

THE PORTRAITS OF SABINA

THE PORTRAITS OF THE ROMAN EMPRESS SABINA: A NUMISMATIC AND  
SCULPTURAL STUDY

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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the  
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TITLE: The Portraits of the Roman Empress Sabina: A Numismatic and Sculptural Study

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**Lay Abstract**

The Empress Sabina was married to the Emperor Hadrian for his entire reign of over twenty years (117-138). Although she is almost completely absent from the ancient historical record, her portraits are more plentiful and varied than those of any imperial woman before her, making these our best source of information about her. This study covers the portraits of Sabina which appear on coins produced in Rome, coins produced in the Roman provinces, and sculpture produced throughout the Empire. The analysis of the coins produced at Rome establishes the chronology of the different representations of Sabina. This chronology facilitates the interpretation of why these changes in the Empress's appearance were made. Comparison between the portraits in different media and from different areas of the Empire reveals the impact of context on the production, dissemination, and style of imperial portraits.

### **Abstract**

The Roman Empress Sabina is a pivotal figure in the representation of imperial women. She appears with more portrait types and on a higher proportion of the coinage produced both at Rome and in the provinces than any of her predecessors. While her sculpted likenesses do not compare in number to Livia's, they do exceed those of most of the intervening women. This variety and quantity of representation created a new paradigm that was followed in subsequent reigns. All of this is contrasted with the lack of attention paid to Sabina in ancient historical writing, making the portraits of Sabina the best source on her life.

My study differs from previous examinations of Sabina's portraits in its methodological approach. I begin with a study of the coinage produced at Rome. I establish a concrete chronology of these coins through the use of die studies of both the *aurei* and *dupondii/asses* in order to resolve unanswered questions about the sequence and dating of Sabina's portrait types. Through this new chronology, I interpret the significance of each portrait type. I then conduct the first detailed study of the provincial coin portraits of Sabina. The differences between the distribution of portrait types in quantity, chronology, and geography between the imperial and provincial coins reveals some of the mechanisms behind the two media and the reception of Sabina throughout the Empire. Comparing these data with the sculpture helps illuminate the distinctions in production and dissemination between media. Through this study, I create the most complete picture of Sabina's portraiture to date and challenge previously held assumptions concerning the mechanisms of portrait creation.

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**Table of Contents**

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter One: Sabina’s Coins from the Roman Imperial Mint</b>	<b>12</b>
Introduction	12
Overview of Sabina’s Coinage	15
Methodology	19
The Nest	26
The Chignon	39
The Queue	49
The Basket	62
The Veil	69
Conclusions	74
<b>Chapter Two: Sabina’s Coins from Provincial Mints</b>	<b>77</b>
Introduction	77
Overview of Sabina’s Provincial Coinage	80
Sabina’s Provincial Coinage by Location	85
The Absence of Minting	85
The Presence of Minting	90
Conclusions	192
Portrait Types	195
<b>Chapter Three: Sculpted Portraits of Sabina</b>	<b>207</b>
Introduction	207
Attributions	211
Portrait Types	214
Pre-128	215
The Nest	219
The Chignon	224
The Queue	226
The Basket	230
The Knot	238

The Veil	241
Conclusions	245
<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>248</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>258</b>
<b>Sculpted Portrait Catalogue</b>	<b>288</b>
Accepted Identifications	288
Rejected Identifications	310
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>344</b>
Appendix 1: The <i>Aurei</i> of Sabina from the Roman Imperial Mint	344
Appendix 2: The <i>Dupondii/Asses</i> of Sabina from the Roman Imperial Mint	359
Appendix 3: The <i>Sestertii</i> of the Roman Imperial Mint	388
Appendix 4: The <i>Denarii</i> of the Roman Imperial Mint	389
Appendix 5: Sabina’s Coins from Provincial Mints	391
Appendix 6: Dating Sabina’s Provincial Coinage	394
Appendix 7: Maps	397
Appendix 8: The Absence of Minting	401
Appendix 9: Sabina’s Coins from the Alexandrian Mint	401
Appendix 10: The Use of Statue Bases in Portrait Studies	401
<b>Figures</b>	<b>409</b>
Chapter One Figures	409
Chapter Two Figures	412
Catalogue Figures	428



## Figures

### Chapter One

- Figure 1: Aureus, V ca. (ANS 1960.175.30)
- Figure 2: Aureus, C ba (ANS 1967.153.145)
- Figure 3: Dup./as, C aa (ANS 1944.100.4748)
- Figure 4: Denarius, PD ca (ANS 1962.83.22)
- Figure 5: Denarius, VV ca (ANS 1956.127.313)
- Figure 6: Sestertius, CR ca (ANS 1984.176.22)
- Figure 7: Denarius, CD ca. (*BMC* 928)
- Figure 8: Aureus of Matidia (ANS 1958.214.20)
- Figure 9: Denarius, CA cc (*BMC* 1889)
- Figure 10: Denarius, C cc (*BMC* 919)
- Figure 11: Aureus, CA cb (Berlin 18200611)
- Figure 12: Aureus, VE db (ANS 1944.100.45592)
- Figure 13: Aureus, IR db (Berlin 18247387)
- Figure 14: Dup./as, PI cb (*BMC* 1897)
- Figure 15: Dup./as, PS cb (ANS 1944.100.47485)
- Figure 16: Dup./as, CR db (ANS 1954.203.200)
- Figure 17: Denarius, PS cb. (ANS 1985.140.114)
- Figure 18: Denarius, PT cb (ANS 1956.127.310)
- Figure 19: Plotina aureus (ANS 1967.153.139)
- Figure 20: Aureus, VE dd (*BMC* 953)
- Figure 21: Dup./as, CA cd (ANS 1944.100.47476)
- Figure 22: Aureus, CO ee. (ANS 1955.191.14)
- Figure 23: Denarius, CN ee (ANS 1995.11.3)
- Figure 24: Denarius, PA ee (ANS 1944.100.45593)

### Chapter Two

- Figure 25: Coin of unknown origin (*RPC* III: cat. 6578)
- Figure 26: Coin from Corinth (*RPC* III: cat. 240)
- Figure 27: Coin from Patras (*RPC* III: cat. 290)
- Figure 28: Coin from Patras (*RPC* III: cat. 291)
- Figure 29: Coin from Tenos (*RPC* III: cat. 402)
- Figure 30: Coin from Argos (*RPC* III: cat. 388)
- Figure 31: Coin from Argos (*RPC* III: cat. 389)
- Figure 32: Coin from Athens (*RPC* IV.1: cat. 8212 (temp))
- Figure 33: Coin from Amphipolis (*RPC* III: cat. 655)
- Figure 34: Coin from Amphipolis (*RPC* III: cat. 656)
- Figure 35: Coin from Cassandrea (*RPC* III: cat. 640A)
- Figure 36: Coin from Perinthus (*RPC* III: cat. 715)
- Figure 37: Coin from Perinthus (*RPC* III: cat. 717)
- Figure 38: Coin from Bizya (*RPC* III: cat. 735)
- Figure 39: Coin from Bizya (*RPC* III: cat. 734)
- Figure 40: Coin from Perinthus (*RPC* III: cat. 708)

- Figure 41: Coin from Byzantium (*RPC III*: cat. 1087)  
Figure 42: Coin from Amisus (*RPC III*: cat. 1274)  
Figure 43: Coin from Amisus (*RPC III*: cat. 1277)  
Figure 44: Coin from Amisus (*RPC III*: cat. 1284)  
Figure 45: Coin from Amisus (*RPC III*: cat. 1291)  
Figure 46: Coin from Apamea (*RPC III*: cat. 1034)  
Figure 47: Coin from Caesarea Germanica (*RPC III*: cat. 1028)  
Figure 48: Coin from Calchedon (*RPC III*: cat. 1064)  
Figure 49: Coin from Cius (*RPC III*: cat. 1053)  
Figure 50: Coin from the Bithynian Koinon (*RPC III*: cat. 998)  
Figure 51: Coin from the Bithynian Koinon (*RPC III*: cat. 1022)  
Figure 52: Coin from Sinope (*RPC III*: cat. 1227)  
Figure 53: Coin from the Bithynian Koinon (*RPC III*: cat. 1023)  
Figure 54: Coin from Byzantium (*RPC III*: cat. 1070)  
Figure 55: Coin from Mint A (*RPC III*: cat. 1405)  
Figure 56: Coin from Mint A (*RPC III*: cat. 1405A)  
Figure 57: Coin from Assus (*RPC III*: cat. 1581)  
Figure 58: Coin from Ilium (*RPC III*: cat. 1574)  
Figure 59: Coin from Parium (?) (*RPC III*: cat. 1544)  
Figure 60: Coin from Parium (?) (*RPC III*: cat. 1546)  
Figure 61: Coin from Parium (?) (*RPC III*: cat. 6574)  
Figure 62: Coin from Lampsacus (*RPC III*: cat. 1552)  
Figure 63: Coin from Cyzicus (*RPC III*: cat. 1523)  
Figure 64: Coin from Cyzicus (*RPC III*: cat. 1527A)  
Figure 65: Coin from Cyzicus (*RPC III*: cat. 1522)  
Figure 66: Coin from Assus (*RPC VI*: cat. 4098)  
Figure 67: Coin from Ilium (*RPC I*: cat. 2315)  
Figure 68: Coin from Ilium (*RPC III*: cat. 1572A)  
Figure 69: Coin from Parium (?) (*RPC III*: cat. 1543)  
Figure 70: Coin from Hadrianeia (*RPC III*: cat. 1622)  
Figure 71: Coin from Hadriani ad Olympum (*RPC III*: cat. 1611)  
Figure 72: Coin from Hadrianothrae (*RPC III*: cat. 1630)  
Figure 73: Coin from Eresus (*RPC III*: cat. 1679)  
Figure 74: Coin from Hierocaesarea (*RPC III*: cat. 1850A)  
Figure 75: Coin from Mytilene (*RPC III*: cat. 1691)  
Figure 76: Coin from Attaea (*RPC III*: cat. 1760)  
Figure 77: Coin from Pergamum (*RPC III*: cat. 1737)  
Figure 78: Coin from Germe (*RPC III*: cat. 1769)  
Figure 79: Coin from Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 1782)  
Figure 80 (left): Coin from Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 1783)  
Figure 81 (right): Coin from Hermocapelia (*RPC III*: cat. 1876)  
Figure 82: Coin from Came (*RPC III*: cat. 1843)  
Figure 83: Coin from Elaea (*RPC III*: cat. 1889)  
Figure 84: Coin from Elaea (*RPC III*: cat. 1888)  
Figure 85: Coin from Elaea (*RPC II*: cat. 957A)  
Figure 86: Coin from Myrina (*RPC III*: cat. 1919)  
Figure 87: Coin from Aegae (*RPC III*: cat. 1926)  
Figure 88: Coin from Cyme (*RPC III*: cat. 1932)

- Figure 89: Coin from Cyme (*RPC III*: cat. 1934)  
Figure 90: Coin from Phocaea (*RPC III*: cat. 1943)  
Figure 91: Coin from Temnus (*RPC III*: cat. 1944)  
Figure 92: Coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum (*RPC III*: cat. 1947)  
Figure 93: Coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum (*RPC III*: cat. 1948)  
Figure 94: Coin from Hyrcanis (*RPC III*: cat. 1959)  
Figure 95: Coin from Mostene (*RPC III*: cat. 1962)  
Figure 96: Coin from Mostene (*RPC III*: cat. 1963)  
Figure 97: Coin from Smyrna (*RPC III*: cat. 1363)  
Figure 98: Coin from Smyrna (*RPC III*: cat. 1973)  
Figure 99: Coin from Smyrna (*RPC III*: cat. 1974)  
Figure 100: Coin from Clazomenae (*RPC III*: cat. 1988)  
Figure 101: Coin from Erythrae (*RPC III*: cat. 1996)  
Figure 102: Coin from Teos (*RPC III*: cat. 1999)  
Figure 103: Coin from Teos (*RPC III*: cat. 2000)  
Figure 104: Coin from Hypaepa (*RPC III*: cat. 2031)  
Figure 105: Coin from Lebedus (*RPC III*: cat. 2002)  
Figure 106: Coin from Ephesus (*RPC III*: cat. 2079)  
Figure 107: Coin from Ephesus (*RPC III*: cat. 2080)  
Figure 108: Coin from Ephesus (*RPC III*: cat. 2081)  
Figure 109: Coin from Nicaea Cilbianorum (*RPC III*: cat. 2033)  
Figure 110: Coin from Nysa (*RPC III*: cat. 2091)  
Figure 111: Coin from Tralles (*RPC III*: cat. 2087)  
Figure 112: Coin from Tralles (*RPC III*: cat. 2089)  
Figure 113: Coin from Miletus (*RPC III*: cat. 2146)  
Figure 114: Coin from Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*RPC III*: cat. 2129)  
Figure 115: Coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum (*RPC III*: cat. 2128)  
Figure 116: Coin from Harpasa (*RPC III*: cat. 2227)  
Figure 117: Coin from Attuda (*RPC III*: cat. 2258)  
Figure 118: Coin from Attuda (*RPC III*: cat. 2259)  
Figure 119: Coin from Trapezopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 2262A)  
Figure 120 (left): Coin from Heraclea Salbace (*RPC III*: cat. 2273)  
Figure 121 (right): Coin from Heraclea Salbace (*RPC III*: cat. 2274)  
Figure 122: Coin from Attuda (*RPC III*: cat. 2260)  
Figure 123: Coin from Hierapolis (*RPC III*: cat. 1394)  
Figure 124: Coin from Cibyra (*RPC III*: cat. 2302)  
Figure 125: Coin from Cibyra (*RPC III*: cat. 2304)  
Figure 126: Coin from Colossae (*RPC III*: cat. 2310)  
Figure 127: Coin from Laodicea (*RPC III*: cat. 2333)  
Figure 128: Coin from Laodicea (*RPC III*: cat. 2335)  
Figure 129: Coin from Hydrela (*RPC III*: cat. 2361)  
Figure 130: Coin from Laodicea (*RPC III*: cat. 2323)  
Figure 131: Coin from Tmolus (*RPC III*: cat. 2388A)  
Figure 132: Coin from Sardis (*RPC III*: cat. 2405)  
Figure 133: Coin from Sardis (*RPC III*: cat. 2406)  
Figure 134: Coin from Sardis (*RPC III*: cat. 2404)  
Figure 135: Coin from Daldis (*RPC III*: cat. 2415A)  
Figure 136: Coin from Sala (*RPC III*: cat. 2445)

- Figure 137: Coin from Blaundus (*RPC III*: cat. 2450)  
Figure 138: Coin from Bagis (*RPC III*: cat. 2460A)  
Figure 139: Coin from Grimenothyrae (*RPC III*: cat. 2491)  
Figure 140: Coin from Grimenothyrae (*RPC III*: cat. 2492)  
Figure 141: Coin from Aezani (*RPC III*: cat. 2508)  
Figure 142: Coin from Cadi (*RPC III*: cat. 2501)  
Figure 143: Coin from Ancyra (*RPC III*: cat. 2541)  
Figure 144: Coin from Tiberiopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 2519)  
Figure 145: Coin from Iulia Gordus (*RPC III*: cat. 2554)  
Figure 146: Coin from Saitta (*RPC III*: cat. 2544)  
Figure 147: Coin from Sardis (*RPC III*: cat. 2398)  
Figure 148: Coin from Eucarpia (*RPC III*: cat. 2589)  
Figure 149: Coin from Eumenea (*RPC III*: cat. 2584)  
Figure 150: Coin from Nysa (*RPC III*: cat. 2575)  
Figure 151: Coin from Dorylaeum (*RPC III*: cat. 2642)  
Figure 152: Coin from Cestrus (*RPC III*: cat. 3188)  
Figure 153: Coin from Corycus (*RPC III*: cat. 3243)  
Figure 154: Coin from Seleucia ad Calycadnum (*RPC III*: cat. 3235)  
Figure 155: Coin from Mallus (*RPC III*: cat. 3326)  
Figure 156: Coin from Pompeiopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 3245)  
Figure 157: Coin from Zephyrion (*RPC III*: cat. 3252)  
Figure 158: Coin from Tarsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3275)  
Figure 159: Coin from Tarsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3277)  
Figure 160: Coin from Tarsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3284)  
Figure 161: Coin from Aegeae (*RPC III*: cat. 3350)  
Figure 162: Coin from Mopsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3360)  
Figure 163: Coin from Mopsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3361)  
Figure 164: Coin from Epiphanea (*RPC III*: cat. 3394)  
Figure 165: Coin from Seleucia ad Calycadnum (*RPC III*: cat. 3234)  
Figure 166: Coin from Mopsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3376)  
Figure 167: Coin from Aelia Capitolina (*RPC III*: cat. 3968)  
Figure 168: Coin from Gaba (*RPC III*: cat. 3950)  
Figure 169: Coin from Gaba (*RPC III*: cat. 3951)  
Figure 170: Coin from Gaba (*RPC III*: cat. 3952)  
Figure 171: Coin from Gaba (*RPC III*: cat. 3944)  
Figure 172: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5772)  
Figure 173: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5775)  
Figure 174: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5729)  
Figure 175: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5773)  
Figure 176: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5788)  
Figure 177: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5821)  
Figure 178: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5787)

### Chapter Three (Catalogue Figures)

1. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 774 (cat. 675) (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek online database: kulturarv.dk)
2. Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, France, inv. 2008.1.102 (photos by author)

3. Musée archéologique, Vaison-la-Romaine, France, inv. 990.54.004 (photos by author)
4. Museo del Sannio, Benevento, Italy, inv. 1950 (Carandini 1969: fig. 62, 64, 67)
5. Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence, Italy, Marble Gallery n. 19 (photos by author)
6. Villa Adriana, Tivoli, Italy, inv. 44438 (Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 175)
7. Museo Arqueologico Provincial, Seville, Spain, RE 148-2 (Museo Arqueologico Provincial online catalogue)
8. Malmström Collection, Malmö, Sweden (Carandini 1969: fig. 61, 63, 65)
9. Privately owned by the Dubroff Family, currently on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC, USA, inv. L. 1995.6.1 (photos by author)
10. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 848 (Sala dei Fasti Moderni II 7) (top right: Alexandridis 2004: pl. 39.2; remaining photos by author)
11. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria, inv. I 1660 (head) and I 1674 (upper body) (top photo: Alexandridis 2004: pl. 37.2; bottom photos: Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: pl. 46.1, 2, 4).
12. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 1489 (683) (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek online database: kulturarv.dk)
13. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse, France, inv. Ra 76 (formerly 30.133) (photos by author)
14. Louvre, Paris, France, MR 342 (MA 1190) (photos by author)
15. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany, inv. 496 (Carandini 1969: fig. 241)
16. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany, Charlottenburg Antikensammlung, inv. 1973.3 (Alexandridis 2004: pl. 37.3, 4)
17. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence, Italy, inv. 14547 (photos by author)
18. Quadreria G. Cesarini, Fossombrone, Italy, inv. 1392 (photos by author)
19. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 457 (Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 145)
20. Palazzo Ducale di Mantova, Mantua, Italy, inv. b819 (photos by author)
21. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, Salla delle Colombe inv. 338 (Fittschen and Zanker 1983: pl. 12)
22. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 1433 (Fittschen and Zanker 1983: pl. 13)
23. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 577 (photos by author)
24. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy inv. 1222 (photos by author)
25. Uffizi Gallery, Rome, Italy, inv. 1914.161
26. Castello Ducale, Sessa Aurunca, Italy, inv. 297043 (Wood 2015: fig. 8)
27. Syracuse Museum, Syracuse, Italy, inv. 72699 (top left: Alexandridis: pl. 38.2; rest: Anderson 1989: 121)
28. Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain, inv. 210-E (top left: Museo del Prado online; rest: Schröder 1993: 202)
29. Formerly Margam Park, UK (Poulsen 1923: cat. 62)
30. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 1350 (Chiaramonti 712) (photos by author)
31. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 121539 (photos by author)
32. Villa Adriana, Tivoli, Italy (Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 169-170)
33. Musei Reali di Torino, Turin, Italy (photos by author)
34. Formerly Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA, inv. 1979.556 (top left and bottom: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 110, 112; top right: Vermeule 1981: 314)
35. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 25 (photos by author)
36. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 1242 and 1963 (left: Alexandridis 2004: pl. 36.3; right: Carandini 1969: fig. 261)
37. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 1213 (Scala IV II) (photos by author)
38. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 629 (photos by author)

