini. Marble. 64 x 60 cm.

**Inscription:** Front: L. Marcio Aniceto / Marcia Helpis patron. / isdem coniugi benemerenti / haec anima benedicta hoc loco secura / requiescit cum quo v. a. XXX sine ulla / iniuaria fecit et sibi et suis liber. libertabus/que suis posterisque eorum ita uti / macerie clusum est a piscina usq. at puteal / quoque versus uigerum plusminus dimid


All four sides of this grave altar are decorated with reliefs framed by garlands and columns. On the front, above the inscription, L. Marcius Anicetus is depicted reclining in front of a small table, he holds a vessel in his hand and is accompanied by his wife who sits by his feet. On the right side Juno is represented holding a patera and sceptre and with a peacock by her left foot - her name is inscribed on the base on which she stands. On the left side Jupiter is shown, nude apart from the mantle, holding a sceptre and lighting bolts and with an eagle by his feet - his name is inscribed on the base on which he stands. On the rear Mercury appears riding a ram; he has been given the portrait features of T. Flavius Hermes who is named in the inscription below the figure. The couple on the front is undoubtedly intended to be associated with the divine couple.

**Cat. 96.** Chalcedon cameo depicting Domitia. (Date: 81-96 AD)


Chalcedon. 8 x 7.8 cm. Inscription: None.


Cameo depiction of Domitia on a flying peacock. The piece is broken and consequently all of her right arm, part of the drapery behind her, the head and part of the tail of the bird are missing. Domitia wears a diadem, chiton and a mantle drawn up behind her giving the impression of velificatio.

**Cat. 97.** Funerary altar of Q. Pomponius Euander and Pomponia Helspis. (Date: 100-120 AD)


Marble. 98 x 61 x 55 cm.

**Inscription:** D M / C. Pomponio Evandro / et Callisto et / Diadumenon et / Elpidephoro / Q. Pomponius / Eudaemon et / Pomponia Helspis / filii dulcisimis / et sibi fecerunt.


On the front of the funerary altar is given the inscription. On the left side an eagle with outspread wings carries the bust of Q. Pomponius Eudaemon, whose name is inscribed below; on the right a peacock with outspread wings carries a bust of Pomponia Helspis, whose name is inscribed below. On the rear four male figures (presumably the four sons) on a groundline above an altar. All heads have been removed in antiquity.

**Cat. 98.** Capital from honorary column of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder. (Date: 161 AD)


A Corinthian capital with a double representation each of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the elder. They are depicted as clypeus busts carried respectively by an eagle and a peacock - in a double reference to apotheosis and association with the deities.
Cat. 99. Grave stele of Aelia Leporina. (Date: 160-180 AD)
Marble. 137 x 55 cm.
A double representation of Aelia Leporina. On the front of the stele she is depicted veiled holding a sceptre in her left hand and a patera in her right, by her feet sits a peacock. In low relief below the niche is a crater with laurel and ivy. On the narrow side she is depicted holding a torch in her right hand and an incense box in her left; in relief below the niche is represented a pig and corn ears. Wrede (1978) suggests that the two depictions are intended as respectively Aelia as a deity and as a priestess, though the presence of the sow could also suggest her guise as Ceres.

Cat. 100. Leptis Magna relief. (Date: 193-211 AD)
Marble. No measurements available. Inscription: None.
Part of the relief decoration of the Severan arch at Leptis Magna. Julia Domna is depicted with a peacock by her feet, standing next to an enthroned Septimus Severus in the guise of Jupiter with an eagle by his feet. To the left of the emperor stands Minerva, to her right a female figure holding a cornucopia. The Juno and Jupiter associations for the imperial couple is emphasised by the presence of Minerva and the depiction of the group as the Capitoline Triad.

Luna

Number of entries in the catalogue: 9
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: Apart from the grave stelae of Julia Victorina which belongs in the last quarter of the first century AD, and the relief in Copenhagen dated to c. 180 AD, the overwhelming majority of pieces are datable to the first half of the third century. One piece is now lost.
Media of depictions: all the catalogued pieces belong in funerary contexts. The majority, seven works, are sarcophagi reliefs; one relief decorates a funerary altar; and one is associated with funerary practices and may have decorated a tomb.
Bibliographical references: Bell 1982: 375; LIMC 1981- vol VII s.v. Selene, Luna: 706; Rabinowitz 1997; Roscher 1884-1937 s.v. Luna; Wissowa 1894-1972 s.v. Luna 2. Catullus 34.17-18; Livy 40.2.2-3; Ovid Fasti 3.883-884; Tacitus Annals 15.41; Varro De Lingua Latina 5.74; Varro De Re Rustica 1.1.5; Virgil Georgics 1.5-6.
For interpretations of Endymion see also Koortboijan 1995a: 63-99.

Luna, as her name describes, is related to the moon (for a discussion of the consequences of counting Luna as a deity see Cicero De Natura Deorum 3.51). At the same time the goddess appear frequently with references of a more metaphysical nature, like ‘time’. Often used in assimilation with other female deities, especially Diana, or given epithets common to other goddesses, like Lucina, Lucifera, Augusta, or Aeterna. Being connected to Diana at times presents Luna as ‘partnered’ with Apollo

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or, more often, with Sol, the sun, with whom she symbolises the complementary planetary deities of day and night. Luna is most commonly represented either as driving a carriage drawn by oxen or horses or depicted as a standing figure carrying a crescent on her head. Two of the catalogued representations make the connection with Luna through the use of the crescent moon attribute alone: Cat. 102, and Cat. 101. However, by far the most common manner of representation of Luna in the Catalogue is by emphasising the narrative of the story of Endymion. In all the sarcophagi reliefs Luna is depicted as descending from her carriage in front of the sleeping figure of Endymion in one of her nightly visits to see her mortal, sleeping lover.

Luna is related to the cyclical nature of the world and is thereby also a protectress of the fertility of (domesticated) nature, and she counts out the months for pregnant women and assists them in their labours (Catullus 34.18-19; Cicero De Natura Deorum 2.119; Horace Carmina 2.11.10-11, 4.6.37-40; Ovid Metamorphoses 15.196-198; Varro De Lingua Latina 5.69). Her night-time existence and her nature of representing the reflected light add to her an aspect of ‘otherness’, and in this she is similar to Diana. Her otherness associates her also with the existence beyond mortality, and Luna literally represents the confines between earth and cosmos (Cicero De Natura Deorum 2.56). Her relationship with Endymion adds further aspects to the interpretation of Luna: the scene clearly states their matrimonial relationship - they are a couple, a unit, gaining significance in relation to each other rather than individually. Indeed, the ‘force’ which effects their apotheosis may be their love for each other (cf. Koortbojian 1995a: 76). Note the similarity in this interpretation with those of Ariadne, Proserpina, Psyche and Rhea Silvia depictions.

**Cat. 101.** Grave stele of Iulia Victorina. (Date: 70-90 AD)
Funerary altar with plant motif decoration used as framing device for the relief fields. On the front a high relief frontal bust of Iulia Victorina sits above the inscription. She wears a tunic and mantle, pearl earrings and in her hair is set a crescent moon extending across the plant motif frame. On the rear another female bust is set this time in a sunk relief field - she too is depicted in tunic, mantle and with pearl earring but from the back of her heads extends the rays of a radiate crown. The two busts may have been intended as two depictions of Iulia Victorina, assimilated to Luna and Sol respectively; however, slight differences in the rendering of facial features make the female with radiate crown seem older. A possible interpretation - other than seeing the busts as being of two different women - may be to read them as two different ages of Iulia Victorina. Given the uncertainty only the assimilation with Luna has been emphasised here.

**Cat. 102.** Funerary relief of a boy and a girl. (Date: a. 180 AD)
References: Cumont 1942: 240f, pl 20.2; Wrede 1981, no 184.

An incomplete relief which may originally have depicted one other person. On the right a bust of a young boy in a tunic and a palaudentum fastened on his right shoulder with a circular fibula look directly at the spectator. On the left is a frontal bust of a young girl in chiton and mantle, and with a hairstyle in the manner of Crispina. In front, and slightly encircling her, is a large moon crescent, seven stars in total decorate the crescent and the space around the girl. The association with Luna created for the girl may be read as an elevated depiction of her similar to the elevation of status inherent in the paludamentum worn by the boy, in both cases articulating their (unfulfilled) potentially.

**Cat. 103. Sarcophagus of Terentius Valentinus.** (Date: c. 230 AD)
Marble. 64 x 217 x 65 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Rizzo 1905: 418f, fig 6; Robert 1897-1919 vol 3.3: 568f, no 65; Sichtermann 1992: 118, no 56, pl 52.4, 57.1-2, 59.1-2, 60.3, 66.9-10; Wrede 1981, no 186.
The left half of the front relief of the sarcophagus depict the moment of encounter of Luna and Endymion. Luna stands in her carriage looking directly at the sleeping Endymion. The face of Endymion has been left as a boss and according to Wrede (1981) that would have been the case also for that of Luna; her face is, however, much damaged and it is difficult to assess though not unlikely. The attribution to Terentius Valentinus apparently belongs to a later reuse of the sarcophagus (cf. Sichtermann 1992).

**Cat. 104. Endymion sarcophagus.** (Date: a. 230 AD)
Marble. 96 x 210 x 61 cm. Inscription: None.
The sarcophagus was found with Cat. 9 depicting Ariadne; on the basis of the skeletal material used respectively for a male and a female burial. On the front relief of the sarcophagus the central figure of Luna is depicted descending from her carriage and taking a step towards Endymion. She is dressed in chiton and mantle (billowing out behind her as a velificatio) and carries a torch in her right arm - her face has been left as a boss. The figure of Endymion, whose face is also a boss, is reclining on the ground, dressed in a tunic and mantle, and supporting his head on his right hand - in pose more clearly reminiscent of sleep than the traditional pose of the right arm raised above the head. On the front of the lid the central empty space for the inscription is framed by a scene depicting the judgement of Paris and a scene of garland-making.

**Cat. 105. Endymion sarcophagus.** (Date: 230-240 AD)
Marble. 62 x 200 x 56 cm. Inscription: None.
Luna descending from her carriage occupies the central space on the sarcophagus front. She wears a chiton and a mantle which billows out behind her shoulders, the tips of a crescent moon are just visible behind her shoulders. Her face is somewhat damaged but from her Severan hairstyle it would be correct to presume it portrait. She looks directly at the semi-nude figure of Endymion reclining in his mantle on the left of the relief. His pose is similar to that of the sleeping Ariadne, with his right arm raised above his head - a small cupid seems to lift his mantle to expose him to her gaze. His is face is equally damaged though his hairstyle does not suggest that it was intended as a portrait.
Cat. 106. Endymion sarcophagus. (Date: 200-250 AD)
A compositional arrangement of the front relief of the sarcophagus similar to Cat. 105: Luna descending from her carriage and approaching the sleeping Endymion. The relief is much worn though her hairstyle may, according to Wrede (1981), be dated by similarity to that of Severina. Endymion lies in an unusual pose supporting his head in his left hand and having lowered his right in front of his torso; he too may originally have had portrait features.

Cat. 107. Endymion sarcophagus. (Date: a. 250 AD)
Marble. 117 x 239 cm. Inscription: None.
A multi-figured composition dominated by the large figures of Luna and Endymion. She is shown centrally in the relief in the act of descending from her carriage and approaching Endymion. She wears a chiton and a mantle which she grab with her extended left hand as it billows out behind her; behind her shoulders the tips of a crescent moon are visible. Her face has been given portrait features and a hairstyle similar to Tranquilina (cf. Wrede 1981). Endymion has his right arm raised above his head in a manner similar to Ariadne; his face has been left as a boss.

Cat. 108. Endymion sarcophagus. (Date: 225-250 AD)
Marble. 132 x 252 x 120 cm. Inscription: None.
The relief is dominated by the large figures of Luna and Endymion as on Cat. 107 - to which it compositionally similar. The focus of the scene is the encounter of the two as she descends from her carriage to approach him. She wears a chiton which has slipped off her right shoulder and a mantle which forms a velificatio above her head and reveals the tips of the crescent moon behind her shoulders. He reclines wrapped in his mantle in a pose similar to that of Ariadne. Both figures give the impression of being portraits though their features are somewhat idealised.

Cat. 109. Fragment of an Endymion sarcophagus. (Date: unknown)
Marble. Measurements unknown. Inscription: None.
According to Wrede (1981) the sarcophagus fragment may have been found at Ostia, and depicted Luna descending from her carriage. Despite being damaged her features would seem to have been a portrait.
Minerva

Number of entries in the catalogue: 3
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 1
Main period of popularity: two pieces are datable to the last half of the first century AD, one to the broader period of 150-250 AD.
Media of depictions: one of the three representations occur on a cameo and so may be presumed to be honorific in context; another may refer to a child on a funerary stele, whereas no definite attribution can be made for the third piece, the bust of a woman.

There is some suggestion that Minerva may have been amalgamated with Nerio, who in the older literature is presented as the wife of Mars (for a discussion of Nerio-Minerva see the Appendix page 407-411 of the second edition (1989) of Ovid's Fasti). However, she is always presented assimilated to Athene (unlike Juno Sospita who is represented in Roman armour). The period of her greatest popularity within the official imperial art occurs during the reign of Domitian, for whom Minerva was adopted as his special guardian (Dio 67.1.2, 67.16.1; Livy 4.4, 15.3; Martial 8.1.4, 9.3.10). The iconography of Minerva is very uniform, usually depending on one or more recurrent elements: the peplos, the Gorgon aegis, a helmet of Attic or Corinthian type, a shield, and a lance.

Minerva is associated with activities and professions which require craft and skill: craftsmen, physicians, schoolmasters, artists and politicians. Associated with women she is often depicted as the one teaching young women to spin and weave (cf. the Domitianic relief decoration in the Forum Transitorium, Augustine 7.16; Cicero De Divinationes 2.123; Dio 47.41.3; Ovid Fasti 3.815-834). Minerva embodies skill, ingenuity, wisdom and learning. A link between art and warfare in the nature of Minerva may be found in Ovid (Fasti 3.5-6), indeed, another principal aspect of Minerva is her warrior nature, (Ovid Fasti 3.813-814; Claudian De Raptus Proserpinae 2.20). This makes her a protectress of the emporor, city of Rome and its individual citizens (Cicero De Domo Sua 144 'custos urbis'; Dio 38.17.5 'protectress'; Martial 8.14 'Pallas Caesariana'). Indeed, among the statuettes found in the lararia of Pompeii Minerva is among the most popular (Boyce 1937 passim). According to Ovid Minerva is linked with Mars in pursuits and by an overlap of feastdays, as if Minerva in some way represents a female version of Mars (cf. Fasti 3.173-176, 3.681-684 with the story of how Mars fell in love with Minerva. Despite her multifaceted spheres of interest she remains somewhat unpopular as a deity for association. I would argue that
this is less related to her warrior nature and similarity with Mars, than with the sense that Minerva is not specifically 'unfeminine' as much as asexual.

Cat. 110. Sardonyx cameo. (Date: 54-68 AD)  
London, British Museum 3584 (Inv 90.6.1.2). Provenance: unknown.  
Sardonyx, 7.3 x 5.7 cm. Inscription: None.  
References: LIMC 1981- s.v. Iuno no 275, pl 547; Megow 1987: 260, no B27, pl 29.3 (Agrippina II); Walters 1926: 337, no 3584, pl 40 (Julia & Livia); Winkes 1997: 202, no 167 (Agrippina I/II).  
A double, overlapping portrait representation of Agrippina the elder and younger, both depicted in profile right. The younger Agrippina is depicted at the front with an Attic helmet and aegis and paludamentum in the guise of Minerva; her mother behind her wears a chiton and hairband and should probably be interpreted as Juno. See also Cat. 94.

