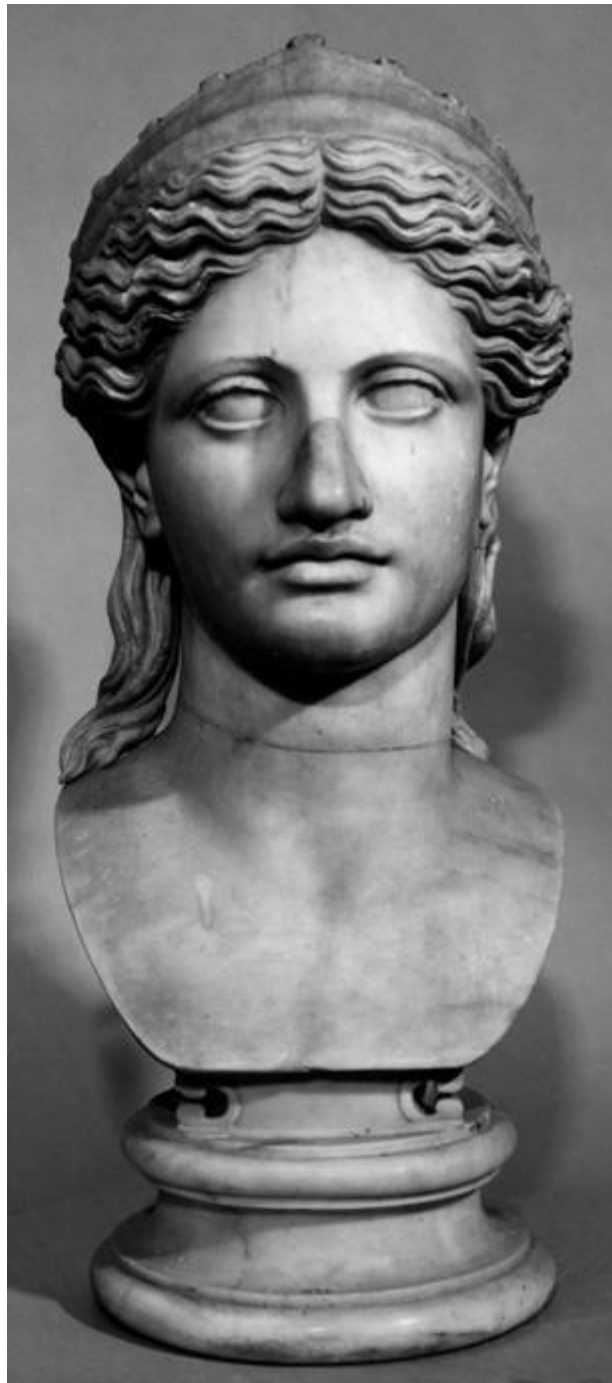


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[Symbol or jewellery? The stephane and its wearer in the Roman world (1st-3rd centuries AD)]

Cover image: Marble head of a statue of Juno (British Museum Collection Database, reference number "1805,0703.53" britishmuseum.org/collection, British Museum. Accessed on 4-11-2014).

Symbol or jewellery? The stephane and its wearer in the Roman world (1st-3rd centuries AD)

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Introduction

This thesis is focussed on an object analysis of a specific type of headdress worn by women in Hellenistic and Roman times. This particular headdress is called the 'stephane' and is mainly known from representations on coins and female statues from all over the Ancient Mediterranean. The object has received little attention from the scholarly community including archaeologists, ancient historians and numismatists. The stephane, as an object with a high potential for symbolic messaging, may have much to reveal to us about those that were depicted with it.

In the last decades the interest in the history of women has grown significantly. In particular the socio-political position of women in ancient societies has been subject to extensive research. This study hopes to contribute to the understanding of the position of women in Roman society by studying the stephane as a symbol of status.

The study presented here seeks to answer how the stephane can be understood in terms of its symbolic and functional meaning. Therefore, the headdress will be studied from an archaeological and an iconographical perspective. When combined, these two directions complement each other and allow new insights into these, until now, little studied objects.

The general question which is guiding this thesis is *"How can the function and meaning of the stephane be understood for the Roman world of the first to third centuries AD?"*. This will be achieved by researching the historical background of the object, by establishing its many contexts and ultimately examining its symbolic meaning. The strongest dataset available for this endeavour is Roman coinage together with examples from visual culture including Imperial portraits and sculpture.

The archaeological aspects of the object will be central in the first part of this thesis. It is subject to evidence whether the stephane, unlike other headgear made from non-perishable material, has survived in the archaeological record as a physical object. The few examples that might be considered a stephane will be reviewed in chapter four. However, it has survived on coins, sculptures and paintings in large quantities. The apparent lack of archaeological findings in contrast to the high amount of depictions of the object, might lead us to conclude that it may have been an object that only existed as a symbol. Many reasons may give an explanation for the objects' absence in the archaeological record and possibly only symbolical existence. These will be explored in chapter 4, guided by the following sub question:

To what extent did the stephane exist as a physical object in Roman Imperial times?

The iconographical aspect of the object will be central in the second part of this study. Like veils, wreaths and other headgear worn on coins and statues, each type of headgear communicates a different value and meaning. The meaning of the stephane as a symbol will be explored in chapter five by means of a case-study, closely examining a substantial number of Roman Imperial coins. Coinage is the largest and most complete data source available for this period and subject. This study will be conducted in chapters five, six and seven, guided by the following sub question:

How can the stephane be described as a symbol in Roman Imperial times?'

By combining the study of the two aspects of the object into one thesis, a complete analysis will be presented. This study hopes to make a contribution to the deeper understanding of the stephane.

Methodology

In order to answer the first research question: *To what extent did the stephane exist as a physical object in Roman Imperial times?*, this thesis will explore several possible explanations for the almost complete absence of stephanes in the archaeological record. The history of the stephane in sculpture, coinage and archaeology will be presented and discussed. The following research strategy has been devised. Firstly, the object of investigation, the stephane, must be closely defined. Several existing definitions will be compared to establish a comprehensive version that will serve as the working definition of this study. By conducting research into the context in which the stephane appears, several conclusions regarding the objects' symbolic and functional meaning and use may be drawn.

To fully answer the second research question: *How can the stephane be described as a symbol in Roman Imperial times?*, this thesis will present a case study. From among the range of available material, coins have been selected as the main focus of research. Coinage as an evidence source is highly suitable because of its abundance, durability and its suitability in the communication of symbolic messages. Coins have a number of advantages over literary sources, even though the latter often reveals the complexity of history in greater detail. Coins present a much more continuous chronological dataset and one of a vastness that is in stark contrast to the often limited number of surviving literary texts (Howgego 1995, 62). Most importantly, the stephane is depicted quite often on coins. The other evidence sources that depict the stephane regularly are sculpture and paintings, both of which are more perishable and therefore not as frequently found. Moreover, whilst on coinage the person depicted is always identifiable by name and title, this is only rarely the case in paintings and sculpture. The identity and status of the person depicted are then derived from his/her attributes and context, whilst on coinage, identity and status are already given. With name, title and position already known, the correlation between the depiction of a stephane and other variables such as a certain title, age, position or role can be examined.

To have a clear overview of these variables, this thesis will present a database (appendix 1) which will contain all coins issued by the imperial mint depicting a stephane from the first to third centuries AD. The first layer of data is the factual description of the coin and the identification of the depicted person. These data consist of the name and imperial family or dynasty of the depicted person, the issue date of the coin and the catalogue

number in the catalogue 'Roman Imperial Coinage', the description of the obverse, reverse and legend of the coin as in the *RIC*. These data fields will provide the basic facts about the coins and people that were portrayed on them. The second layer of data is historical. These data consist of a description of the relationship between the minting ruler and the subject and whether the subject was alive or deceased (and deified) at the time of minting.

The study of several catalogues will be central to the second research question and the most important sources for the data used in the case study. The catalogue *The Roman Imperial Coinage* volumes I to IV and the online catalogue of the British Museum will be the prominent sources for coin descriptions. From these works I will extract and document all data connected to the stephane from the time period as stated. The reasons for mostly limiting my study to these catalogues are simple. The *RIC* is the standard reference work for coin data whilst the online catalogue of the British Museum is up to date, complete and its collection vast. The challenge will be in discovering the possible correlations in contexts in a way that is logical, objective and congruent with evidence from the other sciences mentioned before. Drawing on my own and others' observations this study will endeavour to draw a conclusion about the use and meaning of the stephane in the first, second and third century AD.

2 The stephane in context

This chapter briefly outlines the historical development of the stephane, in addition it offers insights into the history of research. The history of the evolution and diffusion of the object may provide this study with a wider framework. From which the object's unique development and its specific reception in past societies may be better understood.

2.1 *Historical context*

The stephane does not appear out of thin air, nor is it an object solely of Roman times. Like most objects, it has a long history of evolution and was diffused through cultural contacts. To better understand the meaning of the stephane in the Early Roman Empire, its evolution and use through time will be discussed from the two fold approach of archaeology and (art) history.

2.1.1 *The evolution of the stephane*

The oldest diadem-like objects (and possible predecessors of the stephane) come from Bronze Age Greece and Mesopotamia. Since the third millennium BC, diadems made of sheet gold have been found in graves on the island of Crete (fig. 1). Later in the Bronze Age, the diadems also started to appear in the graves of the other regions of Greece, notably the area under Mycenaean influence and Cyprus. Quite numerous and widespread across the borders of and unique to the Aegean Sea, these diadems were a part of a funerary culture that was shared by the proto-Greek cultures around the Aegean.

Evidence for an interpretation as a piece of jewellery that was worn not only by the dead, but by the living as well, comes from traces of wear and light damage (Higgins 1961, 54-55). Earlier examples of the same object may be identified in Mesopotamia, signalling an origin and diffusion from the Near East. The most convincing example being the diadem from the tomb at Assur, dated to the end of the third millennium BC (Terrace 1962, 19-20). From the third millennium onwards, through the Early Palatial, Late Palatial and Early Mycenaean periods, these gold sheet diadems, plain or worked in repoussée are found in ever greater numbers in Greece (Higgins 1961, 58-61). In the

Mycenaean Empire of the late Bronze Age, their numbers dwindled, to ultimately disappear in the Dark Ages. Until this point, the shape of the diadems was oval or elliptical (Higgins 1961, 74). At the turn of the Dark Age in 900 BC, the diadems reappear in the archaeological record. In Attica, they emerge as very thin rectangular diadems, their thinness indicating that they were too fragile to be worn and thus fit for funerary purposes only. These are appropriately called 'funerary bands' and not diadems (Higgins 1961, 96-97).



Figure 1: Gold diadems from Aegina, Greece. Dated to 1700-1500 BC. (British Museum Collection Database, reference number '1892,0520.78')

The first diadem to feature a shape which has a closer resemblance to the stephane comes from Eretria, Greece. It does not have the oval or rectangular shape, but a triangular shape in the middle of the diadem. It is dated to about 700 BC (Higgins 1961, 105). Only the diadems from the Greek islands are substantial and thick enough to have been worn by the living. These consisted of small plates that were attached to an underlying band of perishable material like leather or cloth (Higgins 1961, 112). However, for the periods of Archaic and Classical Greece no diadems resembling a stephane have been found. In Hellenistic times, the gold embossed diadem reappears but now it is of a slightly more stout nature and in a triangular form or pediment shaped rather than an oval (Higgins 1961, 158) Of this type, numerous examples are in the collection of the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, most of which can be dated to the fourth century BC, while the most recent diadems have been dated to 330-300 BC (fig. 2). This diadem from Madytos, Greece, was interpreted as fit and used for funerary purposes only. The find context of a family grave and the carelessness

with which the object and similar ones were made, argue in favor of this definition (Hoffmann and Davidson 1965, 67-68). However, it must be said that the diadems could have been attached to a sturdier material like the earlier diadems from the Greek islands.

Other forms of diadems that developed in the Hellenistic period can be found in several national museums, which will be discussed in chapter 4. For Roman times Higgins gives us no record of any stephane or diadem, nor can the objects be found in any national museum.



Figure 2 : Diadem from Madytos, Greece in the MET museum, dated to 330-300 BC (Picón 2007, 149, 436).

Thus, the archaeological evidence allows us to conclude that the stephane had evolved from the diadems of the Bronze Age. From the Hellenistic period onwards, pediment shaped diadems were present in Greece in substantial numbers. However, the existence of stephane-like objects in the Roman world cannot be confirmed from the evidence of the archaeological record.