39. Izmit Museum, Izmit, Turkey, inv. 881 (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: pl. 44)
40. Musée National des Antiquités, Algiers, Algeria (Carandini 1969: fig. 37, 39)
41. Annaba Archaeological Museum, Annaba, Algeria (Carandini 1969: fig. 40, 41)
42. Musée Municipal, Lambaesis, Algeria, inv. 5 (left: Cagnat 1895: pl. 3; right: Carandini 1969: fig. 46)
43. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 1458 ((Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek online database: kulturarv.dk)
44. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 1742 (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek online database: kulturarv.dk)
45. Louvre, Paris, France, inv. MNE 1014 (hair Ma 1756, body Ma 1683) (photos by author)
46. Louvre, Paris, France, inv. Ma 4882 (MNE 794) (Baratte 1984: 302)
48. Private Collection, Paris, France (Chevalier 2011: 2, 3)
49. Graflich Erbach-Erbachische Sammlung, Erbach, Germany (Fittschen 1977: pl. 32.3, 4)
50. Fasanerie Castle, Fulda, Germany (von Heintze 1968: pl. 55, 56)
51. Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart, Germany (Hausmann 1975: 92-93 fig. 35, 36)
52. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Germany (Carandini 1969: fig. 273-275)
53. Athens National Museum, Athens, Greece, inv. 357 (Carandini 1969: fig. 165-166)
54. Athens National Museum, Athens, Greece, inv. 449 (Datsulis-Stravridis 1974: 262-263)
55. Chersoneses, Crete, Greece (Marinatos 1933-1935: fig. 28)
56. Olympia Museum, Olympia, Greece (Carandini 1969: fig. 270, 272)
58. Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki, Greece, inv. 3 (Datsulis-Stravridis 1974: 264-265)
59. Musei di Fiesole, Fiesole, Italy (photos by author)
60. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence, Italy, inv. 91230 (photos by author)
61. Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Italy inv. 1914.151 (photos by author)
62. Private collection of Baron M. Lazzaroni, Florence, Italy (Mingazzini 1932: 235-237)
64. Museo di Lucus Feroniae, Lucus Feroniae, Italy, inv. 848 (Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 163)
65. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 24 (photos by author)
66. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 1244 (body), 1954 (head) (Carandini 1969: fig. 13-15)
67. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. MC 0444 (Imperatori 33) (Capitoline online catalogue)
68. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 690 (formerly Albani B 99) (Fittschen and Zanker 1983: pl. 11)
69. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 52634 (Giuliano 1988: 246)
70. Villa Medici, Rome, Italy, east wing of the garden (photos by author)
71. Villa Medici, Rome, Italy (de Azevedo 1951: pl. 14)
72. Museo Torlonia, Rome, Italy, inv. 543 (Carandini 1969: fig. 54)
73. Museo Torlonia, Rome, Italy, inv. 547 (Carandini 1969: fig. 177)
76. Palazzo Odescalchi, Rome, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 100-102)
77. Catacombs of S. Sebastiano, Rome, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 56, 58)
78. Private collection, Rome, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 90, 91, 95, 96)
80. Formerly on the Jandolo Art Market, Rome, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 197-198)
81. Lost from Villa Adriana, Tivoli, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 228)
82. Cyrene Museum, Cyrene, Libya, inv. C57002 (Rosenbaum 1960: pl. XXIV.3, XXV.1-3)
83. Lost from Cyrene, Libya (Rosenbaum 1960: pl. CIV.4)
84. Leptis Magna, Libya (Caputo and Traversari 1979: pl. 67, 70)
85. Tripoli Museum, Tripoli, Libya, inv. 56 (Caputo and Traversari 1979: pl. 65, 66)
86. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Netherlands, inv. Pb 108 (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden online catalogue)

87. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Netherlands, inv. Pb 140 (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden online catalogue)
88. The State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russia (Carandini 1969: fig. 103, 104)
89. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia, inv. 400a (middle: Votschinina 1974: 460; rest: Alexandridis 2004: pl. 39.3, 4)
90. National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, inv. 93 (National Museum online catalogue)
92. Private Collection, Zurich, Switzerland (Jucker and Willers 1983: 126)
93. Sousse Museum, Hadrumetum, Tunisia (Gauckler et al. 1902: pl. XI.1)
94. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C983 (Alexandridis 2004: pl. 36.1)
95. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C1015 (Gaucker et al. 1910: XXXIV.1)
96. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C1346 (Carandini 1969: fig. 23, 24)
97. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C1363 (Alexandridis 2004: pl. 34.2)
98. Horrea of Hadrian, Andriace, Turkey (Wörrle 1975: pl. 38 A)
99. Antalya Museum, Antalya, Turkey, inv. 3045 (inv. 18 statue, inv. 18A head) (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966: pl. XXXI)
100. Antalya Museum, Antalya, Turkey, inv. 3066 (head) 3086 (body) (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966: pl. XXII)
102. Geyre Museum, Geyre, Turkey, inv. 68-341 (head), 70-496 (body) (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: pl. 43)
103. Mansia Museum, Mansia, Turkey, inv. 3 (Hanfmann and Ramage 1987: cat. 78)
104. Selçuk Museum, Selçuk, Turkey, inv. 963 (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: pl. 108.1, 2)
105. Formerly Marbury Hall, Cheshire, UK (Carandini 1969: fig. 85)
107. British Museum, London, UK (Carandini 1969: fig. 50, 51)
108. Holkham Hall, Norfolk, UK (Carandini 1969: fig. 178)
109. The Getty Villa, Malibu, California, USA, inv. 70.AA.100 (photos by author)
110. The Getty Villa, Malibu, California, USA, inv. 70.AA.117 (photos by author)
111. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, USA, inv. 1992.2.1 (photos by author)
112. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, USA, inv. 21.88.35 (Baratte 1984: 304)
113. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC, USA, inv. 22.139.2 (photos by author)
114. New York University, NYC, USA, inv. X.008 (Bonfante and Fowlkes 2006: 173)
115. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 634 (Sala dei Busti 359) (photos by author)
117. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 816 (Gabinetto delle Maschere 429)

### Abbreviations

In the citations, I use the abbreviations “n.” for note and “cat.” for catalogue number. Additional abbreviations are included with the die study catalogues (Appendices 1a and 2a).

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJN</i>	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AnalRom</i>	<i>Analecta Romana Instituti Danici</i>
<i>AnatSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>ANS</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society</i>
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
<i>AntCl</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
<i>AntK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BMCRE</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i>
<i>BurlMag</i>	<i>The Burlington Magazine</i>
<i>BullCom</i>	<i>Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>



<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris)</i>
<i>DHA</i>	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>
<i>GGA</i>	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IEph</i>	<i>Wankel, Hermann, et al., eds. 1979-1984. Die Inschriften von Ephesos. Bonn: Habelt.</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memories of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Madridrer Mitteilungen</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NSc</i>	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di antichità</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RIC</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>

<i>RLouvre</i>	<i>La revue du Louvre et des musées de France</i>
<i>RPC</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i>
<i>RM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>YaleBull</i>	<i>Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

**Declaration of Academic Achievement**

The author declares that the content of this research has been completed by Fae Amiro, with recognition of the contributions of the supervisory committee comprising of Dr. Martin Beckmann, Dr. Michele George, and Dr. Claude Eilers during the research and writing process.

## **Introduction**

Portraits are one of the most distinct forms of Roman art. They are most frequently found in sculpture and coins, although portrait images permeated almost every aspect of the Roman visual culture. While portraits were produced for many members of Roman society, it is the portraits of famous individuals that have traditionally garnered the most attention due to their ability to connect the modern viewer with a known subject in a tangible way. Imperial portraits, meaning portraits of the emperor and members of his family, can provide information about the messages sent by the imperial court and their reception by the citizens of the Empire. These portraits were the only way that most of the Empire's inhabitants ever saw their ruler and his influential relatives and were therefore an important means of communication with the masses.<sup>1</sup>

This is especially true for Roman empresses. There was no official position or power associated with being the wife of the reigning emperor.<sup>2</sup> While some are reported to have wielded great influence in an unofficial capacity, there are others for whom there is no evidence of any political activity, including Sabina.<sup>3</sup> Most people living in the

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<sup>1</sup> On the omnipresence of the imperial image in all areas of the Empire, especially through coins, see Eck 2017.

<sup>2</sup> The term “empress” itself can be somewhat misleading. I am using the term in this work to signify the wife of an emperor, but it should not be understood to signify an official position. The wife of the emperor did not necessarily have more power than other imperial women, such as a sister or mother. See Brennan 2018: 1 for discussion of the term.

<sup>3</sup> See Boatwright 1991a for evidence of the political activity by imperial women in the early second century. She demonstrates that imperial women in general held little power and that the women in this period were especially impotent. See also Alexandridis 2018: 100; Kolb 2010.

Empire had probably very little knowledge of the wife of the emperor outside of what they saw in portraiture.

Sabina was the wife of the Roman Emperor Hadrian (r. 117-138 CE). Despite her prominent position, ancient historians record very little about her. In the small handful of extant reports about her life, none of which are contemporary, there are only a few sparse pieces of information.<sup>4</sup> Dio and the *Historia Augusta* report that she was a close relative of Hadrian's predecessor Trajan and she married Hadrian against the will of Trajan himself according to the *Historia Augusta*.<sup>5</sup> If the *Historia Augusta* is to be believed, Sabina had an inappropriate interaction with several of Hadrian's associates, the exact nature of which is left ambiguous. The same passage informs the reader that the imperial couple's marriage was unhappy and only maintained because of their official positions.<sup>6</sup> There are several Late Antique sources that report that Sabina received the honorific title "Augusta" at the same time that Hadrian was named Pater Patriae, father of the fatherland, although sources are at odds about when exactly this happened.<sup>7</sup> Finally, two sources describe the details of her death, although neither provides a specific date. The *Historia Augusta* reports a rumour that Sabina was poisoned by Hadrian, whereas Aurelius Victor reports that she voluntarily committed suicide due to her negative

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<sup>4</sup> For a full discussion of these sources, see Brennan 2018: xv-xvii, 29-34.

<sup>5</sup> HA *Had.* 1.2, 2.10; Dio 69.1.1.

<sup>6</sup> HA *Had.* 11.3-4.

<sup>7</sup> *Chron. Pasch.* year 128 (Dindorf 1832: 475); Oros. 7.13; Euseb. *Chron.* Olympiad 226 (Helm 1984: 99).

relationship with the Emperor.<sup>8</sup> The picture presented is extremely sparse and, when personal information is given, it is wholly unsympathetic.

One would expect a woman who had seemingly so little impact on the historical record to be similarly absent from the portrait record, but the opposite is true. Sabina was more plentifully represented on coins both at Rome and in the provinces than any previous empress. This is true in both percentage of total mint output and typological variety. There are also more extant sculptures of her than of any of the Flavian or Trajanic women. This disparity between the literary and material evidence illustrates the value of the study of Roman imperial portraiture. The extant representations of the Empress allow for an understanding of Sabina's role in the administration's public presentation that is unattainable through other means. The quantity and variety of Sabina's portraits also facilitate study of the mechanisms by which imperial images were disseminated. Understanding the context in which each portrait type was introduced allows for their significance to be understood.<sup>9</sup>

There is a long history of scholarship on Sabina's portraiture. Bernoulli was first to identify and record the sculpted images of the Empress.<sup>10</sup> His work formed the

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<sup>8</sup> Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14.8; HA *Had.* 23.9.

<sup>9</sup> I use the terms "message" and "messaging" throughout this dissertation to avoid the more loaded term "propaganda". While "messaging" is most commonly used in a modern political context, I believe that it applies well to the Roman context in cases where there was imperial influence over the images' contents. Messaging here should be taken to mean the program of ideas that the administration wished to convey to its target audience with a given image, without any inference of a larger organization behind it or a sinister motive. The term avoids the negative connotations of "propaganda". For discussion of the issues with the term "propaganda", see Alexandridis 2004: 7-10; Baharal 1992: vii-viii; Levick 1982; Sutherland 1986.

<sup>10</sup> Bernoulli 1891.

foundation of Sabina's portrait typology, much of which is still accepted today. The numismatic portraits were first given a relative chronology by Strack in 1933, which heavily influenced Mattingly's treatment of the topic three years later. Strack's scholarship was also the foundation of the earliest annotated catalogue of Sabina's portraits, the Hadrian volume of the *Herrscherbild* series by Wegner.<sup>11</sup> The most thorough work on Sabina's portraiture to date is Carandini's 1969 monograph. In this, Carandini included the numismatic evidence from both Rome and the provinces as well as inscriptions, cameos, and portraits in the round. While his methods and attributions have been questioned by later scholars, the study's thoroughness and inclusion of a wide variety of media makes this text foundational not only in the study of Sabina's portraiture but in the study of portraits of imperial women in general.<sup>12</sup>

There has been renewed scholarly attention on Sabina in the past two decades. The recently published second edition of the third volume of the *Roman Imperial Coinage* by Abdy, along with the 2007 study by Nicolai, are the first studies of Sabina's imperial coinage since Mattingly.<sup>13</sup> The sculpture was also recently reconsidered by Adembri, although without a complete catalogue.<sup>14</sup> The book *Vibia Sabina: da Augusta a Diva*, which includes the Adembri and Nicolai chapters, is the first book-length work on Sabina since Carandini, although the focus of the rest of the work is not on portraiture. Alexandridis's volume on the portraits of imperial women contains the first catalogue of

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<sup>11</sup> Wegner 1956.

<sup>12</sup> For criticism of his methods, see Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 n. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Abdy 2019; Nicolai 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Adembri 2007.

Sabina's portraits since Carandini, although the focus of the text is more general.<sup>15</sup>

Brennan's 2018 book *Sabina Augusta* is a biography and is not intended as an art historical study. There are, however, some significant findings concerning Sabina's portraiture and the book includes a catalogue of her sculpted likenesses.

I have several overarching goals in this work. My first objective is to establish as secure a chronology of Sabina's portrait types as possible. There are five portrait types which appear on the imperial coinage. In the Capitoline catalogue, Fittschen and Zanker express the need for a better sense of the sequence of these numismatic portrait types.<sup>16</sup> I accomplish this through two die studies, one of the *aurei* and the other of the *dupondii/asses*. Some provincial coins that have dates recorded on them are also helpful for establishing absolute dates. While it is common for portrait studies to use numismatic evidence for comparison with sculpture, rarely are the numismatic portraits given significant attention in their own right. As the only group of portraits of Sabina known to be officially sanctioned by the administration, coin images from the imperial mint are key to interpreting Sabina's role in the court's message program.

My second goal is to provide proper context for Sabina's portraits, as far as is practicable. The importance of a context-based approach to Roman portraiture studies has recently gained scholarly attention.<sup>17</sup> I deal individually with each of the three main media in which Sabina's portraits survives: imperial coinage, provincial coinage, and

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<sup>15</sup> Alexandridis 2004.

<sup>16</sup> Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 n. 15. On the value of the typological approach in general, see Fittschen 2010.

<sup>17</sup> Two notable works on this topic; Fejfer 2008; von den Hoff 2011.



sculpture. Through this approach, I am able to explore important distinctions between the Empress's appearance in each format and hypothesize explanations for these divergences based on the practicalities of the different media. The provincial coins are especially instructive about the importance of geographical context, as their appearance is often dictated more by local influences than overarching imperial policy. Display context, especially the distinction between privately and publicly exhibited portraits, is significant to the interpretation of the iconography of several portraits in the sculpture catalogue.

Within the discussion of context, the mechanisms of portrait type dissemination arise as an important topic. This is another area where the Sabina portraits are able to contribute significantly to our knowledge. With five easily differentiated and, as a result of the die studies, securely dated imperial numismatic portrait types, as well as significant representation in both sculpture and provincial coinage, I am able to observe the differences in chronological and geographic spread of each portrait type in each medium. The results of this study reveal some potential problems with common assumptions concerning this process. Each group presents significantly different proportions of each portrait type, with no two having the same most plentiful type. These differences are explained by the timing, motivation, and messaging behind each portrait type and how these intersect with the practicalities of production for each medium.

My final large goal is to understand the significance of each portrait type and therefore properly contextualize Sabina's role in the imperial messaging. It is now common scholarly opinion that the creation of portrait types did not necessarily

correspond with special events.<sup>18</sup> However, in the case of Sabina, the distinctions among portrait types are substantial. While these do not necessarily need to correspond with an actual event, they do relate to a change in the administration's use of Sabina's image in their messaging campaign. From the chronology established by the coins, each type can be paired with an event that corresponds with its proposed meaning. The different motivations behind each type's design and dissemination are also connected with the discrepancies in proportions between the portrait types across the different media. These are also revealing of Sabina's role in the administration's official messages and their reception throughout the Empire.

I established my own naming conventions for Sabina's portrait types, which diverge from those used in previous scholarship. It is common in sculptural portrait studies to name types based on what is considered to be the best extant example of the type. For example, one of Sabina's types is often referred to as the "Vaison" type after a portrait found in Vaison-la-Romaine.<sup>19</sup> There are a few problems with this system. First, it gives primacy to sculpted portraits over those in other media. Second, it falsely promotes one portrait as the best example of the type. The potential for problems with this system are most clearly illustrated by the Busti 359 type, the traditional name of the most plentiful of Sabina's portrait types in sculpture. The type's namesake portrait was elevated as the most accurate extant example of the type, until Spinola discovered that it

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<sup>18</sup> Alexandridis 2004: 28-29; Fejfer 2008: 407-419; Fittschen 2010: 228-231; Højte 2005: 86 n. 191.

<sup>19</sup> This name is used by Carandini 1969 and Alexandridis 2004. Wegner (1956; 1984) uses this style of naming for all types.

is a modern creation.<sup>20</sup> Even in less extreme cases, this naming system gives the false impression that one example of the type should be seen as the standard with which all others are compared.

In other works, types are named based on an iconographic interpretation. For example, one type is called the Aphrodite in some works because of its perceived influence from images of this goddess, and the Augusta type in others because of the belief that it was introduced when Sabina gained this title. Another is often called the Eleusis type because of its perceived connection with Sabina and Hadrian's initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries. Two other types are referred to as Matidia and Plotina types, respectively, because of similarities with portraits of these two women.<sup>21</sup> These names can bias scholars towards the interpretation suggested by the name. I argue here that the connections with Aphrodite, Augusta, Eleusis, and Plotina are all at least overstated, and in some cases inaccurate.

Often portrait types are given names like "Haupttypus" or "Main Type" when a type represents the largest proportion of portraits of a given subject in a particular medium.<sup>22</sup> This gives the impression that the type is most important, most long lasting, or at least most numerous. This again shows a preferential treatment of portraits in one medium. The Sabina portrait type often referred to as the Haupttypus is her most common type in sculpture but is rare on imperial coinage and absent from provincial coinage. In fact, the most plentiful portrait type is different for each of the three media.

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<sup>20</sup> Spinola 1999: 92-93.

<sup>21</sup> This type of name is common in Carandini 1969 and Nicolai 2007.

<sup>22</sup> This is the name that Alexandridis 2004 uses for the basket.

There is therefore no one type which can reasonably be referred to as Sabina's "Haupttypus".

For these reasons, I have given each type as neutral a name as possible, based on its most prominent visual characteristic.<sup>23</sup> The nest, the earliest known portrait type used for Sabina and the most plentiful on provincial coinage, is identified by the braided circle of hair that surrounds the crown of the Empress's hair. The chignon, an uncommon type in all media, features a low, braided bun on the nape of the neck. The queue, the most plentiful type on imperial coinage, features a long ponytail which is fastened at the end in a loop. There are some structural similarities between the nest and another type, the basket. The latter also features the nest-like arrangement of hair around the top of the head, but the hair is unbraided and overall more natural. The basket is uncommon on imperial coinage, absent from provincial coinage, but the most common type in sculpture. One type, the knot, is only seen in sculpture. The type is similar to the basket but features a large square knot of hair at the front of the head. Posthumously, Sabina appears with the veil, which is a *capite velato* version of the chignon on imperial coins but the basket in sculpture. The type is absent from provincial coinage. These names are more accessible than other conventions because they are connected with the visual contents of the portraits. They apply equally across all media and do not rely on analysis that may prove inaccurate in the future.

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<sup>23</sup> Abdy (2015; 2019: 32-35) uses a similarly descriptive approach but does not settle on a single name for each portrait type in most cases, instead giving a longer description each time.

I give each of the three media their own chapter. Chapter One concerns the coins produced at the central Roman mint that display portraits of Sabina. I establish a relative chronology of the portrait types through die study and visual analysis. This clarifies several areas of their dating which were previously debated and, in a few cases, debunks commonly held assumptions. With the chronology established, I analyse what was happening at the time of each portrait type's introduction to the imperial coinage and how this might have influenced the contents of each type. Two of the portrait types were introduced at the Roman mint while Sabina was abroad, raising questions about the mechanisms of portrait type introduction in this official context. With these new data, I am able to interpret each portrait type within its proper chronological and situational context.

In Chapter Two, I study the provincial coinage struck with images of Sabina. Provincial coinage has rarely been used for portrait studies in the past. The lack of oversight of these small local mints in the eastern half of the Empire means that the appearance of the coinage is often more of a reflection of local tastes than centrally controlled messages. In spite of this, a detailed study of the entire corpus of Sabina's provincial coinage allows for general trends to be observed, made possible in large part by the multi-volume *Roman Provincial Coinage* publication. These coins demonstrate the extent to which the provinces adhered to imperial typology and, in the cases where they did not, the reasoning behind the deviations. In the provincial coinage, the next portrait type, Sabina's first portrait type on imperial coinage that was only used at Rome for about two years, is used on the vast majority of types. Other portrait types are much

rarer in this medium than they are on the Roman coinage. This divergence is revealing of the imperial attitude toward provincial coinage and the reception of the imperial image in the provinces.

In the final chapter, I consider the evidence from portraits in the round. This is accompanied by an annotated catalogue of portraits which have previously been argued to represent Sabina. Since sculpture needed a commission to be produced, as opposed to coinage, which was usually produced for practical reasons, the production of sculpture is much more chronologically sporadic. Differences in the production quantity of a given portrait type on imperial coinage compared to sculpture can therefore reveal the motivations for sculptural commissions and the practicalities of the production process. Distinctions between the appearance of portraits from public contexts and those from private imperial contexts are informative of the courtly use of Sabina's portraiture, information not attainable from the other two media.