Cat. 111. Head of a woman. (Date: 70-90 AD)  
Marble. No measurements available. Inscription: None.  
References: Wrede 1981, no 234.  
A portrait head described by Wrede (1981) from a photograph as being of an approximately 50 year old woman with a broad face, thin eyelids and small eyes, reminiscent of the Flavian imperial house. She has an ideal hairstyle with centre parting and wears a helmet without feather-brush decoration. Here the attribution to Minerva made by Wrede has been followed, though a helmet as a characterising attribute could also signify Virtus or Roma.

Cat. 112. Fragment of a grave stele. (Date: 150-250 AD)  
Marble. 35 x 42 cm. Inscription: None.  
A relief fragment missing base and top extremities. It depicts three frontally posed persons: a man in himation left, a woman in the type of the large Herculaneum woman right, and between them a small figure of Minerva in a peplos with helmet, aegis, round shield and spear. None of the three faces survive, though the un-ideal body-types of the adults suggests an individualised relief; combined with this the small size of the Minerva figure may suggest that she was intended as a representation of their daughter in the guise of the goddess.

Muse

Number of entries in the catalogue: 16  
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0  
Main period of popularity: Third century AD (one is of the mid second cent. AD).  
Media of depictions: Practically all the catalogued depictions occur within a funerary context, especially as sarcophagi reliefs. One, the statuette Cat. 116, is not possible to assign with certain to either a honofric or funerary context.  
The nine Muses are, according to Hesiod, the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne. For the Romans no singular guideline for how to represent or identify each of the Muses seems to have existed. No specific temples existed to the Muses, though at times they do appear within the contexts of other deities like Apollo and Minerva. They embody the arts and sciences, and the links between these. Existing principally as a group of deities their iconography reflect this, and most often they appear as a group either as an entity by themselves or together with another deity or with a poet/philosopher.

Together with representations as Ariadne, Luna, Virtus, and to some extent also Proserpina, depictions as a Muse form a special category within the catalogue. These are all most, or only, popular during the third century; occur within a funerary context; and imply a relationship between a couple. In fact, only a third of the catalogued pieces pertaining to the Muses represent a woman on her own or among the muses without the presence of a poet/philosopher. By far the most popular choice of representation is for a couple to depict themselves as a poet and a muse in the company of the muses. The qualities which may be seen to be emphasised by the use of associations with the Muses seem surprisingly simple: they are depicted as being learned, educated and cultured, and it is worth noting that often the woman is depicted as holding scrolls of books - making her an active participant. How far one can interpret the choice of a particular Muse as significant seems to me doubtful. Calliope (the leader and the foremost among the Muses) and Polyhymnia/Polymnia (related to narration) are the most popular choices; but there are also at least four examples where the no individual Muse may be identified.

Cat. 113. Grave stele with aedicule. (Date: 130-140 AD)
Paris. Louvre, Réserve Napoleon (no inv. no.). Provenance: unknown. Marble. 98.5 x 63 x 15 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Wrede 1981, no 238.
The front of the stele is decorated with rich and elaborate architectural detail giving the impression of a temple front. Within, taking up all the space between the framing columns and the pediment, stands a young woman in frontal pose. She is dressed in chiton and mantle and stands with her legs crossed leaning on a kithara set on a small pillar, in her right hand she holds a bulbous object which may be a plectrum. Her face is slightly too large for the body and the nose and ears seem too large for the face, giving the impression of a portrait of a teenage girl. Her hairstyle is, according to Wrede (1981) similar to that worn by Sabina in the early 2nd cent.

Cat. 114. Sarcophagus front. (Date: 190-210 AD)
References: Wrede 1981, no 240.
The relief is corroded and fragmentary but can be made out in essential details. A central clipeus portrait of a woman with a hairstyle of the later 2nd / early 3rd century (Wrede 1981) separates two scenes. On the left a flock of sheep is tended by a shepherd carrying a sheep on his shoulders in the
manner of the good shepherd. On the right a group of eight standing draped women all turning their faces towards the clipeus portrait. The number of the women suggests that the portrayed woman is to be considered as the ninth Muse, though none of them carry attributes.

**Cat. 115. Sarcophagus front. (Date: 220-230 AD)**


The front relief of an oval sarcophagus. Central the figure of a learned man (poet/philosopher type) is depicted seated holding book-scrolls and facing the viewer; his face has been left as a boss. Surrounding him are ten Muses with attributes. The tenth, on the far left, is depicted in the type of Calliope holding a scroll and, according to Wgner (1966), has a hairstyle of the time of Julia Mamaea. The location of the portrayed women is curious, as is her position as an 'extra' Muse and the doubling of the figure of Calliope occasioned by this.

**Cat. 116. Statue of a woman as Erato. (Date: c. 240 AD)**


An under life-size statue of a young matron. The head is broken and re-attached but pertains, nose and both arms are missing. She is depicted in a chiton with a broad belt and cross-strap which would probably have held the kithara; a marble support on top of her head may have held the feather characteristic of the Muses. Her hairstyle and facial features are reminiscent of those of Julia Domna in her first type, cf. Wrede 1981.

**Cat. 117. Font and side panels of a columnar sarcophagus. (Date: 230-240 AD)**


Sarcophagus with elaborately arched front. In the gabled central arch stands a young veiled woman with a scroll, next to her stands a small nude boy looking up at her. The left and right vaulted arches show with variations a similar scene: a seated mature man in the type of poet/philosopher faced by a mature standing woman holding a scroll, between them a standing younger woman. The end panels depict three standing muses each. All the figure have portrait features though the exact relationship is difficult to determine. One suggestion would be to see a representation of a mature couple represented as 'orators' on the left and as 'teachers' on the right; the three young women could be there daughters - represented again on both end panels and in this way emphasising the theme of learning by appearing as the nine muses.

**Cat. 118. Sarcophagus. (Date: c. 240 AD)**


Strigil sarcophagus with three relief panels. The central panel depicts two figures in front of a *parapetasma*: a seated bearded poet/philosopher with a veiled(?) muse in the type of Polyhymnia standing in front of him. In the right panel is a standing bearded man wrapped in a mantle in the manner of a philosopher; his face is too damaged to determine if it had portrait features. In the left panel is represented a woman in the pose of Calliope, her left arm is broken and it cannot be determined if she held an attribute.
**Cat. 119. Sarcophagus.** (Date: 240-260 AD)
References: Ewald 1999: 155, no C7, pl 35.2; Wegner 1966, vol 5.3: 27, 137, no 53, pl 75a, 82a; Wrede 1981, no 245.
Strigil sarcophagus with three figure-fields. In the central panel is depicted a clean-shaven, seated man with a bunch of book scrolls by his feet in the manner of a poet/philosopher; on the left in front of him a stands a woman in the pose of Polyhymnia leaning on a pillar with a scroll in her left hand - both have portrait features. The two outer panels represent respectively Calliope and a philosopher; both holding scrolls.

**Cat. 120. Sarcophagus of Pullius Peregrinus.** (Date: 240-250 AD)
Rome. Museo Torlonia 424. Provenance: Between Via Appia and Via Latina, five miles in front of the Porta S. Giovanni. Greek marble. 133 x 222 cm.
Inscription: *Lucus Pultio Peregrino (centurioni) legion(is) / deputato, qui vix(it) ann(os) XXVIII / mens(es) III die(s) I hor(as) I stemis) / equit(i) R(oman)u*.
References: CIL 6.3558; Ewald 1999: 152, no C1, pl 24-25; Visconti 1884: 315-317, no 424, pl 107; Wegner 1966, vol 5.3: 53-5, 130, no 133, pl 60-2, 64a, 73a; Wrede 1981, no 246.
The sarcophagus front is dominated by the central figure-group of a seated unbearded man with an open book scroll and a standing woman in the pose of Polyhymnia with a book scroll facing him. He is depicted with portrait features, her face has been left as a boss. Surrounding them in high relief are six sages and, behind them in lower relief, eight muses. The central couple must therefore be seen as the seventh sage and the ninth muse.

**Cat. 121. Fragment of a sarcophagus front.** (Date: 240-250 AD)
Marble. L. 250-260 cm. Inscription: None.
Surviving part of sarcophagus front depict six muses with attributes surrounding a seated man in the pose of a poet/philosopher; the latter restored with a female head which does not pertain. The muse Calliope standing to his left has portrait features. To the relief fragment has been added another fragment with three muses which does not pertain; the two outer figures are restorations.

**Cat. 122. Child sarcophagus.** (Date: a. 250 AD) *(Fig. 13)*
Marble. 26 x 83.5 cm. Inscription: None.
Child sarcophagus with a central rectangular relief field depicting two figures in front of a parapetasma. On the left a man seated in profile right in the manner of a poet/philosopher, and on the left a standing woman with crossed legs in the manner of Polyhymnia looking at him. Both figures have faces left as a boss suggesting a possible use for either a boy or a girl; it is worth noting that this is the only of the five child sarcophagi with Muse associations listed in Wrede 1981 for which this is the case - the other four are all intended for boys.

**Cat. 123. Columnar sarcophagus.** (Date: 250-270 AD)
Marble. 190 x 282 cm. Inscription: None.
Sarcophagus with elaborate architectural detail and arcade. In the inter-columnar spaces on the front stand five figures: centrally a man in toga with trabea holding a scroll, to his right a woman with a hairstyle of the mid third century, in the remaining three arches, as well as the two arches on each of the end panels, stand seven muses with attributes. The couple may therefore be interpreted as the remaining two muses. Lid may not pertain.

Cat. 124. Sarcophagus front. (Date: 255-270 AD) (Fig. 14) Rome. Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Cortile Ottagono (Inv 976). Provenance: Unknown. Rome, Villa Montalto Negroni? Marble. 116 x 236 cm. Inscription: None.
Sarcophagus front depicting a seated couple surrounded by eight muses with attributes. On the right facing towards the centre sits a man with book scroll in the manner of a poet/philosopher. On the left facing towards him sits a woman with portrait features holding a lyre assimilated to Calliope. Only her head and that of Polyhymnia standing behind her are antique; her nose, right shoulder and both hands are restored. The muses around the man are associated with science, those around the woman are all the lyre playing muses; in centre are the muses of light poetry and comedy.

Cat. 125. Sarcophagus. (Date: 270-280 AD) Rome. S. Paolo fuori le Mura; cloister. Provenance: Unknown. Marble. 113 x 232 cm. Inscription: None.
A much worn and damaged sarcophagus, which however, bear a striking similarity to Cat. 124 and therefore may be presumed also to have been intended as a portrait representation. Certainly and assimilation as a muse can be established for the woman seated on the left who would have appeared as the ninth muse among the standing eight.

Sarcophagus fragment depicting eight figures in front of a parapetasma. A central, frontal man with an open book scroll in the manner of a poet/philosopher is depicted flanked by two women, the one on his right assimilated to Calliope with a book scroll, the one on his left assimilated to Polyhymnia - all three have portrait features. In lower relief on the left are two bearded philosophers, on the right a muse with a scroll re-cut and given a male head.

Cat. 127. Socalled 'Mattei' sarcophagus. (Date: c. 280 AD) Rome. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo. Inv 80711. Provenance: Unknown. Formerly in S. Paolo fuori le mura. Luna marble. 129 x 265 x 130 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Cumont 1942: 159, 307 n 3, 314, fig 26, 71; Ewald 1999: 143, no A17, pl 14, 15.1; Giuliano 1979-1985, vol 1.8*: 51-55, no II.2 (entry by Maria Elisa Micheli); La Regina 1998: 174-175 (entry by Elena Calandra) (not a portrait); Sapelli 1998: 34-38 (not a portrait); Wegner 1966, vol 5.3: 50-52, no 128, pl 84, 87-9, 91b, 92, 99 (not a portrait); Wrede 1981, no 253.
Unrestored sarcophagus with elaborately detailed arcade. On the front are depicted five muses all with attributes, only the head of the central Euterpe survives. Both end panels represent a philosopher flanked by two muses. The facial features of the central woman are idealised; her hairstyle, according to Wegner (1966), is in the manner of Tranquillina / Salonina and so suggests that it should be seen as a
portrait; the fact that she is the only of the muses whose figure extends beyond the frame of the arch may support this.

**Cat. 128.** Front of a sarcophagus. (Date: 290-310 AD)
Marble. 65 x 173 cm. Inscription: None.
Sarcophagus front with nine muses and four philosophers (in lower relief behind them) standing in front of a *parapetasma*. Calliope holding a book scroll in her hands and a bunch of scroll by her feet has been given the portrait features of a young matron.

**Nemesis**

Number of entries in the catalogue: 1
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: first half of second century AD
Media of depictions: No certain context can be established for the marble statuette.

Nemesis seems to be a purely Greek deity with great cult centres in the Greek Hellenistic world: Rhamnus, Smyrna, and Alexandria (Appian *The Civil Wars* 2.90; Pausanias 1.33.2 and 7, 7.5.3). In Rome she maintained her Greek name and though a figure of the goddess was set on the Capitol her cult was never strong nor widespread. When she is mentioned by Roman writers it is often in connection with superstition: Nemesis is invoked to counter the influence of the Evil Eye. She may be represented in various ways but most often she is identifiable from a combination of one or more aspects: a gesture of touching the neckline of her outfit, her amazonian style dress and boots or long peplos, wings, cornucopia, wheel, rudder, scales, and griffin.

Associated with several different deities, most strongly Fortuna and Isis (the unpredictable, a sphere of influence including the whole world, an all-encompassing nature), but also Eros (the most obviously changeable part of human life) and amazonian Diana (otherness, of being of the fringes of society). Latin inscriptions attribute to her epithets which include Augusta, Multiformis, Omnipotens, Regina, Regina Urbis, and Victrix (see Wissowa 2363.1-24 for further epithets and for references). Pausanias (1.33.2) describes the sphere of the goddess as being a counter to pride, and exaggerated self-assurance, that is, as concerned with retribution, even revenge, but also with the maintenance of equilibrium and lawfulness (it is within a
sanctuary of Nemesis that Caesar decides to bury the head of Pompey (Appian *The Civil Wars* 2.90)). In order to effect her role Nemesis may be terrible, vengeful, and jealous or she may be the upholder of law, order, harmony and concord; which in some way assimilates her to the public figure of the Emperor. Indeed, Nemesis may be found on various of the imperial coin issues, though, usually from mints in the east.

**Cat. 129. Statuette of a woman as Nemesis.** (Date: c. 140 AD)
Present whereabouts unknown. Formerly in Cairo, Dattari collection. Provenance: Memphis.
Marble. H. 45 cm (excl plinth). Inscription: None.
References: Rostovtzeff 1926; Wrede 1981, no 259.
The woman is depicted standing wearing a long chiton, boots, a quiver and large wings; her right foot rests on the head of a bearded man - the gesture causing the chiton to fall away and reveal her leg. In her left hand she holds a wheel resting on a globe, the globe itself is placed on a low altar; with her right hand she seems to be adjusting the hem on her right shoulder. The composition of the figure resembles the Pax-Nemesis on the coins of Trajan. The head is broken and reattached but pertains. For a non-imperial woman to associate herself with Nemesis may be from a wish of relating herself with aspects of justice and arbitration - possibly suggesting that she may have held a public role or office; or with aspects of concord and harmony, and the peace and fruitfulness these in turn fosters (aspects which concur with traditional female ideals).