2.1.2 *Symbolical use of the stephane*

Our evidence for the existence and use of the stephane is not restricted to archaeological finds of the object itself. The most important sources are coinage and sculpture. As the online catalogue of the British Museum makes evident, the stephane appears on Greek coins as early as the 3th century BC. The objects adorn the head of female figures and busts which are identified as various goddesses by their attributes

e.g. Aprodite or Artemis (British Museum reference numbers 1845,0414.26 and 1948,0712.32). The association between goddesses and stephane is no new development. Divine beings have always had their specific attributes. It is the adoption of such an attribute of the divine by mortal women that is remarkable and worth studying. The first mortal woman to wear a stephane on coinage is Arsinoë II, queen of Egypt (British Museum reference number 1868,0320.12, fig. 3). This should however, not be seen as too much of a break in tradition. She is indeed the first woman to be depicted on coins wearing a stephane, but this was done only after her death and deification, thus making her a goddess as well (Metcalf 2012, 217).



Figure 3: Coin of Arsinoë II, queen of Egypt (British Museum Collection Database, reference number '1987,0649.278').

Compared to coinage, there is less evidence for this headdress adorning female sculpture and statues in Pre-Roman times. One of the oldest in the possession of the British Museum is a terracotta head from around 450 BC in Megara, Greece (British Museum reference number 1867,1130.3). Statuettes of the fifth century BC with the stephane are not exclusively Greek in origin: multiple Etruscan examples can also be found in the British Museum (reference numbers 1884,0614.57 and 1824,0453.11). Most Greek statues come to us as Roman copies made centuries later, thus although a Roman object, the design is Greek. The statue of Artemis/Diana of Versailles is a case in point. It is a Roman copy of Greek work, originally from 325 BC, depicting a hunting Diana wearing a stephane. Other examples are the Ceres Ludovisi and the Aphrodite from Capua, the first is a copy from the second century AD based on an original from the 4th-3rd century BC while the second is a copy from the first century AD. Both of these famous statues display a stephane (fig. 4).



Figure 4: f.l.t.r. Diana of Versailles, Ceres Ludovisi and Venus of Capua. (Musée du Louvre Database Online reference number 'Ma 589', <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=3523> Palazzo Altemps reference number 8596 and <http://www.theoi.com/Gallery/S10.19.html> Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli reference number 'Naples 251')

As has been demonstrated above, the stephane was already established in the symbolical repertoire of sculpture and coinage in Greece at least by the third century BC. The other states surrounding the Mediterranean (partly) swiftly followed the Greek example by either using the stephane on coinage like in Egypt or in sculpture, like in Etruria. After the adoption of the stephane by the Etruscan city states, it was only a matter of time before the object appeared in Rome.

2.2 From Greece to Rome: evolution of the stephane

Even though the appearance of the object remained unchanged, its use and context in the Roman Empire of the first, second and third centuries AD is quite different from that of Hellenistic Greece. This may indicate a change in function and meaning of the stephane in the Roman Imperial age as well.

The Hellenistic/Greek culture found its way to Italy and Rome through socio-political, cultural and economical exchange. The socio-political exchange, friendly and hostile, brought Greek sculpture to Rome, while economical exchange brought coins to Rome. Around 300 BC, when the Romans started minting coins, their state was surrounded by Greek city-states and colonies, whose coinage most probably served as an example (Metcalf 2012, 298-311). Then and in the centuries thereafter, the Roman coin types

were restricted in number, featuring the goddess Roma and the Dioscuri most prominently. From the end of the second century BC designs became more variable and coin designers could depict people as well, although only (deceased) men at first (Metcalf 2012, 325-331). The first stephane to appear on Roman coins is on goddesses like Roma, Venus, Vesta and personifications like Fortuna and Libertas in the first century BC (e.g. Crawford 1974, 401, nr. 3289; Mattingly 1976, 307, nr. 71). Sculptural works depicting the stephane are known from the Greek colonies in Italy and the Etruscans, several examples are to be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum (fig. 5).



Figure 5 : Left: Bronze Etruscan votive figure, 5th century BC (British Museum Collection Database, reference number '1884,0614.57'). Right: Terracotta statue of a draped woman, 2nd century BC Greek (MET museum Collection Online, reference number '24.97.84').

After the conquest of Macedonia and Greece with the capture of the city of Corinth in 146 BC, many Greek sculptures were brought to Rome. There, their display brought the influences of Hellenistic art to the Roman Republic (Gardner *et. al.* 2005, 248). From the first century BC the first Roman portraits in sculpture appear (Ramage and Ramage 1991, 50). The amount of sculpture and portrait art dating to the Republican Era is relatively low, especially for female sculpture. If portrayed, they are bare-headed (Lengyel-Schneider and Goldscheider 1945, 16-41). Most statues and portrait heads depicting a stephane are from the first century AD or later. Some of these statues can be identified as a portrait of a female member of the imperial family (Musei Capitolini reference number MC0444,).

Sculptural works depicting a goddess wearing a stephane are more numerous than portraits of mortal women in the first and second century BC, but nearly all of them are copies of earlier Greek artworks and thus not of original Roman design.

This brief history of development demonstrates that the stephane travelled from Greece to Rome to become a part of the symbolical repertoire of the Empire, at least in coinage, from the first centuries BC. The use of the stephane in portraiture did not develop before the advent of the principate. Its appearance on goddesses in sculpture may be explained by the fact that these were copies from Greek originals. Whilst the stephane makes its appearance in Roman sculptural art and coinage, the object itself disappears from the archaeological record. The only archaeological findings that resemble the stephane are from Hellenistic era.

2.3. *Definition problems*

Before any questions of consequence can be asked, the object this study is concerned with needs to be closely defined. Various dictionaries and standard reference works give different and most often quite brief definitions of the stephane. Important works like *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Hornblower and Spawford 1996) and its German counterpart *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Cancik et. al. 1999-2003) do not refer to the stephane at all. They give broader definitions of the diadem, which however does not include the stephane. As *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* informs us, a diadem is a “royal headband, with sceptre and purple an attribute of Hellenistic kingship; a flat strip of white cloth, knotted behind, with the ends left free-hanging” (Hornblower and Spawford, ‘diadem’). A diadem could also be made of precious metals and inlaid with gems. Wilcox’ *The Dictionary of Costume* offers a more detailed definition of a stephane: “A diadem, or woman’s headdress. Those worn by Hellenistic and Roman women took the form of a circlet with a high triangular headpiece, rising to a point above the forehead, sometimes made of embossed gold.” (Wilcox 1969, 342) Collins Dictionary and ‘A Dictionary of Roman coins: Republican and Imperial’ have a somewhat shorter definition but similar definition: respectively “An ancient Greek headdress or crown often depicted in the statuary of various deities.” (Hanks 1997, 1653) and “A Greek crown.” (Stevenson et al., 1889 ‘stephane’). The use of the word ‘crown’ is worth noting for it implies that it is more than just a piece of jewellery, whose primary function is adornment. It indicates that the subject wearing the stephane had a socio-politically

elevated status. The most probable reason for the use of the word 'crown' is that stephanes are often, if not always, seen on coins and statues worn by goddesses and other supernatural creatures, including a deified queen (Holum in Stout 1994, 92); all of whom indeed had an elevated status. Stout even argues that the stephane is the predecessor of the jewelled crown worn by the empresses of the Late Roman Empire (Stout 1994, 92). The plausible and interesting notion that the stephane was indeed a comparable to a crown in Roman times will be discussed later in chapter 5.

From the aforementioned definitions the conclusion may be drawn that a stephane is considered to be a headdress for mortal and divine women in the form of an upright, pediment shaped diadem, standing free from the head, possibly denoting the elevated status of its wearer.

3 The stephane from an archaeological point of view

As has been mentioned above, our knowledge of the existence of the stephane mainly comes from coins and sculptures. These sources, however informative, are not the object itself. In the previous chapter the diadems of ancient Greece and Rome as they have been found as objects and as depictions of, have been discussed. However, the difference between the diadems from archaeological contexts and their depiction on coins and sculpture is significant in both shape and body. Of the upright, freestanding diadem called the stephane only very few examples are known, which will be discussed in this chapter in order to investigate the function of the stephane as a piece of jewellery.

3.1 The archaeological record

Of all the diadems discussed in chapter 3, only very few resemble the stephane as we know it from coinage and sculpture of Roman times. Besides their shape, their use as a piece of jewellery for the living may not be accepted unquestioned. Almost all of the diadems mentioned in chapter two have been found in grave contexts, making a sole production for funerary purposes quite likely. As stated by Higgins, the diadems of the Dark Age were certainly not worn by the living, as is indicated by their frailty (Higgins 1961, 96-97). However, for Mycenaean times, some diadems exhibit signs of repeated use (Higgins 1961, 54-55). The most convincing evidence for an upright-standing diadem to be worn by women in real life is a diadem in the collection of the British Museum, found in Santa Eufemia, Italy (Ogden 1992, 57; see fig. 6).



Figure 6: Gold diadem, excavated from a tomb in Santa Eufemia, Italy, dated to 330-300 BC (British Museum Collection Database, "1896,0616.1").

The combination of the apparent thickness of the gold plate and repairs done in antiquity leaves no room to argue about the function of this object (Williams and Ogden 1994 in the British Museum Collection Online). This diadem is of Greek craftsmanship, like most other pediment shaped diadems discussed in chapter two. Stephanes from the territory of the Romans have to date, not been found.

3.2 Some suggestions: from hiatus to transformation

The last known ancient pediment-shaped diadems are from the third century BC. After that, as far as the archaeological record is concerned, they vanish. One may ask why, for other types of jewellery have been recovered, for example earrings, necklaces and hairpins. Several reasons could account for this phenomenon. Two viewpoints seem plausible. Firstly, that the stephane remained in existence as an object but did for some reasons not survive in the archaeological record. Secondly, the stephane did not remain in existence as an object but was represented instead as a symbol in visual art.

The first viewpoint allows us to assume that the stephane remained in existence as an object. There are several options which need to be taken into account. First of all, these plate gold diadems are valuable objects. The precious metals and craftsmanship involved would have made these diadems affordable only for the elite of society. Consequently, very few of these objects would have been present in society at any given moment. The most obvious explanation for the lack of later diadems is that they have not been found yet and are waiting to be discovered by archaeologists. Another is that they did not survive the test of time. Most of these diadems were after all, quite fragile. Another possibility is that the diadems were molten down and re-used. Since the main find context of the diadems was burials, a change in burial practices may explain their absence. A comparison between the burial customs in the Classical Greek period and the Hellenistic and Roman period may provide an answer to this question. Most diadems resembling the stephane are from the centuries known as the Classical Greek period. The objects come from Cyprus, the Greek Hartland and the Etruscan and Greek cities in Italy (British Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Musée du Louvre). In Classical times, inhumation was the most practiced form of disposal of the dead, cremation only being used in Thera, Euboea and Athens (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 190). Although the average grave may contain only a few or no grave goods, the richer graves may contain

any number of grave goods, including jewellery and gold funerary bands (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 212-213). The Romans practiced both cremation and inhumation, the practice being a family or even personal choice. All types of burials contained grave goods and women could wear numerous pieces of jewellery (Toynbee 1971, 39-41). Apparently there is no change in the practice of cremation or inhumation or the giving of precious grave goods from the Classical through Hellenistic to Roman times. Hence there is no reason to believe that the gold diadems would not have been deposited in the grave to accompany the dead. However, a recent study of jewellery in burials from Rome was able to establish that it was unusual for Roman burials to include jewellery. The reason is that the jewellery was part of an inheritance. The only burials to contain the precious heirlooms were of young, unmarried women. The line of inheritance was apparently broken when these women died, thus making it logical to bequeath the objects to the grave (Raat 2013, 85).

The second viewpoint allows us to assume that the *stephane* no longer remained in existence as an object, but only as a symbol in art. The reasons for the disappearance of the *stephane* as a piece of jewellery may lie in the socio-political sphere. It is possible that the *stephane* was or had become a signifier of elevated social status. This is not to say that it was a crown or restricted to the wife of the emperor only. Clues for similar ideas of jewellery as a symbol for elevated social status can be found in the writings of several ancient authors, most notably Livy (see below).

“... munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec feminarum insignia sunt.”

“Elegance of appearance (munditia), adornment (ornamenta), refinement and apparel (cultus), these are the women’s badges of honour (insignia).” (Livy 34.7.8).

During the Late Republic, the function of jewellery as badges of honour was formalised with the *lex Julia* that Julius Caesar passed in 46 BC. For instance, pearls were restricted to mothers while unmarried or childless women under the age of forty-five were not allowed to wear them. Archaeological evidence supports the idea that this law was generally complied with. Most Fayum portraits for example establish a connection between the depiction of pearls and the subject being a mother (Kunst 2005, 137). The pearls thus had become the marker of the elevated status of motherhood.