The portraits of Sabina are particularly illuminating of differences among media, the function of portraiture in the Roman world, and imperial messaging. Their large quantity across media and throughout the Empire, as well as their typological variety, allows them to be studied with a level of detail not possible for images of most imperial women. With a new chronology and information from many different contexts, the significance of Sabina's coinage in various arenas and media can be understood. Given the dearth of information about Sabina's life in literary accounts, portraits of this Empress are also illustrative of the power of portrait studies to fill in some of the gaps.

## **Chapter One: Sabina's Coins from the Roman Imperial Mint**

### Introduction

The Roman mint began producing coinage in Sabina's name in the year 128, or shortly before, and continued beyond her own death, probably until the death of her husband in 138. Based on die-links, type diversity, and overall quantity, the coinage was most likely minted continuously at Rome during that time.<sup>24</sup> Sabina is the first empress to have such a continuous dedicated minting and she also exceeds her predecessors in the number of coins made in each issue.<sup>25</sup>

This coinage provides a useful starting point for the study of Sabina's portraits because coin portraits are more consistent in their typology than those in other media. Additionally, the centrally produced imperial coinage can be confidently referred to as official products of the imperial court. The portrait types found on this coinage can, by extension, be referred to as officially sanctioned portrait types. Portrait sculpture and provincial coinage were produced by artists of differing skill levels with disparate artistic intents throughout the Empire, presenting many deviations from the understood typology.

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<sup>24</sup> Abdy (2019: 33) suggests a possible production break spanning some of 129-130 in correspondence with the absence of Sabina types at Alexandria that year. This is possible, but the evidence is not very strong. This year corresponds with the production of the chignon type at Rome, which does not appear at Alexandria, making it more likely that production was continuous at Rome.

<sup>25</sup> According to Duncan-Jones's (2006: n. 5) calculations, the women under Trajan accounted for two percent of minted gold, with silver and bronze minted in their honour in negligible amounts. In contrast, Sabina's coinage accounts for fourteen percent of the silver, seven percent of bronze, and sixteen percent of the gold (Duncan-Jones 2006: 224). See also Hekster 2015: table 4 for an illustration of the percentage of total coin types produced for the wives of each emperor. The coinage of Sabina is significantly greater than any previous wife and begins a period of increased prominence for imperial wives on coinage. The only previous women with comparable levels of minting were deceased at the time of production.

None of these problems is present on Roman imperial coins, which faithfully replicate a strict typology. It is also helpful that the obverse's subject is always labelled in this period, so the identification of the figure being depicted is never in question, one of the main difficulties in the study of portraits in the round. Imperial coins also survive in large numbers, ensuring that all portrait types used for the subject in question are accounted for. Finally, with their inscriptions, reverses, and large numbers, a more accurate chronological sequence of portrait types can be ascertained from coins than from sculpture. There are some difficulties presented by the small size and profile view of coin portraits, but their consistency, official status, and reproducible production sequence are all substantial advantages in terms of establishing a typology and chronology, as well as interpreting imperial messaging.

Sabina's coinage differs from Hadrian's in several ways. The smaller quantity makes its study more manageable, and the greater visual distinction between portrait types makes its typological analysis simpler. On the other hand, since it was not minted from the start of the administration, but began more than ten years later, it is unhelpful for the first decade of Hadrian's reign. The coinage cannot provide information about what Sabina's portrait type was for the ten years before she first appeared on coinage, a major problem for the identification of sculpted portraits from this period.

The first study of Sabina's coinage was conducted by Strack in 1933, which laid the foundations for all later studies of this material; many of his conclusions still stand today. This work formed the basis of Mattingly's analysis of the coinage just a few years later in the third volume of the *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*



(*BMCRE*), although there are a few points of departure.<sup>26</sup> Carandini wrote the first work exclusively dedicated to Sabina in 1969.<sup>27</sup> This monograph is mostly concerned with the sculpted images of the Empress, not coinage, but Carandini's focus on portraiture makes this the earliest detailed accounting of Sabina's coin portraits. The next examination of Sabina's coinage does not come until 2007, when Nicolai made some revisions to the previous chronologies.<sup>28</sup> This work has now been followed by several recent articles by Abdy, which led up to the publication of the new *Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC)* volume on Hadrian's coinage in 2019.<sup>29</sup> The new *RIC* volume has once again refined and updated previous assumptions about the coinage.

My research is the first lengthy study of Sabina's imperial coin portraits in their own right and employs methods not used by previous scholars of the subject. Through this, I establish a concrete relative chronology of the portrait types' production sequence at the Roman mint, which facilitates the creation of an absolute chronology. I have disproven several previous assumptions about Sabina's imperial coinage, including the idea that there was significant chronological overlap of either inscription or portrait types.<sup>30</sup> I also establish the introduction dates of several portrait types whose dates had previously been uncertain. These chronological findings facilitate new interpretations of

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<sup>26</sup> Strack 1933; Mattingly 1936.

<sup>27</sup> Carandini 1969.

<sup>28</sup> Nicolai 2007.

<sup>29</sup> Abdy 2014 on Sabina's coin portraits, Abdy 2015 on double-headed *asses*, Abdy 2019 *RIC*. Brennan 2018 uses Abdy's numismatic chronology.

<sup>30</sup> Support for chronological overlap: Abdy 2019: 57-58; Adembri 2007: 76; Brennan 2018: 169; Mattingly 1936: cxlix-cl; Strack 1933: 23-25.

the significance of each portrait type and their function in the mint's iconographic program.

### *Overview of Sabina's Coinage*

During the production of her coinage, Sabina's portrait type changed five times. There are several variations of headdress within these types, which I have chosen to include under one larger type because the portrait is otherwise identical and these variants are usually contemporaneous with one another. The main types are as follows:

- a = basket-style braided up-do
- b = wavy ponytail fastened at the end with a band or wreath and a crest of hair
- c = looped, braided bun with a wreath and a diadem
- d = basket-style waved up-do with a single diadem
- e = veiled with bun and a diadem or wreath

The earliest type, a, is a basket-style braided up-do, which I will be calling the nest type (Figure 1-7). It has a row of tightly curled hair on the brow, behind which is a tall crest of hair. Behind this is a diadem. The back of the hair is braided and twisted into a basket on the top of the head. The second chronologically, c, only appears on *denarii* and *asses* and features a low, braided bun at the nape. The rest of the hair is left in waves, with a diadem and wreath separating the front and back portions of the hair, with one strand of hair flowing down the neck. This is frequently referred to as the Eleusis type, but I refer to it here as the chignon type (Figure 9-10). The third portrait type on Sabina's imperial coinage, b, is a loose ponytail attached at the end with a crest of hair at the front of the head adorned with a band or a wreath. This is often called the Plotina type because of its similarity to the hairstyle of her predecessor (Figure 11-18). I will be calling this the queue, as Abdy does in the *RIC*. The fourth, d, called the "Aphrodite" by Adembri and

Abdy, referred to here as the basket, is a wavy basket-like up-do which differs from the nest in its lack of braids and the treatment of the forelocks (Figure 20-21).<sup>31</sup> The hair is wavy, and a diadem is placed near the front of the head. There is a final, posthumous type, e, in which Sabina wears a veiled version of the chignon with the laurel wreath replaced by a diadem or crown of wheat (Figure 22-24).

Sabina's obverses all use the same title for her, SABINA AVGVSTA, but differ in the extent of Hadrian's titles included. The obverse legends used are as follows:

- a = SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG
- b = SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG PP
- c = SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP
- d = SABINA AVGVSTA
- e = DIVA AVG SABINA
- f = DIVA AVGVSTA SABINA

A small, early issue features the legend a, SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG. It is quickly followed by another issue, b, which adds PP at the end to indicate Hadrian's acquisition of the title Pater Patriae. The next inscription eliminates the IMP while keeping the PP: c, SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP. This is Sabina's most common inscription on *aes* coinage. The most common inscription on Sabina's gold coinage is the simpler SABINA AVGVSTA. Posthumously, her coins read DIVA AVG SABINA or less frequently DIVA AVGVSTA SABINA. The legend changes do not usually correspond with changes in portrait type.

Sabina's reverses show images of either personifications of standard feminine virtues or female deities. While most of these figures have appeared on the coinage of

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<sup>31</sup> Abdy 2014: 83; Adembri 2007: 79-80.

previous emperors and their spouses, the lack of inventiveness in the types should not be confused with a lack of significance.<sup>32</sup> Sabina's reverse types were likely chosen to promote a virtue or concept that was important to the regime at large or to send a more specific message. The goddesses on the reverses are Ceres, Juno Regina, Venus (Genetrix and Victrix), and Vesta, and the personifications are Concordia (with or without Aug), Pietas (with or without Aug), and Pudicitia. Her posthumous coinage features either an eagle, with or without her on its back, with the inscription CONSECratio, or an altar with the inscription PIETATIS AVG. There are no inscriptions on Sabina's earliest reverses (Ceres and Vesta), but her subsequent issues feature a label of the reverse's contents. The accidental inclusion of Hadrian reverse types are common, but since these are mint errors, their contents are not relevant to the interpretation of Sabina's coinage as a planned program from the central mint.<sup>33</sup>

The significance of the other reverse types will be addressed in chronological sequence, but two types, Concordia Augusta and Vesta, were used throughout much of the run of Sabina's coinage. Concordia Augusta was a type used previously on imperial coinage to indicate either political or familial concord between the imperial couple.<sup>34</sup> Alexandridis interprets Concordia with a patera and cornucopia, as she appears on the

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<sup>32</sup> On the establishment of the canon of female virtues on imperial coinage, see Alexandridis 2010. On the significance of reverse types in Roman imperial coinage, see Beckmann 2009, in which he argues that even seemingly generic types have topical significance. Cf. Duncan-Jones 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Keltanen (2002: 117-124) mistakes these mules as intentional Sabina reverse types, leading to the false impression of the sharing of reverse types between Hadrian and Sabina and a larger number of reverse types used for Sabina than is accurate.

<sup>34</sup> Alexandridis 2010: 202; Levick 1978: 227; Zanzarri 1997: 57.

Sabina reverses, as an illustration of concord as a benefit of *pietas*.<sup>35</sup> On Hadrian and Sabina's coinage, a statue of Spes (Hope) was added in the seated versions of the type.<sup>36</sup> Those more cynical may see this as a reference to the need for hope in the marital harmony between Sabina and her husband. It is unlikely, however, that such a message would have been approved of by the imperial court. Most likely, Spes represents hope for the enduring positive conditions to which the Concordia Augusta contributed. The use of the type throughout Sabina's coinage suggests that it was an enduring idea rather than a topical reference. This is also confirmed by the continuing popularity of the type on the coinage of subsequent empresses.<sup>37</sup> In standing versions of the type, Concordia holds two cornucopias, which, according to Mattingly, represent a blessing for both the Emperor and Empress.<sup>38</sup>

The frequently used Vesta type on Sabina's coinage must have had a similarly enduring significance. The use of Vesta on the coinage of women was common and probably meant to present Sabina as a protector of the home and to highlight her *castitas*.<sup>39</sup> Vesta appears on coins of Livia to emphasize Augustus's role as Pontifex Maximus, and therefore the inclusion of Vesta among types for later empresses might be meant to further emphasize the religious roles of the imperial couple.<sup>40</sup> Given her lack of

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<sup>35</sup> Alexandridis 2010: 202.

<sup>36</sup> Zanzarri 1997: 57.

<sup>37</sup> Prior to Sabina, the type had been used by Domitia. Following Sabina, Antonine women used the type frequently and it dominated the majority of Severan female reverse types (Zanzarri 197: 116-117).

<sup>38</sup> Mattingly 1936: cl. Zanzarri (1997: 58) suggests that this might be a reference to the two Augusti.

<sup>39</sup> Alexandridis 2010: 203; Nicolai 2007: 97; cf. Kokkinos 1992: 162.

<sup>40</sup> Jones 1990: 318-319.

children, Sabina was unable to be presented as a mother of heirs. The frequent use of Vesta on her coinage might have been due to the inappropriateness of some of the other common female reverse types for a childless woman.

### *Methodology*

One major methodological distinction between this and previous analyses of Sabina's coinage is my use of die study.<sup>41</sup> Ancient coins were made by striking two stamps, called dies, onto a round, flat piece of metal, called a flan or a blank. Through rigorous use, one of these dies would inevitably break, requiring it to be replaced. Since these dies were hand carved, even if the contents of the image remained the same, there were still observable differences between the dies. Usually both dies were not replaced at the same time, which resulted in two groups of coins being produced which shared the same die on one face but not the other. This process is reproducible from the coins which exist today. Through the analysis of a large enough body of coinage, a chain of linked coins can be created which forms an objective relative chronology of the coins' manufacture. Unfortunately, there are sometimes breaks in the chain where either coins from a die pair do not survive or both dies were replaced at the same time, possibly after the introduction of a new design. The order of these groups can be determined by the sequence of inscription, portrait, and reverse types. I conducted two die studies for Sabina's imperial coinage, one of the *aurei* and one of the *dupondii/asses*. For both die studies, I used coins from museums, hoards, and auction catalogues.

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<sup>41</sup> On this history of this method, see Metcalf 1996.

I assembled a database of 234 *aurei*, with 23 obverse and 29 reverse dies (Appendix 1). Abdy notes that Hadrian's *aurei* have a much closer obverse to reverse die ratio than would be expected if the dies were being used to exhaustion.<sup>42</sup> A similar ratio is apparent for the Sabina *aurei*, showing a similar policy of replacing dies before they broke or became badly worn for these coins. There are many large groups of linked dies, some of which provide a bridge between the use of the different inscription and portrait types.

A few breaks in the chain do, however, require decisions about the relative order of the groups. The determination of which coins to place first in the sequence is based partially on evidence from Sabina's other denominations. On the *sestertii* and *dupondii/asses*, the next portrait type is found with inscription a, SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG, which must date first chronologically due to the absence of the title PP, which is found on later coins. The evidence from the opposite end of the die study also supports placing the next first. Next coins with inscription b, SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG PP, have been placed earlier than those with c, SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP, because inscription c continues in use with the next portrait type found on the *aurei*, the queue. There are no die links between the next and queue to confirm their relative sequence, which is expected since they do not share any reverse types. The evidence, however, shows that the queue must be Sabina's second portrait type on the *aurei*, since the basket must date last. Some *denarii* that display the basket, a portrait type usually found with inscription d, are found with

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<sup>42</sup> Abdy 2019: 3.

inscription e, dating them after Sabina's death. Additionally, this sequence allows for inscription c to be continued from the nest to the queue. Coins with the inscription d, SABINA AVGVSTA, must therefore date later in the run of Sabina's coinage than the longer inscription c. There is a die link between the queue and the basket, as well as one bridging the divide between queue coins with the two different inscriptions, c and d. The final coins in the sequence must be those with inscription e, DIVA AVG SABINA and the veil portrait type since they must have been struck after the Empress's death. This sequence includes no overlap of inscription or portrait type.

One portrait type, the chignon, is missing from the *aurei*. Therefore, I conducted a die study of the *dupondii/asses* to determine its placement. I assembled a database of 509 *dupondii* and *asses*, 456 of which have recorded weights, with 144 obverse and 230 reverse dies (Appendix 2). This represents a much more normal obverse to reverse ratio and therefore it appears that these dies were generally used until they broke or were too worn for continued use. These reverse die counts include 19 dies with Hadrian's portrait on them. While these coins are made with the appearance of having two obverses, in their manufacture, the Hadrian portrait must have been the reverse die based on the ratio of Sabina dies to Hadrian dies in the production of the double-headed coins.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Abdy (2015: 145) claims that the reverse dies with Hadrian's portrait were produced specially for these double-headed issues and has found die links between these Sabina coins and coins with Hadrian and Aelius obverses. For the significance of these coins, see Abdy 2015; Clay 2012: 356-361.



In antiquity, *dupondii* and *asses* were distinguishable from one another based on colour, but most extant coins are too discoloured to make this distinction today.<sup>44</sup> They also had different goal weights, but these were very close, making it impossible to identify the denomination of an individual coin based on weight alone due to inconsistencies in ancient production and wear. In a forthcoming article, I present a new method which allows these denominations to be differentiated in some cases by examining the weight distributions of larger groups of coins.<sup>45</sup> The results show that portrait type c, the chignon, was only struck on the *asses*, the lower of the two denominations. The type is plentiful in this denomination but is only otherwise seen in small numbers on the *denarii*. Obverse types aa, cd, and da were mostly likely only struck on *dupondii*. These are all very rare types, the first two appearing on no other denomination and the latter only otherwise seen on a small number of *sestertii*. None of the reverse types are as clearly linked with a specific denomination. Comparison with the die-chart confirms that the two denominations routinely shared dies. Therefore, die-links cannot be used to further separate the coins into their respective denominations. All coins from both denominations have for this reason been included in one die-link chart.

The production sequence for the *dupondii/asses* is much more complex than that of the *aurei* due to the larger number of dies, the smaller number of links, and the greater variety of obverse and reverse types (Appendix 2b). The starting point of the sequence

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<sup>44</sup> Abdy 2019: 2. The radiate crown on Emperor portraits also helped with this distinction, but was eliminated from Hadrian's coinage in 128, and was never worn by women on coinage.

<sup>45</sup> Accepted for publication in the *American Journal of Numismatics* 34 (2022).

must be the coins with inscription a, SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG, as discussed above, which all feature the nest portrait type. These are die linked with coins with the nest and inscription type c, SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP. All coins in this group feature anepigraphic reverse types of Vesta and Ceres, like the *aurei*. Also, like the *aurei*, there is no die link between these and any other coins.

The chignon type comes next in the chronology. All coins with the chignon portrait type have inscription c, SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP and the reverse type CA, Concordia Augusta, except for one Hadrian portrait reverse. The type is die-linked with a coin which features inscription c and the queue portrait type. The sequence cannot be the other way around, with the chignon type marking the end of the use of the queue portrait type because there is a die link between two queue coins with inscriptions c and d, SABINA AVGVSTA.<sup>46</sup> As established by the *aurei*, inscription d was introduced later than inscription c. Therefore, queue coins with inscription d mark the end of the use of the c inscription queue coins, and the chignon type link must be the beginning. A few *denarii* with chignon-type obverses have Ceres reverses, likely a continuation from their use with the previous portrait type, further evidence that the chignon portrait type was produced second.

Portrait type d, the basket, belongs at the end of the sequence. This is not as confidently placed as on the *aurei*, since are no die links between these and the db coins. These are also found with inscription c instead of inscription d and reverse type CA, both

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<sup>46</sup> There is a consistent division between the cb and db queue coins except for one cb-VG coin, which is most likely a minting error (using an old obverse accidentally with a new reverse).

of which are found earlier in the sequence. There are several coins with this same combination among the *sestertii*, making it unlikely to be a minting error. The *sestertii* continue to use inscription c throughout the entirety of their run, which might explain its reappearance here. While reverse type CA does not continue to be used among the *dupondii/asses*, it is used through the entire run of *aurei* and *denarii* and the standing variant of the type, CR, does appear at the end of the *dupondii/asses*. Therefore, it makes the most sense to place the cd coins at the end of the sequence. There are no posthumously minted coins in these denominations.

There are a few uncommon obverse types that cannot be placed very confidently in the sequence. There are two dies and six coins which feature the nest portrait type but inscription d, SABINA AVGVSTA. These coins all have CR, standing Concordia, as their reverse type. This portrait and legend combination is not found on any other denomination as far as I am aware. I have placed them with the other CR reverse type coins, which feature db obverses, although there are no die links to confirm this association. It is possible that the da coins were struck at the time of the transition from the nest to the chignon portrait types, keeping the die sequence consistent. This, however, would mean that both the CR reverse type and d inscription type were introduced much sooner than the other evidence suggests. I therefore believe that their placement at the end of the sequence is more likely to be correct. Faustina the Younger's coins also feature the revival of an older portrait type near the end of the sequence, so this is not without precedent.<sup>47</sup> The other possibility is that these coins are modern forgeries, given

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<sup>47</sup> For the die study of Faustina's coins from the Roman mint, see Beckmann 2012.

their lack of die link to the rest of the coins. They do have the highest median weight of all obverse types, but the weight is not high enough to definitively indicate that they are fakes.

One final group which cannot be confidently placed are the db coins with Hadrian portrait reverses, specifically dies db12 and db13. Some of the earlier Hadrian portrait reverses were die linked with other coins, making their placement in the sequence obvious. These two dies are especially difficult to place because Sabina's portrait on them faces left, whereas all other db dies face right. This suggests that these two dies were carved specifically for use with the Hadrian portrait reverses. Without any die links and with their abnormal obverse types, it is not possible to place them more specifically than at some time during the production of the other db coins.<sup>48</sup>

I also created databases of 84 *sestertii* and 163 *denarii* from the American Numismatic Society, British Museum, Museo archeologico nazionale di Firenze, and Musei Reali di Torino to compare the types on these denominations with those of the *aurei*, *dupondii*, and *asses* (Appendices 3 and 4). I also looked for new type combinations in auction catalogues.

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<sup>48</sup> Die db12 is found exclusively with hb reverses, whereas db13 is found exclusively with ha reverses. This is unlikely to have any chronological significance since one die (cb49) is linked to both ha and hb reverses, and there does not seem to be any continuity in the use of one or the other throughout the rest of the sequence. For further discussion of these coins, see my forthcoming publication: Accepted for publication in the *American Journal of Numismatics* 34 (2022).