**Nymph**

Number of entries in the catalogue: 4
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: first half of second century AD (one of mid third cent. AD).
Media of depictions: The three relief-works belong within funerary contexts; the statuette must presumably be honorific in context.

The nymphs are traditionally related to water - springs, wells and rivers - though forest and mountain nymphs do exist too, and in general they may be characterised as vegetation goddesses and representations of non-domesticated nature. They are they daughters of Zeus and Themis; - a meeting of air and water which explains their free spirited nature and connection with nature, and Homer relates them to 'the young bride' - (Homer *The Iliad* 3.130, 9.560, 18.492; Homer *The Odyssey* 4.743, 11.447). For Cicero the nymphs illustrates succinctly the problem of where to draw the line between divine and mortal, though for Ovid they are classed specifically as half-gods, (Cicero *De Natura Deorum* 3.43; Ovid *Metamophoses* 1.192). However, several inscriptions refer to them as *dea* or as *divinae* (cf. Wissowa 1530.14-17) and shrines and temples were dedicated to them. Most often their identification is based on
attributes and associations with water or nature in general: mussel-shells, the company of Pan or satyrs. In the catalogued pieces the association with water is made in all four just as all the figures are depicted in natural settings. In one of the representations the story of Hylas is depicted offering the possibility of not one person being associated with a divine status but an entire family.

The principal qualities of the Nymphs would seem to be: youth / youthfulness, beauty, an affinity with marriage, and fertility / unspoilt abundance. The Nymphs are regularly depicted as accompanying Diana on her hunts; and an association was appropriate for a rather young bride, as in Cat. 117 the funerary altar set up by the husband of Terpollia Procilla who died aged fourteen. However, not all the dedicatees are young women, cf. Cat. 132 and 133 - whereas Diana remains a virgin the Nymphs do have relationships and enter into marriage (cf. Ovid Metamorphoses 5.414-418). Despite the essentially light-hearted and carefree nature of the Nymphs they do share with Diana a link with the other world, making their representations appropriate in funerary contexts. Note how the love of a nymph draws Hylas from a controllable to a fatal relationship with nature and how their marriage becomes a euphemism for his death: 'she laid her left arm above upon his neck yearning to kiss his tender mouth; and with her right hand she drew down his elbow, and plunged him into the midst of the eddy' (Apollonius Rhodius 1.1236-1239).

Cat. 130. Funerary altar of Terpollia Procilla. (Date: 100-150 AD?)
Marble. 120 x 79 cm.
Inscription: Dis Manibus sacrum / Terpolliae Procillae / P. f. vixit annis XIII diebus LIIII / Ti. Iulius Heraclides / uxori carissimae / fecit aram et / monimentum ...
According to the description given by Wrede (1981) the relief depicts a semi-nude sleeping nymph with her left hand resting on an over-turned vase spilling out its contents of water. A flying Cupid carries a wreath.

Cat. 131. Statuette group. (Date: 130-140 AD)
Marble. 48 x 50 cm. Inscription: None.
A statue group depicting a nymph and satyr sitting on a wall. He is nude and sits straddling the wall on a hide, she sit mermaid-style between his knees with her mantle wrapped around her thighs - otherwise she is naked. Her hairstyle is similar to that of Sabina. The water-pipe by the satyr's left hand suggests the group was used as a well decoration.

Cat. 132. Front of a Hylas and the Nymphs sarcophagus. (Date: 250-260 AD) (Fig. 15)
References: Koortbojian 1995a: 7/ fig 1-2; Wrede 1981, no 262/140.
The sarcophagus depicts the figure of Hylas in heroic nudity standing at the centre of the relief flaked by two nymphs, on of which grabs him by the wrist. To the right and left of these are two further nude male, presumably Herakles and Polyphemus. In lower relief behind the figures are winged cupids with torches. All, except the cupids, have portrait features; the signs of age in the figures of Hylas and the nymph holding his wrist may suggest that they represent a married couple, the other three their children.

Cat. 133. Sarcophagus lid. (Date: third century AD?)
Marble. Measurements unknown. Inscription: None.
References: Wrede 1981, no 261.
The lid was apparently decorated with the reclining figure of a nymph, naked apart from the mantle over her legs. Her left hand rested on an amphora, her right was drawn up towards her chest at the height of her shoulder. Her facial features depicted a mature woman with a hairstyle of the third century.

Proserpina
Number of entries in the catalogue: 11
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: Principally popular during the first half of the third century, with another grouping around the late first/early second century (one is of the mid fourth cent.).
Media of depictions: All (nine relief-works, two paintings) belong to funerary context.
Bibliographical references: Bell 1982: 321-322, 381 (Persephone); Davies 1986; LIMC 1981- vol VIII Supplementum s.v. Persephone: 956-957; Roscher 1884-1937 s.v. Proserpina; Wissowa 1894-1972 Suppl.IX, s.v. Proserpina. Apuleius Metamorphoses 11.1-2, 5; Cicero De Natura Deorum 2.66; Cicero The Verrine Orations 4.106, 5.187; Claudian De Raptu Proserpinae; Horace Odes 1.28.20, 2.13.21; Epode 17.2; Ovid Metamorphoses 5.385-571.

At times Proserpina is equalled with the Roman deity Libera, the daughter of Ceres, who formed part of the triad of deities, Ceres, Liber and Libera, in the Forum Boarium (Cicero De Natura Deorum 2.62; Cicero The Verrine Orations 4.106, 5.187), and Cicero in The Verrine Orations (5.187) lists the gifts brought to mankind by Ceres and Libera as food and nourishment, virtue and law, gentleness and culture. Most often the goddess is referred to as Proserpina and referred to in relation to the story of her rape by and marriage to Dis Pater. Cicero (The Verrine Orations 5.187) claims that the worship of Proserpina in Rome was performed with earnestness and devotion both by corporations and by individuals and may be referring to the observance of funerary rites and feast-days for the dead, for in the vast majority of cases Proserpina is referred to as the queen of the underworld. In most of the catalogued pieces the scene chosen for representation is exactly the moment when Dis snatches Proserpina into his carriage and sets off, though, Cat. 141 (Fig. 17) represent a variation on this theme by
depicting Proserpina standing almost triumphant in the carriage; and in two instances, Cat. 139, 142, the association is made with Proserpina as she picks flowers in the field, and in one work, Cat. 137, the goddess is shown standing in front of the enthroned Dis Pater.

The nature of Proserpina is clearly chthonic in character (Cicero De Natura Deorum 2.66), and her name is related to the movement of a snake, the animal symbolically expressing a connection with the earth (Varro De Lingua Latina 5.68). The goddess may symbolically explain the passage from childhood to adulthood and the discovery of adult sexuality cf. Ovid Metamorphoses (5.376-7, 5.391): it is feared that Proserpina is ready to chose to remain a virgin and remain playing by the pool where spring significantly was everlasting; Dis finds the girdle of Proserpina - untied and left behind in resemblance of the wedding ritual (5.470), and she becomes his resplendent queen (5.507). At the same time Proserpina is related to the underworld, with death, and at times she seems to surpass even Dis Pater in this role (Horace Odes 2.13.21, Epode 17.2, Odes 1.28.20; Apuleius Metamorphoses 11.2; Cicero De Natura Deorum 2.66 and Claudian De Ruptu Proserpinae 1.55-62). Earlier representations of Proserpina seem mainly, as pointed out by Davies (1986), to function as allegories of death and the pain of separation, an interpretation which may be true also for later works: cf. Cat. 41, Ceres with portrait features searching for her daughter and especially Cat. 141 where triumphant Proserpina is accompanied by Victory and Herakles. Simultaneously the scenes may also represent the virtues of the deceased which has permitted her to enter into this position of bliss: the exemplary wife. In fact, as has been found in other works of this period (cf. Ariadne, Luna, Muse, Psyche) there is a implicit or explicit emphasis on the couple as the perfect entity: in both the flower-picking scenes the love and married status of Proserpina and Dis Pater are implicitly stated by the presence of Venus and Eros or Juno. Note also that Proserpina herself in Ovid (Metamorphoses 14.114) is called Juno Averna, that is the goddess of marriage of the lower world.

Cat. 134. Funerary altar of Valeria Fusca. (Date: 70-100 AD)
Inscription: Valeriae C. f. / Fuscae / patronae / optimae et / fidelissimae / Phosphor / libertus fecit / et sibi.
References: CIL VI 28196; Davies 1986: n. 1.3; Wrede 1981, no 271.
The funerary altar is decorated with corner columns between which hand a garland; the inscription on the front is topped by a decorative frieze and below it is a scene of the rape of Proserpina.

Cat. 135. Ash-chest of Saenia Longina. (Date: 90-130 AD)
Inscription: Saeniae Longinae / (fili)ae (Ge)rm(ani)/(ci).
The ash-chest is decorated by columns with composite capitals and a garland of flowers framing the inscription on the front. Above the inscription is scene with the rape of Proserpina. Wrede (1981) suggests that the lid (decorated with Mercury and a cockerel) and uppermost part of the ash-chest are modern restorations.

**Cat. 136.** Fragmentary relief. (Date: c. 120 AD)
References: Wrede 1978, pl 139.1; Wrede 1981, no 272.
Relief part recomposed from five fragments depicting the rape of Proserpina. The relief comes from the grave of the Haterii and is probably intended as a reference to the daughters mentioned in an inscription in the tomb (virgines raptae / Hateria Q. fil. / Magna / Hateria Q. fil. / Quintilla) - one of which may also have been a priestess of Dis Pater.

**Cat. 137.** Sarcophagus. (Date: 180-220 AD)
Inscription: s(epulum) scorfialip.
The front of this worn and fragmentary sarcophagus depicts in the centre the scene of Dis Pater seeing Proserpina picking flowers; to the right Dis Pater's kidnap of Proserpina in his carriage; to the left the pursuit of Ceres. The right end panel repeats the flower picking scene whereas the left depicts Proserpina standing in front of the enthroned Dis Pater. According to Robert (1897-1919) does she have a hairstyle of the third century. The inscription belongs to 13-14th century reuse of the panel.

**Cat. 138.** Painting. (Date: 200-225 AD)
References: Bendinelli 1922: 432-434 fig 3, pl 2; Wrede 1981, no 275.
The painting once decorated the lunette on the back wall of a funerary chamber. It depicts a number of small figures (one dressed as Minerva, two with wings like Psyche) usually interpreted as children among giant flowers. In the centre stands a column topped with the figure of three-formed Hecate. On the left a large Mercury enters the scene and behind him in a carriage pulled by doves Amor/Cupid carries a female figure in his arms. Her posture and gesture of outflung arms follows that usually used for Proserpina being kidnapped by Dis Pater. Bendinelli (1922) suggests that the chamber was decorated for the four year old Octavia Paulina whose inscribed sarcophagus decorated with children as athletes and a female victor was situated in the central niche of the tomb (D.M.S / Octaviae Paulinae filiae dulcisimo carissimo q.u.a. IV m. III d. V / Octavianus Felix pater fecit). Another of the tomb paintings depicted child-like Cupid and Psyche in a landscape.

**Cat. 139.** Sarcophagus. (Date: 210-220 AD)
Messina. Museo Nazionale A 224. Provenance: Unknown. Formerly in Messina, S. Francesco d'Assisi. White marble. 73 x 208 x 70 cm. Inscription: None.
The sarcophagus front which is much worn and fragmentary depicts on the right half the rape of Proserpina and Dis Pater fleeing with her in his carriage followed by Minerva. On the left half is depicted centrally Proserpina picking flowers surprised by Dis Pater, behind whom can be seen Venus and Cupid, on the far left Ceres is shown pursuing the couple in her carriage. The figure of Proserpina in the flower-picking scene has portrait features and a hairstyle of the Severan period.
Cat. 140. Sarcophagus fragment. (Date: 210-230 AD)
A triangular fragment from the front of a sarcophagus. Depicted is the scene of the rape of Proserpina:
Dis Pater stands facing frontal on his carriage (which no longer survives) with his right arm around
the waist of Proserpina; she is depicted with outstretched arms and leaning backwards suggesting the force of
the rape. She wears a long chiton and a Severan hairstyle and seems to have portrait features.

Cat. 141. Sarcophagus. (Date: c. 230 AD)  
Fig. 17
collection. Marble. 62 x 218 x 63 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Blome 1978 450-453, pl 147.2; Robert 1897-1919, vol 3.3: 477-478, no 392, pl 125;
An unusual version of the scene of the rape of Proserpina occupies the centre and right half of the
sarcophagus front. The semi-nude Proserpina with only her mantle wrapped around her legs stand
calmly, almost heroically, in the carriage next to Pluto - and exactly centre in the field. She has
portrait features and a hairstyle which mixes Severan fashion and ideal details; her mantle billows up
behind her shoulders like a velificatio. She is accompanied in the carriage by Cupid and followed by
Minerva. In front of the carriage, from left to right, are Mercury, Victoria and Herakles. The left part
of the relief shows Pluto surprising Proserpina as she picks flowers watched by Venus and Diana, and
far left the pursuit of Ceres. The right end panel depicts Proserpina standing in front of the enthroned
Pluto.

Cat. 142. Sarcophagus. (Date: c. 240 AD)  
Fig. 18
References: Rizzo 1905: 36-38, no 17, pl 3-4.1; Robert 1897-1919: 475-476, no 390, pl 125; Wrede
1981, no 270/265.
Sarcophagus front depicting roughly in the centre Pluto surprising Proserpina as she pick flowers. He
has portrait features, her face has been left as a boss. On the far left the pursuit of Ceres, on the right
the abduction of Proserpina. The figure of Juno, who with Venus watches the flower picking scene, is
place at the mid point of the relief.

Cat. 143. Arcosolium painting. (Date: c. 350 AD)
Painted plaster. Measurements not available.
Inscription: Abreptio Vibies et discensio.
References: Cumont 1942: 102, fig 17; Wrede 1981, no 276.
Tomb painting depicting the rape of Proserpina. Her outstretched, horizontal figure is held by Pluto
standing in his carriage; at the front a standing Mercury.

Cat. 144. Funerary altar of M. Antonius Asclepiades and Iulia Philumene. (Date: unknown)
Lorenzo. Marble. Measurements no available.
Inscription: Dis Manibus / M. Antonius Asclepiade(s) / Pallantis l. / fecit sibi et / Iulia Philumene /
coniui(gi) carissimae.
References: CIL 6.11965; Davies 1986: n. 1.6; Wrede 1981, no 274 (claims piece is lost).
Funerary altar decorated with a scene of the abduction of Proserpina and the couple standing holding
right hands in the gesture of dextrarum iunctio.
Psyche

Number of entries in the catalogue: 6
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: three pieces are datable to the first half of second century AD, two to the third century and one to the mid fourth century AD.
Media of depictions: apart from one, the house mosaic, which must be honorific in context, all other catalogued depictions (reliefs and three-dimensional sculpture) occur within funerary contexts.