The last suggestion I wish to propose here is that the stephane was or had become a symbol of the divine. This may be a controversial position, because the distinction between mortal and divine can be difficult to make. However, considering that in the earlier depictions the stephane is already an attribute of divine beings like goddesses and before that, in Minoan and Mycenaean times the deceased, the idea may not seem quite as odd. The stephane had already appeared in Hellenistic times as the headdress of Ptolemaic queens and thus had an association with the divine as well as the institution of monarchy (Tracene 2011, 165). This line of thought leads us to question what the stephane means when depicted on Roman empresses. Generally speaking, the Romans were more down-to-earth and less comfortable with the idea of divinity for mortals, unlike the Mediterranean East where this was an institutionalised practice in divine kingship. They were thus more reserved in their employment of attributes that could be associated with kingship or divinity on portraits of the women of the imperial family, which would have been unacceptable in the political climate of that time (Tracene 2011, 165). Charles B. Rose has argued that it is this unease with royalty and divinity that the stephane does not appear on named numismatic portraits of imperial women from the mint of Rome until the Flavian dynasty (Rose 1997 in Tracene 2011, 165-166). If the Romans were so uneasy and cautious with objects hinting at such notions as mentioned above in sculptural and numismatic portraits, one cannot help but wonder what they would have thought of the display of such an object adorning the head of an empress. Most probably, it would not only be seen as inappropriate for political reasons, but also for social reasons. Ever since the advent of the principate, some of the women of the imperial family had been in a position of relative power and that was generally seen as unnatural and undesirable by many within Roman society. They were seen as 'bad' women, stepping outside the boundaries of their gender by openly participating in public, political life (Fishler 1994, 116-120; Hälikk 2002, 79-81). These boundaries did change slowly during the development of the hereditary monarchy of the Roman Empire. Especially during and after the reign of the emperor Hadrian, the female members of the imperial house were much more visible in the public dedications by the state (Keltanen 2002, 124).

Because of these considerations, it may not be illogical to conclude that the stephane was not used as jewellery for the living, but only in the perhaps less provocative medium of coins and sculpture in the Roman Imperial period.

4 An iconographic view of the Stephane

This chapter examines the symbolic aspects of the stephane in order to explore the cultural meaning this object might have had in past society. This will be done by a study of the context of the stephane on coinage. To begin with, all types of headgear for women on coins will be discussed and compared. This will allow us to contextualise the stephane within the broader field of female headdresses. To illuminate one of the possible meanings of the stephane, Roman practices of bestowing honours onto women will be discussed as one of the likely motives for employing the symbol of the stephane. Lastly, a theoretical chapter will elaborate on numismatic theory and the debate concerning the question whether coins were purposefully designed to propagate a specific message.

4.1 Feminine headgear on coins: from veil to wreath

When it came to designing coins in ancient Rome, there were endless possibilities in portraiture, attributes and composition. The part of the design that will be discussed here is the covering of the head of portrait busts or heads, for which several options were available to the artists. Although many men, women and divinities were depicted bareheaded, crowns, veils, wreaths and diadems could be added. On those coins that depict women, we can find the *infula* (woollen beaded fillet), the circular band or diadem, the stephane, the laurel crown, the *corona spicea* of wheat ears or flowers and the *corona muralis* of fortification walls (Tracene 2011, 162). These attributes must be seen as a part of the overall composition, contributing to the meaning of the image by further defining the subject (Tracene 2011, 162).

Crowns or wreaths were employed either to ornament and embellish the statue of deities or the heads of great men in recompense of their ascribed virtues. Crowns were not indiscriminately bestowed; each god and each hero had his own distinctive type of embellishment. Olympian Jupiter appears crowned with laurel; Dodonian Jove with oak; Jupiter Olivaris was crowned in olive leaves; Ceres has a crown of corn ears; Apollo with a crown of laurel, Cybele and the deified personifications of cities in turreted coronets; Venus wears the golden crown given to her by the Horae, or a crown of myrtle; Minerva wears a crown of olive leaves; that of Flora is of roses; Bacchus and his followers were wreathed with vine leaves, or in ivy; the crown of Hercules is of poplar leaves, because

he carried that tree into Greece; Silvanus and the woodland gods were crowned with pine; whilst Arethusa and the divinities of the water, adorned themselves with reeds (Millin 1806 in Wilcox 1969, 290). Several of these wreaths have been found as goldwork; an olive wreath and myrtle wreath from 4th century BC Amphipolis are now in the Verginia Museum of Fine Arts (Hoffmann and Davidson 1965, 259-260).

“Among the Romans the laurel crown was rightly conferred to those who acquired pro-consular rank; nor was it granted even to the Caesars unless they had been titled emperor. The laurel crown, at the principal ornament of Augusti, is seen for the most part on Roman coins, tied with a kind of ribbon, which they employed in place of a diadem” (Wilcox 1969, 505).

The question of whether the laurel crown was appropriate for women of the imperial family has recently been studied by Marleen B. Flory in 1995. She states that *“Neither coins nor portraits yield any firm examples of laurel-wreathed Julio-Claudian women.”* (Flory 1995 in Tracene 2011, 163). In contrast to the laurel wreath, Ceres and her corn-ear wreath are seen quite often on coins, where the wreath itself was also suitable to adorn the portrait of an imperial woman (Wilcox 1969, 195; Wood 1996, 79-80). Wreaths could be executed in gold and serve as jewellery for living or deceased women. Examples of the object come from Hellenistic Magna Graecia (fig. 7 left). Depictions of such jewellery also survive in the mummy portraits of the Fayum, Egypt (fig. 7 right)



Figure 7: Golden wreath of Greek origin, dated to 300-100 BC (The Getty Museum Collection Online reference number '92.AM.89'). Right: Fayum portrait of the Isidora Master from Roman Egypt, dated to 100-110 AD, (The Getty Museum Collection Online reference number '81.AP.42').

Another type of headgear is the diadem, which exists in four forms. The first is the royal *diadema*, “It was by this name that the white fillet, or band, was called, which bound the temples of kings in the earliest ages” (Wilcox 1969, 322). Several divinities among which are Bacchus, Neptune and Victory, they are depicted on coins with the *diadema*. It was a symbol of kingship since the time of Alexander (Smith 1988a in Howgego 1995, 65). It is thus not surprising that it was abhorred by the Romans, who freed themselves from kingship in 509 BC and had become a republic. For that reason, it was considered inappropriate for members of the imperial family (Wilcox 1969, 322; Tracene 2011, 170; Stout 1994, 82). Constantine the Great was the first to publicly advertise the *diadema* on his coins (Stephenson et al. 1889, 322). The second form is the more precious golden jewellery represented by chains or bands of gold. These come to us as archaeological findings and are depicted in paintings like the Fayum portraits (fig. 8).

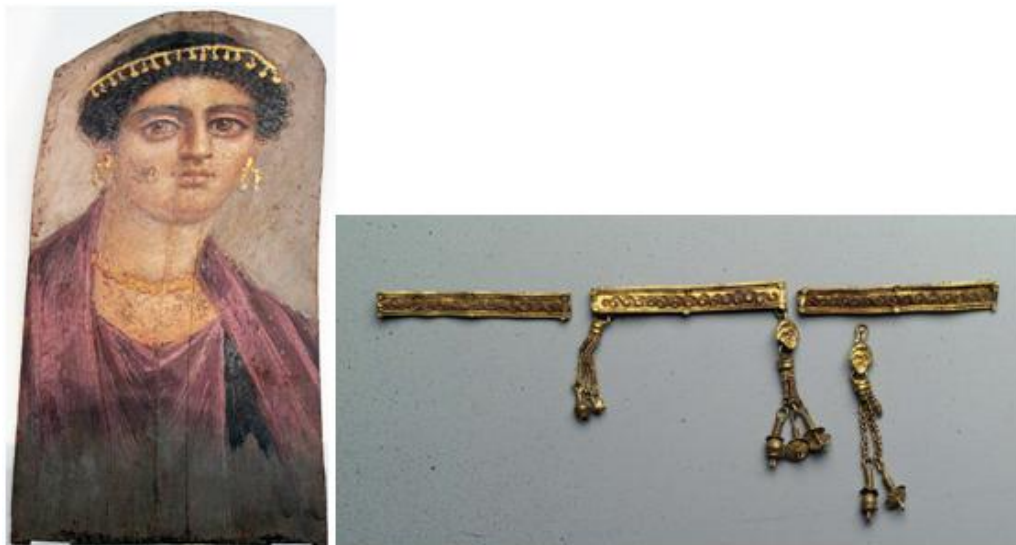


Figure 8: Left: Portrait of a woman from the Fayum, Egypt, dated to around 60 AD, now in the Altes Museum Berlin, collection Graf. (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/dalbera/10523803074/>). Right: Fragments of a diadem from the Eroses tomb, dated to 310-198 BC. (Museum of Fine Arts Boston Collection Database reference number '98.791').

The third form is the circular band diadem, which can also be interpreted as an *infula* on coins. “The *infula* is a diadem-like woollen band that sometimes appears braided and/or divided into individual sections by beads and has tassels which extend down along both sides of the neck “(Cancik et al 2009. *Brill’s New Pauly*, ‘infula’, accessed on 15-11-2014) The *infulae* were mostly religious attributes; they were worn most commonly by priests and priestesses during religious ceremonies as a symbol of purity. (Cleland et al. 2007 in Tracene 2011, 171). The last form is the subject of this study; the stephane, a pediment

shaped, freestanding diadem. While the laurel crown was an attribute that was applicable for both men and women alike, the stephane, whether plain or ornate, was a predominantly female attribute. The stephane, as said before, was essentially a circular, high-rimmed band of pediment shape which stood out from the head. It comes in two varieties: plain (no decoration), and ornate with embossed flower or palmette motifs (Tracene 2011, 165). The stephane had a long tradition of representation in the iconographic repertoire of various goddesses, including Venus, Ceres and Juno. The Greek equivalents of these goddesses, in particular Hera and Demeter, had been depicted in sculpture wearing this headdress since the Classical period (Tracene 2011 pag 168; Cancik *et. al.* 2009, Brill's New Pauly 'Ivno', accessed on 30-10-2014; chapter 2 of this study).

The prerequisites for the depiction of a type of headgear sometimes changed over time. A good example of this is the radiate crown. It first appears on posthumous coins of Augustus, struck under Tiberius. The crown encircling his head denotes his consecration, or as it is known in Greek; his *apotheosis*. But on the coins of succeeding emperors, the radiate crown is depicted both during their lifetime and after their death, as if thereby to openly claim some kind of divinity (Wilcox 1969, 679; Stout 1994, 82). It does not seem impossible that a similar transformation happened to the stephane.

The last type of headgear to be discussed here is the veil. The veil, known as the *palla* in Latin and the *himation* in Greek, was a fairly common component of Greek and Roman dress, both for men and women. The religious role of this garment was significant; it invoked religious sanctity and piety and was often worn by gods and goddesses (Hughes 2007 in Tracene 2011, 161-161). *Pietas*, the personification of piety towards the gods, family and state, is often shown with a veil on coins. She is mostly shown offering or praying, again promoting the connection of the veil with (religious) piety (Stevenson *et al.* 1889, 626; Tracene 2011, 228).

All of the types of headgear discussed in this chapter have specific symbolical associations, whether piety like the veil or association with a deity such as the wreaths. The association of the stephane with goddesses such as Juno, Venus and Ceres, argues in favour of the object as a similarly value-laden symbol.

4.2 Honours on coinage

On coins, the stephane appears, as we have seen, on goddesses and women of the imperial family. The latter is to be expected, since only women that were related to the

reigning emperor were depicted on coins. Before the advent of the principate under Augustus, mortal women were not depicted on coins. Octavia, sister to Octavian, was the first Roman woman, living or deceased, to be honoured thus on the official coinage of the Roman Empire (Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 75). “*The history of political representation on coinage is revealing in itself, since it regards both what was thought suitable for depiction and what was not*” (Howgego 1995, 63).

What was thought suitable for depiction was subject to change. The use of the title of *Augusta* may serve as an example of the transformations that took place in the transition of the Roman Republic to a monarchy. Originally, the cognomen *Augusta* was intended for the mothers of emperors once they had succeeded to the throne (Flory 1988, 113). The *Augusta* thus formed the link between the deceased and reigning emperor, a position that in Europe was called the queen-mother. In fact, all women with the title of *Augusta* did indeed confer the dynastic power either through their sons or other male relatives (Flory 1988, 115; Keltanen 2002, 142). With the title came the priesthood of the deified emperor, the *divus* that she would serve (Flory 1988, 119-120). The first to receive the title was Livia, wife of Augustus and after her Agrippina Maior, mother to Caligula. Antonia Minor, mother to Claudius and grandmother to Caligula, became *Augusta* too. However, only women of impeccable moral reputation were thought to be worthy to receive the title (Flory 1988, 123). A break in tradition occurred when Claudius bestowed the title onto his wife Agrippina Minor; she was the first wife of a living emperor to receive such an honour. This event changed the line of succession, placing her son Nero before Claudius’ son Britannicus. The meaning of the title *Augusta* thus changed to “*mother of the emperor to be*”. Nero subsequently went even further and named his baby daughter *Augusta*, thus broadening the meaning of the title to “*the possible producer of a successor to the imperial power*” (Flory 1988, 125-127). These changes in the public opinion on what was thought suitable were only possible once the idea of a hereditary monarchy was firmly imbedded in the politics of the Empire. The bestowal of the title of *Augusta* was now appropriate for the wife of the ruling emperor as well (Flory 1988, 131). Roman social and political life was quite concerned with the question of whether an honour was thought suitable and who was worthy of it. Several examples of laws formalising such morals exist; the *lex Julia* restricting the wearing of pearls to mothers (Kunst 2005, 137). Further examples are the right to wear specific types of clothing like the *toga*, the *stola* or *vittae* (Sebesta 1994, 47-48) and the right of

the Roman empresses to a carriage inside the walls of the city of Rome (Keltanen 2002, 108).