### The Nest

The nest portrait type is characterized by a basket-like construction of hair piled on the top of the head in braids (Figure 1-7). The basket is loose enough that some of the hair in the middle of it is visible. The hair on the back of the head is twisted upwards towards the braided basket. The locks along the hairline are coiled into a row which goes all the way across the forehead and down the temples. This is so tightly coiled that it almost does not have the appearance of hair.<sup>49</sup> Behind this is a ridge of hair in the shape of a diadem with a protruding section in the centre, visible in sculpture as a lyre-shaped element.<sup>50</sup> Behind this is an actual diadem.

The nest hairstyle bears striking similarity to the *coiffeur* of the only portrait type of Sabina's mother, Matidia (Figure 8). Coin portraiture changed stylistically from the small, thin likenesses on Trajanic coinage to the larger and more realistic portraits of the Hadrianic style, which was fully developed by the beginning of Sabina's coinage production. Both are basket-style up-dos with elaborate *stephanoi* in the front. In their details, both feature the same twisted locks at the back of the head, and both have the same braided and twisted basket arrangement. Both have a coiled line of hair across the brow with the crest of hair followed by the *stephanos*. In Matidia's *coiffeur*, the central element to the frontal ridge is more prominent than it is on Sabina's coinage.

Women in the same era, let alone from the same family, could reasonably choose to wear their hair in similar ways due to their converging stylistic tastes. A hairstyle

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<sup>49</sup> Bartman (2001: 10) suggests that this ridge is an attached hairpiece.

<sup>50</sup> See Mannsperger (1998: 68-69) on how this element might have actually been constructed. See 67-70 on the construction of the hairstyle in general.

becoming popular among many different women at the same time is by no means a noteworthy occurrence. However, the details of the hairstyles of Matidia and Sabina go beyond mere similarity, to the point of being nearly exact copies. This is quite rare, even for images which clearly emulate someone else's coiffeur. Therefore, this must be an intentional homage. Whether or not this was how Sabina really wore her hair, the court must have chosen this as her first coin portrait type to connect Sabina and her mother, a prominent relative of Trajan's during his reign, in the mind of the viewer.

Sabina's face appears generally rounder and fuller in coins of this portrait type than it does in her later images. Her nose also appears less prominent than in subsequent types.<sup>51</sup> This seems to be a representation of the actual changes which her face underwent during the years of her coin minting. This is not to say that these portraits are a faithful representation of her facial features, but that her more juvenile appearance on these coins is at least somewhat reflective of reality.

The die study results confirm that the nest is Sabina's earliest coin portrait type. Of the coins catalogued, I found this portrait type on 41 of the 234 *aurei* (18%), 21 of the 84 *sestertii* (25%), 144 of the 456 *dupondii/asses* (32%), and 18 of the 163 *denarii* (11%). A more accurate idea of the proportion of coins originally produced with this portrait type is provided by die numbers, given that the number of coins surviving can be skewed by many factors outside of actual production. On the *aurei*, the nest portrait type is found on 6 of the 23 identified obverse dies (26%). All of the portraits face right except for one,

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<sup>51</sup> I do not agree with Carandini's assessment that her eyes are visibly larger, brows more arched, and expression more serious in later years (Carandini 1969: 109).

which I have dated last chronologically, since it seems most likely that this change in direction was continued by her first few portraits of the next type. On the *dupondii/asses*, the nest is on 54 of the 144 obverse dies (38%). All *dupondii/asses* with the nest portrait type face right.

This portrait type is found with four different inscriptions: a, SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG, b, SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG PP, c) SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP, and d, SABINA AVGVSTA, with the vast majority minted with inscription c. It is found with only c on *denarii*, with a, c, and d on *dupondii/asses*, a and c on *sestertii*, and b and c on *aurei*. Inscriptions a and b only appear with this portrait type, while inscription c continues with subsequent types. As previously discussed, the inscription d *dupondii* are likely a revival of the type near the end of Sabina coinage production or modern forgeries. Among the *aurei* featuring the nest hairstyle, two dies use inscription b (8% of all obverse dies), while four use inscription c (16% of all obverse dies). Among *dupondii/asses*, four dies use inscription a (3% of all obverse dies), while there are 48 ca obverse dies (33% of all obverse dies). There are two da obverse dies (1% of all obverse dies).

The combination of inscriptions found on the different denominations could be an indication of the sequence in which the different denominations were struck during the year. The absence of PP in inscription a is either an indication that Hadrian had not acquired that title when those coins were minted or that the title had been acquired so recently that mint officials were unaware of its acceptance. It is unlikely that the *denarii*, *sestertii*, and *aurei*, which were first issued with PP, were created at the same time as the

*dupondii/asses* which lacked this title. Since the inscriptions run chronologically a-b-c, the absence of inscriptions a and b on the *asses*, *denarii* and *sestertii* could indicate that these denominations began production in Sabina's honour later than the others. This would also mean that the *dupondii* began being minted earlier than the *aurei*. Abdy theorizes two *officinae* minting for Sabina during most of the run of her coinage, one for *aes* and the other for precious metal.<sup>52</sup> In accordance with this, the first operational workshop was the *aes officina*, which produced just the *dupondii*. The second workshop then begins with the *aurei*. The other three denominations are produced at their respective workshops in an indeterminable order.

The reverse types used with this earliest portrait type lack the explanatory inscriptions found with later types.<sup>53</sup> There seems to be no reason for this other than aesthetics. The *aurei* and *dupondii/asses* see the next portrait type paired with two goddess reverse types, both seated, facing the left, and holding attributes. The first, Ceres, is seated on a basket with wheat in her right hand and a torch in her left. The second, Vesta, sits on a throne with a palladium in her right hand and a scepter in her left. These seem to have been struck contemporaneously for both denominations. In the *aureus* die study, Ceres is found on only one die, which is linked with two obverse dies, whereas Vesta is found on six reverse dies and is linked with all six next obverse dies. In the *dupondius/as* die study, Ceres is more common, with 44 dies displaying this goddess and only 18 anepigraphic Vesta dies. These types are both slight variations on types used

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<sup>52</sup> Abdy 2014: 78; 2019: 21.

<sup>53</sup> The exception to this are the da coins, which have already been discussed.



in earlier reigns.<sup>54</sup> The *sestertii* have the standard Ceres and Vesta, along with a standing Concordia Augusta type, which is given an inscription. This type appears much later in the *dupondius/as* sequence but does appear at around this time on the *sestertii*, perhaps marking the transition from epigraphic to anepigraphic reverses. The *denarii* use anepigraphic Ceres, Concordia, Pudicitia, Vesta, and Venus Victrix reverses, as well as the epigraphic Concordia, Concordia Augusta, and Pudicitia. By the time of the appearance of the queue portrait type, Ceres and Venus Victrix cease production, Vesta and Pudicitia gain legends, and only Concordia Augusta remains the same.<sup>55</sup> Probably due to their abundance and more consistent minting schedule, the *denarii* were clearly the main arena for experimentation with reverse types in this early period.

Obverse inscriptions a and b are only found with the anepigraphic Ceres and Vesta reverse types. Obverse inscription c is found with these as well as the other reverse types found with the *denarii* and the *sestertii*. This suggests that the anepigraphic Ceres and Vesta reverse types were created earliest, but that these reverse types were not necessarily retired upon the introduction of the new, epigraphic reverses. The *aurei* and *dupondii/asses* continued to exclusively use the anepigraphic reverse types until the replacement of the nest portrait type.

None of the reverse types found with the nest have any obvious topical association with Sabina at this time. The significance of the Venus Victrix type is unclear, but it was not a new reverse type. The use of the goddess of beauty likely signified the beauty of

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<sup>54</sup> Nicolai 2007: 97-98.

<sup>55</sup> Nicolai 2007: 98.

Sabina in at least a general way. Alexandridis sees an association with *fecunditas* and Ceres.<sup>56</sup> It is unlikely that there was much hope of Sabina actually bearing a child at this time, after nearly thirty years of marriage without producing offspring. Ceres could represent Hadrian's interest in the Eleusinian mysteries, but cannot reflect the actual initiation into the cult, which did not happen for over a year after the type's first appearance.<sup>57</sup>

Abdy believes that Pudicitia's appearance on Hadrian's coinage in 120 was meant to signify his wife's exemplary reaction to her mother's death the previous year. He therefore interprets the type on Sabina's coinage through the same lens.<sup>58</sup> I am skeptical that a Roman viewer could view a full-body, generic representation of Pudicitia and connect this with Sabina long before she herself appeared on coinage. It is similarly questionable that a decade later, the association with Matidia's death would be understood for this anepigraphic type when paired with Sabina obverses. Mattingly believed that Pudicitia on Hadrian's coinage referred to the Emperor's own "holiness", in particular in association with the *decennalia* and Hadrian's acceptance of the title Pater Patriae.<sup>59</sup> The type was not, however, issued with the first group of coins in the series. The *decennalia* was presumably celebrated all year to some extent, so it is possible that these coins were still struck within this jubilee. However, support for this theory is still lacking. Mattingly and Sydenham's earliest explanation of the type as a representation of

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<sup>56</sup> Alexandridis 2010: 202. Ginsburg (2006: 101-104) similarly sees references to Ceres/Demeter as more broad references to munificence and chastity.

<sup>57</sup> Abdy 2019: 58.

<sup>58</sup> Abdy 2019: 58.

<sup>59</sup> Mattingly 1936: cxxxxi, cxxxvi.

the Empress's duty as wife of the Pontifex Maximus seems a more likely, although less interesting, interpretation.<sup>60</sup>

The dating of the type's introduction is more concrete than for other types, but there is room for debate on the specifics. The mint almost certainly began production of this coinage in or just before the year 128 because of the absence of PP (Pater Patriae) in Hadrian's titles on Sabina's earliest coins, which is quickly added in subsequent issues.

The inclusion of the title Augusta without the title PP on these earliest coins has caused debate over when Sabina gained her title. Based on evidence from military diplomas, Eck dates Hadrian's acceptance of the title of Pater Patriae to between October 11, 127 and February 129, which makes a date within 128 most likely correct.<sup>61</sup> Stevenson and Birley argue for February 5, 128, because it is the same date that Augustus first accepted the title, and Hadrian had cited him as the reason for his lengthy refusal of the title.<sup>62</sup> Carandini and Brennan suggest Hadrian's *dies imperii*, August 11<sup>th</sup>, as the day on which he accepted the title.<sup>63</sup>

It was originally thought that Sabina and Hadrian gained the titles of Augusta and Pater Patriae at the same time, based on the reference to this in Eusebius-Hieronymus's *Chronicle*, written in the early fourth century, although three other late antique sources provide alternative dates.<sup>64</sup> Some scholars dismiss the coin evidence as an error by the

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<sup>60</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham 1926: 333.

<sup>61</sup> Eck 1982: 220-221. On premature uses of the title, see Bennett 1984.

<sup>62</sup> Birley 1997: 201; Stevenson 2007: 130. For more on Hadrian's emulation of Augustus, see Thornton 1975: 439-443.

<sup>63</sup> Brennan 2018: 44; Carandini 1969: 44, 73, 103.

<sup>64</sup> Eusebius-Hieronymus, *Chronicle*, Olympiad 226.12 (Helm 1984: 99). Orosius *History Against the Pagans* (7.13.3) seems to suggest that Hadrian and Sabina received the two immediately after Hadrian's succession, but this is not entirely clear. *Chronicon Paschale*

mint that was quickly corrected, arguing that the titles were given at the same time in 128.<sup>65</sup> Strack initially argued that there was a brief interval within the year 128 between the acquisition of the titles, a theory that is accepted by Brennan.<sup>66</sup>

There are some extant inscriptions which do not name Sabina as Augusta. Two, those from Kos and Philippi, also do not include the title Augustus for Hadrian, which he definitely held from the beginning of his reign.<sup>67</sup> These are therefore not evidence for the timing of Sabina's acquisition of the title Augusta. Two inscriptions from Crete, however, lack the Augusta title for Sabina while still labelling Hadrian as Augustus, one of which is securely dated to 124-125.<sup>68</sup> According to Chaniotis and Rethemiotakis, all other imperial family members are honoured with this title on public honorific inscriptions at Lyttos.<sup>69</sup>

There is, however, evidence to suggest that Sabina gained the title significantly earlier than 128. Eck catalogued 46 inscriptions that mention her, all of which call her Augusta, with the exception of the Kos and Philippi inscriptions mentioned above.<sup>70</sup> There are five examples provided by him which use the Augusta title and date prior to

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(Dindorf 1832: 475) dates it to 126 but is unreliable for other dates in Hadrian's reign. George Synkellus (AM 5609, Adler and Tuffin 2002: 503) does not give a precise date for the event, but it must date between 117-129 since that is the range of dates for the section in which the information is found. For more discussion on these sources, see Brennan 2018: 86-88.

<sup>65</sup> Carandini 1969: 72-73, 103; Hahn 1994: 273-274; Mattingly 1936: cxlix; Nicolai 2007: 87-88; Temporini 1978: 23.

<sup>66</sup> Brennan 2018: 28, 42, 69, 86-90; Strack 1933: 23.

<sup>67</sup> *CIL* II 2370; *AE* 1939, 190. Chaniotis and Rethemiotakis 1992: 34; Eck

<sup>68</sup> *SEG* 36, 815; *SEG* 40, 777. Chaniotis and Rethemiotakis 1992: 30-31, 33-34.

<sup>69</sup> Chaniotis and Rethemiotakis 1992: 34.

<sup>70</sup> The Cretan inscriptions had not been discovered at the time of Eck's publication.

128.<sup>71</sup> An inscription from Lusitania can be added to this group.<sup>72</sup> The two Lisbon inscriptions and the Lusitania inscription were erected by the local decurions.<sup>73</sup> Four Perge inscriptions were erected between 119-123 by Plancia Magna, the daughter of a Roman senator.<sup>74</sup>

Provincial coin evidence also supports the early acquisition theory. Some *cistophori* from Unidentified Mint A label Sabina as Augusta while Hadrian was still without the title Pater Patriae, just like the imperial coins.<sup>75</sup> While the omission of the PP could be explained by inconsistencies in provincial minting, all coins from this mint omit the title, while all other *cistophori* include it.<sup>76</sup> From this and other evidence, Metcalf concludes that these were the earliest of the *cistophori* produced during Hadrian's reign, although he still dates them to 128-129.<sup>77</sup> This is evidence for the theory that the titles

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<sup>71</sup> Eck 1982: 221-224; *CIL* II 4992 = 5221 = D. 323 (date to 121 by *CIL*); *AE* 1951, 43 (Eck dates “wohl vor” 128); *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 3387 (Eck dates “wohl vor” 128); *AE* 1958, 76, 77; *AE* 1965, 210, 211 (Eck dates between 119-123). Brennan (2018: 69) suggests adding another inscription from Gerasa (*SEG* VII 847) to this list. It is dedicated for the safety of the “*sebastoi*”, which he believes must refer to Hadrian and Sabina. While I believe this is the correct interpretation, Plotina and possibly Matidia were still alive at this time, so the inscription could be read another way.

<sup>72</sup> Lempereur 2011: 279; *CIL* II 186. Lempereur dates this 120-125 based on the tribunician dates for Hadrian which are slightly cut off in the inscription.

<sup>73</sup> Lempereur 2011: 279; *CIL* II 5221; *CIL* II 186. Deviations from the conventional imperial titulature were much more common in Greek than Latin inscriptions (Højte 2005: 73). *Sebastos* was used more casually in the Greek east than *Augusta* was in the Latin west (Kokkinos 1992: 161).

<sup>74</sup> Eck 1982: 226; *AE* 1958, 76, 77; *AE* 1965, 210, 211. Eck provides this date range because Matidia I is labelled as *diva* but Plotina is not. Brennan (2018: 74) argues that the reasoning behind the exclusion of Matidia II and Domitia Paulina from this monument is that the women honoured were intentionally kept to *Augustae* and *Divae*. This supports Eck's argument for the title's earlier acceptance, while contradicting Brennan's own dating of the title to 128.

<sup>75</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1405, 1405A; Brennan 2018: 90.

<sup>76</sup> Metcalf 1980: 80. Brennan (2018: 90) incorrectly claims that *RPC* III: cat. 1406 includes PP in Hadrian's titles.

<sup>77</sup> Metcalf 1980: 80.

were not granted simultaneously, although it is still possible that their acquisitions were fairly close chronologically.

Only one provincial coin type is securely dated prior to 128, an issue from 117/118 from Gaba in Syria.<sup>78</sup> Coins from five other mints likely date to this period based on external evidence.<sup>79</sup> All of these refer to the Empress as Augusta, with the exception of the coin from Parium which labels the imperial couple as simply HADRIAN SABINA, which is standard for the double portrait format at this mint.<sup>80</sup> Imperial nomenclature is known to be inconsistently recorded early in a reign, so these coins are not definitive proof of an earlier acquisition of the title. However, no provincial coins lack the inclusion of Augusta in Sabina's titulature, with the exception of a few cases where this was standard such as the Parium coins.

Therefore, the only evidence against an early acquisition of the title Augusta are the two inscriptions from Crete. While the absence of the title here is difficult to explain, the city of Lyttos received no imperial visit or benefactions and produced no coinage during this period.<sup>81</sup> This city making an accidental omission of a title is a more likely possibility than the title being used incorrectly so consistently across both the eastern and western Empire.

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<sup>78</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 3951. See Chapter Two for a full discussion of the provincial coinage.

<sup>79</sup> Bizya (*RPC III*: cat. 735), Byzantium (*RPC III*: cat. 1087), Laodicea (*RPC III*: cat. 2332-2334), Parium (*RPC III*: cat. 6574), Perinthus (*RPC III*: cat. 715).

<sup>80</sup> Coins with Aelius and Sabina, as well as Hadrian and Sabina coins which must date after 128 all use the same style of inscription (*RPC III*: cat. 1544-1546). Earlier coins with Matidia and Marciana also use the same formula (*RPC III*: cat. 1543).

<sup>81</sup> A possible visit to Crete was dismissed by Halfmann (1987: 197).

I therefore agree with Eck that Sabina gained the title much earlier than 128. Eck suggests a date of either 119 or 123, corresponding with the deaths of the previous Augustae, Matidia I and Plotina respectively.<sup>82</sup> Abdy argues that 119 is the latest Sabina could have received the title.<sup>83</sup> I disagree that she could have gained the title after Plotina's death in 123, since this would not explain the absence of inscriptions without Augusta on them from the first five years of Hadrian's reign nor the presence of the title in the Plancia Magna group dedication from Perge, which dates prior to Plotina's death. It is more likely that Sabina was given the title upon Hadrian's appointment as emperor, at the time when her husband first refused the title of Pater Patriae for himself and gained the title Augustus.<sup>84</sup> The other possibility is that she gained the title after the death of her own mother, Matidia I, in 119. The number of inscriptions for this period without the title would be even smaller if one were to assume that she was mistakenly honoured with the title for a brief period at the start of Hadrian's reign, as was done for the Emperor with the title Pater Patriae.

The evidence indicates that Sabina's coinage began shortly before October 127 at the earliest and shortly before February of 129 at the latest, corresponding with the range of dates possible for Hadrian's acquisition of the title Pater Patriae. If Stevenson and Birley's analysis is correct, it is plausible that Sabina's coinage began being minted at the

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<sup>82</sup> Eck 1982: 227; Lempereur 2011: 279. Fittschen and Zanker (1983: 12 n. 10) agree with Eck's arguments.

<sup>83</sup> Abdy 2019: 32; Alexandridis (2004: 15) also supports a date shortly after Hadrian's accession.

<sup>84</sup> HA *Hadrian* 6.4. For information on *recusationes* of Pater Patriae, see Stevenson 2007.

start of the new year and that the inscription change came a month or so later, after Hadrian's acceptance of *Pater Patriae* on February 5<sup>th</sup>, 128. The specifics of this dating are highly speculative, so it is probably best to date the start of Sabina's coinage to early 128 and the change in inscription to no more than a few months after that, based on the small quantity of coinage minted with inscription a.

If Sabina did not gain the title *Augusta* in 128, there must be another explanation for the beginning of her coinage that year. The celebration of the *decennalia* is likely the answer. Duncan-Jones records seven coinage reforms which were likely enacted in correspondence with a *decennalia*, ranging from the reign of Nero to Commodus, including the introduction of Sabina's coinage.<sup>85</sup> There are also portrait types believed to be associated with this jubilee for various imperial figures.<sup>86</sup> While the specifics of Hadrian's *decennalia* are debated, most scholars agree on 127/128 for the year of the celebration.<sup>87</sup> Since minting was not continuous for all denominations, it is possible that the grant of coinage was announced during 127 but waited until the next year's minting cycle to be enacted. This fits well with Stevenson and Birley's proposed date of February 5<sup>th</sup> for Hadrian's acceptance of the title *Pater Patriae*.

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<sup>85</sup> Duncan-Jones 2006: 225-226.

<sup>86</sup> E.g.: Trajan *decennalia*: Gross 1940: 85-98; Strack 1931-1937: 29 (quoted in Højte 2005: 157); Hadrian *decennalia and vicennalia*: Evers 1994: 251; Wegner 1956: 60-61, 63. For more discussion of the connection between portrait creation and jubilees, see Chapter Three.