The name of Psyche, ‘soul’, gives a double possibility of interpreting her as a deity with her own mythological story or as an allegorical representation of the human soul. Psyche appears frequently in Roman pictorial arts but is not a recipient of cult. Her most characteristic attribute are her sub-triangular, paddle-like wings, for which the closest descriptive analogy are butterfly wings. Psyche is represented as a young woman or as a child and is usually depicted fully clothed though in more allegorical contexts she may also be shown nude or semi-nude. Most often she is represented on her own or in the company of Cupid - usually shown exchanging gestures of intimacy (entwined arms, kisses, lying together on a kline, etc.). At times Psyche may also be used as an allegorical / decorative element within reliefs or on sarcophagi; or she may be depicted in the company of several other Psyche figures engaged in an activity. Of the catalogued pieces half depict her on her own (or as the only deity), half in the company of Cupid.

The interpretation of Psyche may be divided into two main aspects. On one hand Psyche as the soul represents an allegory of death or of the deceased person. This may clearly illustrated in Cat. 146, in which in place of a portrait of the deceased Psyche is represented sleeping on a bed, and in Cat. 149, the stele for a girl. Nuances on this basic theme may include references to life in the other world: that it is rich and good (cf. the bunch of grapes held by the girl in Cat. 149 and the gifts brought forward on the sarcophagus scene Cat. 148) and that there family members may be reunited, as in the statue-group Cat. 147. On the other hand Psyche is also associated with a myth which apart from its divine overlay is constructed of classic folk-tale elements. From that point of view the story of Psyche must be seen as symbolising a female rite of passage: like a female Herakles, Psyche is required to prove herself through a series of hardships and labours which in the end win her an ideal marriage, personal maturity - and divine status. Indeed, in the myth Psyche experience both the role of being the bereaved and the deceased (Apuleius Metamorphoses 5.25, 6.5, 6.21) - making her all together a very appropriate symbol in funerary contexts. Since
Psyche and Cupid are often depicted as children their representations gain a special significance of innocence and a pertinence for commemorations of children, indeed, rather youthful subjects dominate among the catalogued works. However, since Psyche in the myth attain her ideal status as a wife and mother, her image may appropriately also be used for mature women, for whom the fulfilment of their role as wives and mothers and the attainment of their husband's love - is evidence of their personal virtues.

**Cat. 145.** Ash-chest of Alfidio Callipo and Alfidia Irene. (Date: 98-117 AD)
Marble. Measurements unknown.
Inscription: *Dis Manibus / C. Alfidio Callipo / qui vix. ann. LVIII / et C. Alfidio / Triumphali fil. / vix. ann. XII m. VIII d. XV / Alfidia Irene / patro. et coniugi optim. / et fil. dulcissimo fecit / et sibi et suis posterisq. erorum.*
References: CIL VI 11440; Vermeule 1960: 24, no 228; Wrede 1981, NO 35/281/337.
The inscription occupies the central part of the ash-chest; above and to the right and left of this are figured fields. In the upper, pedimental field a man with a Trajanic hairstyle reclines on a kline with his wife sitting by his feet. On the left a depiction of Cupid and Psyche above whom are written *Callipo f. and Helpidi f.* respectively. The field on the right is depicted Venus in the Venus Frejus type holding an apple in her left hand - the fact that her hairstyle is not of an ideal type may indicate that she is to be seen as Alfidia Irene; next to her stand a small winged cupid, above whom is written *Carpo f.* , holding up a mirror. See also Cat. 165.

**Cat. 146.** Child sarcophagus with garlands. (Date: 130-140 AD)
The front relief of the sarcophagus is decorated with three cupids holding laurel garlands, and two winged cupid on dolphins. The relief panel on the lid depict two winged cupid in profile in front of a *parapetasma*; they hold a bed between them in which lies a sleeping Psyche, nude except for the mantle around her legs. The association is tenuous but the sleeping Psyche may be seen as occupying the position normally occupied by a portrait and therefore symbolically be taking the place of the deceased.

**Cat. 147.** Statue group of mother and daughter. (Date: c. 140 AD)
References: Scrinari 1972: 38, no 105, fig 105; Wrede 1981, no 277.
The group depicts a seated matron in a high-belted chiton and a hairstyle in the manner of Faustina I who looks at, and embraces a smaller standing figure of a naked winged girl - possibly representing the woman's daughter.

**Cat. 148.** Child sarcophagus. (Date: 200-225 AD)
The central part of the sarcophagus relief is occupied by the figures of Cupid and Psyche reclining together on a kline. Framing them are a Cupid and Psyche playing musical instruments, and other smaller figures carrying fruit, flowers or animals. The association is tenuous though it is possible to see the central figures as depicted in a manner of the deceased.

**Cat. 149.** Grave stele of a girl. (Date: 3rd century AD?)
According to the description given by Wrede (1981) the stele depicts a winged girl represented frontally; she holds a bunch of grapes in her right hand an unidentifiable object in her left.

**Cat. 150.** Mosaic. (Date: 325-350 AD)
Marble tesserae. Measurements not available. Inscription: *Calendio Iovina*.
A floor mosaic depicting a naked Cupid and Psyche with a cornucopia; above them are written the names of Calendio and Iovina - possibly the owners of the house.

**Rhea Silvia**

Number of entries in the catalogue: 2
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: First half of the third century AD
Media of depictions: Both works are relief depictions from the front of sarcophagi.

Rhea Silvia is neither is she born a deity nor does she become one through heroic apotheosis. She has been included because of the comositional similarities to those of Ariadne and Luna/Endymion that a similar intent may be intended, and because the association may have carried with it a special significance and status for a Roman audience. She is often called ‘Ilia’ though during the late republican and imperial period she is most commonly called Rhea Silvia and said to belong to the royal Silvian family at Alba Longa. Despite her status as a priestess of Vesta she is ‘ravished’ by Mars, and consequently she gives birth to twin boys of whom Romulus becomes the eponymous founder of Rome. The further fate of Rhea Silvia differs: she may have been imprisoned or been required to commit suicide by jumping from a cliff into the Tiber/Anio, who in some narratives take her for his wife (Statius *Silvae* 2.1.99 see also Horace *Odes* 1.2.17-18). Practically all the representations of Rhea Silvia depict Mars approaching her while she lies sleeping on the ground, though in Cat. 152, she is shown with her eyes open (cf. Ovid *Fasti* 3.17-20 and Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.77.1).

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Interesting is the fact that for Rhea Silvia the heroic act which propels her forward to a status of mythological fame is essentially the still prospective one of giving birth to the founder of Rome - suggesting that through virtue and motherhood a contemporary woman too could achieve divine status. Note how Venus and Hercules have been added to the composition in Cat. 151: the epitome of female ideals paired with the archetypal personification of apotheosis through heroic labour. There are examples of the scene being found on reliefs from the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine and possibly also on the pediment of Hadrian’s Temple of Venus and Rome (LIMC 1981- vol VII s.v. Rea Silvia no 8; Vermeule 1957: 293); as well as occurring on the coinage of Antoninus Pius. For private persons the scene may also have represented an expression of their allegiance to Rome (Bauchhenß 1992: 435). The status of Rhea Silvia as a Vestal associates her with one of the oldest and most traditional of Roman cults which itself represented the state and its morals. Indeed, it has been suggested that these narratives (especially in a funerary context) may also symbolise virtus (Bauchhenß 1992: 436) - that is, a suggestion similar to the interpretation made above and for Ariadne, Psyche and some Diana motives.

Cat. 151. Sarcophagus front. (Date: 210-215 AD) (Fig. 16)
A sarcophagus front with a composite decoration of Luna and Endymion on the right and Mars and Rhea Silvia on the left. The figures of Rhea Silvia and Mars are iconographically similar to those of Ariadne and Dionysus, including the little cupid lifting her mantle to expose her to his gaze. Both figures are depicted with portrait features. Behind them in the top left hand corner is a figure group of Venus and Hercules. The faces of both Luna and Endymion have both been restored and it is impossible to confirm if they had portraits - though the analogy between the two scene is clear.

Cat. 152. Sarcophagus. (Date: 250 AD)
A busy composition which never the less is dominated by the central figures of Mars and Rhea Silvia. She reclines in a half upright pose with her eyes open but otherwise the two figures are similar to Cat. 151. Both have portrait features. The prominent seated figure on the right may be Juno, the protectress of marriage and social order, though her role in the relief could also be that of Lucina - the goddess called upon in childbirth; or she may be Venus the ancestress of Rhea Silvia and like her an ancestor of the Roman people, making in this way another reference to motherhood and its heroic consequences. The end panels (in Vatican, Belvedere) depict Rhea Silvia on a cliff in front of personifications of the Tiber and the Aventine; and the finding of Romulus and Remus.
Roma

Number of entries in the catalogue: 2
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 1 - possibly both.
Main period of popularity: Third quarter of the first century AD
Media of depictions: The cameo is honorific, the sculpted head may be so.

The personification of the city itself and, by inference, the empire. Though worshipped in the provinces and in certain municipal cults in Italy, she was not subject to cult in Rome until the reign of Hadrian. Her lack of a developed mythological history is evident from the variety of narratives describing the founding of the city (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.72; Plutarch Romulus 1-2). Articulating her warrior nature Roma is usually depicted as an armed goddess: wearing a helmet and carrying a spear and round shield, often to depicted on a mound of spoils of war, or she may be depicted in a guise resembling an amazon: dressed in a short belted chiton which often slips off one shoulder to reveal her breast.

The aggression she represents is a just one, one based on the rule of law and order. Depicting her seated on the spoils of war may represent the peace established at the end of war, linking her with prosperity and peace. This 'duality' of significance may be found also within the epithets applied to her: bellatrix, ferox - felix, fortunata, genetrix, domus dium, aeterna (see Roscher 133.24-32 for references). Her close ties with the state make her an obvious choice for use among members of the imperial family. Roma is often depicted juxtaposed with someone else - be that the emperor as in the imperial cult; Fortuna as in Cat. 94; Tellus as on the Ara Pacis Augustae or Cybele as in Virgil (Aeneid 6.781-789) - in a manner which both highlights the interconnectedness of the two and the duality of Roma herself. Her close iconographic similarity with Virtus might also be an expression of the overlapping interpretation of Roman identity and character. Roma is the city, the state, and an allegory of the emperor; and at the same time she is the protectress of the state and a mother figure of the Roman citizens.

Cat. 153. Gemma Claudia. (Date: 49 AD)
Sardonyx. 12 x 15,2 cm. Inscription: None.
Cameo depicting two pairs of jugate portraits. On the right the parents of Agrippina II: Germanicus and Agrippina I; on the left Agrippina II herself with Claudius. The rich cornucopiae (grapes, corn ears, poppies, pomegranates) are set on military spoils and between them stand an eagle without-spread
wings - visually expressing the prosperity won through military exploits. Germanicus wears a paludamentum and an oak wreath; Claudius an oak wreath and the aegis of Jupiter. The elder Agrippina is represented with a chiton and mantle, and an Attic helmet encircled by a laurel wreath; the younger Agrippina in chiton and mantle, and a mural crown encircled by a wreath of corn ears and poppies. The military prowess of the men are in other words juxtaposed by peace and prosperity represented via the attributes of the women rendering them in the guises of Roma and Fortuna. The two Agrippinae may further, as suggested by Wood (1988), be seen as juxtaposed in a manner similar to the Roma and Tellus on the Ara Pacis: Agrippina I representing Roma (Rome of virtus), Agrippina II Fortuna (Rome of Ceres/Cybele). Another, less likely, possibility is to see the women as the two Fortunae of Antium (one with helmet and beared breast, the other with diadem, cf. Simon 1990: 63-64 fig 81 for an Augustan coin depicting these). See also Cat. 82.

Cat. 154. Portrait head of a girl. (Date: 41-54 AD)
Marble. H. 54 cm. Inscription: None.
A portrait head of a young girl. On her head she has laurel wreath, a diadem, a mural crown, and an Attic helmet decorated with a griffin and pegasus. The many attributes may suggest, as pointed of by Wood 1992, a state significance and that it represents a member of the imperial family; the multiple attributes and possible state significance has suggested Roma as the closest approximation of identity.

Salus

Number of entries in the catalogue: 3
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: Two works date from the first half of second century AD, one to the early third century AD.
Media of depictions: The sarcophagus relief and the statue of Julia Procula may be placed with certainty in funerary contexts, the un-named statue may be honorific, since it said to have been found within a therme complex.

Salus encompasses health, wellbeing and safety. Cicero respectively classes her among the things which one should aspire to, together with Honor (honour), Ops (wealth) and Victoria (victory); and list her with Ops, Concordia, Liberta and Victoria as things which are so powerful that they must by implication be divinities (Cicero De Legibus 2.28; Cicero De Natura Deorum 2.61). Salus is usually depicted as a fully draped woman in chiton and mantle, either standing in front of an altar or shown seated on a high-backed chair. She may be holding a patera in one outstretched hand or be holding an egg, the symbol of life; most often, though, she is represented with a
snake. The representation of Julia Procula differs from the model by her holding an incense box rather than a snake.

In both the works intended for funerary the association with Salus seems to have been specifically in her role as Hygieia though safety and well-being may also have been prevalent, and at times Salus is connected with deities like Spes and Fortuna. During the Empire Salus received a high public profile by embodying the health and safety of the state, as Salus Publica. Salus Augusti/a becomes a popular representation on Roman imperial coin issues representing not just the health of the person of the emperor/empress, but also the interrelationship between that person and the health and safety of the nation, and the role of the emperor/empress as guarantor of the well-being of the state (cf. Tacitus Annales 15.74; Dio 54.35.2).

Cat. 155. Statue of Julia Procula.  (Date: 110-120 AD)
Inscription: On statue-base: liliae Ti(berti) F(iliae) / Procula
On base of ash-urn: liliae Ti(berti) F(iliae) / Proculae / vixit ann(os) XXIX / mens(es) XI / Munantia Helpis / mater fil(iae) / piissimae fec(it).
A young woman depicted in the guise of Salus with an ointment box in her left hand; in the manner of Hygieia Hope. She belonged to a family of doctors which may have influenced the choice.

Cat. 156. Statue. (Date: 150-160 AD)
A portrait statue of a matron in the guise of Salus. In her right hand she holds a snake which encircles her arm, in her left an egg. Head made separately and inserted. The hands would seem to be restored as would the egg(?), the snake may be part(?) restored.

Cat. 157. Sarcophagus of M. Cornelius Hermadio and Cornelis Hygia. (Date: 200-225 AD)
Inscription: D:fecerunt li/berti uni/versi M. Co/nrelio Herma/dioni et Co/nreliae Hygiae patro/nis suis be/nemeren/tibus
The central part of the sarcophagus front depicts a clipeo portrait held by cupids of a woman in chiton and mantle. Framing this on either side are the two inscriptions, and beyond them a depiction of Salus left and Asklepius right. The assimilation between her name and the goddess makes an association a possibility.
Spes

Number of entries in the catalogue: 2
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: Between 110-130 AD.
Media of depictions: One of the statues may be placed with certainty in a funerary context, for the other the provenance is not possible to establish.

Spes may be translated as Hope, and, like Salus, is a personification invested with divine status (cf. Cicero De Legibus 2.28). She may express the wish for a good outcome or embody the potentiality of a situation. Spes is usually depicted in an archaic style dress and stance: she stands frontally with her feet together, wearing a long chiton with a short mantle draped diagonally across her chest. In one hand she often holds a flower (often resembling a lotus-type flower), with the other she pulls the chiton away from her leg and hip in a pose similar to that found on Greek Kore statues.