The fact that the bestowal of honorary titles, privileges or attributes was bound to strict rules and traditions makes it logical that the same would be true for the use of attributes like the stephane. In the case study presented below, the conditions that determined whether the stephane was or was not a suitable attribute to depict will be investigated.

4.3 Iconographic theory

The main question posed in this thesis is how the function and meaning of the stephane can be understood for the Roman world of the first to third centuries. Since this study has selected coinage as its main study focus, a short discussion of the debate on numismatic communication and symbolism cannot be lacking.

In a debate that went on mostly in the last decades of the 20th century, the intended purpose of ancient coinage has been extensively discussed. Although a consensus has not been reached, most scholars agree that coins communicated some measure of intentional political content. The term 'propaganda' has been dismissed by most scholars and either replaced by 'persuasion' or 'encouragementing' (Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 67; Ehrhardt 1984, 53; Howgego 1995, 71). At the very least, the coins were expected to positively influence the public view of the emperor and his family. The coins promoted members of the ruling dynasty and the values that (were supposed to) characterize them (Tracene 2011, 228). Direct audience targeting however, was only done as an exception, as is true for the coins struck under Hadrian in Rome, depicting Britannia. All of these coins were sent to Britain (Walker 1988 in Howgego 1995, 71). There is ample evidence of coin designs being noticed such as the Christian uprising against the emperor Julian, because his coins showed a pagan bull (Socrates, Hist. Eccl. III 17, PG LXVII 424-425 in Ehrhardt 1984, 45). Furthermore, coins of emperors who suffered the *damnatio memoriae* were withdrawn from circulation (Dio Cassius LX, 22, 3; LXXVII in Howgego 1995, 71). The arguments presented against the idea that coin designs were noticed are i.a. the high percentage of illiteracy and the small size of the image (Crawford 1983, 58). These arguments can be easily countered by the standardisation and familiarity of the abbreviations of the titles such as 'IMP'(erator).

Furthermore, decoding the reverse image, which for instance could show divinities, could be done by a comparison of the coin and the statues that were in every temple in the Empire (Ehrhardt 1984, 49). The size of the coin is irrelevant, for if held in the light, the image is perfectly clear. Besides, some senators collected coins, and Ehrhardt even concludes that the mint at Rome maintained its own collection of historic coins (Ehrhardt 1984, 48).

All arguments above considered, this thesis will continue from the perspective that coins were designed to intentionally communicate political content.

5 Case study

In order to examine the symbolical aspect of the stephane, this chapter will present a case study of coins depicting the stephane on portraits of the female members of the Roman imperial families (see appendix 1).

The stephane, like other ornaments for the head, was depicted only on a select number coin types. For instance on coins of Sabina, wife of the emperor Hadrian, she is shown with corn ears and veil (fig. 9) besides her appearance with the stephane. The question that may be asked then is which circumstances were decisive in the choice of an ornament for the head. If it is to be assumed that the choice for either bare-headed, veiled or with stephane was not random, certain criteria were to be met before the stephane was deemed appropriate.



Figure 9: Coin of Vibia Sabina, dated to 117-138 AD, showing a corn-ear wreath and veil (British Museum Collection Database reference number '1860,0330.131').

In order to discover the conditions that determined whether the stephane was thought suitable, this study presents a catalogue containing 286 coin types which represent all the coins of imperial mintage depicting a female member of the imperial family wearing the stephane from 31 BC to AD 235. The selection of coins portraying imperial women only, makes it possible to have a chronological overview of the appearance of the stephane in iconographical portraiture. As has been discussed, more subjects than imperial women are known to have been depicted with the stephane. In chapter two of this volume, several Roman goddesses among which are Venus and Fortuna have been identified wearing a stephane.

Only the imperial mints of Rome, Lyon and Antioch are included in this catalogue. The coins minted there used designs made by Romans for Romans, representing Roman values and traditions. In contrast, other local mints, especially in the east, where coinage already had a long history, had already established their own traditions and symbolic language for coinage and are therefore excluded from this study. The database covers the end of the first century BC until the first half of the third century AD of the Roman

Empire. The beginning and end of the database have been determined by the limits of the study material itself. It starts with the first Roman woman on coins of the official mints of the Empire: Octavia, the sister of the emperor Augustus. The database ends with the last female members of the Severan dynasty to be depicted with the stephane: Sallusta Orbiana, wife of Alexander Severus. Later, with the beginning of the crisis of the third century under the Tetrarchy, the organisation of the Empire altered drastically. The objective of this thesis is to study the use of the stephane from its first appearance on Roman coins. The reason that the first entry is a woman of the Nerva-Antonine dynasty, namely Marciana, is because she is the first living woman that is identifiable by name on a numismatic portrait wearing the stephane. All imperial women between Marciana and Julia Mamaea that could be identified wearing the stephane on coins of imperial mintage have been included in the database. The coins of the other women, for example, the female members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, have also been examined but will only be named as having no known coin types of imperial mintage with the stephane. In the case-study presented below the results will be examined and discussed.

6 Data interpretation

The main question asked in this study is how the function and meaning of the stephane may be understood for the Roman world of the first to third centuries AD. The case study of 268 coins presented in chapter five has already provided this study with several general conclusions about the appearance and suitability of the stephane as a numismatic symbol.

At first sight the database seems to provide proof for my central question that the stephane is more than simple jewellery. Firstly, the stephane is depicted as suitable for living and deceased (and deified) women alike. Secondly, the use of the stephane was not restricted to wives, mothers or one kind of close relatives of the reigning emperor only. Not only the direct relatives of the emperor are depicted with the stephane, but also other family members, like for example Salonina Matidia, a niece of the emperor Trajan. Apparently, the stephane was thought suitable for (grand)mothers, daughters, nieces and wives alike. Thirdly, the use of the stephane was only generally confined to a specific message that the coin may communicate. Coins that stress the role of the women as mothers, divine beings (after their *consecratio*), their role as counterpart of the emperor and personifications of highly regarded values like *pietas* all may be exhibiting the stephane as well. Thus the stephane is associated with all of the traditional feminine virtues of chastity, fidelity, *concordia*, *pietas* and fertility (Keltanen 2002, 143).

In addition, the extensive use of the stephane was not restricted to one emperor or dynastic house. From the time of Trajan onwards, the stephane becomes a part of the standard repertoire of coin symbolism, judging from the high number of depictions from then on. Finally, the depiction of the stephane was not limited to one denomination; all coins from aureus to as were apparently considered apt surfaces. From this it may be concluded that the stephane was more closely connected to the imperial women depicted than the denomination of the coin.

Further is to be noted that all the women depicted with the stephane have been granted the title of *Augusta*. The change in use and meaning of this title has already been discussed in chapter four above. The title promised an heir, either born or expected. Although at first only bestowed upon a woman after the succession was completed, by the end of the second century AD, a large part of the scope of this database, it meant little more than 'a female relative of the emperor' (Flory 1988, 129). It pointed towards the future, the stability of the dynasty and empire, which had been symbolised by the

domus Augusta, the imperial house. The *Augustus* and *Augusta* as a pair, under Trajan even as *parentes patriae* (Temporini 1978 in Flory 1988, 114).

However, it must be noted that not all female members of the imperial family were depicted with the stephane on coinage. The imperial women of earlier times were not depicted with the stephane, although there are some instances where the portrait of an imperial woman such as Livia has been argued to appear in the guise of *pietas* or another figure wearing a stephane (Tracene 2011, 167-168). Of the women of the Julio-Claudian family, only for Livia, Agrippina Minor and Livilla it has been argued that they could have been depicted with the stephane. They are, however, never identifiable by name on the coins from the imperial mints (Rose 1997 in Tracene 2011, 165-166). The identification of these women as portraits of Livia or other women of the imperial family thus remains speculation and has been left out of further consideration in this study.

The women of the Flavian family; Domitilla Minor, Domitia Longina and Julia Titi, never appeared on coinage wearing a stephane. With the rise of the Nerva-Antonine dynasty, suddenly the stephane appeared (Mattingly and Sydenham 1926). However, not all women of the imperial family were from then on depicted wearing this headgear. Bruttia Crispina, wife of Commodus and Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius do not appear with the stephane on coinage (Mattingly and Sydenham 1930). In contrast, from all the nine women of the Severan dynasty only Fulvia Plautilla, wife of Caracalla, was not depicted on coins wearing the stephane. Neither did Manlia Scantilla and Didia Clara, the wife and daughter of Didius Julianus (Mattingly and Sydenham 1936; Mattingly *et. al.* 1938).

The absence of the stephane on coins of the women mentioned before need not necessarily be considered a break in the pattern. They are the exceptions that prove the rule, and must thus be examined further. The implications of the interpretations given in this chapter will be discussed below.

7 Discussion

Providing an explanation for the observations that result from a case study, as in this study, is always difficult. One must always be aware of the fact that the study is a limited one, from which one attempts to draw conclusions that apply to the subject matter on a greater scale. However, the pitfall of overgeneralization is always present. Therefore, it must be kept in mind that any conclusions drawn from this thesis are applicable only to the Roman world of the first to third centuries AD.

The case study presented in chapter 6 of this thesis has revealed some patterns and their exceptions in the appearance of the stephane on imperial portraiture. This chapter will attempt to explain these exceptions by applying the theories and knowledge already put down in this paper. After which we will return to the central question on the function and meaning of the stephane as a jewel or symbol.

The absence of the stephane in the portraits of the women of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasty need not be a surprise. For it is a commonly known fact that the first generations of emperors were careful with the public display of symbols that might be



Figure 10: Bust of Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus (Museo Capitolini Centrale Montemartini reference number 'MC1871').

associated with political ideas that would clash with public opinion, such as kingship (Wilcox 1969, 322; Tracene 2011, 170). Once the idea of a *Domus Augusta*, a dynastic house that ruled Rome, had been firmly embedded in the politics of the Empire as a sacred institution, the controversial political value on symbols like the stephane may have been lifted (Mannsperger in Flory 1988, 130). Of the female relatives of emperor Marcus Aurelius, only his wife Faustina Minor and daughter Lucilla appeared on coins. Both received the title of *Augusta*, for they both were the wife of an emperor: Lucilla married the emperor Lucius Verus (Birly 2008, 154, 163). Marcus Aurelius' sister and three other daughters did not receive honorary titles nor did their images appear on

coinage (RIC 3). In the images of Lucilla on coins, she is not depicted wearing a stephane. However, on a bust now in the Musei Capitolini she does wear a stephane (fig. 10).

There seems to be a paradox here, which can only be explained by the context and dating of the statue. Unfortunately, the sculpture was found during the construction of a

the 'Umberto I' tunnel under the Quirinale Hill in Rome in 1901 and neither its context nor dating can be known for certainty (Musei Capitolini Collection Database online, <http://en.centralemontemartini.org/>, accessed on 19-11-2014). The statue could have been commissioned by one of her clients or admirers or by her own husband. What can be said though, is that the statue was visible only to a select group of people, whilst her coins were in circulation among all the classes of Roman society. Apparently, in the case of Lucilla, the stephane was not deemed an appropriate attribute on coinage.

Also Bruttia Crispina, the wife of Commodus, although she received the title of *Augusta* and was empress for five years, did not appear wearing the stephane on coins nor sculpture. Their marriage remained childless and this could have been a reason for not granting her the honour of a stephane on coinage (Birly 2008, 182, 189).