<sup>87</sup> Chastagnol 1984: 106-107 (October 20<sup>th</sup> 127 for the *decennalia* games); Rachtel 1980: 206 (August 11<sup>th</sup> 127-August 10<sup>th</sup> 128); Keinast 1996: 129 (October 20<sup>th</sup> 127 for the *decennalia* games). Abdy (2019: 38-41) places Hadrian's *decennalia* in 127, although he suggests that the celebrations could have been delayed due to the emperor's illness. For inconsistencies in Roman counting methods, see Howard 1958.



If Sabina's coinage began in correspondence with the *decennalia*, this provides the occasion, but does not explain why the choice was made at this time. Granino Cecere proposes that Hadrian used Sabina to promote his own legitimacy, due to her close familial connection to Trajan and her descent from a line of *Augustae*.<sup>88</sup> There are two problems with this argument. First, Hadrian himself was a cousin of Trajan and had been the ward of the former Emperor and Empress since the age of nine, so he already had a very strong connection to the previous dynasty in his own right.<sup>89</sup> It is the legitimacy of his selection as heir to Trajan which was contested, not his biological connection, especially since the previous several emperors and their wives had no blood relationship with their predecessors. Second, any attempt to legitimize his reign would have been important to exploit at the start of his reign, not eleven years later. The lack of a prominent female figure on the coinage does not seem to have been a major concern for the administration since the last Augusta of the previous generation had died five years prior in 123. Nicolai implies a possible connection between the initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries and the start of Sabina's coinage.<sup>90</sup> The epigraphic evidence dates this to 129, perhaps around March, which is too late for the beginning of the coinage.<sup>91</sup>

It was probably a confluence of factors that led to Sabina's appearance on coinage in the year 128. There was perhaps motivation to include a representation of the Empress as part of the *decennalia* celebration while there were other major redesigns happening

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<sup>88</sup> Granino Cecere 2007: 39; Cf. Duncan-Jones 2006: 223.

<sup>89</sup> *Aur. Vic. Caes.* 14.1; *Dio* 69.1, 3; *HA Had.* 1.2-4, 2.2, 2.7-8.

<sup>90</sup> Nicolai 2007: 89.

<sup>91</sup> Halfmann 1986: 192.

with the coinage. The Emperor had just returned from his trips abroad. There were no other women currently available to be shown on coinage, and the Empress bolstered the prestige of the family through her direct descent from a line of Augustae. This still does not explain why Sabina's coinage was issued in such great numbers, but perhaps this was an aesthetic choice by those in charge of the mint or an expression of Hadrian's well-noted interest in the arts.<sup>92</sup> It is also, however, possible that the administration saw the untapped potential in the public representation of an empress and made the conscious choice to exploit it.

The choice to represent Sabina with the portrait type previously used by her mother was likely meant to invoke positive feelings towards the Empress by associating her with a popular figure from Trajan's reign. It also could serve as a comprehensible introduction to who Sabina was and what her lineage was for those not exposed to portraits of her in the round. Those receiving these coins as their introduction to the Empress would learn from the inscription, if they could read, that she was wife of Hadrian and had received the title Augusta. For those who could not read, the portrait alone conveyed that she was related to Matidia and Marciana, and therefore the previous regime, and that she was an important part of the imperial household.

#### The Chignon

In this portrait type, Sabina appears with her hair loose and wavy, with a central part and the sides of the hair twisted to the nape of her neck where the hair is fastened in a low, small loop of braids with two ties, which are made of either hair or cords. She sports

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<sup>92</sup> Aur. Vic. *Caes.* 14.2; Dio 69.3.2; HA *Had.* 14.8-9.

a laurel crown and diadem (Figure 9-10). Physiognomically, Sabina's face in this type appears longer and older than in some of her first portrait type, while it is less plump and younger looking than some images from her third portrait type. There are, however, portraits of each of the types that match the appearance of the chignon type's face. This evidence corresponds with the chronological sequence established by the die studies.

This portrait type appears on Sabina's *asses* and *denarii*, but not *aurei*, *sestertii*, or, as I have argued based on the weight study, *dupondii*. In the *as/dupondius* die study, the type was found on fourteen obverse dies. This represents ten percent of the total number of obverse dies from both denominations. It is on 55 of the 456 *dupondii/asses* collected (12%). Only one of the 163 *denarii* (>1%) has this type. The chignon type's brief usage on coins is mirrored in its non-existence in sculpture.

The chignon type is only found with legend c, SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP, placing it chronologically after the introduction of the nest. This inscription was used on all denominations for at least for some time after the introduction of the subsequent portrait type, the queue. Therefore, based on inscriptions, the type's introduction dates sometime between the introduction of inscription c for the nest-type coins, and the introduction of inscription d for the queue-type coins.

The only reverse types with which the chignon portrait type is paired are the anepigraphic Ceres, on *denarii*, and epigraphic Concordia Augusta, on *denarii* and *asses*. The Concordia Augusta type is found on a large portion of Sabina's coinage and therefore probably does not have much topical significance. The Ceres type has been used as evidence of a connection with the Eleusinian mysteries, but this reverse type was in use

with the previous portrait type, the nest, which almost certainly did not have special relevance to the actual initiation in the Mysteries. This is therefore likely also just a continuation of the use of a current reverse type.

There are two recent theories concerning the date of the introduction of the chignon type: 129, as proposed by Nicolai, or 131, as proposed by Abdy.<sup>93</sup> Based on the sequence of obverse inscriptions, either date is equally plausible, since inscription c was used for coins made during both dates.<sup>94</sup> Based on the reverse types it is found with, it seems more likely that the chignon type was introduced in 129, since it uses the Ceres reverse for some of the *denarii*, which was no longer in use by 131. However, there are no die links found in my comparison of *denarii* in the ANS collection between the Ceres reverse dies paired with the nest and chignon obverses. This leaves open the possibility that the Ceres type was reintroduced because of its topical relevance after a few years of disuse.

The die study of the *dupondii/asses* has provided the most concrete dating thus far. There are no die links between the chignon type coins and the earlier, nest type coins, since the two obverse types do not share any reverse types in common. There is, however, a reverse die link between a chignon type obverse and a queue type obverse that uses obverse inscription c. The shared reverse die is of the seated Concordia Augusta

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<sup>93</sup> Abdy 2014: 82; Nicolai 2007: 95. Abdy (2019: 33) states that the type was inspired by the trip from Eleusis to Alexandria (spring 129-summer 130) but does not propose a precise date for its introduction at Rome, while implying a date between 128-130.

<sup>94</sup> Abdy (2014: 82) claims that the chignon type must date to 131 because it straddles the anepigraphic and epigraphic reverses, but the only epigraphic reverse it is found with is Concordia Augusta, which is also found with the nest, making this dating unnecessary.

type. The single die link between them makes it likely that the chignon portrait type was introduced either at the same time as or before the queue. It cannot be the other way around because the queue portrait type continues in use with the later inscription d.

Die link estimates can also help demonstrate which date is most likely. This method relies on the assumption that approximately the same number of dies were used each year, which was not necessarily the case. However, having two die studies to compare with each other can help by providing another set of data upon which to test the proposed dates. There are also some provincial coins which record their year of minting, which correspond well with the years established by the die count estimates.

For the die count estimates of the *dupondius/as* die study, I assume that the chignon was minted during the same year as either the end of the use of the nest or the beginning of the use of the queue. I am not proposing that the two types were minted at the same time, but that the switch was made within the minting cycle of the same year. If this was not the case, then no *aurei*, *dupondii*, or *sestertii* were minted during the year in which the chignon type was issued, which is certainly possible but less likely.

Dupondius/As Dies Per-Year Estimates

<i>Portrait Type</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Length Estimate</i>	<i>Year Estimate</i>
a	37%	3 years	128-131
c (just <i>asses</i> )	10%	1 year	131-132
b	51%	5 years	132-137
d	2%	less than 1 year	137

Aureus Dies Per-Year Estimates:

<i>Portrait Type</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Length Estimate</i>	<i>Year Estimate</i>
a	26%	2-3 years	128-130/1
b	52%	5 years	130/1-135/6
d	13%	1 year	135/6-136/7
e	9%	1 year	137-138

The absence of the chignon type on several denominations could be the result of the different schedules at the mint, as was seen in the nest type evidence. Perhaps in this year, the first coins minted were *asses* followed by the *denarii*, which received this new portrait type. Other denominations began being minted later and by that time an even newer portrait type, the queue, was adopted, which resulted in the absence of the chignon type and the presence of the queue on these denominations. Given the very small number of *denarii* with the chignon type, it is possible that the *denarii* had just began production before this change occurred and the old chignon type dies were replaced. For the much more plentiful *as* coins, they either were minted in very large numbers at the start of this minting cycle, or they continued to be minted with the chignon type although it had been replaced elsewhere. Abdy has argued that *asses* were commonly minted in large batches and had an association with the start of the new year, which could explain their large number here.<sup>95</sup>

Based on these data, a date of introduction for the type of 129-132 is most likely. The next portrait type, the queue, was introduced in 130/131 in Alexandria and there is a gap in production in the previous year. The chignon does not appear on the Alexandrian coinage, possibly because its issue fell within this minting breaking. Therefore, a date of 129 or 130 for the introduction of the chignon type and its replacement due to the invention of the new queue portrait type is probable.

The Empress was most likely not present in Rome at the time this type was introduced, since she was on her husband's second tour of the Empire, which lasted from

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<sup>95</sup> Abdy 2019: 2, 40.

128-133.<sup>96</sup> This contradicts Carandini's assertion that Sabina's portrait could only change significantly while Hadrian was in Rome.<sup>97</sup> The chignon type is uncommon on provincial coinage, but it does appear on coins from Amphipolis in Macedonia, Eucarpia in Asia, and the Koinon of Bithynia (Figure 34, 148, 53).<sup>98</sup> The portraits at all of these mints are of very high quality and are precise matches for the type on the Roman coins, both uncommon traits among provincial coinage. This suggests that all were made by specialized portrait die engravers. The Bithynian mint can be excluded as the origin for the type because there is no evidence of an imperial visit at this time and the mint was clearly taking direction from Rome concerning its types, which closely match the *cistophori* minted at the same location.<sup>99</sup> Amphipolis was possibly visited the year after the type's introduction at Rome, which makes a connection between its appearance on the coinage and imperial presence possible but precludes the possibility of it originating the type.<sup>100</sup> While Eucarpia itself has no evidence of a visit, Hadrian was in nearby Apamea in July of 129.<sup>101</sup> These coins must date to no earlier than 129 because of Hadrian's title Olympios on coins from this issue. It is therefore possible that the type was first invented at Eucarpia, either by an artist travelling with Hadrian or by a local artist on imperial

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<sup>96</sup> Halfmann 1989: 193. Proof that Sabina was on this journey comes from an epigram by Julia Balbilla written on the colossi of Memnon (CIG 4730-31); For the text of the epigrams, see Bernard and Bernard 1950: cat. 29-32, Rosenmeyer 2017: cat. 29-32. For a return date of 133, see Eck et al. 2010: 195-197. Carandini (1969: 85) argues that Sabina may have returned to Rome after the visit to Athens in 131/132, but there is no evidence to support this.

<sup>97</sup> Carandini 1969: 173.

<sup>98</sup> Amphipolis: *RPC* III: cat. 656; Eucarpia: *RPC* III: cat. 2589; Koinon of Bithynia: cat. 1023.

<sup>99</sup> Metcalf 1980: 138.

<sup>100</sup> On a possible visit to Amphipolis: Birley 1997: 262, 279; *BMCRE* III: cat. 352, 494.

<sup>101</sup> Halfmann 1985: 193.

orders. The type is unlikely the invention of a local artist on their own initiative because of the type's Roman significance, discussed below.

The hairstyle is not unique to Sabina and her physiognomy does not change from its appearance in the first portrait type and the hairstyle is closely related to. It is therefore possible that the type was first introduced at Rome without the Empress present. A message could have been sent from the imperial travelling party to Rome requesting this form of commemoration or an actual model could have been made and sent. This seems to be the most likely explanation. Even if the type's technical first appearance was on provincial coinage, it was clearly not important that it be widely disseminated there since it is absent from almost all provincial coinage, including prominent mints like Alexandria.

This type has been called the Eleusis type because of its apparent connection with the Eleusinian mysteries, as first proposed by Strack. The association was made because of the headdress which the Empress wears, which he interpreted as a crown of wheat, a common adornment of the goddess Ceres.<sup>102</sup> This is, however, a mistaken conflation with the headdress worn by the Empress in the similar veil portrait type. The headdress seen on the chignon coins is a laurel wreath, making the connection with the mysteries more tenuous. While later scholars do not repeat the mistaken description of the headdress, the

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<sup>102</sup> Strack 1933: 23.



claim that the type is associated with the Eleusinian mysteries is still repeated in most sources and has yet to be properly scrutinized.<sup>103</sup>

The initiation into the mysteries happened in February or March of 129, making the connection plausible on chronological grounds.<sup>104</sup> There is also evidence for Sabina's association with Ceres elsewhere. She wears the crown of wheat on some queue portrait coins, as well as the aforementioned veil type coins. The former also appears on some provincial coins.<sup>105</sup> Mikocki catalogues three inscriptions which refer to Sabina as Demeter or Ceres, and an additional example which has been reconstructed with this titlature.<sup>106</sup> He also records several portrait statues which he believes represent Sabina-Ceres/Demeter.<sup>107</sup> The identification of some of the sculptures as Sabina is controversial and none uses the chignon portrait type.<sup>108</sup>

A very similar hairstyle is worn by Julio-Claudian imperial women with the corn crown to associate them with Ceres/Demeter.<sup>109</sup> The same hairstyle is, however, also worn by these same women to associate themselves with other deities by using other

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<sup>103</sup> Abdy 2019: 33; Carandini 1969: 106. Nicolai 2007 properly identifies the wreath but does not offer an interpretation of the type's significance. Kritsotakis (2008: 124-126) questions the connection between Hadrian coins and the Mysteries from around the same time.

<sup>104</sup> HA, *Hadrian*, 13.1; Halfmann 1986: 203-204; IvEph. 1487, 1488. Halfmann suggests that Hadrian would have had time for a mystery celebration in these months if he sailed directly from Eleusis to Ephesus. He arrived in Athens before October 128, followed by a trip to Sparta. Then he visits Eleusis before being securely identified in Ephesus in 129. On Hadrian's connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries, see Clinton 1989: 56-58. Shear (2012: 160) dates the initiation to the Athenian visit in 124/125.

<sup>105</sup> Bithynian Koinon (*RPC* III: cat. 998); Came (*RPC* III: cat. 1843).

<sup>106</sup> Mikocki 1995: 56; cat. no. 291-294; IG VIII.73-74; IG II-III.2.1088 line 149; IGR I.785=CIG 2021.

<sup>107</sup> Mikocki 1995: cat. no. 305-310.

<sup>108</sup> See Chapter Three and Sculpted Portrait Catalogue for discussion of these attributions.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. Mikocki 1995: cat. no. 28 (Livia), 133 (Julia), 161 (Livilla), 195 (Agrippina Minor).

headdresses and attributes, as well as in images of divinities or personifications themselves.<sup>110</sup> Similar hairstyles are also used as ordinary portrait types for several imperial women.<sup>111</sup> The hairstyle, therefore, does not appear to have any intrinsic connection with Ceres/Demeter.

Further hurting the case for an association with the mysteries is the laurel wreath, which, to my knowledge, has no association with Ceres.<sup>112</sup> The laurel was rarely used for women in public art in Rome and is only seen one previous time on the imperial coin portraits of women, although it is attested somewhat more often in the provinces.<sup>113</sup> The idea that this uncommon form of representation would have made a Roman viewer make an association with Ceres/Demeter is unlikely.

According to Flory, the female laurel has close connections with the gens Iulia, and its use on Livia's private cameo portraits is intended to represent her as mother of the dynasty and associated her with the title Augusta.<sup>114</sup> The reverse type of Venus Genetrix was used on some of Sabina's *dupondii/asses*, *sestertii*, and *denarii*, but she was not

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<sup>110</sup> E.g. Livia as Iustitia (*BMCRE* II: cat. Titus 289-290); Livia as Euthenia (*RPC* I: cat. 5063); Fortuna (*RPC* I: cat. 113); Victory (*RPC* I: cat. 114); Apollo (Hoover 2011: cat. 616).

<sup>111</sup> E.g. Livia (Fittschen and Zanker 1983 vol. III: cat. 3); Julia Titi (*BMCRE* II: cat. Titus 253); Messalina (*RPC* I: cat. 1032); Agrippina (*RPC* I: cat. 380). Examples are also found on provincial coins: e.g. Marciana from Thyatira (*RPC* III: cat. 1829A).

<sup>112</sup> Carandini 1969: 106: calls hairstyle maybe related to Eleusis, calls it a vegetable crown (*corone vegetali*). Nicolai 2006: 95 calls it a laurel crown.

<sup>113</sup> Alexandridis (2010: 211 n. 105) notes that a rare group of Domitia coins wear the laurel crown, which has previously been misattributed as a crown of wheat. The laurel crown is clear in this example: ANS 1967.153.181. Harvey (2020: 171-172) cites two examples of laurel crowns in Livia's provincial coin portraits from Thessalonica and Aphrodisias-Plarasa. Flory (1995: 44) argues that the Thessalonica portraits were made in error, which Harvey convincingly argues against.

<sup>114</sup> Flory 1995: 53; Harvey 2020: 171-175.

otherwise associated with this goddess to my knowledge.<sup>115</sup> Alexandridis, however, does not agree with this and instead sees the laurel in the female context as a representation of *pietas*, as exemplified by the representations of women on the Ara Pacis.<sup>116</sup> Either way, the laurel was first used on portraits of living women under the Julio-Claudians, with a particular connection to Livia, and remained extremely rare in public representations up to Sabina's lifetime.

Not only is the laurel related to Livia, but the hairstyle itself first appeared on Livia's coins, although with a diadem instead of the laurel.<sup>117</sup> The similarity between the two was first noticed by Bernoulli and has been occasionally repeated since, despite the continuation of the parallel tradition of the Eleusis theory.<sup>118</sup> As Alexandridis notes, this is not the first time that an empress's coin portraits made explicit reference to this type; one Julia Titi portrait type, which appears only on coins, is also clearly influenced by this Livia type.<sup>119</sup> Given Hadrian's known emulation of Augustus, the intentional assimilation of Sabina with Livia makes sense in terms of imperial messaging. Hadrian himself is not likened to Augustus in portraiture, and perhaps the Empress's portraits were considered a more appropriate venue for this kind of reference.<sup>120</sup>

The introduction of the chignon type around 129/130 in Rome is also perhaps related to this connection. Livia's 100<sup>th</sup> death anniversary occurred in 129 and these

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<sup>115</sup> I reject the identification of the Venus Genetrix statue from Ostia as Sabina (**cat. 65**).

<sup>116</sup> Alexandridis 2010: 211 n. 106.

<sup>117</sup> The so-called "Salus" type: e.g. *BMCRE* II: cat. Titus 289-290.

<sup>118</sup> Bernoulli 1891: 128. Alexandridis 2004: 67; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 n. 9; Mannsperger 1998: 71-75.

<sup>119</sup> Alexandridis 2010: 207.

<sup>120</sup> Mannsperger 1998: 74-75.

coins are likely a celebration of this event.<sup>121</sup> The commemorative nature of the portrait type explains its brief use on coinage, only being relevant at this time. This makes much more sense than the Eleusinian mysteries association and connects Sabina's coinage with the Golden Age/Augustan themes of Hadrian's other coinage at this time.<sup>122</sup> Sabina's coin portraits have therefore transitioned from an introductory Trajanic style to a message about the new Golden Age.

### The Queue

The queue portrait type, commonly referred to as the Plotina type in previous scholarship, consists of a long queue of wavy hair which is attached at the end in a loop by a cord or ribbon (Figure 11-18). The hair on the top of the head is raised in a crest behind a band which encircles the head.<sup>123</sup> Some *dupondii/asses* and *denarii* replace the band with a crown of wheat.

Despite its ubiquity on coinage, the queue type has received little scholarly attention, likely stemming from its rarity in sculpted replicas.<sup>124</sup> Carandini called this type the hairstyle "alla Plotina" and characterized it as a "western" hairstyle.<sup>125</sup> He believed that there were strong parallels between this and Plotina's main portrait type (Figure 19), even going so far as to state that Sabina never actually wore this hairstyle,

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<sup>121</sup> The connection with Livia's death anniversary was suggested to me by Ben Damsky.

<sup>122</sup> On Golden Age iconography in Hadrian's coinage, see Abdy 2019: 37-41.

<sup>123</sup> For a replication of this hairstyle on a real person, see Stephens 2017. There are a few details which are different between the coins and her rendition, most notably the lack of loop at the bottom of the queue.

<sup>124</sup> There is only one sculpted portrait that can be linked with this type, as discussed in Chapter Three.