Worship of Spes seems to have been concentrated around Rome and its surrounding areas for outside the city itself only few temples have been found (Ostia, Gabii, Capua, Aricia), despite, Spes becoming a popular subject on the imperial coinage. She is often paired with other deities and especially with Fortuna who, to the potential of Spes, may express the joyous outcome. Indeed, the temple at Capua was dedicated to the triad of Fortuna, Spes and Fides - the same configuration which may be found also in Horace's Ode (1.35.21-22) to Fortuna, (CIL 10.3775, 14.2853, 14.2867). Within the imperial iconography Spes was especially associated with youth, that is, with the succession and with the potential which the new generation holds. Or, slightly more obliquely, Spes associated with women of the imperial household may express their capacity for producing (male) children and thereby the way that these women hold (or are) the hope of the Empire.

Cat. 158. Statue of a woman as Spes. (Date: 110-120 AD)
References: Bieber 1977, fig 765; Wrede 1971: 136f, 144 f; pl 85.1; Wrede 1981, no 288.
A depiction of a mature matron represented as Spes in archaic style (drapery arrangement, kore-type gesture of lifting part of fabric). Both arms are restored correctly, head broken but possibly pertaining.

Cat. 159. Statue of Claudia Semne. (Date: c. 130 AD)
Formerly in Rome, Via Appia; now lost. Provenance: Via Appia, near S. Sebastiano.
Marble. H. 94 cm. Inscription: None.
In her tomb Claudia Semne was represented as Venus, Fortuna and Spes. The latter statue was in situ at the time of excavation (now lost), the other two known only from detail in the niches where they stood.

**Venus**

Number of entries in the catalogue: 51
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 5
Main period of popularity: Beginning of the second century, through the first half of the third century AD; - with three pieces datable to about a decade before or after this period. A further three are all of the mid first century AD, and one cannot be dated.
Media of depictions: The majority of works (36) belong to a funerary context, comprising mainly reliefs on altars and sarcophagi. Six statues may be placed within a honorific context; - the remaining nine cannot be assigned to a category.
Bibliographical references: Bell 1982: 288-291, 388-389; LIMC 1981- VIII s.v. Venus: 192-195; Lloyd-Morgan 1986; Roscher 1884-1937 s.v. Venus; Schilling 1954; Simon 1990: 213-228; Speidel 1984; Staples 1998 103-125; Stehle 1989; Wissowa 1894-1972 s.v. Venus. CIL 4.2776; Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 11.2; Cicero *De Natura Deorum* 2.69, 3.59, 3.62; Livy 1.33.5, 3.48.5, 22.9.8-11, 22.10.10, 23.30.13, 23.31.9, 40.34.4, cf. 30.38.10; Ovid *Fasti* 4.91-96; Pliny *Natural History* 15.119-121, 19.50; Strabo 6.2.6; Tertullian *De Spetaculis* 8; Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.154, 6.20.

Cicero, tracing the parentage of Venus, proposes four different versions, all wholly or mainly inspired by Greek mythology (Cicero *De Natura Deorum* 3.59, cf. Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.63 and Ovid *Fasti* 4.61-64). During the Late Republic Venus gains an emphatic political role by being adopted as the patron deity by Sulla, Pompey (temple to Venus Victrix, Virtus and Honos, CIL 1.1: 244, 324) and Caesar (temple to Venus Genetrix, Dio 43.22.2, 45.6.4). Octavian as Augustus includes her in the temple he builds to Mars Ultor in his own forum (Horace *Odes* 4.15.32, *Carmen Saeculare* 50; Ovid *Tristia* 2.295-296). A major state affirmation of the position of the goddess is achieved with the consecration of the monumental temple to Venus and Roma by Hadrian in 121 AD (Dio 69.4.3-5) - the restoration of which by Maxentius in 307 AD marks the continued interest in Venus by the imperial house. She may be associated with a variety of attributes (myrtle, Cupid, apple, armour, mirror, etc.) or she may be depicted without any attributes at all, her own person and the iconographic type suggesting the identification of her representation - Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 2.17) may humorously refer to a woman adopting the pose of Venus calling her a living statue.

Her particular sphere of concern is that of love, sensuality and sexuality, most explicitly expressed in the cult of Venus Libentina (or Lubentina) - the goddess of sensual pleasure (Varro *De Lingua Latina* 6.47 and frag. 4, Augustine 4.8, Cicero *De
Natura Deorum 2.61). Pausanias recounts how at Thebes the temple of Aphrodite contained three cult images: one to Heavenly Aphrodite (pure love free from bodily lust); one to Common Aphrodite (sexual intercourse), and one to Aphrodite the Rejecter (rejecting unlawful passion and sinful acts). Similar aspects and similarly multiple characteristics may pertain also to Venus (note that Common Aphrodite and Aphrodite the Rejecter are not one and the same). Venus represents a force of nature channelled into societal framework connecting her with social stability, social boundaries and social identity. Venus’ primary concern with human relations naturally endows her with concerns of culture and civilisation, that is, the formalising aspects of sensuality. On a state scale she may be associated with normative, civilising features: the temple to Venus Erycina is coupled with that of Mens in an almost Platonian bipart division of mind and body, and the Venus Cloacina temple is said to be founded on the spot where the Romans and Sabines purified themselves after battle - returning to normalised civic conditions. On a personal scale Venus is mentioned as associated with marriage and a few times as a bride herself (Ovid Fasti 4.154; Pliny Natural History 15.119-120; Varro De Lingua Latina 5.61-62). Mythologically Venus is married to Vulcan, though in the Roman world her relationship with Mars is of much greater importance (see Apuleius’ satirical account of Venus as a remarried divorcee, Metamorphoses 5.29-30). Associations with procreation are vaguer, and Venus is not herself a strong mother figure though she is usually said the be the mother of Cupid and of Aeneas. Inscriptions attesting to the existence of priests to Venus and Ceres suggest that Venus was related to cults of fertility (CIL 1863-1986 9.3087, 9.3089, 9.3090, 10.5191, 10.680; Dessau 1892-1962 6371). Her contribution to social stability and the creation of societal structures may also touch upon aspects like boundaries and morals; as Venus Erycina she was brought into Rome and established with the pomerium in like the cult of Cybele. For the early cult of Venus it appears all too easy to find instances of a censuring of the expression of sexuality aimed at women. Ovid urges women of ‘liberal’ professions to sacrifice to Venus since the nature of their job falls within the sphere of Venus (Ovid Fasti 4.863-876). The foundation of the temple to Venus Obsequiae is, like the cult of Venus Verticordia (the changer of hearts), said to have been established in an attempt to redeem the state from a fall in chastity, with a public vote held among the Roman matrons selecting from a list of a hundred the one most modest woman to dedicate the cult image (Ovid Fasti 4.157; Pliny Natural History 7.120). If one accepts the Theban tripartite division as a model, and accepts that the constituent ‘Venus’ components are neither identical nor mutually exclusive, the scope and interpretation of the goddess may be more easily understood. Venus is the guardian of love of the purely emotional kind, which may be
chaste infatuation and the foundations of a successful relationship; she is the guardian of physical sexuality; and she is the mediating goddess which aids in distinguishing between the acceptable and the taboo and in establishing boundaries. Which altogether is why she can have her cult image dedicated by the officially most modest woman, favour the métier of prostitutes and be the rescuer of Rome in times of imbalance.

On an individual level her popularity may be as a representation of youth and beauty combined with virtue, love and successful marriage (cf. Ovid Fasti 4.155-156) and as an expression of the composite aspects of femininity. Venus for all social strata represents an image of 'national identity': as the mother of Aeneas she is in effect the mother of all the Roman people. Another, though somewhat oblique aspect to explain her overwhelming popularity may be that she represents a feminine virtus. She is adopted as the patron deity of several of the war-lords of the late Republic, including ones who cannot claim descent from her. One of the types in which Venus is depicted show her holding and part wearing armour (the armour of Mars). Virgil and later also Sidonius link her with Virtus in the marriages of heroic characters (Sidonius Panegyrion on Anthemius 2.501-503; Virgil Culex 297-299); and in Apuleius the young woman adopting the pose of Venus for her lover goes on to describe her approach to lovemaking with the terminology of warfare (Metamorphoses 2.15 and 17). But first and foremost Venus represents the female complement to Mars, and the two are represented as an entity with a frequency far beyond any basis in mythology. The two may be seen as embodying more abstract ideas of the ideal - if Mars may represent an exemplum of the heroic and worthy male, may Venus not represent a similar idea for women?

Cat. 160. Funerary altar of Petilia Iusta. (Date: 41-54 AD)
Limestone from Aurisina. 111 x 55 x 49 cm.
Inscription: DM / Petiliae / iustae / ann(os) XVIII / men(sis) III d(ies) X / Valdierna / Pleris / mater / filiae piissima / fecit.
References: Scrinari 1972: 135, no 388, fig 388a-b.
The inscription occupies the entire front of the funerary altar; on the sides are represented a tree (right side) and a nude figure of Venus with a flower in her left hand and her mantle hanging from her left elbow (left side). According to Scrinari the carving is Claudian in style.

Cat. 161. Posthumous portrait of Antonia Minor as Venus. (Date: 41-54 AD)
A statue of Antonia minor in frontal pose (Kore Albani type) with a small Cupid standing on her left hand. She wears a chiton and mantle and an elaborate openwork diadem with palmettes and flowers.
The hair and head-dress were worked separately and inserted. The presence of Cupid suggests the identification as Venus.

**Cat. 162. Statue of Agrippina II (?) as Venus.** (Date: a. 49 AD)
Figure broken in several pieces; head said to pertain. The body is depicted in the so-called Venus Frejus type with chiton and mantle but with both breasts covered.

**Cat. 163. Statue of a young woman.** (Date: 70-80 AD)
Marble. H. 136 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Wrede 1981, no 82 (Diana).
Statue of a young woman with a Flavian hairstyle. She wears a long double-belted chiton and a mantle and raises her right arm towards her shoulder in the manner of the Venus Frejus and the Artemis Versailles types. The head is broken but pertains. The left hand, part of right arm, bow, and quiver are restorations. Given that and the fact that there is no cross-strap for the quiver an identity as Venus has been preferred.

**Cat. 164. Statue of a woman in the type of the Capitoline Venus.** (Date: 80-90 AD)
References: Bieber 1977: 204; Johansen 1995a, no 14 (Marcia Furnilla?); Kleiner 1992a: 177-178, fig 146 (court lady, possibly Marcia Furnilla); Salathé 1997 no B1; Wrede 1971: 144, 156f, AI 1, pl 86.1, 87.1 (private); Wrede 1981 no 292 (private).
Statue of a nude matron with a Flavian hairstyle in the type of the Capitoline Venus with her arms crossed in front of her breasts and pudenda. By her right foot the feet of a small Cupid is visible. Find-spot may have been a Flavian villa.

**Cat. 165. Ash-chest of Alfidio Callipo and Alfidia Irene.** (Date: 98-117 AD)
Marble. Measurements unknown.
Intruction: *Dis Manibus / C. Alfidio Callipo / qui vix. ann. LVIII / et C. Alfidio / Triumphali fil. / vix. ann. XII m. VIII d. XV / Alfidia Irene / patro. et coniugi optim. / et fil. dulcissimo fecit / et sibi et suis posterisq. erorum.*
References: CIL VI 11440; Vermeule 1960: 24, no 228; Wrede 1981, NO 35/281/337.
The inscription occupies the central part of the ash-chest; above and to the right and left of this are figured fields. In the upper, pedimental field a man with a Trajanic hairstyle reclines on a kline with his wife sitting by his feet. On the left a depiction of Cupid and Psyche above whom are written *Callipo f. and Helpidi f.* respectively. The field on the right is depicted Venus in the Venus Frejus type holding an apple in her left hand - the fact that her hairstyle is not of an ideal type may indicate that she is to be seen as Alfidia Irene; next to her stand a small winged cupid, above whom is written *Carpo f., holding up a mirror. See also Cat. 145.*

**Cat. 166. Statue of a woman as Venus.** (Date: 100-110 AD)
References: Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1937: 125, no 267, pl 56; Salathé 1997, no B4; Wrede 1971: 144, 158; A 12; pl 86.2, 87.2; Wrede 1981, no 293.
Under life-size figure of a nude matron in the type of the Capitoline Venus though with inverted stance. Head has been re-attached but is said to pertain. It may have been the companion piece to a statue of Mercury - hence the change in weight bearing leg stance.

**Cat. 167. Statue of a woman as Venus.** (Date: 100-120 AD)
Marble. H. 183 cm. Inscription: None.
Statue of a semi-nude woman standing in an accentuated contra-posto pose leaning slightly backwards as if leaning on a support. Her mantle is wrapped around her upper thighs and she lifts the hem of it with her left hand. Her hairstyle is a high diadem of curls. Right arm and hand, left underarm, and the tip of the nose are restored. The head is broken but said to pertain.

**Cat. 168. Funerary relief with two figures.** (Date: 110-120 AD) *(Fig. 19)*
Marble. 210 x 100 cm. Inscription: None.
The relief depicts two full-length standing figures in frontal pose. In the front plane is a man in tunic and paludamentum holding a lance but with bare feet (head is reworked). Slightly behind him and with her left hand on his left shoulder stands a woman in a long unbelted chiton which has slipped off her right shoulder to reveal her breast; she holds an apple in her left hand and with her right she hold out her mantle behind her. Her body-type is reminiscent of the Venus Frejus type.

**Cat. 169. Statue of Sabina(?) as Venus Genetrix.** (Date: pre 117 AD)
Marble. H. 180 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Calza 1964: 77-78, no 124, pl 72 (Sabina); Carandini 1969: 134f, no 1, fig 10-11 (Sabina); Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 62-63, under no 84 (not Sabina probably a priestess); Kruse 1968 (1975), no D30 (Sabina); Salathé 1997, no 11 (priestess); Wegner 1939-1985, vol II.3: 127 (private); Wrede 1971: 157 n.137, no 5 (probably Sabina); Wrede 1981, no 36.2 (probably Sabina). Portrait statue of a young woman/ matron in a long unbelted chiton slipping off her left shoulder. Her right arm is raised and holds the hem of the mantle behind her shoulder in the manner of the Venus Frejus type.

**Cat. 170. Funerary relief of the Haterii.** (Date: c. 120 AD)
At the top right-hand corner of the relief is depicted a woman lying on a kline in front of a parapetasma. Behind her is a monument (funerary arch?) with a central niche in which stands a naked frontal figure who may be Venus or who may be another image of the woman on the kline here in the guise of Venus.

**Cat. 171. Funerary altar of Chreste.** (Date: 100-150 AD)
In a recessed niche on the front of the altar stands a figure of Venus with the arm gesture of the Venus Frejus type, though the figure here is nude except for the mantle over her arm and right leg. Her right arm is raised and plays with a lock of hair, in her left she holds an apple. See also Cat. 195, 196, 197.

Cat. 172. Funerary relief. (Date: a. 130 AD) (Fig. 23)
The high relief portrait depiction of a young full-length standing woman is set in a niche framed by pilasters and a decorated arch. She is nude except for the mantle around her hips. Her left arms rests on a pillar and in her hand she holds a palm leaf. By her right foot sits a dove.