Somewhat in the same position was Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla. Her marriage was also an unhappy one, and although they did have a daughter and she was empress and *Augusta* for three years before being banished and eventually murdered by her husband (Campbell 2008, 13). The absence of a stephane on her coins may be easily explained by the fact that while she was Caracalla's wife, her mother-in-law Julia Domna was still the empress and most prominent woman of the imperial family. All of the wives of Elagabalus received the stephane and the title of *Augusta*. The wife and daughter of Didius Julianus; Manlia Scantilla and Didia Clara, also did not appear with the stephane on coinage but did receive the title of *Augusta*. In their case, it must be considered that Didius Julianus was emperor for a few months only (Campbell 2008, 2)

The absence of the stephane in the numismatic portraits of Lucilla and Plautilla may be explained by the fact that, during the time that they were the wives of respectively the emperors Lucius Verus and Caracalla, they were overshadowed by other women of the imperial family. In the case of Lucilla, her mother Faustina Minor was the most prominent woman of the imperial family. Faustina's position as the daughter of the last emperor Antoninus Pius, the wife of Marcus Aurelius and mother of his children among which was Commodus, his son and heir, was unassailable (Birly 2008, 157). In the case of Plautilla, her mother-in-law Julia Domna was the most prominent woman of the imperial family. Her position was similar to Faustina's, as wife of the ruling emperor and mother to his heirs Geta and Caracalla (Campbell 2008, 6). It seems that at least in these two instances, the stephane denotes a hierarchy in the position of the female members of the imperial family.

For this study I would like to discuss the possible conclusions regarding the use of the

stephane in Roman Imperial times as to be conducted from the case study. As we have seen, the stephane became part of the standard repertoire of numismatic symbolism from the time of Trajan onwards, with a few exceptions. Then the question may be asked what it was that ensured the popularity of the attribute for at least a century and how the exceptions that prove the rule can be explained. The stephane is, in essence, a piece of precious metal to be worn and thus, in that respect, a piece of jewellery no different from a necklace or earrings. If the only function of the stephane was adornment, then the relatively high amount of depictions of the stephane in contrast to other types of jewellery, and especially jewellery for the head, seems illogical (Stout 1994, 93). Furthermore, the fact that the stephane, as an object, has not been found archaeologically for Roman Imperial times makes this explanation even less likely. The only conclusion can be that the stephane was more than ordinary jewellery.

More clarity may come from the evolution of the political reality of the Roman Empire from Augustus onwards. Could it be possible that the stephane was seen as the female equivalent of the royal *diadema*? The *diadema* was a symbol that stood for the divine kingship that been the political system for the Hellenistic states of the east for several centuries (Hornblower and Spawford, 'diadem', accessed on 3-9-2014; Smith 1988a: 34-38 in Howgego 1995, 65) As has been demonstrated in this study, the stephane has had a longstanding association with goddesses such as Juno, the connection even went back to the Classical period in Greece (Tracene 2011 pag 168; Cancik *et. al.* 2009 Brill's New Pauly 'Ivno', accessed on 30-10-2014). Futhermore, the stephane had already in Hellenistic times functioned as the headdress of Ptolemaic queens and thus had an association with the divine as well as the institution of monarchy, which were sensitive topics in the new political situation of the Roman Empire of the first century AD (Tracene 2011, 165). From the 2nd century onwards, this unease with royalty and divinity seems to have lessened, which cleared the way for the use of the stephane on named numismatic portraits of imperial women from the official mints of the Roman Empire (Rose 1997 in Tracene 2011, 165-166). This is the reason why Livia cannot be indisputably identified wearing a stephane on coinage, but Marciana and later empresses can. However, not all of the female members of the ruling imperial house that received their portrait on coins appeared with the stephane.

8 Conclusions

This thesis has been an object analysis, covering the aspects of the stephane that fall under the sciences of Archaeology and History, with the sciences of numismatics and iconography as main focus. With this broad and twofold approach, the intention was to connect multiple disciplines to come to a broader and fuller understanding of the subject. The results are to be presented here. From the data that have been presented and discussed in this study, several conclusions can be drawn on the question of the function and symbolic meaning of the stephane in the Roman world of the first to third centuries AD.

Firstly, as has been argued in chapter three, the stephane did exist in the Hellenistic world as an object to be worn as jewellery by the living. Several examples, of which the stephane from Santa Eufemia is the most convincing, have been found and are now safely in the collection of National Museums. However, not a single stephane has been found within the borders of the Roman Empire, nor outside it after the third century BC. The explanations based on the well known archaeological phrase 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence', will unfortunately not do for a period of several hundred years and the relative wealth of stephane-like objects in the centuries before. The stephane can thus be considered as non-existent as a piece of jewellery in Roman Republican and Imperial times.

The stephane did exist as symbolical representation in sculpture and coinage. In this thesis a study of the stephane in its numismatic and symbolical context has been conducted. All coins types issued from the official imperial mints of Rome, Lyon and Antioch of portraits of imperial women wearing a stephane have been collected in a database (appendix 1). Using the numismatic and historical data available, I have argued that the stephane was, or had become, a symbol that had strong associations with divinity and hereditary kingship. In this aspect, the stephane could almost be seen as the female equivalent of the royal *diadema*. Furthermore, at least in the cases of the empresses Lucilla and Plautilla, the stephane was reserved for the most highly ranking *Augusta* and thus used to define the hierarchy within the imperial family.

Although the stephane appeared earlier on coinage, at least 142 years passed between the first emperor and empress and the public advertisement of the stephane on coins,

decorating the heads of imperial women. It had indeed been a long road for the stephane to travel from goddesses in Greece and Egypt to imperial women in Rome.

Summary

Jewel or honorary symbol? The stephane has been depicted on statues and coins, mortal and divine women and over the course of more than a thousand years.

Ever since the birth of archaeology, the scientific community of historians and archaeologists has been well acquainted with the object that is called the stephane. Its representation on statues and coins has been observed and commented, but its rarity in the archaeological record has received little attention. The intention of this study is to facilitate a better understanding of the function and meaning of the stephane in the context of the Roman world. In order to achieve this, a case study of the stephane in Roman Imperial portraiture in its numismatic context, is presented here. Several conclusions could be drawn from the case study, first among them the conclusion that the stephane was not worn as a piece of jewellery in the Roman world. Moreover, this study argues that the stephane was equal to the male honorary symbols like the royal *diadema*, signifying the elevated, semi-divine, status of its wearer.

Juweel of honorair symbool? De stephane heeft in een periode van meer dan duizend jaar de hoofden van sterfelijke en goddelijke vrouwen op munten en beelden getooid. Sinds het moment van de geboorte van de archeologie is de stephane goed bekend bij historici en archeologen. De verschijning van de stephane op beelden en munten is opgemerkt en beschreven, maar haar zeldzaamheid als fysiek object in het bodemarchief niet. Het streven van deze scriptie is om tot een beter begrip van de functie en betekenis van de stephane te komen. Om dit te realiseren presenteert deze studie een casestudy van de stephane zoals ze gebruikt werd in de portretten van de leden van de keizerlijke familie op munten. Er konden enkele conclusies getrokken worden uit deze casestudy, waaronder de conclusie dat de stephane niet gedragen werd als sieraad in het echte leven in de Romeinse tijd. Daarnaast betoogt deze studie dat de stephane de gelijke was van de mannelijke honoraire symbolen zoals de Koninklijke *diadema*, die stond voor de verheven, zelfs halfgoddelijke, status van de afgebeelde persoon.

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Appendix 1: Database of Coins

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/defied
RIC2 742	112-113 AD	Aureus	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 743	112-113 AD	Denarius	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 743	113 AD	Aureus	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and defied
RIC2 743	113 AD	Denarius	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and defied
RIC2 744	113 AD	Quinarius	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and defied
RIC2 745	113 AD	Aureus	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and defied
RIC2 745	113 AD	Denarius	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and defied
RIC2 746	113 AD	Aureus	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and defied
RIC2 746	113 AD	Denarius	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and defied

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Martia seated left, child before & beside	MARCIANA AVG SOROR IMP TR[AIANII] / CAES AVG GER MA DA[C] COS [VI] P P
Diademed & draped bust right	Martia seated left, child before & beside	MARCIANA AVG SOROR IMP TR[AIANII] / CAES AVG GER MA DA[C] COS [VI] P P
Diademed & draped bust right	Eagle standing left, head right	[D]IVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	Eagle standing left, head right	[D]IVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	Eagle standing left on sceptre, head right	[D]IVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	Eagle standing left on sceptre, head right	[D]IVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	carpentum drawn right by two mules	[D]IVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	carpentum drawn right by two mules	[D]IVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	carpentum drawn right by two mules	[D]IVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / CONSECRATIO

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC2 747	113 AD	Denarius	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and deified
RIC2 748	113-117 AD	Sestertius	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and deified
RIC2 749	113-117 AD	Sestertius	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and deified
RIC2 750	113-117 AD	Sestertius	Marciana	Nervan/Antonine	Sister of Trajan	Deceased and deified
RIC2 29	117-118 AD	Aureus	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 30	117-118 AD	Aureus	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 32	117-118 AD	Aureus	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 32A	117-118 AD	Quinarius	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 33	117-118 AD	Quinarius	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Marciana, veiled, draped, holding corn-ears in right hand and long vertical torch in left hand, seated left on chair without back on car drawn left by two elephants with drivers	DIVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / EX SENATVS CONSVLTO
Draped bust right, wearing three stephanes	Eagle standing left on sceptre, head turned right, with wings displayed	DIVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / CONSECRATIO S C
Draped bust right, wearing three stephanes	Carpentum drawn right by two mules	DIVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / CONSECRATIO S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Divia Marciana, draped and veiled, holding corn-ears in right hand and sceptre in left hand, seated left on low seat set on car drawn left by two elephants with riders.	DIVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA / EX SENATVS CONSVLTO
Bust of Trajan, draped, cuirassed and laureate	Plotina draped bust right, wearing stephane	DIVI TRAIANO PARTH AVG PATRI / PLOTINAE AVG
Bust of Trajan, draped, cuirassed and laureate	Plotina draped bust right, wearing stephane	DIVI TRAIANO PATRI AVG / PLOTINAE AVG
Bust of Trajan, draped, cuirassed and laureate	Plotina draped bust right, wearing stephane	IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANO OPT AVG G D PART / PLOTINAE AVG
Head of Trajan, laureate	Plotina draped bust right, wearing stephane	IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG / PLOTINAE AVG
Bust of Trajan, draped and laureate	Plotina draped bust right, wearing stephane	IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANO OPT AVG G D PART / PLOTINAE AVG

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC2 34	117-118 AD	Aureus	Plotina + Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Plotina step-mother of Hadrian, Matidia mother-in-law of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 730	112-115 AD	Aureus	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 730	112-115 AD	Denarius	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 731	112-115 AD	Denarius	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 733	112-115 AD	Denarius	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 740	112-114 AD	Sesterius	Plotina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 423a	119-120 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and deified
RIC2 423b	119-120 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and deified
RIC2 424	119-120 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and deified

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
<hr/>		
Bust of Trajan, draped and laureate	Plotina draped bust right, wearing stephane	IMP CAES TRAJAN HADRIANO OPT AVG G D PART / PLOTINAE AVG
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	PLOTINAE AVG / MATIDIAE AVG
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Vesta seated left, holding sceptre	PLOTINA AVG IMP TRAJANI / CAES AVG GERMA DAC COS VI PP
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Vesta seated left, holding sceptre	PLOTINA AVG IMP TRAJANI / CAES AVG GERMA DAC COS VI PP
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Vesta seated left, holding palladium and sceptre	PLOTINA AVG IMP TRAJANI / CAES AVG GERMA DAC COS VI PP
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Altar adorned with figure of Pudicitia, ARA PV/DIC in ex	PLOTINA AVG IMP TRAJANI / CAES AVG GERMA DAC COS VI PP
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Fides standing right, holding grain ears & plate of fruit.	PLOTINA AVG IMP TRAJANI / FIDES AVGVST S-C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Eagle, standing facing the front, leaning towards the right but with his head facing left, on a sceptre	DIVA AVGVSTA MATIDIA/ CONSECRATIO
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Eagle, standing facing the front, leaning towards the right but with his head facing left, on a sceptre	DIVA MATIDIA AVGVST / CONSECRATIO
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Eagle standing on sceptre head right	DIVA MATIDIA AVGVST / CONSECRATIO

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/defied
RIC2 425a	119-120 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and defied
RIC2 425b	119-120 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and defied
RIC2 426	119-120 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and defied
RIC2 427	119-120 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and defied
RIC2 751	After 119 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and defied
RIC2 752	After 119 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and defied
RIC2 753	After 119 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and defied
RIC2 754	After 119 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and defied
RIC2 755	After 119 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and defied