<sup>125</sup> Carandini 1969: 237.

but instead that it was used as a demonstration of dynastic continuity between Hadrian and Trajan.<sup>126</sup> He argues for a connection between the beginning of the production of the queue type coinage and the coins from the Roman mint honouring the divine Trajan and Plotina.<sup>127</sup> Fittschen and Zanker have a similar opinion and connect it with Hadrian's attempt to regain legitimacy through his coinage ca. 128.<sup>128</sup> Adembri and Brennan both agree with the standard opinion.<sup>129</sup>

The similarity between Sabina and Plotina's hairstyles, according to the theory, was meant to promote Hadrian's legitimacy by referring to the previous dynasty. However, this message of dynastic continuity was already done more clearly in Sabina's first portrait type, the nest. Fittschen's argument that the queue portrait type dates to the year 128 in connection with Hadrian's dynastic-themed coinage is more compatible with the earlier, nest coin portrait type, which started being minted in 128.<sup>130</sup> Carandini's connection with the Trajan/Plotina coins has been disproven by Beckmann's recent die study of Hadrian's gold coinage, which places their production in 138.<sup>131</sup>

The association made between this Sabina type and Plotina's main portrait type is based mostly on the fact that both hairstyles are queues.<sup>132</sup> A number of details, however, show that there are major typological distinctions between the two. Both have long hair hanging at the back of the head and a crest of hair at the front, but Plotina's hair is braided

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<sup>126</sup> Carandini 1969: 106.

<sup>127</sup> Carandini 1969: 90. This connection is repeated by Mannsperger 1998: 66.

<sup>128</sup> Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10.

<sup>129</sup> Adembri 2007: 78; Brennan 2018: 91-92.

<sup>130</sup> Fittschen and Zanker 1983 vol. 3: 10.

<sup>131</sup> Beckmann 2019: 151.

<sup>132</sup> Adembri 2007 78; Carandini 1969: 106; Mannsperger 1998: 66; Mattingly and Sydenham 1926: 318; Nicolai 2007: 94; Strack 1933: 23. Cf. Abdy 2014.

through the entire back and is looped into one long ring which is fastened at the nape of the neck. Sabina's hair is not braided in the back and is fastened at the end of the hair. The front of Plotina's hair has a coiled row of locks along the brow, similar to Sabina's first portrait type, and there is a diadem behind the crest of hair. Sabina's hair has no row of locks in the front and no diadem. She instead appears with either a crown of wheat or a fillet around her head. Stylistically, Sabina's queue hairstyle does not fit with the rigid, austere Trajanic style. Sabina's hair here appears loose and free flowing, with little adornment, braiding, or styling compared to both her own first portrait type and those of the women of the previous reign. In fact, all previous official portrait types of imperial woman contains some alteration to the hair's natural texture, either through braids or curling.

The differences between Sabina and Plotina's portrait types become even more apparent when the hairstyles are compared with images of previous empresses. Queue hairstyles are found on several Empresses' coinage before Plotina, including Agrippina Maior, Agrippina Minor, Domitilla, Julia Titi, and Domitia.<sup>133</sup> All of these women's queues are braided and fastened at the nape of the neck. None display the hair's natural texture in the queue, and none are fastened at the end of the hair instead of the nape, as Sabina's is. The Sabina style of queue is absent from all previous Roman imperial portraiture.

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<sup>133</sup> For example, *BMCRE* I Caligula 7-8, Nero 1-3; *BMCRE* II Titus 136-138, 139-143, Domitian 58, 60-67, 503.

There are, however, some parallels for the hairstyle found in Greek art. Athenian coins and a sculpture from Tusculum, both from Hadrian's reign, show Athena with a queue fastened at the end, although she wears a helmet which masks the front of her hair.<sup>134</sup> This queue is also braided in the fishtail style, unlike Sabina's which is left loose. Similar queues can be seen on the Caryatids of the Erechtheion in Athens.<sup>135</sup> There is also a Roman copy of a Greek original statue of Artemis/Diana, which was made in the first century C.E. that has a queue of loose hair attached at the bottom.<sup>136</sup> The statue even wears a fillet like the one Sabina wears, but the front lacks the crest of hair characteristic of the Sabina style. While Sabina's hairstyle is still unique, these examples bear more similarity to Sabina's hairstyle than those of the previous imperial women. This could be an indication that goddess imagery was a more important influence on Sabina's queue portrait type's development, as argued by Stephens.<sup>137</sup>

Sabina's face does not have a consistent appearance throughout the first half of the use of this portrait type. From die to die, her face becomes noticeably narrower and wider, thinner and heavier. She has an overall heavier appearance on these coins than she does in both her earlier and later images. After the introduction of the shorter legend, her face and neck become noticeably thinner and her mouth has a more curled in appearance, giving the impression of aging.

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<sup>134</sup> Head 1888: no. 671-816; Vierneisel-Schlörb: 1979: 136-146.

<sup>135</sup> Dr. Francesco de Angelis suggested the Caryatids as a stylistic parallel for the queue portrait type.

<sup>136</sup> Stephens 2017; Museum of Fine Arts, Houston inv. 74.253. Alexandridis (2004: 183 n. 3) also finds parallels for the type in portraits of Athena/Minerva and Artemis/Diana.

<sup>137</sup> Stephens 2017.

The queue is Sabina's most common coin portrait type. It is found on 59 of the 84 *sestertii* in the ANS and British Museum collections (70%) and 132 of the 163 *denarii* (81%). From the die studies, it is found on 251 of the 456 *dupondii/asses* (55%) and 129 of the 234 *aurei* (55%). From the *aureus* die study, the queue was present on 12 of the 23 obverse dies (52%). All of the dies face right except for two, which I have placed chronologically first to correspond with the left facing nest type die. In the *dupondius/as* die study, the queue was found on 73 of the 144 obverse dies (51%). On the coins with inscription c, Sabina starts facing left and then switches to facing right, like the *aurei*. All portraits with inscription d face right except for two dies exclusively linked with Hadrian portrait reverses.

This portrait type is found with two obverse inscriptions: c, SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP and d, SABINA AVGVSTA. In the *aureus* die study, each inscription is used on six dies with this portrait type. In the *dupondius/as* die study, inscription c is used on 54 of the queue type obverse dies and inscription d is used on 19 of these dies. This suggests that the longer inscription continued in use on the *dupondii/asses* after its abandonment on the *aurei*. Coins with inscription c date earlier than those with d, since c was used for the previous portrait type. The reason for the change is probably aesthetic since the longer c inscription continues in use for the denominations with greater surface area for much longer than the other coins.

The inscription c group has another distinguishing feature among the *dupondii/asses* and *denarii*. In a large group of these coins, Sabina wears a crown of wheat, while on the rest she wears a simple band. When the portrait type is found with



the next inscription, d, the type exclusively uses the band. Based on their differing weight distributions, the coins with the wreath are likely all, or almost all, *asses*, and that those with the band are a mixture with more *dupondii* than *asses*.<sup>138</sup> Since the next group with this portrait type, db, does not have the wreath, it is likely that before the end of cb, the wreath had already been abandoned on the *asses* and the band was being used for both. The use of headdresses to distinguish between the denominations was the norm prior to this point with the radiate and laurel crowns on emperor portraits.<sup>139</sup> It is therefore likely that the Romans would have been able to notice this distinction on Sabina's coins as an indication of denomination. It is interesting, however, that this obverse distinction was abandoned after this point, with no visual distinction remaining between the two denominations. It is therefore more likely that the crown's appearance on only the *asses* was due to the minting schedule and was not an intentional marker of denomination.

The crown of wheat may be an allusion to goddess imagery, in particular fertility goddesses like Ceres/Demeter.<sup>140</sup> Alexandridis argues against the idea that this is meant to be an assimilation, since the headdress is found with many reverse types which have no association with Ceres. She instead sees these wreaths in general as symbols of *pietas*, much like the laurel wreath, and the use on the Sabina coins as a reference to the Julio-Claudians and possibly the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>141</sup> Either of these is plausible, as both were clearly significant in Hadrian's reign.

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<sup>138</sup> These are the results of the weight study from my forthcoming article: Accepted for publication in the *American Journal of Numismatics* 34 (2022).

<sup>139</sup> Mattingly 1936: xiv.

<sup>140</sup> Mikocki 1995: 56.

<sup>141</sup> Alexandridis 2004: 47-49.

Since the queue is Sabina's longest used coin portrait type, it is unsurprising that it is found with the widest variety of reverse types. All of the reverses paired with the queue are epigraphic. For *aurei*, the reverse types are Concordia, Iuno Regina, and Vesta. The die study shows chronological overlap between the use of these types. For *dupondii/asses*, the reverse types found with the queue and inscription c are Iuno Regina, seated Pietas, Pietas standing with two smaller figures, Pudicitia, Vesta, seated Concordia, and Hadrian portrait dies. Coins with inscription d are found with Pietas with smaller figures, standing Concordia, Venus Genetrix, and Hadrian portrait types. There is also an accidental hybrid of Hadrian's Libertas Publica reverse type. For the *sestertii*, the queue with inscription c is found with the reverse types Concordia Augusta, both seated and standing, Iuno Regina, Pietas, both seated alone and standing with children with both the inscription PIETAS and PIETATIS AVG, seated Pudicitia, Vesta, and Venus Genetrix. With inscription d it is found with Vesta and standing Concordia. For the *denarii*, those with inscription c have the three reverse types from the *aurei* in addition to Pietas, and Pudicitia. Those with inscription d have Concordia Augusta, Iuno Regina, and Venus Genetrix as their reverses.<sup>142</sup>

It can be safely assumed that at least the Concordia Augusta, Iuno Regina, and Vesta types were not topical, given the significant length of time during which they were minted. This does not mean, however, that there was no significance to their selection, but rather that their significance was general enough that it could be relevant for a long

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<sup>142</sup> Hybrids with Hadrian's reverse types are also fairly numerous for *denarii* with the queue portrait type and inscription d.

period of time. Venus Genetrix in general, according to Alexandridis, represented *fecunditas* and protection of the Empire.<sup>143</sup> *Fecunditas* was clearly not meant in the literal sense at this stage of Sabina's life, but the general role of Sabina as bringer of prosperity and stability to the Empire could be intended. Abdy suggests that Venus Genetrix was a topical reference in 136/7 when Sabina became adoptive mother to Aelius.<sup>144</sup> This is possible based on the appearance of the type near the very end of the die-link sequence for the *dupondii/asses*. This type might also be part of the Golden Age theme in the coinage, due to Venus Genetrix's specific association with the gens Julia.

There are a few possible interpretations of the Pietas with smaller figures type. In one, the smaller figures are meant to be children and therefore a representation of the Empress's fertility.<sup>145</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham interpreted the small figures on this reverse when used for Matidia I's coinage as her children, Matidia II and Sabina.<sup>146</sup> Another interpretation is that the figures represent imperial figures that the goddess is protecting.<sup>147</sup> Mattingly and Abdy interpret the two figures as Sabina and Hadrian.<sup>148</sup> These two interpretations are incompatible with one another. In one version the figures are children and a living person is likened to Pietas, and in the other, the figure is a large god towering over two mortals. The mint could not have expected people to understand these two contrary interpretations in the same images. Given Sabina's lack of children

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<sup>143</sup> Alexandridis 2010: 203.

<sup>144</sup> Abdy 2019: 57.

<sup>145</sup> Alexandridis 2010: 202-203; Jones 1990: 244.

<sup>146</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham 1926: 333; Nicolai 2007: 97.

<sup>147</sup> Antonia on coins of Caligula according to Kokkinos (1992: 96).

<sup>148</sup> Abdy 2019: 34; Mattingly 1936: clxxxiv. According to Abdy, the genders of the two figures switch from a male and a female to two males for Antoninus's coinage, representing himself and Hadrian.

(even with the adoption of Aelius, she only had one), the interpretation of the figure as the goddess towering over the imperial couple is more likely. If the smaller figures are meant to represent children, the type should not be taken as literally and instead be seen as a personification of a virtue like *fecunditas* or *pietas*.

Based on the evidence for when the use of the chignon ended, the queue was likely introduced around 130/131. Further evidence for the type's debut comes from coinage from Alexandria that uses a similar hairstyle with the minting year written on it, which first appears in the Alexandrian year 15, 130/131 CE (Figure 172, 173). Evidence of the Emperor's travels places Hadrian's travelling group in Egypt from July/August of 130 until early 131.<sup>149</sup> Sabina's presence on this journey is attested by the epigrams of Julia Balbilla, which clearly state that the poet was “σὸν τῇ Σεβαστῇ Σαβεινῇ” (with Sabina Augusta) at the colossi of Memnon in November of 130.<sup>150</sup> The Empress only appears wearing the queue hairstyle for the years 15 and 16, or AD 130/131 and 131/132, the time during which she was present in Egypt.<sup>151</sup> It is likely that the type was introduced during the same year in both Egypt and Rome.

Based on the dating, the type must have been introduced while Sabina was abroad. The Emperor and his companions left Rome in 128 and did not return until 133, well after the type had already been introduced in Alexandria.<sup>152</sup> Unlike the chignon, which was also introduced while the imperial couple were abroad, the type is unique to Sabina. This

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<sup>149</sup> Halfmann 1986: 194, 207-209.

<sup>150</sup> *CIG* 4730-31.

<sup>151</sup> Abdy 2014: 79. For evidence of the imperial couple's travels during this time, see Halfmann 1986: 193-194, 207-209.

<sup>152</sup> Eck et al. 2010: 195-197; Halfmann 1986: 192, 194, 209.

presents an interesting case for the study of portrait type creation and dissemination.

There are two possible ways to explain how the type came into use: it was either created in Alexandria while Sabina was there in person or in Rome while she was abroad. Both of these explanations conflict with the standard understanding of how portrait types were usually produced.

The two main theories about type creation are those proposed by Fittschen and Fejfer. According to Fittschen's theory, a new portrait type would be centrally commissioned for an imperial workshop. A model of it would then be produced in Rome, perhaps out of clay or marble or drawn on parchment, which would be given to the mint and sent through the Empire for copying.<sup>153</sup> In Fejfer's view, imperial portrait types were not centrally commissioned, but instead created through competition between independent workshops within Rome.<sup>154</sup> According to this theory, the court was still invested in the appearance of the types and approval by the imperial court was still required before the adoption of the portrait type by the imperial mint.<sup>155</sup>

Neither of these theories addresses whether or not the subject needed to be present for the creation of the new portrait type. If the type were to reflect the realities of the person's appearance, a version of it must have been created with the subject present. This is, of course, not a necessary condition for a portrait type change. However, the type uses a hairstyle which is unique to Sabina in its details and is a departure from her earlier coin portrait types in not only coiffeur but also physiognomy. If the type was invented at

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<sup>153</sup> Fittschen 1971: 220.

<sup>154</sup> Fejfer 1998: 47; Fejfer 2008: 416-418.

<sup>155</sup> Fejfer 2008: 418-419.

Rome, it means that a drastically different new portrait type was invented without the Emperor, Empress, or many important court officials present. Certainly not all new portrait types required a special event for their creation, but such a drastic stylistic change without the presence of the subject requires an explanation.

The other, more likely possibility is that the new type was invented in Egypt in the presence of the Empress. There are several ways in which it could have been introduced to the Roman mint. It is possible that only a sketch or model of the type was invented in Egypt before being sent to the capital for reproduction by the imperial mint and copies of this model were then sent throughout the Empire via the normal channels from Rome. The other option is that it was invented in Egypt for the Alexandrian mint and was then sent to Rome and modified to suit Roman tastes. Which mint produced the first coins with this image is impossible to say.<sup>156</sup> The minting in the two cities can be said to be roughly contemporaneous and both were likely planned uses of the original model from its inception.

This conclusion is compatible with both Fittschen and Fejfer's theories, although it presumes that the practices that they describe occurring in Rome were able to be moved along with the court on Hadrian's travels. In Fittschen's theory, those usually responsible for ordering type creation could have been present on the trip already, or Hadrian or another official could have stepped into this role. For Fejfer's theory, a local Alexandrian artist could have created this new portrait type, and in normal fashion the court, most of

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<sup>156</sup> Abdy (2014: 79) suggests the possibility of the type's debut occurring in Egypt.

which was travelling with Hadrian, decided that it was a style they wished to adopt for official imperial imagery.

Fejfer has questioned the previous assumption that all new portrait types were created in correspondence with special events, but acknowledges that this was sometimes the case.<sup>157</sup> The infrequent appearance of the type in the round might speak against a link between the type and the celebration of a special event. At the very least, the type was not invented for an event that encouraged the erection of new statues for the Empress on a large scale. The reason for the type's creation could also be as mundane as an actual change in hairstyle which the Empress made for personal aesthetic reasons or a desired change in imperial messaging. It is also possible that this was originally a commemorative type for the Alexandrians celebrating the arrival of the imperial couple and was subsequently adopted by Rome divorced from this significance.

There is no secure evidence for when the use of the queue type ended. There is no provincial coinage which provides a date of introduction for the basket as is found for the queue. Assuming that the die estimates are at least close to correct, the basket type must have been introduced sometime after the imperial couple's return to Rome in the first quarter of 133 and before Sabina's own death in early 138.<sup>158</sup> A date in line with the die estimates of 135-137 is most likely. I propose late in 137 for the end of the type's use on coinage based on the evidence for the introduction date of the next type, as discussed below.

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<sup>157</sup> Fejfer 1998: 47.

<sup>158</sup> For a return date of 133, see Eck et al. 2010: 195-197. For Sabina's death date, see below

With its proper geographic and chronological context established, the queue's iconographic interpretation can be more firmly established. There are certainly some divine associations with the type in the Egyptian coins which feature a square knot in the headdress.<sup>159</sup> However, if the type held such a strong divine association in the Roman context, it would be reasonable to assume that it would be emphasized more prominently. The wheat wreath is only present on around half of the *denarii* and *asses/dupondii* and is completely absent on the other denominations. The rest wear a simple band with no divine association. Of the six reverse types found with this portrait type, none represent Ceres/Demeter or can be connected with the Egyptian coinage.<sup>160</sup> The former is especially noteworthy given the use of a Ceres reverse type with both of Sabina's first two portrait types. It seems that while the queue may have been aesthetically inspired by divine imagery, there was not a strong effort by the imperial mint to preserve the religious impact of the statement. The type's use in Rome was probably intended to reflect a Hellenizing style more than a divine one.

All of this analysis brings a new understanding of the significance of this portrait type. Instead of being a conservative stylistic choice, referring to Plotina, a woman who was famously conservative in her own self-representation, the type may in fact be quite the opposite. The change to a uniquely Hadrianic style no longer seems to have happened only at the very end of Sabina's life, with the introduction of the basket type. Instead, this

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<sup>159</sup> There are also possibly divine associations intended by the diademed variant of the type found on coins from the *conventus* of Sardis and a sculpted portrait found on the Esquiline (see Chapters Two and Three for discussion).

<sup>160</sup> The reverse types found with the queue portrait type are Concordia Augusta, Juno Regina, Pietas, Pudicitia, Venus Genetrix, and Vesta.



change happened not only much sooner, but in much greater abundance than has been previously acknowledged. This also disrupts the standard understanding of Sabina's role in the public messages of Hadrian's administration. By the time of the queue's introduction, her public image was no longer used solely as a vehicle for promoting Hadrian's legitimacy through her familial connections. The portrait type instead modified Sabina's public image to represent the new, distinctly Hadrianic style.

### The Basket

Sabina's final life-time portrait type has been nicknamed the Aphrodite by Adembri, referred to here as the basket.<sup>161</sup> The hairstyle consists of a basket-like up-do, which, unlike the nest type, is constructed from waves of unbraided hair (Figure 20-21). There is no row of locks across the brow and there is a single diadem behind a register of wavy hair which is parted in the middle and combed toward the back of the head. The hair on the back of the head is combed up towards the crown, not twisted like in the nest, and all of the hair is twisted around the crown into a basket.<sup>162</sup>

There has been contradictory scholarship on this portrait type in the past. While it is relatively uncommon in coinage, it is by far the most common type in sculpture. Its existence on coinage was completely missed by Strack and Mattingly. Wegner, working from the previous two sources, also assumed that the type existed only in the round.<sup>163</sup> All of these scholars appear to have conflated the basket type with the nest. Carandini appears to have been first to recognize the existence of the type in coinage but presents it

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<sup>161</sup> Adembri 2007: 79-80.

<sup>162</sup> For a replication of this hairstyle on a real person, see Stephens 2011.

<sup>163</sup> Wegner 1938: 313; Wegner 1956: 88-89.

as an evolution of the nest as opposed to its own type.<sup>164</sup> Fittschen and Zanker, as well as Keltanen and Mannsperger, similarly describe the type as a simplified version of the Matidia/Marciana hairstyle.<sup>165</sup> Still, more recent publications have excluded the type from the sequence of hairstyles.<sup>166</sup>

While the type's existence and interpretation in sculpture has a long scholarly history, the numismatic version did not receive any individual scholarly attention until Abdy's 2014 publication, in which he acknowledges the type as distinct and having relevance beyond its similarity to the portraits of previous imperial women. In the new volume of the *RIC*, however, Abdy retracts much of the significance he previously gave to this portrait type. Instead of viewing it as its own type, he now believes that the type is a variant of the queue type, with the ponytail pinned to the top of Sabina's head instead of hanging down the back.<sup>167</sup> There are several details of the two arrangements which prove this to be false. The biggest difference is the hair at the front of the head, which forms a large crest in the queue hairstyle but is combed flat in the basket. The forelocks in the basket are slightly raised from the hair being twisted from the central part towards the sides of the head. This feature is absent on the queue. The ponytail in the queue is twisted in on itself and fastened in a fairly large loop at the bottom with no structure at all on the top. This kind of construction would not be able to create the tall mass of hair in the basket, which requires the hair to be gathered towards the crown of the head before

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<sup>164</sup> Carandini 1969: 95, 231-232.