Cat. 173. Statue of a woman in the type of the Capitoline Venus. (Date: c. 140 AD)
Marble. 184 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Bieber 1977: 66 no 62 fig 242 (not Marciana or Matidia since empresses were not represented nude); Pedicini 1989: 172, no 123 (entry by Eugenio La Rocca); Salathé 1997, no B3; Wegner 1939-1985, vol II.3: 121 (neither Matidia nor Marciana nor of their period); Wrede 1981 no 297; Wrede 1971: 144, 158; A11; pl 89.1.
Statue of a nude matron in the manner of the Capitoline Venus. On her left is a tall vessel on which is draped her mantle. Her left arm, the fingers on the right hand, and the tip of the nose are restored.

Cat. 174. Funerary relief with couple. (Date: 140-150 AD) (Fig. 22)
Ostia. Museum (sala VIII.1) 5. Provenance: Ostia. Central cortile of the "Case Giardino".
Italian marble. H. 130 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Calza 1964: 99-100, no 162, pl 75-76;
Kleiner 1981: 513-9, no 1, fig 1-2; Salathé 1997, no D18.
A mature couple with portrait features standing in an arched niche. He is represented frontally, she in three-quarter turned towards him. Her left hand (holding what is most likely an apple) rests on his right shoulder, the clasp right hands in the gesture of dextrarum iunctio. He is togate, she in a chiton and mantle. Above their heads fly two cupids with garlands, between them stand a naked cupid or small boy. An at least implicit association with Venus, which here may be called Venus Concordia, cf. Cat. 208, 209.

Cat. 175. Bust of a woman. (Date: 150-160 AD)
A bust of a naked matron which according to Wrede (1981) has been cut down from a statue. She wears a high diadem, with a lock of hair falling over her shoulder, and on her left shoulder are the remains of a cupid visible. Her nose, upper part of diadem, segment of neck, breast and beginning of left arm and the base of the bust are restorations.

Cat. 176. Statue-group in guise of Venus Capua and Mars Borghese. (Date: a. 150 AD) (Fig. 20)
Marble. H. 168 cm (her)187 cm (him, incl helmet, excl plinth). Inscription: None.
References: Bieber 1977: 44, fig 108 (private); Calza 1977: 18-19, no 15, pl 10, 12 (private);
Fittschen and Zanker 1985: 69-70, no 64, pl 74.64 (M. Aurelius & Faustina I); Kleiner 1981: 512 ff, fig 8 (private); Kleiner 1986 (private); Kleiner 1992a: 280-281, fig 248; Kruse 1968 (1975), no D105
Two figure group of a young couple. He is nude apart from his mantle, wears a helmet and carries a spear; she is dressed in a chiton which reveal the upper part of her shoulders and mantle wrapped around her hips. Her nose and central part of the right shoulder lock; index-, middle- and little finger of right hand; and parts of the drapery are restored. Similar to Cat. 177, 184.

Cat. 177. Statue group in the guises of Venus Capua and Mars Borghese. (Date: c. 150 AD)
Marble. H. 180 cm. Inscription: None.
A stature group very similar to Cat. 176, though here she wears an unbelted chiton. She faces towards him and rests her left hand on his left shoulder, her right touches his chest.

Cat. 178. Sarcophagus of Antonia Attikia and Antonia Pistis. (Date: 150-200 AD)
Sarcophagus with two small relief fields framed by columns on the otherwise undecorated front. In the left niche is depicted Venus, in the right Diana. The former is depicted in the manner of the Venus Frejus type. Neither deity is given the portrait features of the sisters, the association is made through the inscription of their names along the sarcophagus lid and through a depiction of their brother as Hercules (cf. Wrede 1981 no 144). See also Cat. 72.

Cat. 179. Funerary relief to the daughter of Pylades. (Date: 150-200 AD)
The front of the stele depict a figure of Venus in a recessed niche. She is nude apart from the mantle around her hips; with her left hand holds the hem of this, vith her right she might have been playing with a lock of hair.

Cat. 180. Funerary stele of Septimia Gaiane. (Date: 150-200 AD)
Part of the decoration of the stele includes a panel depicting four frontal figures. A man wearing a himation, a woman in the type of the large Herculanenum woman, and between them - one on top of the other - two half-sized figures. The upper of the two is a girl in the stance of the Capitoline Venus, the lower a boy. The relief may depict the family, the smaller size indicating children.

Cat. 181. Funerary relief of Prokliane. (Date: 153/4 or 182/3 AD)
The relief depicts a single figure in a version of the Venus Frejus type set in a deep niche. Stands frontally, her right breast reveal by the slipping chiton, among household objects like a chair and a crater.
Cat. 182. Funerary relief of Onesimos and his family. (Date: 160-180 AD)
Marble. 93 x 80 cm.
In the upper part of the relief field is represented three portrait bust: a mature man and woman and a younger woman. Below that is a scene of a man reclining on a couch; at the foot of this stands a woman in the manner of the Venus Frejus; on the far right and lefts are two seated, draped women holding their veil in the so-called pudica pose.

Cat. 183. Statue of a woman as Venus. (Date: 160-180 AD)
References: Azevedo 1951: 108-109, no 264, pl 47.99, 100 (Faustina II); Salathé 1997, no C2; Wrede 1971: 158, AI 8; Wrede 1981 no 305 (private, provincial).
Statue of young matron. She is nude apart from the large fringed mantle which she draws in front of her with her left hand in a manner of the Capitoline Venus. Her hairstyle, according to Wrede 1981, is similar to that of Faustina II though probably reworked in the third century; on her head was a diadem; head broken but pertains.

Cat. 184. Statue-group in guise of Venus Capua and Mars Borghese. (Date: 161-180 AD)
References: Bieber 1977, fig 107; Calza 1977: 19-20, no 16, pl 11-12 (Lucilla); Giuliano 1979-1985, vol I.8*: 219-24, no V.1 (entry by Lucilla de Lachenal) (official); Kleiner 1992: 281, fig 249 (private); Kleiner 1981: 539 (private); Salathé 1997, no D3 (Commodus & Faustina II?); Wrede 1971: 159 n. 138 (Faustina II & M. Aurelius); Wrede 1981: 133, 269 (Commodus & Faustina II?).
Couple similar to those of Cat. 176, 177 - though she now appears with nude torso, and without the chiton. On her head is a diadem with floral motif. The heads is said to have been added in antiquity, his being reworked. Her right shoulder, part of neck, part of nose are restorations.

Cat. 185. Statue of Faustina II or Lucilla. (Date: 161-180 AD (Antonine))
Marble. Slightly over life-size. Inscription: None.
References: Fittschen 1982: 78, no 1, pl 48.1-2 (Lucilla); Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 25-6 n. 4 (Lucilla); Herrmann 1925: 87, no 394 (Lucilla); Salathé 1997, no C1; Wegner 1939-1985, vol II.3: 212, pl 37a-b (Faustina II); Wrede 1971: 156, pl 88.1-2, 89.2 (Faustina II).
A portrait statue of a woman of the imperial house depicted in the type of the Capitoline Venus. She is nude apart from the mantle which she pulls in front of her pudenda; with her right hand she covers her breasts. By her right leg is a dolphin and traces of a small cupid. The head is broken but said to pertain. Tip of nose is restored, parts of face are reworked.

Cat. 186. Relief of woman on kline. (Date: 170-180 AD) (Fig. 21)
Marble. 63.2 x 121 x 6 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Calza 1977: 41, no 50, pl 38; Sinn 1991: 45-6, no 19, fig 52-3.
Missing from the relief is the top left hand corner. The remainder depicts a mature woman with portrait features reclining on a kline; she wears a chiton, which has slipped off her right shoulder, and a mantle around her hips; in her left hand she holds a garland, in her right an apple which she offers to the person whose feet are visible at the end of the kline. On the break edge are traces of another figure possibly a flying cupid.
**Cat. 187.** Sarcophagus with Seasons. (Date: 175-200 AD)
Sarcophagus front decorated with five niches of an arcade. In these stand figures representing the season; in the central bay stands a woman draped only in a mantle. With her right hand she lifts the mantle hem up behind her right shoulder, in her left she holds an apple. By her left foot is depicted a dolphin. Her head has portrait features and a hairstyle similar to Faustina II. The end panels are undecorated, the lid is decorated with cupids.

**Cat. 188.** Statue of a woman. (Date: 175-200 AD)
References: Salathé 1997, no A1; Wrede 1981, no 304, pl 38.1.3.
Portrait statue of a nude woman. Both arms and her legs from the knees are missing. Her body is very curvaceous and full; on her head she wears a diadem, and a lock of hair falls over her left shoulder. The break visible on her left hip may have been from a dolphin support.

**Cat. 189.** Statue by Sallustia and Helpudius. (Date: 180-200 AD)
Rome. Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Cortile Ottagono Inv 936. Provenance: Unknown. Suggested that it could be the figure found at Rome, S. Croce in Gerusalemme. White marble. H. 214 cm.
Inscription: *Veneri felici sacram / Sallustia Helpudius d. d.*
Statue group of a semi-nude woman and winged cupid. She wears a large mantle which she pulls in front of her pudenda with her right hand in a gesture reminiscent of the Capitoline Venus. On her head she wears a diadem.

**Cat. 190.** Funerary relief showing a husband and wife. (Date: 190-200 AD)
A two figure relief depicting a mature couple. He stands frontally in a tunic and with a wrath in his hair; she stands cross-legged on his right with her left arm around his shoulders and her right hand resting on his chest. She is nude apart from the mantle around her hips and the bracelet on her upper arm. The iconographical similarity with Cat. 176, 177 suggests her identity as Venus.

**Cat. 191.** Alabaster statuette with marble portrait. (Date: c. 200 AD)
Carrara marble and Etrurian alabaster. H 28,8 cm. Inscription: None.
Statuette of a young woman; head is broken and discoloured by metal pin but pertains, both arms missing. She wears a long chiton belted on her hips and a mantle which covers her shoulders and back. The arrangement of the drapery as well as her posture identify the image as a version of the Venus Frejus type - providing in turn the identification as Venus.
Cat. 192. Grave stele of Eurydike. (Date: 2nd century AD)
Thessaloniki, near the church Panagia Chalkeon. Provenance: Thessaloniki.
Marble. 81 x 46 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Salathé 1997, no I17; Wrede 1981, no 328.
According to the description given by Wrede (1981) the stele was re-used at which time a figure of
Venus was added to the front of the relief. The goddess is depicted in the manner of the Venus Frejus
type between two kneeling cupids, the one on her right handing a mirror?

Cat. 193. Funerary relief of Kleonike Kyrilla. (Date: 2nd century AD)
Marble. 49 x 29.5 cm.
The relief is decorated with the figure of Venus set within a recessed niche. The goddess is depicted in
the manner of the Venus Frejus type. Wrede (1981: 62) suggests that Kleonike Kyrilla may have been
a prostitute. The relief was later re-used as a lid for a sarcophagus.

Cat. 194. Funerary relief of Kopria. (Date: 2nd century AD)
Thessaloniki. Provenance: Unknown. Marble. 50 x 24 cm.
References: Salathé 1997, no N1; Wrede 1981, no 327.
According to the description by Wrede (1981) the relief depicts a semi-nude standing figure of Venus in
frontal pose.

Cat. 195. Funerary altar of Neikomedeia. (Date: 2nd century AD)
Thessaloniki. Hagios Georgios 100. Provenance: Thessaloniki. In the vicinity of the state hospital.
Marble. H. 133 cm.
On the front of the altar, set within a recessed field surrounded by a broad rectangular frame, is depicted
a standing figure of Venus. The goddess stands in frontal pose with a mantle around her hips tied in
a knot at the front; both hands are raised, with her right hand she holds a lock of her hair, in her left she
holds a mirror. Similar to the Venus Anadyomene type. The find-spot is not the original primary
context.

Cat. 196. Funerary altar of the slave Trelaka. (Date: 2nd century AD)
A funerary altar decorated with a figure of Venus similar to Cat. 195. In a recessed field the semi-nude
goddess (mantle covering only her right leg and left elbow) stands holding a mirror in her left hand,
and a lock of hair in her right. See also Cat. 171.

Cat. 197. Grave stele of Titinia Prokla and her child. (Date: 2nd century AD)
The front of the stele represents the figures of Venus and Cupid standing on a raised groundline. The
nude Venus figure may have had portrait feature but the stele is too worn to determine surely. She
stands frontally, holding an apple(?) in her left hand and raising her right to her hair as in Cat. 171,
195, 196. On her left stands an over-sized cupid with crossed legs leaning on a down-turned torch.

Cat. 198. Fragment of a marble inscription. (Date: 2nd century AD)
Marble. No measurements available.
Inscription: Dis (Manibus) / Phra ... / Arat ... / Vene ... / Karis(siae) / Fectit.
Only the top left-hand corner of the inscription is preserved. To the right of the inscription is depicted a figure of Venus in a shallow arched niche. The figure is in a heavy frontal pose though from the gestures of the hands it is clear that it is rendered in the manner of the Capitoline Venus: nude, covering her breasts and pubenda.

Cat. 199. Statue of a woman as Venus of Syracuse. (Date: 210-220 AD)
Marble. H. 144 cm. Inscription: None.
Portrait statue of a matron with a Severan hairstyle. The body-type with which she is represented as a version of the Capitoline Venus usually called the Venus Syracuse. She is nude apart from the mantle draped loosely around her lower hips and held with her left hand in front of her pubenda; with her right hand she covers her breasts. By her left leg stands a small nude cupid with a dolphin. The right arm, left underarm, both calves and feet, nose and chin are restorations.

Cat. 200. Statue of a woman as Venus Anadyomene. (Date: 210-230 AD)
Marble. H. 171 cm. Inscription: None.
Portrait statue of a matron in the type usually called Venus Anadyomene. She is nude apart from the mantle draped low on her hips and tied in a knot at the front. Both arms are restored; the left from the elbow, the right from the shoulder (including the shoulderlock). The head is broken but pertains; her hairstyle is Severan and was designed as a removable wig; a lock of hair falls over her left shoulder. By her right leg a small cupid is riding on a dolphin. Nose and toes are restorations.

Cat. 201. Grave stele of Makaidon with family. (Date: 200-250 AD)
References: Dull 1975: 125, pl 8; Salathé 1997, no C6; Wrede 1981, no 150/331, pl 22.2).
In a recessed rectangular niche on the front of the stele four frontal figures are depicted. On the left and right a man in himation and a veiled woman in the type of the large Herculanum woman; between them are two half-sized figure who presumably represent their children. The larger of the two, the boy, is represented as Hercules: nude and with a club and lion skin; the girl is standing in a pose similar to the Capitoline Venus: drawing her mantle in front of her pubenda with her right hand, covering her breasts with her left; her hair-style includes a large top-knot. The faces of all the figures are worn and damaged though portrait features may be distinguished for the parents.

Cat. 202. Grave stele of Alexandra. (Date: 200-250 AD)
The stele is decorated with a figure of Venus set in a shallow niche. She is nude apart from the mantle around her hips and held with her left hand in front of her pubenda as in the Venus Syracuse type. Next to her stand a winged cupid with a lowered torch.

Cat. 203. Central part of a sarcophagus front. (Date: c. 210 AD)
Marble. 67 x 135 cm. Inscription: None.
A symmetrical composition of two antithetical (ichthy)centaurs, with a half-draped woman sitting on their backs, hold a large mussel shell; in this a matron with a hairstyle in the manner of Julia Domna is depicted as a nude Venus. She kneels in a slight crouching pose, covering her pudenda with her left hand and in her right holding the mantle which billows up over her head as a vellificatio. On her left is a standing cupid holding a torch.