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Eagle walking on sceptre head left	DIVA MATIDIA AVGVST / CONSECRATIO
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Eagle walking on sceptre head left	DIVA MATIDIA AVGVSTA / CONSECRATIO
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Eagle walking left on sceptre	DIVA MATIDIA AVGVSTA / CONSECRATIO
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Pietas, draped and veiled, standing facing left, with her right hand dropping incense onto an altar on the left, and her left arm at her side	DIVA MATIDIA AVGVST / PIETAS AVG
Diademed & draped bust right	Eagle, with spread wings, standing right, head left	DIVA AVGVSTA MATIDIA / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	Eagle standing right, looking left, wings spread	DIVA MATIDIA AVGVST / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	Eagle standing right on sceptre, head right, wings spread	DIVA AVGVSTA MATIDIA / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	Eagle standing right, head turned	DIVA AVGVSTA MATIDIA / CONSECRATIO
Diademed & draped bust right	Eagle standing right on sceptre, head turned back	DIVA AVGVSTA MATIDIA / CONSECRATIO

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC2 756	After 119 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Mother-in-law of Hadrian	Deceased and deified
RIC2 757	After 119 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Niece of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 758	115-117 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Niece of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 759	115-117 AD	Aureus	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Niece of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 759	115-117 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Niece of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 760	115-117 AD	Aureus	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Niece of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 760	115-117 AD	Denarius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Niece of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 761	113-117 AD	Sesterius	Salonina Matidia	Nervan/Antonine	Niece of Trajan	Alive
RIC2 393	117-138 AD	Aureus	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademmed & draped bust right	Eagle standing left on sceptre	DIVA AVGVSTA MATIDIA / CONSECRATIO
Diademmed & draped bust right	Pietas veiled standing l. sacrificing over altar	DIVA AVGVSTA MATIDIA / PIETAS AVG
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Pietas veiled standing l. sacrificing over altar	MATIDIA AVG DIVA F MARCIANAE F / PIETAS AVG
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Matidia, draped and standing front, head left, holding hands over heads of two children who stand left and right, raising hands to her.	MATIDIA AVG DIVAE MARCIANAE F / PIETAS AVGVST
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Matidia, draped and standing front, head left, holding hands over heads of two children who stand left and right, raising hands to her.	MATIDIA AVG DIVAE MARCIANAE F / PIETAS AVGVST
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Women standing and holding two children in her arms	MATIDIA AVG DIVAE MARCIANAE F
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Women standing and holding two children in her arms	MATIDIA AVG DIVAE MARCIANAE F
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Matidia, draped and standing front, head left, holding hands over heads of two children who stand left and right, raising hands to her.	MATIDIA AVG DIVA F MARCIANAE F / PIETAS AVG
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Concordia seated, resting l. elbow on figure of Spes, under seat comucopiae	SABINA AVGVSTA / CONCORDIA AVG

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC2 395b	117-138 AD	Denarius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 397b	128-137 AD	Aureus	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 408	117-138 AD	Denarius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 409	117-138 AD	Denarius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 412	117-138 AD	Denarius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 413a	117-138 AD	Aureus	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 413a	117-138 AD	Denarius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 414	117-138 AD	Denarius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 415	117-138 AD	Denarius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Juno standing left, holding patera and sceptre	SABINA AV/GV/STA / IVNONI REGINAE
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Vesta, veiled, draped, seated left on throne, holding palladium on extended right hand and sceptre in left	SABINA AV/GV/STA / VESTA
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Vesta seated left, holding Palladium & sceptre	SABINA AV/GV/STA HADRIANI AVG P P / SC in ex.
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Ceres seated left on basket, holding corn-ears and torch, modius at feet	SABINA AV/GV/STA HADRIANI AVG P P / SC in ex
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Venus (Victrix) standing right, leaning on column and holding spear and helmet. Shield on ground to left	SABINA AV/GV/STA HADRIANI AVG P P
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Vesta enthroned left, holding Palladium & sceptre	SABINA AV/GV/STA HADRIANI AVG P P
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Vesta enthroned left, holding Palladium & sceptre	SABINA AV/GV/STA HADRIANI AVG P P
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Concordia seated left, holding patera and leaning on Spes statuette	SABINA AV/GV/STA HADRIANI AVG P P
Diademed & draped bust right	Pudicitia standing left, raising hand	SABINA AV/GV/STA HADRIANI AVG P P / no legend

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/defied
RIC2 416	117-138 AD	Aureus	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 422b	After 136/137	Denarius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Deceased and defied
RIC2 1017	128-136 AD	Sestertius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1018	128-134 AD	Sestertius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1019	128-136 AD	Sestertius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1020	128-136 AD	Sestertius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1021	128-136 AD	Dupondius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1021	128-136 AD	As	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1022	128-136 AD	Dupondius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Pudicitia standing l. raising hand and carrying l. to mouth	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / no legend
Draped bust right, wearing triple stephane	Alter	DIVA AVG SABINA / PIE-TATI AVG in ex
Draped bust right, wearing triple stephane	Concordia standing left, leaning on column & holding patera & double cornucopiae	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / CONCORDIA AVGS-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia standing left, holding patera & cornucopiae	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / CONCORDIA AVGS-C
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Ceres seated left on basket, holding corn-ears and torch	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / SC in ex
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Vesta seated left holding palladium & sceptre	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP / SC in ex.
Diademed & draped bust left	Concordia seated left, holding patera & resting elbow on statue of Spes, set on a base; cornucopiae under chair	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / CONCORDIA AVGS C below
Diademed & draped bust left	Concordia seated left, holding patera & resting elbow on statue of Spes, set on a base; cornucopiae under chair	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / CONCORDIA AVGS C below
Diademed & draped bust left	Juno veiled standing right, holding patera and sceptre	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / IVNONI REGINAE S C below

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC2 1022	128-136 AD	As	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1023	128-136 AD	Dupondius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1023	128-136 AD	As	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1024	128-136 AD	Dupondius	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC2 1024	128-136 AD	As	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Hadrian	Alive
RIC3 1073	After 141 AD	As	Vibia Sabina	Nervan/Antonine	Adoptive mother of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 1107	After 141 AD	Sestertius	Faustina I	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Antoninus Pius	Deceased and deified
RIC3 1146	After 141 AD	Sestertius	Faustina I	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Antoninus Pius	Deceased and deified
RIC3 1173	After 141 AD	Dupondius	Faustina I	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Antoninus Pius	Deceased and deified

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust left	Juno veiled standing right, holding patera and sceptre	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / IVNONI REGINAE S C below
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Ceres seated on basket, holding grain ears & torch	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / S C in ex
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Ceres seated on basket, holding grain ears & torch	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / S C in ex
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Vesta enthroned left holding palladium	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / S C in ex
Draped bust right, wearing double stephane	Vesta enthroned left holding palladium	SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P P / S C in ex
Head of Antoninus Pius laureate, right	Diademed bust of Sabina right	ANTONINVS AVG PIVS COS III / SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI A
Draped and veiled bust right, wearing stephane	Fortuna standing left, holding rudder and globe	DIVA FAVSTINA / AETERNITAS
Draped and veiled bust right, wearing stephane	Pietas standing left, dropping incense on altar with right hand and holding perfume box	DIVA AVG FAVSTINA / PIETAS AVG S C
Draped and veiled bust left, wearing stephane	Ceres standing holding torch and sceptre	DIVA FAVSTINA / AVGVSTA S C

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/defied
RIC3 1173	After 141 AD	As	Faustina I	Nervan/Antoine	Wife of Antoninus Pius	Deceased and defied
RIC3 506c	145-161 AD	Aureus	Faustina II	Nervan/Antoine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 506c	145-161 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antoine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 507b	145-161 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antoine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 512c	145-161 AD	Aureus	Faustina II	Nervan/Antoine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 517	145-161 AD	Aureus	Faustina II	Nervan/Antoine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 517	145-161 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antoine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 1378c	147-150 AD	Sesterterius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antoine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 1386b	147-150 AD	Sesterterius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antoine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Draped and veiled bust left, wearing stephane	Ceres standing holding torch and sceptre	DIVA FAVSTINA / AVGUSTA S C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Laetitia, draped, standing left, holding diadem in extended right hand and vertical sceptre in left	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / LAETITIAE PVBUCAE
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Laetitia, draped, standing left, holding diadem in extended right hand and vertical sceptre in left	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / LAETITIAE PVBUCAE
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Pudicitia standing left, half drawing veil over head, lifting skirt	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / PVDICITIA
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Venus standing left, holding apple and child in swaddling clothes	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / VENERI GENETRICI
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Venus standing left, holding apple and rudder, set on dove, dolphin twined round rudder.	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / VENVS
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Venus standing left, holding apple and rudder, set on dove, dolphin twined round rudder.	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / VENVS
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Laetitia standing facing, head left, holding wreath in right hand and sceptre in left hand	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / LAETITIAE PVBUCAE
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Venus standing left, holding apple in her raised right hand & cradling swaddled infant in her left arm	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / VENERI GENETRICI S-C

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC3 1401c	147-150 AD	Dupondius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 1401c	147-150 AD	As	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 1404c	147-150 AD	Dupondius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 1404c	147-150 AD	As	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 1407	147-150 AD	Dupondius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 1407	147-150 AD	As	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Daughter of Antoninus Pius	Alive
RIC3 667	161-176 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 685	161-176 AD	Aureus	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 695	161-176 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
<u>Draped bust right, wearing stephane</u>	Laetitia standing left, holding wreath and sceptre	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / LAETTIAE PVBUCAE S-C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Laetitia standing left, holding wreath and sceptre	FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL / LAETTIAE PVBUCAE S-C
<u>Draped bust right, wearing stephane</u>	Pudicitia seated left, holding veil with right hand in front of face	FAVSTINA AVG PII AVG F / PVDICITIA S C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Pudicitia seated left, holding veil with right hand in front of face	FAVSTINA AVG PII AVG F / PVDICITIA S C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Venus standing left, holding apple and child	FAVSTINA AVG PII AVG F / VENERI GENETRICI S C
<u>Draped bust right, wearing stephane</u>	Venus standing left, holding apple and child	FAVSTINA AVG PII AVG F / VENERI GENETRICI S C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Aeterinitas standing left, holding globe and raising veil above her head	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / AETERINITAS
<u>Draped bust right, wearing stephane</u>	Hilaritas, draped, standing left, holding long palm in right hand and cornucopiae in left	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / HILARITAS
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Juno, veiled and draped, standing left, holding patera in extended right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand; at side to left, peacock.	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / IVNONI REGINAE

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/detified
RIC3 698	161-176 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 701	161-176 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 712	161-176 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 714	161-176 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 715	161-176 AD	Denarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 717	161-176 AD	Aureus	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 726	161-176 AD	Quinarius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1631	161-176 AD	Sesterius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1646	161-176 AD	Sesterius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Juno, veiled and draped, seated left, holding patera in extended right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand; at her feet, peacock	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / IVNONI REGINAE
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Laetitia standing left, holding wreath & sceptre	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / LAETTIA
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Draped throne on which there are two baby boys, Commodus and his brother	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / SAECVLI FELICIT
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Salus seated left feeding from a patera a snake arising from an altar	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / SALVS
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Salus standing left feeding from a patera a snake arising from an altar	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / SALVS
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Salus seated left, by altar, holding patera feeding serpent rising from the altar	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / SALVTI AVGVSTAE
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Venus standing left, holding apple and sceptre	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / VENVS
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Diana standing right, holding lighted torch in both hands	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / DIANA LVQIFERA
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Juno standing left with patera & sceptre, peacock to left	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / IVNO S-C

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/defied
RIC3 1653	161-176 AD	Sestertius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1658	161-176 AD	As	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1665	161-176 AD	Sestertius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1668	161-176 AD	Sestertius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1671	161-176 AD	Sestertius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1674	161-176 AD	Sestertius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1676	161-176 AD	As	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1681	161-176 AD	Sestertius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC3 1689	161-176 AD	Sestertius	Faustina II	Nervan/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Laetitia standing facing, head left, holding wreath in raised right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / LAETTIA S-C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Laetitia standing left, holding sceptre and wreath.	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / LAETTIA S-C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Two children seated on throne	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / SAEQVU FELICIT S-C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Salus seated left, feeding serpent from patera	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / SALVTI AVGVSTAE
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Salus seated left, feeding snake coiled round altar from patera in right hand and resting left arm on chair	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / SALVTI AVGVSTAE S-C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Faustina standing between four girls, she holds two infants in her arms	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / TEMPOR FELICIT S-C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Faustina standing between four girls, she holds two infants in her arms	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / TEMPOR FELICIT S-C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Venus standing left, holding victory and leaning on a shield on which are the Dioscuri	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / VENERI VICTRICI S C
Draped bust right, wearing stephane	Vesta standing left by altar holding simpulum and palladium	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / VESTA S C