<sup>165</sup> Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Keltanen 2002: 117; Mannsperger 1998: 70. Keltanen also places the type chronologically before the queue.

<sup>166</sup> Nicolai 2007.

<sup>167</sup> Abdy 2019: 33.

being twisted around it.<sup>168</sup> It is therefore not possible that these are variants of the same hairstyle, and they must instead be two distinct portrait types.

The basket hairstyle is, however, a stylistic continuation of the less-rigid, classicizing style of the queue. There are once again no braids, and the natural texture of the hair is allowed to be seen. The diadem suggests a reference to divinity like the wreath did for the queue. Adembri argues that at this point it was not necessary to make claims to the previous dynasty through similarities in Sabina's hairstyle.<sup>169</sup> As I have previously argued, the departure from the imagery of the previous dynasty began much earlier with the queue portrait type.

The basket is found on six of the 456 *dupondii/asses* (1%), two of the 84 *sestertii* (2%), three of the 163 *denarii* (2%), and 54 of the 234 *aurei* (23%). Three of the 23 *aureus* obverse dies (13%) use this portrait type. Two of them face to the right and one faces left. Three of the 144 *dupondius/as* (2%) obverse dies feature the basket type. All face right. The production of the type appears to have been very brief.

The type's disproportionate representation across the denominations could once again be evidence for different production schedules at the mint. It appears that the type was introduced during a high point of *aureus* minting in comparison with other denominations. This evidence supports the theory that Sabina's *aurei* were minted in large groups for a short period of time, instead of continuously throughout the year. This

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<sup>168</sup> For a demonstration of how different the techniques of creating these hairstyles are, see their modern recreations in Stephens 2011 and 2017. Stephens creates a braid at the nape to anchor the twisted ponytail in the queue, a feature which would make it impossible to flip the queue up into a basket formation.

<sup>169</sup> Adembri 2007: 79.

would also explain the absence of the chignon type on the *aurei*, since perhaps they were not in production during the type's short-lived minting. It is also possible that the basket appears more frequently on *aurei* because it really did have a longer run on these coins than it did on other denominations.

The type is found on *aurei* with inscription d, SABINA AVGVSTA. On *dupondii/asses* and *sestertii*, it is only seen with inscription c, SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP. The *aes* coinage continued using this earlier inscription type for at least some of the coins until the end of Sabina's lifetime coinage. The *denarii* are mostly found with inscription d, but there are two coins which have the basket portrait type paired with inscription e, DIVA AVG SABINA.<sup>170</sup> This indicates that the basket was used at the start of the posthumous coin production. Perhaps the veil type had not been designed in time for the start of Sabina's consecration issues. It seems, based on the quantities and sequence of inscriptions, that Sabina's death occurred after the minting of the large group of basket type *aurei*, as well as after the end of minting for *dupondii/asses*, but during a period of *denarius* minting.

On *aurei*, the basket is found with the Vesta and Concordia Augusta reverse types which had been in use throughout the duration of her previous portrait type. On *dupondii/asses*, it is found only with the seated Concordia Augusta reverse and on *sestertii* with the standing Concordia Augusta. On *denarii*, it is paired with Concordia Augusta, Iuno Reginae, and an altar with the inscription PIETATI AVG. The Pietas reverse is found with obverses with both inscription d and inscription e. Given its

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<sup>170</sup> Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, 2014 Feb 13, Lot 2186; *RIC* II no. 422a.

connotations of consecration, it seems likely that coins with this reverse type were struck after the Empress's death. In the case of the coins with inscription e, the obverse dies would have been intentionally carved for posthumous use. Those with inscription d were probably either old obverse dies struck accidentally with this new reverse or used intentionally to make use of older dies, perhaps because new ones were not being created fast-enough following the Empress's death. It is also possible that these coins were minted between Sabina's death and her actual consecration as a *diva*.

In the basket portrait type, Sabina's face looks much the same as it does in the later portraits of the previous type. Her face is overall thin and aged, but not in an unflattering way. There is no observable sagging or wrinkling in her features. The gradual aging of Sabina's lifetime portraits is easily seen in a comparison between her earliest portraits and those with the basket hairstyle. This distinction also makes the divide between the nest and the basket portrait types more pronounced. Her portrait on the coins with the basket portrait type and inscription e, DIVA AVG SABINA does not appear more idealized than those made while she was still alive, showing that when it was used as a posthumous type, no alteration was necessary to make it appropriate for this use. This could be due to time constraints but might also be an indication of the high degree of idealization of her lifetime physiognomy.

Adembri dates the introduction of the type to 134-136, corresponding with the couple's return to Rome.<sup>171</sup> Abdy dates its introduction to ca. 135/6 because he identifies

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<sup>171</sup> Adembri 2007: 79; Halfmann 1986: 209-210. This dating was first proposed by Carandini 1969: 108, although he did not distinguish this as a unique portrait type, but rather as an evolution of the nest type.

it on coins from Amisus dated to this year, but leaves open the possibility for time lag between its introduction at Rome and its appearance on these coins.<sup>172</sup> Sabina's portrait on Amisan coins is a departure from its appearance on the city's coins from the previous year.<sup>173</sup> These differences could possibly correspond with an attempt by the mint to reproduce the newly introduced basket type, but is more plausibly a reflection of different styles of different engravers.<sup>174</sup> I do not believe that these coins represent the basket type and therefore do not think they are relevant for dating the introduction of the type.<sup>175</sup> An introduction of the type in 135/6 also gives more time for the minting of this type than the quantity of production indicates.

The die estimates place the basket's introduction between 135 and 137. The small number of *dupondius/as*, *sestertius*, and *denarius* coins produced with this portrait type speak against an earlier date. The *denarii* are especially noteworthy since they are believed to have been minted fairly continuously throughout the year and have posthumous types. The transitional coins with inscription e and the basket portrait type shows there was likely no break in the normal denarius minting cycle at this time. Given this, the basket is likely to have been introduced in late 137. The type was used for a short time, probably significantly less than a year, with production finishing shortly after

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<sup>172</sup> Abdy 2014: 83. For coins of Sabina at Amisus, see Nordbø 1988: 166 and *RPC III*: 147-148; 152-153.

<sup>173</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 1274 compared to 1276-1277.

<sup>174</sup> For more on why I believe this to be the case, see Chapter Two.

<sup>175</sup> Other dated provincial coins exhibit similar similarities to the basket type but are dated even earlier. They most likely also are nest type coins done by less consistent provincial engravers. E.g.: *RPC III* cat. 5808 (Alexandria, 131/2), 3950 (Gaba, 129/130), 1974 (Smyrna, 134/5). For more on provincial coin portraits, see Chapter Two.

Sabina's death in early 138. The significance of this date is only comprehensible when viewed in context of the sculptural evidence, which is discussed in Chapter Three.

Balty, Cazes, and Rosso, as well as Anderson, see a link between the type and portraits of Livia.<sup>176</sup> They argue that the type displays a mixture of Greek classicism and Augustan classicism. It would certainly not be the first time that Sabina was likened to Livia, but the connection here is more tenuous. The only elements that liken the portrait to Livia are the front and the sides, aspects which are consistent with the chignon and some queue representations. No portraits of Livia feature a basket element.<sup>177</sup> It is possible that all three types were intended as references to Livia, but I do not think that it is likely to have been an intentional or easily understandable message from the basket type. It is telling that most scholars have linked this type with the nest type and therefore to Matidia and Marciana, many considering this an evolution of that type which clearly had no link to Livia.

If all similarities between portrait types of different figures were meant to intentionally connect the two subjects in the mind of the viewer, the basket type had a complicated message, merging influences from classical Greece, Livia, and the Trajanic women. Instead this hairstyle developed out of the emerging new Hadrianic style, which featured more classicizing tendencies and shunned rigid formations. Nests of hair were

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<sup>176</sup> Anderson 1989: 120; Balty Cazes, and Rosso 2012: 160-161. Carandini (1969: 231-232) also suggests a connection with Augustan period portraiture.

<sup>177</sup> The portrait Balty, Cazes, and Rosso (2012: 160-161) cite for comparison with the type (drawing found in Winkes 2000: 37) gives a false impression of similarity with the basket type because the chignon is broken off.

already popular, and this would have been a natural way for hairdressers in Rome to adapt the new style into what they were already familiar with and was popular.

Carandini argues that Sabina is likened to Juno in portraits in the round of this type.<sup>178</sup> This theory is based on the use of the diadem in this portrait type. Alexandridis, however, has convincingly shown that the diadem did not have a significant connection with any specific goddess in this period.<sup>179</sup> The diadem was also used in the nest and chignon portrait types, as well as some provincial and sculpted replicas of the queue type, none of which is likely associated with Juno.

This portrait type can be viewed as a full departure from the styles of the previous dynasty and a continuation of this evolution from Sabina's earlier portrait types. While it does bear some resemblance to the portrait types of the previous generation in the form of the basket, in its style and execution, it is distinctly Hadrianic. Given its unaltered use for some posthumous coins, the type must have alluded to divinity from its inception. The portrait type was not used much on coins but is plentiful in portrait sculpture. This discrepancy is revealing about the different motivations involved in the production of the two media.

### The Veil

The final portrait type shows Sabina wearing a veil over most of her head with a front row of wavy hair which is crowned by either a diadem or a wheat crown (Figure 22-24). The hair underneath the veil appears to be drawn together in a loop or bun at the

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<sup>178</sup> Carandini 1969: 180. This has been accepted by Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 140 (Marino).

<sup>179</sup> Alexandridis 2004: 49-50.



nape. This has been identified as the same hairstyle as the chignon type.<sup>180</sup> The wreath was previously used with her queue portrait type coins and the diadem was previously used for the nest, chignon, and the preceding basket type. Sabina's physiognomy does not change on the veil coins from its appearance with the basket portrait type in any consistent or substantial way. Her face still appears thin and aged, while remaining wrinkle free and idealized. Her facial appearance on this lifetime portrait type was apparently already idealized enough to be considered suitable for a consecrated, veil portrait type.

This portrait type is found on two of the 84 *sestertii* (2%), nine of the 163 *denarii* (6%), and ten of the 234 *aurei* (4%). In the *aureus* die study, it was found on two of the 23 dies (9%). This type is completely absent from the *as/dupondius* coinage.

The *denarii* and *aurei* with the veil portrait type feature the same legend, e, DIVA AVG SABINA. The *sestertii* feature the expanded version of that inscription: f, DIVA AVGVSTA SABINA. The *aurei* and *sestertii* use the Consecratio reverse type exclusively, some with the Empress on the back of the eagle and some with just the eagle. The *denarii* use the Consecratio type but also the Pietas altar type that was seen on some of the basket coins. These are all references to Sabina's consecration as a *diva* following her death.<sup>181</sup>

The veil type was introduced sometime shortly following Sabina's consecration after the mint stopped using the basket type for this function. The type was presumably

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<sup>180</sup> Carandini 1969: 107; Nicolai 2007: 99.

<sup>181</sup> For an explanation of the term *diva*, see D'Ambra 2007: 154-156.

continually in use until Hadrian's own death on July 10<sup>th</sup>, 138.<sup>182</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that there was any continuation of minting for Sabina under Antoninus Pius.<sup>183</sup>

When exactly Sabina died is, however, difficult to determine. The *Historia Augusta* claims that Sabina died after Hadrian had chosen his successor, which is corroborated by provincial coins and an inscription which record Sabina as being alive after Aelius' adoption in the second half of 136.<sup>184</sup> Alexandrian coins cease to be minted with her image in 136/137.<sup>185</sup> Many sources have cited 136/137 as the year of her death based on this evidence.<sup>186</sup>

Some recent scholarship has pushed the date of Sabina's death later than the traditional 136.<sup>187</sup> The most important source for this is the coinage from Amisus and Epiphanea, both of which recorded dates on their coins.<sup>188</sup> Coins were struck at Amisus with Sabina's image from 134/5-137/8.<sup>189</sup> In their last year, they were minted at least beyond September of 137.<sup>190</sup> None of these coins feature posthumous types. According

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<sup>182</sup> Dio 69.23.1.

<sup>183</sup> One coin supposedly made for Sabina under Antoninus Pius is of questionable authenticity (Hekster 2015: 137 n. 62; *RIC* III no. 1073A).

<sup>184</sup> Brennan 2018: xix, 58-59; Carandini 1969: 209-210; Hahn 1994: 274. *CIL* VIII 799 = VIII 12266; *CIL* VIII 1.799 = *CIL* VII Suppl. 1.12266. Coins from Parium with Sabina and Aelius on the reverse: *RPC* III: cat. 1546.

<sup>185</sup> Hahn 1994: 274; Nordbø 1988: 174.

<sup>186</sup> Adembri 2007: 79-80 (136); Evers 1994: 18 (end of 136); Mattingly and Sydenham 1926: 238 (136); Nordbø 1988: 174 (summer 137); Ricotti 2004: 31 (136); Salzmänn 1989: 363 (136/137); Ricotti 2004: 40-41 (136); Strack 1933: 23 (136); Vermeule 2000: 21 (136/137); Wegner 1956: 84 (136); West 1941: 123 (136).

<sup>187</sup> Abdy 2014: 84 (no earlier than 137/138, only just prior to Hadrian's death); Birley 1997: 294 (not consecrated before March 138); Hahn 1994: 274 (still alive up to Jan 1 138); Keinast 1996: 133 (probably after December 137). The only earlier source that I am aware of to propose such a late date is Carandini 1969: 99-100 (probably died in 137, February 138 at the latest, consecration in winter or spring of 138).

<sup>188</sup> Brennan 2018: 182; *RPC* III: 663, 850.

<sup>189</sup> Nordbø 1988: 174.

<sup>190</sup> Nordbø 1988: 174; *RPC* III : cat. 1294.

to Nordbø, by giving allowance for news of Sabina's death to travel to the province, the Empress must have died at the earliest in the summer of 137.<sup>191</sup> The coins from Epiphanea were produced in the year 137/138 as well, also without any reference to Sabina's death.<sup>192</sup> Sabina's absence from the Alexandrian coinage in this year is easily explained. There is another gap in Sabina coin production at this mint in the year 129. Aelius, Antinous, and Antoninus are also all absent from the Alexandrian coinage in 137/138, likely the result of reduced production.<sup>193</sup> Therefore Sabina probably lived well into 137 given her appearance on the Amisus and Epiphanea coins.

Sabina is not recorded anywhere in connection with Antoninus' adoption on February 5<sup>th</sup>, 138. There is no consecration coinage for Sabina in the provinces. In order to explain this, there should not be an entire minting cycle between Sabina's and Hadrian's death, making summer of 137 unlikely.<sup>194</sup> At the Roman mint, she does still appear on consecration coins in all denominations except for the *dupondii/asses*. Given all of the evidence of staggered minting of the denominations, there must be a least several months for coin production between Sabina's and Hadrian's death. All this evidence makes it most likely that Sabina died at the very end of 137 or early 138.

While the consecration of an imperial spouse was routine by this time, the choice of portrait type for this consecration coinage is noteworthy.<sup>195</sup> The die cutters were

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<sup>191</sup> Nordbø 1988: 174.

<sup>192</sup> *RPC* III: 430, cat. 3394

<sup>193</sup> For a full discussion of the Alexandrian coinage, see Chapter Two.

<sup>194</sup> Abdy 2014; 84.

<sup>195</sup> Alexandridis (2018: 123 n. 79) claims that consecration was a formality in this period for wives who had not had their memories condemned. Fejfer (2006: 467) does not agree with this characterization, pointing to the relatively late consecration of Julia Domna as evidence that consecration was still not a given for imperial women in good standing.

careful to make the form of the chignon under the veil apparent on these coins, a feature not included in sculpted veiled portraits of the Empress. The basket was clearly considered an appropriate mode of representation for the deified Empress given its use in some post-consecration coinage. Instead of placing a veil on the type, as is seen in sculpture, the powers that be chose to emphasize this type from a decade prior.

As previously discussed, the chignon type was a reference to Livia.<sup>196</sup> To further complicate things, however, the laurel wreath that was used with the earlier chignon coins has been abandoned here. Instead, Sabina wears a diadem on some coins and a wreath of wheat on others. Therefore, while the hairstyle itself probably was meant to send the same message of association with Livia, the message has been altered by the use of different headdresses. The inclusion of the crown of wheat is possibly due to Hadrian's affinity for the Eleusinian mysteries, which is especially relevant in the posthumous context. The diadem likely had a generic meaning of divinity. Both headdresses were used previously so there was perhaps not a great significance in either. The veil is used exclusively to indicate *divae* in numismatic portraits.<sup>197</sup>

Therefore, the veiled coin portraits emphasize Sabina's association with Livia, which by extension reminded the public of Hadrian's association with Augustus.

Although this issue commemorates Sabina, it still promoted the messaging program of the

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<sup>196</sup> Some coins from the Koinon of Thessaly (*RPC* III: cat. 1434, 1434A), which are questionably associated with Livia, appear to be wearing this exact hairstyle including the veil.

<sup>197</sup> Alexandridis 2004: 45.

imperial administration.<sup>198</sup> The inclusion of the veil would have been a clear indication to any viewer, whether or not they could read the inscription, that the empress had died and been consecrated, a message emphasized by the coins' reverse types.

### Conclusions

Sabina's coinage was a departure from that of previous empresses in several ways. It was minted consistently and in large numbers through its entire run at the Roman mint. It was experimental in its frequent changes of reverse, obverse inscription, and portrait type. The precedents set by this coinage were adopted and built upon by subsequent administrations. Some of the specific elements of the coinage, such as the variety in portrait types and reverse types, were adopted by the Antonines.

The methods used in this chapter allow for a more concrete understanding of Sabina's coinage. The die studies enable the reproduction of the coins' manufacturing sequence. The application of this method, with the addition of external data, allows for the following timeline to be established with a high degree of confidence. The nest portrait type was introduced in early 128 or very late 127. The chignon type's production overlapped with either the end of the nest or the beginning of the queue and was issued for a year or less, most likely in 129/130. The queue portrait type was introduced in 130/131, corresponding with its introduction in Egypt. The basket replaced the queue after Hadrian and Sabina's return to Rome from abroad, sometime after 135, likely in 137, and was in use until Sabina's death, and on *denarii* for a brief period thereafter. The

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<sup>198</sup> I do not support Brennan's (2018: 215-216) theory that the administration had been preparing for her death for years, which is based on a misreading of the imperial coin chronology and the production of the coins from Alexandria.

veil type was introduced after Sabina's death and consecration, probably in early 138, and was in use until Hadrian's death that July.

The differences in portrait and inscription type throughout the coinage is also revealing of differences in production between the denominations. The nest type coinage shows the *aurei* were produced first, followed by the *dupondii*, then everything else. The chignon appears on mostly *asses*, with a few *denarii*, and no other denominations. The basket appears on significantly more *aurei* than anything else but does appear on all denominations. The posthumous type appears on all denominations except for the *dupondii* and *asses*.

The nest type evidence is certainly chronological since it is based on differences in titlature. For the others, however, it is possible that these different proportions are reflective of choices by those in charge of the mint to target certain types at certain audiences. It is hard to explain why a targeted program would produce the chignon on many *asses* but no *dupondii*, and that the same audience was targeted by the type's brief appearance on the *denarii*. The posthumous type has the same problem and, based on the information known about Sabina's death, the end of coin production resulting from Hadrian's death is a more likely explanation for the type's absence on *dupondii/asses*. The basket type appears on mostly *aurei*, while also appearing in small quantities on all other denominations. The inclusion of all denominations makes a chronological explanation still possible but less likely. The possibility of audience targeting of the type on the highest value denomination is also comprehensible.

Sabina's coinage saw significant stylistic changes between the different portrait types, and these can be correlated with specific messages. The nest hairstyle serves as Sabina's public introduction by referring to her mother and grandmother, prominent women in the previous reign, while also displaying some of the style of the new regime in the larger, more realistic appearance of the figure. The chignon portrait type was a reference to Livia, corresponding with Hadrian's Golden Age iconography. The queue is the first true departure from the portrait types of all previous empresses and represents the new, classicizing Hadrianic style. The basket continues this style with more overt idealization. The veil type once again recalls Livia while also celebrating Sabina's apotheosis.

These data can be useful for understanding the style and messages of not only Sabina's public image, but also of Hadrian's administration as a whole. Each type served a specific purpose, whether it was to refer to the women of the previous reign, commemorate a special event, or experiment with and implement a new stylistic paradigm. Under Hadrian, the mint for the first time fully exploited the potential of the empress's coinage for sending messages about the regime to the masses.

## **Chapter Two: Sabina's Coins from Provincial Mints**

### Introduction

The imperial mint was not the only place where Sabina's image was reproduced in large numbers. Provincial minting for both Hadrian and his wife was significantly increased from that of previous generations.<sup>199</sup> Some cities produced very high-quality images of the Empress which rival the quality of those from the capital, while the products of other cities differ so drastically from Sabina's official imagery that her portrait would not be recognizable without the accompanying inscription. Despite this variability, there is much potential in the study of these coins as purveyors of the imperial image. A small group of these coins have their production year written on them, providing the most concrete dates of any of Sabina's portrait representations. The provincial coins provide vital information about the reception of Sabina throughout the Empire. The choice of portrait type is also revealing of the models that were available to and used by each mint. Intentional modifications to imperial portrait types are also informative about the intentions of particular mints' messaging concerning the Empress's image.