**Cat. 204.** Funerary stele of Anyntiane. (Date: 200-250 AD (?)
Beroia, Beroia Museum Inv 520. Provenance: Beroia. Marble. 76 x 30 cm.
References: Rhoﬀnopoulou 1973: 439g, pl 393d; Salathé 1997, no C3; Wrede 1981, no 333.
A figure of Venus is represented in a shallow arched niche on the front of the stele. The face is worn away. She is nude apart from the mantle around her hips and which she holds with her left hand in front of her pudenda; with her right hand she covers her breasts. On her left a small seated dog look up at her.

**Cat. 205.** Funerary altar of Aemilia Irene. (Date: 200-250 AD (?)
Marble. Measurements not available.
Inscription: D.M. Aemiliae / Irene quaee / vixit ann. XXVI / diebus XIII / Aurelius Eutyches / stupidus / greg. urb. con/iugis karissima(e).
Described as depicting a figure of Venus in high relief standing in a pose in the manner of the Venus Syracusae.

**Cat. 206.** Sarcophagus. (Date: c. 220 AD)
Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 10409. Provenance: In the main room of the so-called 'Buntes Grab' or 'Pankratiergrab', Via Latina.
Marble. 72 x 215 x 71 cm; 23 x 213 cm (lid). Inscription: None.
The sarcophagus front depicts three scenes pertaining to the myth of Adonis: on the left his leave-taking from Venus; on the right the boar hunt; in the centre Adonis and Venus enthroned. The central couple dominating the relief with their large size have both been given portrait features and are depicted in front of a parapatasma... She has a Severan hairstyle, wears a chiton and mantle (he is nude) and hold a sceptre like Juno. End panels depict hunting scenes. The lid does not pertain.

**Cat. 207.** Socalled Balbinus sarcophagus. (Date: 238 AD)
(Fig. 25)
Greek marble. 232 x 117 x 131 cm (H. incl lid 200 cm). Inscription: None.
Fragmentary sarcophagus front with figures in high relief. On the far right a wedding scene with a couple in dextrarum iunctio; he has portrait features, her head is completely missing. Central a standing couple sacrificing at an altar. He is in military garb, but the head is missing; she has portrait features and wears a chiton slipping off her left shoulder and a mantle around her hips, in her right hand she holds a sceptre. Between them Victoria (crowning him), to his right a nude Mars; on her right stand Virtus/Diana and Abundantia/Fortuna with a cornucopia; a small cupid with a torch is visible by her right shoulder. On the lid the couple with portrait features less idealised than on the
Cat. 208. Column sarcophagus. (Date: 240-250 AD)  
Marble. 105 x 235 cm. Inscription: None.  
Sarcophagus front with arcade: in the two outer arches are depicted the Dioscuri with Oceanus and Tellus respectively, in the central arch a couple. He has portrait features; nothing survives of her face though remaining parts of her hair seem to be in a post-Severan hairstyle suggesting she too had portrait features. He is togate, she wears a chiton slipping off her left shoulder and a mantle around her hips in the manner of the woman in Cat. 207. He holds out his right hand in a dextrarum iunctio gesture, but her right arm is extended away from him (possible that she would have held a sceptre as in Cat. 207) and her left arm rests on his shoulders as in Cat. 168. Between them is frontal face of Concordia; by her right leg stands a small winged cupid. An at least implicit association with Venus, which here may be called Venus Concordia, cf. Cat. 174, 209.

Cat. 209. Sarcophagus front. (Date: 240-250 AD)  
Sarcophagus front with arcade similar to Cat. 208. Central couple depicted in a manner similar to the couple in Cat. 207; he is in a hunting outfit and holds a spear, a helmet lies by his feet; she wears a chiton slipping off her left shoulder and a mantle around her hips, the sceptre and patera in her hands are both restored, by her right leg stands a small cupid above whom flies a dove. An at least implicit association with Venus, which here may be called Venus Concordia, cf. Cat. 174, 208.

Cat. 210. Grave stele. (Date: Unknown)  
Mogile. In the church wall left of the door. Provenance: Unknown. Marble. 70 x 68 cm.  
According to Wrede (1981) the relief is inscribed with a dedication to Zopyros by his parents, as well a Klaudios and a female relative. Above the inscriptions the figures of a man and a woman frame three smaller figures: Heracles, Cupid with a torch, and a Venus with a mantle around her hips and her arm gestures in the manner of the Capitoline Venus. Düll (1975) sees the Venus figure as having portrait features and a contemporary hairstyle.

Victoria

Number of entries in the catalogue: 2  
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 2  
Main period of popularity: 196-215 AD - both represent Julia Domna.  
Media of depictions: Both the cameo and the relief panel must be intended as honorific in context.  
Victoria represents victory and good fortune in battle. She is represented as standing, holding a wreath in one hand and a palm leaf in the other - the traditional attributes of the victor. When her role seems to be of a more allegorical nature, for instance decorating sarcophagi or the lunettes on triumphal arches, she may regularly be shown semi-nude, with only her large mantle draped around her legs and hips. However, her most characteristic attribute is always her large wings articulated as feathered. Both the catalogued works correspond to the 'standard' depiction of Victoria though only Cat. 211 depicts her winged. Further, do both pieces articulate clearly the intimate connection between Victoria and warfare: in Cat. 212 Julia Domna as Victoria is shown with her son next to a tropaion, and in Cat. 211 she is shown seated above a mound of spoils of war - similar to representation of Roma.

During the late Republic Victoria became linked increasingly with the fortunes and persons of individual generals rather than representing the state in general (cf. Cicero Letters to Atticus 13.44). Augustus in 29 BC erected a statue of Victoria in the Curia and instituted rituals to be observed to this goddess at the start of each Senate sitting (Dio 51.22) (the statue incidentally remained in placed until 357 AD when it was removed by Constantius, only to be reinstated for a period - and finally removed by Gratian in 382 AD). Both representations catalogued here depict Julia Domna who as Victoria embodies the state itself as well as being the guarantor of the good fortunes of the state and the complementary counterpart to the emperor. Victoria is a popular symbol on the imperial coinage where she is often given the epithet Augusti/a. A certain iconographical intermingling between Victoria and Venus seems to exist; especially in the depictions of Victoria holding the inscribed clupeus virtutis shield which in pose is very similar to the so-called Venus Capua type. On one hand they may both be seen as sharing a link with Mars; on the other do both deities have an important political significance for some of the stronger personalities of the late Republic. The two goddesses may therefore have been promoted concurrently, as when Sulla inscribed his trophies with the names of Mars, Venus and Victory - or Caesar celebrated the dedication of the Temple to Venus Genetrix with the Ludi Victoriae Caesaris (Dio 45.6.4; Plutarch Sulla 19.5).

211. Sardonyx cameo. (Date: c. 196 AD)
Sardonyx. 16.3 x 10.7 cm. Inscription: None.
Oval cameo depicting Julia Domna as a winged Victoria. She is shown seated in profile left on a mound of armour; she wears a high-belted chiton with a mantle around her hips; in her outstretched right hand she holds a laurel wreath, in the crook of her left arm is a palm branch. Her face (mouth, nose and eyes) show traces of reworking, Megow (1987) suggests it may have been recut from a
portrait of Faustina II. The hairstyle is that worn by Julia Domna from 193 AD; a possible occasion for the reworking of the cameo may have been the granting of the title mater castrorum in 196 AD.

Cat. 212. Relief with Caracalla and Julia Domna as Victoria. (Date: 215 AD)
Marble. No measurements available. Inscription: None.
Depiction of Caracalla and Julia Domna in frontal pose. He wears military garb and with his outstretched right arm he indicated the trophy next to him. On his left stands Julia Domna in an unbelted chiton slipping off her left shoulder and top of breast, and a mantle around her hips. With her outstretched right arm she crowns Caracalla, in her left she holds a palm branch.

Virtus

Number of entries in the catalogue: 6
Number of pieces (possibly depicting imperial women: 0
Main period of popularity: Third quarter of the third century AD.
Media of depictions: All the works are sarcophagi reliefs.

The earlier significance of Virtus was closely linked with warfare, military valour and with male spheres of interest in general. Virtus is in nature essentially a personification, but of such importance that she must be treated as a deity proper - see especially Cicero (De Natura Deorum 2.61, 2.79, 3.88, though cf. also Juvenal Satires 1.115). Four temples to Virtus seem to have existed in Rome including Pompey's dedication to Virtus, Honos, Felicitas and Venus Victrix in his theatre, (CIL 1.1: 244, 324, Cicero De Natura Deorum 2.61, Cicero In Verrem 4.121, Livy 27.25.7-9, 29.11.13, 25.40.3, 26.32.4, Plutarch Marcellus 28.1-2, Vitruvius 3.2.5, 7.pref.17). Iconographically Virtus never loses her militaristic aspect. She is usually represented as an amazonian style woman in a short, sleeveless chiton which often slips off one shoulder to the reveal the breast, and with a short mantle and hunting-style boots. Like Roma she wears a helmet, and the spheres of the two goddesses do in fact overlap: both may be seen as being concerned with national protection and national identity (D'Ambra 1994: 78). Since Virtus depicts a human characteristic she is often represented in close proximity to a male protagonist. All six of the works included in the catalogue conform to these standard representations of Virtus, either in dress and attributes or in iconographic context.

The trend away from associating Virtus with a specific action and towards seeing her as a personal quality (Cicero De Natura Deorum 3.88), increasingly takes
on a more encompassing interpretation of the exemplary, worthy human being. For Virtus, as expressed by Marius, cannot be inherited but must be earned (Sallust *The War with Jugurtha* 85.29, and 85 passim, cf. Silius Italicus 15.69-72, 15.129-130 and 15.22). The most obvious way to display one’s virtus is on the battlefield (cf. Horace Epode 9.25-26, Sallust *The War with Jugurtha* 85.28-30, Silius Italicus 15.129-130). However, Virtus is not solely linked with military prowess. Horace links Virtus with Fides (faith), Pax (peace), Honos (honour) and Pudor (modesty); and Cicero unite Virtus with Mens (intellect), Pietas (piety) and Fides (faith) as the qualities which will ensure an apotheosis after one’s death - though according to Horace Virtus is capable of guaranteeing this also on her own (Cicero *De Legibus* 2.19; Horace *Carmen Saeculare* 57-60, *Odes* 3.2.21-22). Indeed, for Virgil Virtus is connected with marriage as she and Venus together are the deities favouring the marriages of the heroes Peleus and Telamon (Virgil *Culex* 297-299, cf. Sidonius *Panegyric on Anthemius* 2.501-503). If Virtus is or becomes an essentially personal characteristic symbolising a just and moral living women too can be associated with the goddess. See especially Cat. 214, 215 and 216 where the position of the female figure cannot be interpreted as a kind of adjunct to the male protagonist (either her portrait features precede those of the man, or she and he are depicted in separate but equally emphasised battle scenes, or her figure is accentuated by being a the centre of the composition and in an unusual position in respect to his). Silius Italicus’ description (*Punica* 15.28-31) of Virtus is interesting, for here she is not described as being unfeminine but rather as partly embodying and displaying characteristics more normally associated with masculinity. The problem might have been of how to express visually a woman’s virtus within iconographical conventions closely tied to militaristic virtues; in the third century AD Virtus achieves a more metaphysical character and so becomes an acceptable visual descriptive also for women (note also the change in Diana representations and the proximity of Virtus to the woman on the so-called Balbinus sarcophagus, Cat. 207).

**Cat. 213.** Sarcophagus front with lionhunt. (Date: 250-260 AD)  
Lenos sarcophagus depicting a lion hunt. Dominating the single scene between the two decorative lion heads are a man on horseback facing a lion, and behind him Virtus with helmet, short chiton and bared right breast. His face is much damaged but may have had portrait features, that of Virtus has been left as a boss.
**Cat. 214.** Sarcophagus with lion hunt. (Date: a. 250 AD)
Marble. 124 x 261 x 112 cm; 57 x 267 cm (lid). Inscription: None.
Fragmentary sarcophagus with a single scene of lion hunt. Wrede (1981) suggests that the hunter protagonist was the figure (of which nothing survives) on horseback immediately in front of the lion, however, other aspects suggest rather that he is to be identified with the standing (headless) male figure in high relief on the left since he is depicted in heroic nudity stepping over a boar and since the gesture of Virtus standing immediately behind him seems directed at him. Virtus has the portrait face of a mature matron; she wears a short chiton exposing her right breast and a helmet. She turns her head away from the hunt towards the left-hand figure of the two Dioscuri framing the scene.

**Cat. 215.** Jovinus sarcophagus. (Date: a. 260 AD)  
(Fig. 26)
Marble. 149 x 283 x 131 cm. Inscription: None.
A monumental sarcophagus depicting a lion hunt. Two scenes are represented though the figure of Virtus joins them to a seeming whole. Two thirds of the relief field depict a man on horseback facing a lion; he has been given portrait features. In the remaining left-hand third the same man appears standing in frontal pose; to his left, also frontal, is the standing figure of Virtus with the portrait features of a matron. She looks to the right and thereby joins the two scenes though his static pose connects her more obviously with the standing man. She wears a short chiton exposing her right breast, a mantle bunched on her left shoulder and a helmet, she holds a large round shield and by her feet lies a dead boar. The composition is similar to that in the Diana depictions Cat. 76, 77, 78 and the emphasis on the couple evident in those is here underscored by the small cupid standing between the couple. Her head was recut from an ideal representation and though the hairstyle is contemporary some details remain of the previous ideal hairstyle. Also the two portraits of the man were recut from the original, at a date which may be later than the working of her portrait.

**Cat. 216.** Child sarcophagus boar hunt. (Date: c. 270 AD)  
(Fig. 28)
Grey-white marble. 150 x 55-58 cm. Inscription: None.
A child sarcophagus (inner measurements: 136 x c. 40 x 44-45 cm) with a single scene of putti hunting a boar. A boy with portrait features is depicted on horseback; in front of him indicating the boar with her right hand, stand Virtus in a short chiton exposing her right shoulder - her face has been left as a boss. On her back are butterfly-like wings associating her with Psyche.

**Cat. 217.** Sarcophagus with lion hunt. (Date: a. 275 AD)  
(Fig. 29)
Leon sarcophagus with a depiction of a lion and boar hunt. The emphasis of the scene is on the equestrian male figure facing the lion and on the helmeted figure of Virtus behind him in short chiton with exposed right breast; both have faces left as a boss. The killing of the boar takes up the remaining space behind Virtus.
Cat. 218. Sarcophagus with lionhunt. (Date: a. 280 AD)
Marble. 56 x 202 x 58 cm. Inscription: None.
A much worn sarcophagus with a depiction of a double lion hunt. The central part of the relief field is
occupied by the male equestrian figure and Virtus behind him, both facing right towards a leaping lion.
The faces of both figures have been left as a boss. On the left part of the relief a small group of rider
and two men form another lion hunt scene.

‘with cornucopia’

Number of entries in the catalogue: 9
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 9
Main period of popularity: Mid first century AD with another few dated to the mid
second century.
Media of depictions: All the works, six statues, two cameos and the relief, belong
within a honorific context.
Bibliographical references: Bell 1982: 55; Roscher 1884-1937 s.v. Amalthea;
Wissowa 1894-1972 s.v. Amaltheia (1) and Copia (2).