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC3 1722	161-176 AD	As	Faustina II	Nervy/Antonine	Wife of Marcus Aurelius	Alive
RIC4 375a	215 AD	Antoninianus	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 479b	215 AD	Aureus	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 387	211-217 AD	Antoninianus	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 388a	211-217 AD	Aureus	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 388a	211-217 AD	Antoninianus	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 388b	211-217 AD	Aureus	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 389a	211-217 AD	Aureus	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 389a	211-217 AD	Antoninianus	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
<u>Draped bust right, wearing stephane</u>	text in wreath	FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / PRIMI DECENNALES COS III
Diaemmed & draped bust right on crescent	Luna, cloak floating around head, driving biga galloping left	MUA PIA FELIX AVG / LVNA LVCFERA
<u>Diaemmed & draped bust right</u>	Luna, cloak floating around head, driving biga galloping left	MUA PIA FELIX AVG / LVNA LVCFERA
Diaemmed & draped bust right	Venus standing left, leaning on sceptre, holding out open hand	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / VENERI GENETRICI
Diaemmed & draped bust right on crescent	Venus, draped, seated left on low seat, extending right hand and holding vertical sceptre in left	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / VENVS GENETRIX
<u>Diaemmed & draped bust right on crescent</u>	Venus, draped, seated left on low seat, extending right hand and holding vertical sceptre in left	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / VENVS GENETRIX
Diaemmed & draped bust right	Venus, draped, seated left on low seat, extending right hand and holding vertical sceptre in left	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / VENVS GENETRIX
<u>Diaemmed & draped bust right on crescent</u>	Venus seated left, holding apple in extended right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand; at her feet, Cupid standing right	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / VENVS GENETRIX
Diaemmed & draped bust right on crescent	Venus seated left, holding apple in extended right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand; at her feet, Cupid standing right	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / VENVS GENETRIX

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 392	211-217 AD	Aureus	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 393	211-217 AD	Denarius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 394	211-217 AD	Denarius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 583	211-217 AD	Sesterlius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 584	211-217 AD	Sesterlius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 585a	213 AD	Sesterlius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 587	211-217 AD	Sesterlius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 591	211-217 AD	Sesterlius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 592	211-217 AD	Sesterlius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
<u>Diademed & draped bust right on crescent</u>	Four Vestals and two children sacrificing in front of round temple of Vesta	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / VESTA
Diademed & draped bust right	Fortuna standing left, holding rudder and cornucopiae	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / FORT RED TR P III COS II
Diademed & draped bust of Julia Domna right	Bust of Geta draped right	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / SEPT GETA CAES PONT
Diademed & draped bust right	Diana with crescent on neck, standing left, holding torch in both hands	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / DIANA LVCFERA S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno standing left, holding patera & sceptre, peacock at feet	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / IVNO S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno standing left, holding sceptre, peacock at feet	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / IVNONEM S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Diana with crescent on head in biga galloping left	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / LVNA LVCFERA S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing left, holding patera in right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand.	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / VENERI GENETRICI S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus seated left, extending right hand to child and holding vertical sceptre in left hand.	IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG / VENERI GENETRRIX S-C

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 592a	211-217 AD	Sestertius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 593	211-217 AD	Sestertius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 594a	211-217 AD	Sestertius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 599	211-217 AD	Dupondius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 599	211-217 AD	As	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 600	211-217 AD	Dupondius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 600	211-217 AD	As	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 603	211-217 AD	Dupondius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 603	211-217 AD	As	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust left	Venus seated left, extending right hand and holding vertical sceptre in left hand	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / VENERI GENETRIX S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Vesta enthroned left, holding simpulum & sceptre	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / VESTAS C in ex
Diademed & draped bust right	Four Vestals sacrificing before the temple of Vesta, accompanied by two children	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / VESTAS C in ex
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno standing left, holding patera and sceptre, at her feet a peacock	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / IVNONEM S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno standing left, holding patera and sceptre, at her feet a peacock	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / IVNONEM S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Luna in biga galloping left	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / LVNA LVCIFERA
Diademed & draped bust right	Luna in biga galloping left	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / LVNA LVCIFERA
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing left, sacrificing out of patera over altar and holding caduceus	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / SAECVU FELICITAS
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing left, sacrificing out of patera over altar and holding caduceus	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / SAECVU FELICITAS

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 605	211-217 AD	As	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 606	211-217 AD	Dupondius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 606	211-217 AD	As	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 607	214 AD	Dupondius	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 607	214 AD	As	Julia Domna	Severan	Mother of Caracalla	Alive
RIC4 255	218-219 AD	Aureus	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 256	218-223 AD	Denarius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 258	218-222 AD	Denarius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
<u>Diademmed & draped bust right</u>	Venus seated left, with extended left hand & sceptre	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / VENVS GENETRIX
Diademmed & draped bust right	Vesta seated left, holding simpulum in right hand and transverse sceptre in left hand	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / VESTAS C in ex
<u>Diademmed & draped bust right</u>	Vesta seated left, holding simpulum in right hand and transverse sceptre in left hand	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / VESTAS C in ex
Diademmed & draped bust right	Sacrificial scene before the temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum: six veiled vestals, four of them adult, two of them small children, standing in two groups of three, sacrificing over burning, garlanded altar, in the background temple of Vesta with a seated cult image within	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / VESTAS C in ex
Diademmed & draped bust right	Vesta with a seated cult image within	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / VESTAS C in ex
Diademmed & draped bust right	Sacrificial scene before the temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum: six veiled vestals, four of them adult, two of them small children, standing in two groups of three, sacrificing over burning, garlanded altar, in the background temple of Vesta with a seated cult image within	MUA PIA FELUX AVG / VESTAS C in ex
<u>Draped bust right, in stephane</u>	Juno standing left, holding patera & sceptre, peacock at her feet	IVLIA MAESSA AVG / IVNO
Diademmed & draped bust right	Juno standing left, holding patera & sceptre, peacock at her feet	IVLIA MAESSA AVG / IVNO
<u>Diademmed & draped bust right</u>	Juno standing left, holding patera & sceptre	IVLIA MAESSA AVG / IVNO CONSERVATRIX

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 259	218-222 AD	Denarius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 264	218-222 AD	Antoninianus	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 265	218-222 AD	Denarius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 409	218-222 AD	Sestertius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 414	218-222 AD	Sestertius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 415	218-222 AD	As	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 417	218-222 AD	Sestertius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 418	218-222 AD	As	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 420	218-222 AD	Sestertius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno standing left, holding patera and sceptre, on left a peacock	IVLIA MAESA AVG / IVNO REGI
Diademed & draped bust right on crescent	Pietas standing left, holding patera over altari & box of incense	IVLIA MAESA AVG / PIETAS AVG
Diademed & draped bust right on crescent	Pietas standing left, raising both hands, on left, altar	IVLIA MAESA AVG / PIETAS AVG
Diademed & draped bust left	The three Monetae standing left, each holding scales and cornucopiae. On the ground, three piles of money.	IVLIA MAESA AVGVSTA / AEQVITAS PVBLICA
Diademed & draped bust right	Pietas standing left, dropping incense on lighted altar with right hand and holding open box in left hand.	IVLIA MAESA AVG / PIETAS AVG SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Pietas standing left, dropping incense on lighted altar with right hand and holding open box in left hand.	IVLIA MAESA AVG / PIETAS AVG SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Pudicitia seated left on throne, holding veil in right hand and transverse sceptre in left hand	IVLIA MAESA AVG / PVDICTIA SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Pudicitia seated left on throne, holding veil in right hand and transverse sceptre in left hand.	IVLIA MAESA AVG / PVDICTIA SC

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 422	218-222 AD	Sestertius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 424	218-222 AD	Dupondius	Julia Maesa	Severan	Grandmother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 402	218-222 AD	Sestertius	Julia Soaemias	Severan	Mother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 403	218-222 AD	Dupondius	Julia Soaemias	Severan	Mother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 404	218-222 AD	As	Julia Soaemias	Severan	Mother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 405	218-220 AD	Dupondius	Julia Soaemias	Severan	Mother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 406	218-220 AD	Sestertius	Julia Soaemias	Severan	Mother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 407	218-220 AD	Dupondius	Julia Soaemias	Severan	Mother of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 209	219-220 AD	Argentum Medallion	Julia Paula	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing left, sacrificing from patera over lighted altar to left & holding long caduceus; star to right	IVLIA MAESA AVG / SAECVLI FELICITAS S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing left, sacrificing from patera over lighted altar to left & holding long caduceus; star to right	IVLIA MAESA AVG / SAECVLI FELICITAS S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing left, holding apple & sceptre, star in right field	IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG / VENVS CAELESTIS S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing left, holding apple & sceptre, star in right field	IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG / VENVS CAELESTIS S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing left, holding apple & sceptre, star in right field	IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG / VENVS CAELESTIS S-C
Diademed & draped bust left	Venus standing left, holding apple & sceptre, star in right field	IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG / VENVS CAELESTIS S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus seated left, holding apple in extended right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand; at her feet, Cupid standing right.	IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG / VENVS CAELESTIS S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus seated left holding apple & sceptre, small child at her feet to left	IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG / VENVS CAELESTIS S-C
Diademed & draped bust left	The three Monetae standing left, each holding scales and cornucopiae. On the ground, three piles of money.	IVLIA PAVLA AVGVSTA / AEQVITAS PVBLICA

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 213	219-220 AD	Quinarius	Julia Paula	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 378	219-220 AD	Sestertius	Julia Paula	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 380	219-220 AD	Sestertius	Julia Paula	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 381	219-220 AD	Sestertius	Julia Paula	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 383	219-220 AD	Sestertius	Julia Paula	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 384	219-220 AD	Dupondius	Julia Paula	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 206	221 AD	Aureus	Annia Faustina	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 399	221 AD	Sestertius	Annia Faustina	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 388	220-222 AD	Sestertius	Aquilia Severa	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left, holding patera, in field star	IVLIA PAVLA AVGVSTA / CONCORDIA
Diademed & draped bust right	The three Monetæ standing left, each holding scales and cornucopiae.	IVLIA PAVLA AVGVSTA / AEQVITAS PVBLICA
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left, holding patera and cornucopiae; in field, right, star	IVLIA PAVLA AVGVSTA / CONCORDIA S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left, holding patera and double cornucopiae; in field left, star	IVLIA PAVLA AVGVSTA / CONCORDIA S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left, holding patera and triple cornucopiae; in field left, star	IVLIA PAVLA AVGVSTA / CONCORDIA S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left, holding patera and double cornucopiae; in field left, star	IVLIA PAVLA AVGVSTA / CONCORDIA S C
Bust of Elagabalus draped right, laureate	Draped and diademed bust of Annia Faustina, behind, star	IMP ANTONINVS PVS AVG / ANNIA FAVSTINA AVGVSTA
Diademed & draped bust right	Elagabalus, togate and Annia Faustina, standing facing each other, clasping hands; star between them	ANNIA FAVSTINA AVGVSTA / CONCORDIA S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	The three Monetæ standing left, each holding scales and cornucopiae.	IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG / AEQVITAS PVBLICA

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 389	220-222 AD	Sesterius	Aquilia Severa	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 390	220-222 AD	Sesterius	Aquilia Severa	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 391	220-222 AD	Dupondius	Aquilia Severa	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 392	220-222 AD	Dupondius	Aquilia Severa	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 395	220-222 AD	Dupondius	Aquilia Severa	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 396	220-222 AD	Sesterius	Aquilia Severa	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 397	220-220 AD	Dupondius	Aquilia Severa	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 398	220-222 AD	Sesterius	Aquilia Severa	Severan	Wife of Elgabalus	Alive
RIC4 319	225 AD	Denarius	Sallusta Orhiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia standing left, holding patera over lighted altar and double cornucopiae; star in right field	IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG / CONCORDIA S--C
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia standing left, holding patera in extended right hand & double cornucopiae in left hand; star in right field	IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG / CONCORDIA S--C
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia standing left, holding patera in extended right hand & double cornucopiae in left hand; star in right field	IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG / CONCORDIA S--C
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia standing left by altar, holding patera and double cornucopiae; star in left field	IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG / CONCORDIA S--C
Diademed & draped bust right	Etiagabalus and Aquilea standing with clasped hands, between them, Concordia placing her hands on their shoulders	IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG / CONCORDIA
Diademed & draped bust right	Laetitia standing left, holding wreath and rudder resting on globe	IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG / LAETTIA S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Laetitia standing left, holding wreath and rudder resting on globe	IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG / LAETTIA S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus seated left, holding Victory and sceptre, in field star	IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG / VENVS FELIX S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left on throne, holding patera & double cornucopiae	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / CONCORDIA AVGG