The section ‘with cornucopia’ takes its name from the presence of an attribute often
associated with deities. The word cornucopia literally means the horn of Copia, the
goddess of plenty. The place in mythology of this horn occur in two stories which at
times are connected: as a child Jupiter is said to have been nursed and cared for by a
nymph who fed him with the milk of a goat and with various fruits which she gathered
in one of the horns broken from the head of the she-goat (Ovid Fasti 5.111-128); the
cornucopia is also known as Amalthea’s horn since this is said to have been the name
either of the nymph herself or of the she-goat. At other times the horn is connected
with the exploits of Herakles and an object which he wins during his labours - and
later gives as a (wedding) present to the Aetolians (Diodorus of Sicily 3.68.2, 4.35.4;
Strabo 10.2.19). The cornucopia is an attribute shared between several deities - both
male and female. These include Abundantia, Aeternitas, Concordia, Felicitas, Fides,
Fortuna, Pax, and Pietas; as well as Genius, Hercules, Honos, Jupiter, Plutus, and
Priapus. The exact make-up of the cornucopia may vary but usually it will contain a
variety of fruits, like grapes, pomegranates, poppy-seed heads and ears of corn, each
of which in turn are symbols of fecundity.

The significance of the cornucopia is its symbolic value as effortless fertility
and fruitfulness, especially that related to the land (Diodorus of Sicily 3.68.3 cf. also
4.35.4). Cicero’s friend, Atticus, at his estate in Epirus apparently laid out a pieces of
his land as an Amalthea - a kind of extended, (semi)agricultural nymphaeum (Cicero
Letters to Atticus 1.13.1, 1.16.18, 2.20 and De Legibus 2.3.7). The meaning of the
cornucopia may also be more abstract, and signify plenty and abundance in general, and especially as the idea of a 'Golden Age' brought by the reign of a particular emperor - cf. Horace Carmen Saeculare 57-60 and Epistles 1.12.28-29). Some of the pieces catalogued might originally have contained a more precise identification, it is possible that part at least of the intention behind this type was as a general association with abundance and prosperity. See for instance the two depictions of Agrippina the Younger, Cat. 224 and 225, where she is shown crowning her son Nero; Agrippina is both the fertile mother of Nero, the (symbol of the) qualities which brought him to power, and a representative of the Roman nation who will continue prosperous under his reign. The number of empresses using this type of presentation is rather limited: Livia, Agrippina the Younger and Faustina the Elder. The depictions of Faustina the Elder are all posthumous: she is already a deity in her own right and depictions of her person function primarily as a symbol of the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Cat. 219. Seated statue of Livia with cornucopia. (Date: 37-41 AD) Madrid. Museo Arqueológico Nacional 20.232. Provenance: Near Córdoba. White marble. H. 125 cm. Inscription: None. References: Bartman 1999: 168, no 50, fig 84; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, no 1 n. 6; Garca y Bellido 1949, no 171, pl 129; Winkes 1997: 130, no 55, fig 55. An over life-size depiction of Livia in a belted chiton and a mantle drawn around her hips and over her head. In her left arm she holds a cornucopia. Nose, right arm and both legs from thighs missing.

Cat. 220. Sardonyx cameo. (Date: 41-54 AD) London. British Museum 3580. Provenance: Unknown. Sardonyx. 3 x 3 cm. Inscription: None. References: Megow 1987: 79 no 244; Walters 1926: 337, no 3580, pl 39 (Onyx); Winkes 1997: 126, no 51, fig 51. The cameo fragment which originally depicted a person holding a cornucopia; tip of nose, two fingers and the top of the cornucopia survive. In the cornucopia, decorated with vine tendrils, sits an enthroned female figure among a pine cone, grapes, corn ears, and fruit. The veiled figure seems to have the portrait features of Livia; she holds a sceptre in her left hand and a patena in her outstretched right.

Cat. 221. Statue of Livia with cornucopia. (Date: 41-54 AD) Paris. Louvre MA 1242. Provenance: Unknown. Formerly in the Borghese collection. Marble. H. 253 cm. Inscription: None. References: Bieber 1977: 23, fig 16; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, no 1 n. 6; Kersauson 1986: 102-103, no 45, fig 45; Winkes 1997: 148, no 74, fig 74; Wood 1999: 115-116, fig 38. Over life-size statue of Livia wearing a chiton and mantle. In her left arm she holds a cornucopia and on her head she wears a headress of flowers. The right arm and hand with corn ears and poppies are restored as are the right hand and the tip of the cornucopia.

Statue of a diademed woman in chiton and a mantle around her hips holding a cornucopia in her left arm. Head was made separately and inserted. Tip of nose, right arm and shoulder, part of diadem, and upper part of cornucopia and fruit are restorations.

Cat. 223. Statue of Livia holding a cornucopia. (Date: 50-55 AD)
Over life-size statue of Livia wearing a chiton and a mantle drawn up as a veil; in her left arm she holds a cornucopia and her head the remains of a diadem with palmettes are visible. Head worked separately and inserted.

Cat. 224. Sardonyx cameo. (Date: 54 AD)
Sardonyx. 8 x 6,4 cm. Inscription: None.
Depiction of Nero seated in profile right, in front of him stand Agrippina II crowning him with a laurel wreath. He is dressed as Jupiter with aegis, sceptre, laurel wreath and an eagle below the throne. She wears a chiton and mantle, a laurel wreath with corn ears in her hair and in her left arm she holds a cornucopia.

Cat. 225. Sebasteion relief. (Date: 54-59 AD)
Aphrodisias Museum. Provenance: Sebasteion. Found in Room 9 at the North Portico.
Marble. 172 x 142 x 37,5 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Smith 1987, no 11, fig 24; Wood 1999: 302, fig 142.
The relief depicts Nero and Agrippina II in frontal pose. He wears military garb, she is in a belted chiton and mantle. With her right hand she crowns him with a laurel wreath, in her left she holds a cornucopia with pomegranate, apple(?) and grapes. relief probably taken down at Nero's fall in 68 and used as a floorslab. See also Cat. 33.

Cat. 226. Relief statue of Faustina the Elder. (Date: 140's AD)
Vienna. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Archäologische Sammlugen, Neue Hofburg.
Provenance: Ephesus. From the Parthian monument.
Marble. Measurements not available. Inscription: None.
References: Inan and Rosenbaum 1966: 76, no 42, pl 30.2.
Statue depicting Faustina I wearing a peplos and a veil over her head; in her left arm she holds a cornucopia.

Cat. 227. Statue of Faustina the Elder. (Date: a. 145-165 AD)
Marble. H. 221 cm. Inscription: None.
Portrait statue of Faustina I in chiton and mantle; in her left arm she holds a cornucopia. The nose, right hand and patera (parts are antique), left hand with tip of cornucopia, top of cornucopia with the fruit. Head broken but belongs. Traces of colour in face and hair. The statue was found on the SW wall of a octagonal bath room serving as nymphaeum or frigidarium with smaller figures of Apollo and Diana.

275
‘Deity’

Number of entries in the catalogue: 9
Number of pieces (possibly) depicting imperial women: 3
Main period of popularity: First half of second century AD, extendible to between 90-170 AD with a further pieces dating to the mid first century AD.

Media of depictions: two pieces belong in a funerary context; the three possible imperial portraits may if recognised as such be placed within an honorific context; for the remaining no certain context can be established.


The nomination ‘Deity’ refer to a class of representations which share traits indicative of a divine personality but for which no certain identity can be distinguished. However, of the nine pieces catalogued all but one do in fact share a common attribute: the particular hairstyle known as a topknot or Schleifenfrisur. The topknot hairstyle is often seen as being indicative of Venus but it may, in fact, be commonly found also in representations of Apollo and of Diana. It is, however, not to my knowledge used as a ‘fashionable’ hairstyle - and so must be interpreted as expressing a divine association.

References to Ovid (Ars Amatoria 3.139-1425) do not clarify the issue since his use of ‘knots’ and ‘braids’ are relatively vague and the descriptions of hairstyles lacking in detail. The hairstyle is created by parting long wavy hair in the centre, and gathering the majority in a bun or ‘loop-knot’ at the nape of the neck; hair from the forehead (the fringe) and/or from the temples and sides of the head down to the ears is kept separate and gathered on the top of the head in a knot which most of all resembles a bow..(two loops and a central knot). For examples of variants see LIMC VIII.2 s.v. Venus no 244, 245, and 285. These variations seem to me to be exactly that; variations on a theme, rather than pertaining to certain sculptural types. In, for instance, Cat. 229 and 230 the woman, who may be Julia Titi, is depicted with a variant of the hairstyle in which all the hair encircling the face has been drawn up into the knot; it would seem reasonable to presume that this particular variant was chosen because it concurred with contemporary fashions, rather than because the woman specifically wanted to associate herself with a Venus Anadyomene type. In Cat. 231 the addition of a diadem, and in Cat. 233 a ‘polos’ of plaits creates ulterior variations to the type. For Cat. 234 and 235 the topknot is highly stylised with no attempt at articulating its relationship with the rest of the hairstyle - rather, in both cases the knot sits on top of the woman’s head as a self-contained decorative element. In the one piece in this category which does not make use of the topknot motif, Cat. 236, the inclusion has been accepted on basis of the number of elements present in the representation which as a whole suggest an intention of depicting the woman as associated with divinity.
Cat. 228. Portrait of a child. (Date: 41-68 AD)
Italian marble. H. 20.5 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Salathé 1997, no Q8; Papadopoulos 1984: 44, no 11, fig 31-33; Pedicini 1989: 122, no 136 (entry by Lucia A. Scatozza Höricht).
Portrait head of a child with an elaborate top-knot hairstyle. Nose is restoration.

Cat. 229. Head of Julia Titi(?). (Date: c. 90 AD)
White marble. H. 56 cm. Inscription: None.
Portrait head of a young woman made for insertion in a statue. Possibly Julia Titi with an top-knot coiffure.

Cat. 230. Head of Julia Titi(?). (Date: c. 90 AD)
White marble. H. 94 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Amelung 1903: 95, no 78, pl 12; Fittschen and Zanker 1983 p 49, no 62, n. 5; Salathé 1997, no Q10; Varner 1995 n. 80 (Julia Titi).
Portrait head of a young woman with top-knot coiffure. She wears a chiton and mantle and pearl necklace. Part of topknot, nose, edge of right ear, all of left ear, part of neck, bust and foot are restorations.

Cat. 231. Head of a woman on a modern bust. (Date: 100-125 AD)
References: Salathé 1997, no Q1; Wrede 1981, no 295.
Portrait head of a matron with diadem and top-knot coiffure. The tip of the chin is restored.

Cat. 232. Gable of a funerary monument. (Date: 100-150 AD)
Limestone. 87 x 230 x 40-42 cm. Inscription: None.
The fragmentary pediment is recomposed from three pieces. In the centre is a bust of a young matron with a top-knot coiffure and shoulder-locks, set within an oak wreath held by flying cupids. Found with a second relief depicting a globe and two cornucopiae. Find spot represent a secondary context.

Cat. 233. Head of a woman. (Date: c. 130 AD)
References: Kersauson 1996: 190-191, no 81, fig 81; Salathé 1997, no Q3; Wrede 1981, no 295a, pl 37.3-4.
Portrait head of a matron with a polos type hairstyle and top-knot. The bust does not pertain. Nose, chin and piece on one cheek are restorations.

Cat. 234. Portrait head of a woman. (Date: 130-140 AD)
Adolphseck (near Fulda), Schloß Fasanerie ARP 32. Provenance: Unknown.
Luna marble. H. 26.4 cm. Inscription: None.
References: Carandini 1969: 201, no 32 (not Sabina); Heintze 1968: 47, 103, no 32, pl 55, 56, 121b, d (Sabina); Salathé 1997, no Q11; Wrede 1981, no 296 (private).

Portrait head of a matron with stylised top-knot coiffure. Originally part of a statue. Nose and outer part of left topknot are restored.

**Cat. 235.** Portrait head of a woman. (Date: 120-160 AD)


The portrait head of a young matron is set on a statue which does not pertain. Hair with top-knot coiffure heavily restored.

**Cat. 236.** Bust of Lucilla. (Date: 166-169 AD)


Portrait of Lucilla originally part of a statue. She wears a high diadem and a chiton which slips off her right shoulder; long shoulder-locks on both shoulder. Individually the elements cannot be identified as divine attributes though the combination of three here suggests the possibility that the intent was a divine association. Left half of face with nose, mouth and cheek restored. Head broken but pertains. Findspot may have been depot for lime kiln.
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Fig. 1. Portrait of Caracalla, Philadelphia (after Zanker 1983)
Fig. 2. Portrait of Caracalla, Vatican (after Zanker 1983)
Fig. 3. Cat. 5, sarcophagus with Ariadne and Dionysus (after Matz 1968-69)
Fig. 4. Cat. 9, sarcophagus with Ariadne and Dionysus (after Baratte 1985)
Fig. 5. Cat. 37, statue of a woman as Ceres (after Kruse 1968/1975)
Fig. 6. Cat. 53, cameo of Livia as Cybele (after Megow 1987)
Fig. 7. Cat. 83, statue of a woman as Fortuna (after Fittschen/Zanker 1983)
Fig. 8. Cat. 66, funerary altar of Aelia Procula as Diana (after Wrede 1981)
Fig. 9. Cat. 77, sarcophagus with Diana (after Robert 1897-1919)
Fig. 10. Cat. 78, sarcophagus with Diana and hunt (after García y Bellido 1949)
Fig. 11. Cat. 105, sarcophagus with Luna and Endymion (after Wrede 1981)
Fig. 12. Cat. 104, sarcophagus with Luna and Endymion (after Baratte 1985)
Fig. 13. Cat. 122, child sarcophagus with Muse (after Wegner 1966)
Fig. 14. Cat. 124, sarcophagus with Muses (after Wegner 1966)
Fig. 15. Cat. 132, sarcophagus with Nymphs and Hylas (after Wrede 1981)
Fig. 16. Cat. 151, sarcophagus with Mars and Rhea Silvia (after Wrede 1981)
Fig. 17. Cat. 141, sarcophagus with Proserpina (after Sichtermann 1975)
Fig. 18. Cat. 142, sarcophagus with Proserpina (after Robert 1897-1919)
Fig. 19. Cat. 168, funerary relief with couple (after Azevedo 1951)
Fig. 20. Cat. 176, statue group of Mars and Venus (after Bieber 1977)
Fig. 21. Cat. 186, relief of a woman as Venus (after Calza 1977)
Fig. 22. Cat. 174, funerary relief with couple (after Kleiner 1981)
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Fig. 24. Cat. 208, sarcophagus with couple (after Giuliano 1979-)
Fig. 25. Cat. 207, so-called Balbinus sarcophagus (after Bieber 1977)
Fig. 26. Cat. 215, sarcophagus with Virtus and hunt (after Melucco 1963-64)
Fig. 27. Cat. 213, sarcophagus with Virtus and hunt (after Melucco 1963-64)
Fig. 28. Cat. 216, child sarcophagus with Virtus (after Simon 1970)
Fig. 29. Cat. 217, sarcophagus with Virtus and hunt (after Melucco 1963-64)
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Fig. 6. Cat. 53

Ceres, Cybele, Fortuna

Fig. 5. Cat. 37

Fig. 7. Cat. 83
Fig. 8. Cat. 66

Fig. 9. Cat. 77

Fig. 10. Cat. 78
Figure 1.5. Cat. 132

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Fig. 26. Cat. 215

Fig. 27. Cat. 213
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