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Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/defied
RIC4 320	225 AD	Quinarius	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 321	225 AD	Aureus	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 322	225 AD	Denarius	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 323	225 AD	Denarius	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 324	225 AD	Denarius	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 325	225 AD	Denarius	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 326	225 AD	Denarius	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 327	225 AD	Denarius	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 655	225 AD	Sestertius	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left on throne, holding patera & double cornucopiae	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / CONCORDIA AVGG
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia, draped, seated left on throne, holding patera in extended right hand and double cornucopiae in left: fold of drapery over left arm.	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM
Diademed & draped bust right	Minerva standing left, holding Victory and spear, at her feet shield	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / MINERVA VICTRIX
Diademed & draped bust right	Alexander and Orbiانا standing facing one another, clasping right hands	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / PROPAGO IMPERI
Diademed & draped bust right	Pudicitia veiled, seated left, raising her right hand to her lips and holding sceptre	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / PVDICTIA
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing left, sacrificing from patera held in right hand over lighted altar and holding long caduceus in left hand; star in left field.	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / SAECVLI FELICITAS
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus seated left, holding patera and sceptre	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / VENVS GENETRIX
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing holding apple and spear	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / VENVS GENETRIX
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left holding patera and double cornucopiae	SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM S-C

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 656	225 AD	As	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 657	225 AD	Sestertius	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 658	225 AD	As	Sallusta Orbiana	Severan	Wife of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 314	232 AD	Aureus	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 316	232 AD	Argentum Medallion	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 317	232 AD	Argentum Medallion	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 328	232 AD	Argentum Medallion	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 330	232 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 331	232 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left on throne, holding patera & double cornucopiae	SAL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Severus Alexander standing right, togate holding scroll & clasping hands with Orbiana, veiled, standing left	SAL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Severus Alexander standing right, togate holding scroll & clasping hands with Orbiana, veiled, standing left	SAL BARBIA ORBIANA AVG / CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM
Draped and cuirassed bust of Alexander Severus	Diademed & draped bust of Julia Mamaeairight	IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG / IVLIA MAMAEA AVG
Draped and cuirassed bust of Alexander Severus facing draped and diademed bust of Mamaea	The three Monetiae standing left, each holding scales and cornucopiae. On the ground, three piles of money. Emperor seated left on curule chair, holding globe and scroll, crowned by Victory, standing behind with palm; in front Felicitas standing right and woman standing left.	IMP ALEXANDER PIVS AVG IVLIA MAMAEA AVG MATER AVG / AEQVITAS AVGVSTI
Draped and cuirassed bust of Alexander Severus facing draped and diademed bust of Mamaea	The three Monetiae standing left, each holding scales and cornucopiae. On the ground, three piles of money.	IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA MATER AVG
Diademed & draped bust right		IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / AEQVITAS PVBLICA
Diademed & draped bust right	Concordia seated left, holding double cornucopiae	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / CONCORDIA AVGG
Diademed & draped bust right	Fecunditas standing left with cornucopiae & reaching out to boy standing right.	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / FECVND AVGVSTAE

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 332	232 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 335	228 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 336	229 AD	Quinarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 337	230 AD	Aureus	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 338	230 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 339	230 AD	Quinarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 340	231 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 341	231 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 346	231 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Fecunditas seated left, reaching out to child	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / FECVND AVGVSTAE
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing, head left, holding caduceus & resting arm on column	MVIA MAMAEA AVG / FELICITAS PVBLICA
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing, head left, holding caduceus & resting arm on column	MVIA MAMAEA AVG / FELICITAS PVBLICA
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas seated left, holding caduceus and cornucopiae	MVIA MAMAEA AVG / FELICITAS PVBLICA
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas seated left, holding caduceus and cornucopia	MVIA MAMAEA AVG / FELICITAS PVBLICA
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas seated left, holding caduceus and cornucopiae.	MVIA MAMAEA AVG / FELICITAS PVBLICA
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno veiled standing right, holding patera and sceptre	MVIA MAMAEA AVG / IUNO
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno seated left, holding flower & swaddled infant	MVIA MAMAEA AVG / IUNO AVGVSTAE
Diademed & draped bust right	Pietas, veiled, standing left, beside litged altar, raising right hand and holding incense-box	MVIA MAMAEA AVG / PIETAS AVGVSTAE

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 347	231 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 348	231 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 349	231 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 350	231 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 351	224 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 352	224 AD	Quinarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 353	224 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 354	224 AD	Aureus	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 355	223 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Pudicitia veiled, seated left, raising her right hand to her lips and holding sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / PVDICITIA
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing left, beside lighted altar holding patera and caduceus	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / SAECUUM FELICITAS
Diademed & draped bust right	Salus standing	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / SALVS AVGVST
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing, holding sceptre and Cupid	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VENERI FELICI
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing right, holding Cupid & sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VENERI FELICI
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing right, holding Cupid & sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VENERI FELICI
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing right, holding Cupid & sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VENERI FELICI
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing right, holding Cupid & sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VENERI FELIX
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing left holding apple and sceptre, cupid at feet	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VENVS GENETRRIX
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing left holding apple and sceptre, cupid at feet	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VENVS GENETRRIX

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 357	231 AD	Quinarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 358	231 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 359	226 AD	Aureus	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 360	226 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 361	226 AD	Quinarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 362	227 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 363	227 AD	Quinarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 365	227 AD	Denarius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 659	222-231 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing front, head left, holding helmet & sceptre, shield at feet	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VENVS VICTRIX
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing front, head left, holding helmet & sceptre, shield at feet Vesta, veiled, draped, standing front, head left, holding palladium on extended right hand and vertical sceptre in left: fold of drapery over left arm	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VENVS VICTRIX IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VESTA
Diademed & draped bust right	Vesta standing half-left, holding palladium & sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VESTA
Diademed & draped bust right	Vesta standing half-left, holding palladium & sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VESTA
Diademed & draped bust right	Vesta standing left holding patera and transverse sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VESTA
Diademed & draped bust right	Vesta standing left holding patera and transverse sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VESTA
Diademed & draped bust right	Victory walking right, holding wreath and palm	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / VICTORIA AVG
Busts vis à vis; Alexander right, draped, laureate and cuirassed; Mamea left draped and diademed	Emperor standing left on platform accompanied by two officers, addressing three soldiers carrying standard, shield and spear	IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA MATER AVG / ADLOCVTIO AVGVSTI COS III P P

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 660	222-231 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 661	222-231 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 662	222-231 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 663	222-231 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 664	222-231 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 665	222-231 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 666	222-231 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 667	222-231 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 668	232 AD	Sesterius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Busts vis à vis; Alexander right, draped; Mamaea left draped and diademed	Mamaea seated left, before her two women standing, presenting a globe; behind Felicitas standing left holding caduceus.	IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA MATER AVG / FELICITAS PERPETVA AVG
Busts vis à vis; Alexander right, draped, laureate and cuirassed; Mamaea left draped and diademed	Emperor seated left on curule chair, holding globe and scroll, crowned by Victory, before him, Felicitas standing right Emperor in military uniform standing right, holding spear, being crowned by soldier and sacrificing at an altar before Jupiter standing, holding thunderbolt and sceptre, behind him, a standard	IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA MATER AVG / FELICITAS TEMPORVM
Busts vis à vis; Alexander right, draped, laureate and cuirassed; Mamaea left draped and diademed	Liberalitas standing front, head left, holding abacus and cornucopiae	IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA MATER AVG / LIBERTALITAS AVGVSTI III S C
Busts vis à vis; Alexander right, draped, laureate and cuirassed; Mamaea left draped and diademed	The thermae of Alexander	IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA MATER AVG / P M TR P V COS II P P - S C
Busts vis à vis; Alexander right, draped; Mamaea left draped and diademed	The thermae of Alexander	IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA MATER AVG / P M TR P V COS II P P
Busts vis à vis; Alexander right, draped, laureate and cuirassed; Mamaea left draped and diademed	Emperor seated left, holding Victory and sceptre, crowned by Victory, in front soldier placing shield inscribed VOT X on a column.	IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA MATER AVG / P M TR P V COS II P P
Busts vis à vis; Alexander right, draped, laureate and cuirassed; Mamaea left draped and diademed	Emperor and soldier standing left, sacrificing before a shrine in which is statue of Roma; before him, two priests, behind two spears.	IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA MATER AVG / ROMA AETERNAE
Diademed & draped bust right	Fecunditas standing left extending hand to a child left & holding a cornucopiae	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FECVNDITAS AVGVSTAES-C

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 669	232 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 670	228 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 671	228 AD	Dupondius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 672	228 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 674	228 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 676	228 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 677	228 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 678	228 AD	Dupondius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 679	230 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
<u>Diademed & draped bust right</u>	Fecunditas standing left extending hand to a child left & holding a cornucopiae	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FECVNDITAS AVGVSTAE S-C
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing left, holding caduceus & cornucopia	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICTAS AVG
<u>Diademed & draped bust right</u>	Felicitas standing left, holding caduceus & cornucopia	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICTAS AVG
Diademed & draped bust left	Felicitas standing left, holding caduceus & cornucopia	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICTAS AVG
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing left, holding long vertical caduceus in right hand and cornucopia in left hand	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICTAS AVG SC
<u>Diademed & draped bust right</u>	Felicitas standing half-left, arm on column, holding caduceus	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICTAS PVBLICA S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing front with caduceus and leaning on column	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICTAS PVBLICA S C
<u>Diademed & draped bust right on crescent</u>	Felicitas standing front with caduceus and leaning on column	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICTAS PVBLICA S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas seated left, holding caduceus & cornucopiae	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICTAS PVBLICA S C

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 680	230 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 681	230 AD	Dupondius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 682	228 AD	Dupondius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 683	231 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 685	222 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 686	222 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 688	222 AD	Dupondius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 689	222 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 690	222 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas seated left, holding caduceus and cornucopiae	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICITAS PVBLICA S C
Diademed & draped bust right on crescent	Felicitas seated left, holding caduceus and cornucopiae	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICITAS PVBLICA S C
Diademed & draped bust right on crescent	Felicitas seated left, holding caduceus and cornucopiae	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / FELICITAS TEMP S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno seated left, holding a flower & a baby in swaddling clothes	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / JVNO AVGVSTAE
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno standing left, holding patera in right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand; at feet, peacock	IVLIA MAMAEA AVG / JVNO CONSERVATRIX S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno standing left, holding patera in right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand; at feet, peacock	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / JVNO CONSERVATRIX S C
Diademed & draped bust right	Juno standing left, holding patera in right hand and vertical sceptre in left hand; at feet, peacock Mamaea seated left, resting arm on two cornucopiae; behind two standards; before Pietas standing by lighted altar holding incense box	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / JVNO CONSERVATRIX S C IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / MATER AVGET CASTORVM
Diademed & draped bust right	Mamaea seated left, before her two standards; behind standing figure.	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / MATER CASTORVM

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 692	222 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 693	222 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 694	224 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 695	224 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 696	224 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 697	224 AD	Dupondius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 698	224 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 699	224 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 700	224 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Felicitas standing left, holding patera and spear, before her woman holding transverse spear; behind her woman holding cornucopiae	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / MATRI CASTORVM
Diademed & draped bust left	Mamaea seated left, holding patera and sceptre; before woman holding sceptre; behind Felicitas holding caduceus	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / MATRI CASTORVM
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing right, holding vertical sceptre in right hand and Cupid in extended left hand	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENERI FELICI SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing right, holding vertical sceptre in right hand and Cupid in extended left hand	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENERI FELICI SC
Diademed & draped bust left	Venus standing right, holding vertical sceptre in right hand and Cupid in extended left hand	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENERI FELICI SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing right, holding vertical sceptre in right hand and Cupid in extended left hand	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENERI FELICI SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing right, holding vertical sceptre in right hand and Cupid in extended left hand	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENERI FELICI SC
Diademed & draped bust left	Venus standing left, holding statuette and sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENERI FELICI SC

Catalogue nr.	Issue date	Denomination	Person	Dynasty	Relation to minting ruler	Alive/deceased/deified
RIC4 701	224 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 703	224 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 704	223 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 705	231 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 708	226 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 709	226 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 710	227 AD	Sestertius	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive
RIC4 711	227 AD	As	Julia Mamaea	Severan	Mother of Alexander Severus	Alive

Obverse	Reverse	Legend obverse/reverse
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus enthroned left, holding statuette of Cupid & sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENVS FELIX SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus enthroned left, holding statuette of Cupid & sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENVS FELIX SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing left with apple & sceptre, child at feet	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENVS GENETRIX
Diademed & draped bust right	Venus standing left holding helmet & sceptre, shield at feet	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VENVS VICTRIX SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Vesta standing left, holding Palladium & sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VESTA SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Vesta standing left, holding palladium and sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VESTA SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Vesta standing left, holding patera and transverse sceptre	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VESTA SC
Diademed & draped bust right	Vesta standing left holding patera & transverse spear	IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA / VESTA SC