Roman provincial coinage encompasses many local mints which, at the time of Hadrian, were spread throughout the Greek speaking eastern half of the Empire.<sup>200</sup> Most

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<sup>199</sup> In spite of this, the relative proportion of minting between the provinces and Rome was diminished due to the increased prominence of Sabina at Rome, as was the case for other imperial family members starting in the second century: Horster 2013: 249.

<sup>200</sup> I am using the term "Roman provincial" for the coinage produced at the local eastern mints during the Roman Imperial Period as defined by Amandry (2012: 393). Early provincial coins were struck in the Latin west and some occasionally contained legends of other languages (Amandry 2012: 392).



of the coins were *aes*, but silver coinage was also produced at some of the more prominent mints.<sup>201</sup> The products of provincial mints were usually intended only for local circulation, most of which were struck on a local weight standard.<sup>202</sup> Most provincial coins include the ethnic in the genitive plural to indicate the city at which the coins were produced, and at times the name of the eponymous magistrate or person responsible for the coin issue is added.<sup>203</sup> By the time of Hadrian, nearly all mints produced coins with the portrait of an imperial family member on the obverse for larger denominations, while the smallest frequently displayed an obverse type of local significance.<sup>204</sup> The reverse types, in contrast, were almost always of local relevance with no connection to those on the coins from the Roman mint.<sup>205</sup> The evidence suggests that there was little to no imperial oversight of the contents or production of the provincial *aes*.<sup>206</sup> This is

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<sup>201</sup> Amandry 2012: 396-398. Some gold was produced in client kingdoms in the early Empire and there was some rare gold minting in the east under the Flavians. None of this occurred during Hadrian's reign. Provincial silver coinage under Hadrian is believed to have been struck exclusively in the provinces and not Rome, as had occurred in earlier periods (Haymann 2011: 721).

<sup>202</sup> Burnett 2011: 7-8.

<sup>203</sup> For the role of some of these people in the coin production, see Kritsotakis 2008: 107-109; *RPC* III: 311, 864.

<sup>204</sup> The old term “pseudo-autonomous” used for coins without imperial portraits is inaccurate because this does not reflect any more autonomy of the minting at these locations: Amandry 2012: 393, 398-399, Burnett 2011: 6; Horster 2013: 247-249. For this reason, I have avoided the term here, and instead used the term “local obverse type”. On the introduction of Roman portraits to provincial coinage, see Burnett 2011: 20-22.

<sup>205</sup> Amandry 2012: 399-400; Burnett 2011: 24-25; Metcalf 2007: 4 (eBook paragraph number). Hoskins Walbank (2003: 343) argues that provincial reverse types were relevant and observed by regular citizens in the provinces. On the possibility of a connection between reverse types and cult worship, see Parker 2016: 76-77. Weiß (2004: 182-183) notes an increase in local mythological reverse types during

<sup>206</sup> Amandry 2012: 399; Burnett 2011: 8-11; Metcalf 2007: 5-7, 29-30 (eBook paragraph numbers); *RPC* I: 53-54. The same was not true for the silver: Metcalf 2007: 29-36 (eBook paragraph numbers). The advice concerning the autonomy of these mints quoted in Dio 52.30.9, as frequently pointed out, was clearly not followed.

illustrated by the local character of the reverses and the lack of adherence to official portrait typology across the provinces. Some of the coins are datable from the inclusion of an inscribed local year, whereas others can be dated by the name of the magistrate if their term in office is known from external evidence.<sup>207</sup> Like the coins from Rome, elements of the imperial titulature can also be helpful for dating, but this is not included as consistently in provincial coinage. Coins without any of this information are rarely able to be narrowly dated.

The Sabina coins allow her provincial numismatic portraiture to be studied in ways that is not possible for most other imperial figures. Male portraiture usually has only subtle changes between portrait types, no more than a few forelocks in a different position in most cases. It is at times impossible to identify the specific imperial portrait type that served as the model for less-faithfully copied provincial coin portraits.<sup>208</sup> There are usually more obvious contrasts between female portrait types, but most imperial women had either only one major portrait type or appeared on very few provincial coin issues. Sabina's imperial coinage features five distinct portrait types, and she appears on the coinage of over one third of active mints from Hadrian's reign, a much higher proportion than previous imperial women. Her provincial coinage is easy to separate into its corresponding official typology and is plentiful enough to study as a widespread phenomenon.

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<sup>207</sup> The tradition of including the local year on some coins was influenced by the tradition of Seleucid and Ptolemaic coinages (Kushnir-Stein 2005: 161).

<sup>208</sup> This difficulty and the contrast with female portraiture is also discussed by Burnett for the Julio-Claudian period (2011: 23-24).

In the analysis of Sabina's provincial coin portraits, the *Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC)* has been an indispensable resource.<sup>209</sup> Sabina's provincial coinage has also been treated in a preliminary fashion by both Carandini and Brennan.<sup>210</sup> In his discussion of Sabina's provincial coinage, Brennan calls for a more thorough study of her provincial coinage that considers the minting history of each location in the interpretation of her imagery.<sup>211</sup> It is my hope that this chapter is the answer to this request.

### *Overview of Sabina's Provincial Coinage*

Provincial minting restarted or began for the first time at many sites during Hadrian's reign. A total of 3210 types are known for Trajan's reign, with 2930 of them representing the emperor. In comparison, 3719 types are known for Hadrian's reign, but with only 2940 types representing the emperor. The remaining 500 types represent the increased minting for Sabina, Aelius, and Antinous, as well as a few non-imperial types. The increased production is almost entirely in the new types produced for figures other than Hadrian.

The numbers of types and mints used here for Sabina reflect the information contained in Appendix 5. There are 93 mints known to have issued coins for Sabina, 39% of the 241 active mints during Hadrian's reign.<sup>212</sup> Antinous's portrait appears at only 32

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<sup>209</sup> All of the numbers used in this chapter reflect the state of the online *RPC* catalogue at the time of writing. All citations to textual information from the *RPC* are from the print version of the catalogue unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>210</sup> Brennan 2018; Carandini 1969.

<sup>211</sup> Brennan 2018: 163.

<sup>212</sup> The number of mints for Sabina includes *cistophorus* Mint A, which could be a duplicated of another mint, but does not include the coins from unknown mints. The number of mints for Hadrian includes the Metcalf *cistophorus* mints but does not include the unattributed. The *nomes* are here considered as part of the mint of Alexandria.

mints and Aelius appears at 21 mints. The shorter period of minting for both of these should be considered when comparing them with Sabina. Aelius's numbers are quite high when the period of coin production is considered. This likely corresponds with an imperial effort to spread the image of Hadrian's appointed heir as quickly as possible. Up to eleven known mints produced coinage without any imperial portrait types during Hadrian's reign.<sup>213</sup> The minting for each figure during Hadrian's reign is found in Appendix 7a-d.

Sabina appears on 216 types, 178 obverse types and 43 reverse, while Hadrian appears on 2940 types, 2877 obverse and 108 reverse.<sup>214</sup> This is a ratio of 14:1 total types, 16:1 for obverse types and 2.5:1 for reverse types.<sup>215</sup> This low ratio for reverse types is due to the rarity of reverse types of the Emperor. Sabina's coinage represents about six percent of the total types produced during Hadrian's reign. Antinous appears on 141 total types, 137 obverse and 51 reverse types. Aelius appears on 61 total types, 58 obverse and 8 reverse. Both of these are less than Sabina, although Antinous's number of types is not significantly smaller. This shows a particular enthusiasm for Antinous in the cities that chose to mint in his honour, since his type to mint ratio is much higher than Sabina's. When producing coin portraits of one of these subjects, the average mint made

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<sup>213</sup> These mints are Athens (owls), Megara, Anticyra, Thessalonica, Chersonesus, Amastris, Pitane, Chios, Adana, Alexandria ad Issum, and Tyre. The dating of some of these is questionable. The identification of Hadrian on coins from Heraclea Sintica is not secure.

<sup>214</sup> Some coins feature the same figure on both the obverse and reverse, which is why the sum of the two numbers is greater than the total number of types. The number of types includes full-bodied images.

<sup>215</sup> Brennan (2018: 158) calculates the same ratio for the total types.

4.4 types for Antinous, compared to only 2.5 types for Sabina. Aelius's mint to type ratio is fairly similar to Sabina's, about 3:1.

The volume of Sabina's provincial coinage appears particularly impressive when compared with the women from Trajan's reign. Plotina appeared on the coinage of 22 mints during her husband's reign, with 37 total types, 29 obverse and eight reverse, which is only about one percent of the total provincial coinage produced during Trajan's reign, six times lower than the proportion of Hadrianic types devoted to Sabina. Plotina's coinage has a ratio of 79:1 total types compared with Trajan's types, 110:1 for obverses and 29:1 for reverses.<sup>216</sup> Matidia appears on eight obverse types and one reverse types across seven mints, while her mother Marciana appears at only four mints with three obverse types and three reverse types. In total, women appear on coins from 23 mints on 34 obverse and 12 reverse types. This is 12% of Trajanic mints, nearly 30% less than Sabina's provincial presence. Therefore, while the provincial minting was only marginally larger overall under Hadrian, minting for Sabina far outweighed that of imperial women of the previous reign, both in geographical spread and output.

The vast majority of provincial minting in general is *aes*, and the same is true for Sabina, although silver coins were minted with her image at nine mints, including three *cistophori* mints.<sup>217</sup> Among the bronze, there is no strong association between denomination and Sabina's placement on the coin (obverse or reverse). There is equally

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<sup>216</sup> Brennan (2018: 159) gives the ratio between Plotina and Trajan's provincial coin types at 85:1, which I have updated in accordance with the *RPC* online.

<sup>217</sup> Cistophori: Smyrna, Hierapolis, Mint A. Other silver: Koinon of Bithynia, Amisus, Tarsus, Aegeae, Mopsus, Alexandria.

no denominational distinction between coins on which she is alone and coins on which she is paired with Hadrian. There is no overarching trend that can explain which denomination she appears on, although some mints do organize the types according to the perceived importance of the person depicted.

The reverse types of Sabina's provincial coinage are not particularly enlightening in the study of her reception in the provinces. Three quarters of all types, as calculated by Brennan, display something other than an imperial figure.<sup>218</sup> The choice of reverse is usually of local significance instead of any intended message associated specifically with Sabina and these images are highly varied.<sup>219</sup> Asian coins frequently show portraits of Sabina and Hadrian facing one another, while coins from the eastern coast of Turkey have Sabina as the reverse for some of the coins with Hadrian as the obverse.<sup>220</sup>

The coins throughout the eastern provinces use the same titulature for the Empress, a version of either Sabina Sebaste or Sabina Augusta, depending on the language of the inscription.<sup>221</sup> The spelling, word order, and level of abbreviation varies. This is the same titulature that appears on the Roman imperial coins, suggesting a desire of those running provincial mints to adhere to the standards established by Rome. Additional titles are rare but do occur. Some coins from Mallus, Pompeiopolis, and

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<sup>218</sup> Brennan 2018: 158.

<sup>219</sup> For a summary of Sabina's provincial reverse types, see Brennan 2018: 159-161.

<sup>220</sup> Brennan 2018: 158.

<sup>221</sup> The only inscriptions that lack the Augusta/Sebaste title are joint reverses of Sabina and Hadrian or Sabina and Aelius from Parium (*RPC III*: cat. 1544-1546, 6574) and joint obverse from Myrina (*RPC III*: 1919). Coins from an unknown mint are the only known instance of the use of the transliterated form CABEINA AYTOYCTA (*RPC III*: cat. 6578).

Tarsus, include the addition of AY or AYT.<sup>222</sup> This is likely an attempt by Tarsus to mimic the formatting of the inscription on the mint's Hadrian coins, which was then copied by other local mints, as discussed below. Only Eumeneia includes a divinizing title on the Sabina coins: Meter Theon.<sup>223</sup> The significance of the title is discussed below.

The vast majority of mints use the nest portrait type for Sabina, with varying degrees of accuracy.<sup>224</sup> 81 mints, plus one coin of unknown origin, minted the nest or its variant. The queue is the next most common type, appearing at thirteen mints. The chignon appears at only three mints, Amphipolis, Eucarpia, and the Koinon of Bithynia. There are no clear examples of the basket or veil types among the provincial coins. A few other portraits cannot be divided into the previously established types, which I refer to here as non-canonical portrait types. On the coins from Mint A and Ilium, Sabina is shown in full body and the details of the hairstyle are not possible to decipher.

I use the chronology of the imperial types established in Chapter One for the *terminus post quem* of the portrait types in the provinces. I have dated many of the coins to 128 or later based on the use of the nest portrait type, which assumes that the type was not used for Sabina in other media prior to 128. This seems to be correct based on the pre-128 dated coins from Gaba, which do not use this hairstyle, as well as other coins which I argue date to this earlier period and use other hairstyles.

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<sup>222</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 3245, 3275, 3326. Coins from Corycus (*RPC III*: cat. 3243A) add AYT[ ]O between the ethnic and Sabina's name, but it is not legible enough to determine if this is a title intended for Sabina.

<sup>223</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 2584.

<sup>224</sup> See Chapter One for an overview of the portrait types.

Of the 93 mints where Sabina made an appearance, only nine have dates written on the coins. A further 40 have dates or date ranges estimated by the *RPC*.<sup>225</sup> I have updated these hypotheses in some instances and added new proposed dating for others. For all of the dates, see Appendix 6.

#### Sabina's Provincial Coinage by Location

Given the impact of regionality on provincial coinage, this discussion is organized geographically. This division also allows for a more cohesive discussion of the imperial travels. All provinces are discussed with their names and borders as they were during the second half of Hadrian's reign, the period during which nearly all of Sabina's provincial coinage was produced. Where this is a matter of speculation, I have maintained the organization found in the *RPC* in order to make this discussion compatible with that volume. The provinces without a history of minting images of Sabina are discussed below outside of their geographical context in order to study the question of her absence as a whole.

#### *The Absence of Minting*

While Sabina's coinage was spread much more widely than that of most empresses, there were still whole regions of the Empire which did not mint for her at all. Some of these require little explanation. Provinces which had no imperial minting in Hadrian's time will not be discussed.<sup>226</sup> Provinces which did have minting under Hadrian

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<sup>225</sup> This number does not include the large number of the coins whose dates are placed no earlier than 128 based on Sabina's presence.

<sup>226</sup> For example, provinces which had been gained by Trajan but were abandoned by Hadrian early in his reign, namely Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, are not included here.



but none for Sabina are Arabia, Cyprus, Cyrenaica and Crete, Galatia-Cappadocia, Moesia, Lycia-Pamphylia, and Syria.<sup>227</sup> Coins from newly identified mints are still being found, so the absence of current evidence does not preclude the possibility that there was minting in Sabina's name in these locations.

A lack of imperial attention cannot account for Sabina's absence on coins from all of these provinces. The majority of the provinces in question were visited during the period of Sabina's imperial coin production, with only Cyprus and Cyrenaica and Crete likely to have never received visits<sup>228</sup> In these provinces, Hadrian held magistracies and priesthoods, began public games, granted special titles, and initiated substantial public

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Given the short amount of time that they were provinces under Hadrian, their lack of minting for Sabina, whose coinage is generally confined to the years after 128 CE, is not noteworthy.

<sup>227</sup> While there are no official coins minted for Sabina in Syria, there are a few very tokens with her portrait in nest form copied faithfully from the Roman imperial model found in Palmyra. Salzman (1989: 365) argues that these are banquet tokens issued during the imperial visit in 130.

<sup>228</sup> A trip to Galatia-Cappadocia is recorded in the *Historia Augusta*, but whether it dates to 123 or 131 is unclear (Halfmann 1986: 206). Another visit is attested in 129/130 (Birley 1997: 224; Halfmann 1986: 193). A visit to Arabia in the first half of 130 is recorded by the *Historia Augusta* and likely prompted start of Gerasa minting (*HA Had.* 14.4.; Birley 1997: 143; *RPC III*: 536). A visit to Moesia is proposed by Halfmann in the summer of 131 based on coin reverses celebrating the trip (Halfmann 1986: 208). Birley proposes visits to Lycia-Pamphylia in 129 and 131 (Birley 1997: 223, 261). The evidence for the 131 visit is much stronger than the 129 visit, but both are during Sabina's minting period. After two earlier visits in 117 and 123, Hadrian likely returned to Syria in the fall of 129 and stayed until winter 130 (Birley 1997: 226; Halfmann 1986: 204; Weber 1907: 121, 232, 235). Salzman (1989: 365) views the Sabina *tesserae* from Palmyras as evidence for Sabina's presence on this visit.

Birley and Halfmann both reject a possible visit to Cyprus in 130 (Birley 1997: 153; Halfmann 1986: 206). It has not been confirmed that Hadrian ever visited Cyrenaica, but some scholars have argued for a visit in 123 (*CAH XI*: 557). In particular, Oliver argues that a fragmentary inscription from the province is a portion of speech which Hadrian gave to the local people (Oliver 1989: no. 122). This analysis has been treated with skepticism by Birley (1997: 152). A possible visit to Crete is rejected by Halfmann (1986: 197-198) and Reynolds (2007: 557).

building projects.<sup>229</sup> Cyrenaica has by far the most evidence of Hadrianic benefactions, due to its re-founding and reconstruction in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba Revolt at the beginning of Hadrian's reign.<sup>230</sup> The city of Cyrene was also a member of Hadrian's Panhellenion, the only city in any of these provinces involved in this organization.<sup>231</sup> The evidence presented here does not mean that imperial visits or benefactions could not be correlated with minting for the Empress, but that they did not always result in the production of coinage.

Some of the provinces where Sabina does not appear had a scant history of minting coins with female portraits and, in some cases, coins in general. Lycia-Pamphylia and Arabia both minted images of living women rarely in the Hellenistic period and not at all under Roman control, up to and including Hadrian's reign.<sup>232</sup> Livia appeared in a full body image on Cypriot coinage, with no other Roman imperial or

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<sup>229</sup> Hadrian held local magistracies or priesthoods in two of the provinces with no minting for Sabina: Cyrenaica et Crete and Moesia (Boatwright 2000a: 58-9, 69, 71). Games were started in Syria, Lycia-Pamphylia, and Galatia-Cappadocia (Boatwright 2000a: 99). Damascus and possibly also Tyre in Syria were granted the title of Metropolis, with Tlos, Patara, Myra, and Telmessus also possibly gaining the same title at this time (Boatwright 2000a: 104-5). Many cities added some version of Hadrian's name to their own, including cities in Galatia-Cappadocia, Syria, and Arabia, but the significance of this is unclear (Boatwright 2000a: 105). Boatwright records building projects by Hadrian in Syria, Galatia-Cappadocia, and Lycia-Pamphylia (Boatwright 2000a: 109-111)

<sup>230</sup> *CAH XI*: 553-558; Boatwright 2000a: 172-174; Fraser and Applebaum 1950; Spawforth and Walker 1986: 96-101; Walker 2002.

<sup>231</sup> *CAH XI*: 557.

<sup>232</sup> Lycia-Pamphylia: Hill 1897: lxvii. Arabia: Hill 1922: xv-xx. Jugate: queens of Obodas III (Hill 1922: 4); Shaqilath I (Hill 1922: 6); Shaqilath II (Hill 1922: 11); Gamilath (Hill 1922: 12). Alone on reverse: Huldu (Hill 1922: 5); Shaqilath I (Hill 1922: 6-8); Shaqilath II (Hill 1922: 11); Gamilath (Hill 1922: 12).

Hellenistic royal women appearing on this coinage.<sup>233</sup> Antonia and Agrippina Minor are the only women to appear on coinage in Moesia prior to Hadrian's reign, both at Tomi.

The other provinces have more history with minting images of living women. Five imperial women make an appearance at the mint of Caesarea in Galatia-Cappadocia, although there is little of this sort of minting elsewhere.<sup>234</sup> The only appearance of real women on Cyrenaican coinage comes during the period of Ptolemaic rule.<sup>235</sup> Imperial women do make frequent appearances on Cretan coinage, but many are at mints no longer in use during Hadrian's reign.<sup>236</sup> Several women appeared on Syrian coinage during the Hellenistic and imperial periods up to the end of the Julio-Claudian period. Most of these, however, appear at mints which became part of Cilicia during Hadrian's reign, many of which did issue coins for Sabina but are included in the discussion of that province.

These data are varied and illustrate that Sabina's absence on coinage cannot be explained in the same way for each province (Appendix 8). Cyprus lacks any previous tradition of minting images of living women, evidence of an imperial visit during the

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<sup>233</sup> Hill 1904; Parks 2004: 187, no. 9.

<sup>234</sup> Claudiconium: Poppaea; Koinon of Galatia: Poppaea; Caesarea: Antonia, Messalina, Agrippina Minor, Claudia Octavia, and Domitia.

<sup>235</sup> Robinson 1927: cxliv-clii.

<sup>236</sup> Wroth (1886: xxxv-xxxvi) suggests the possibility of Arsinoe III appearing on the coinage of the Cretan town of Arsinoe but is himself dubious of this suggestion and the appearance of the figure on the coins does not bear a strong enough resemblance to her iconography to support such an argument. Svoronos (1972: 29-32) does not identify the figure as such.

Women on Cretan coinage: Livia, Agrippina Minor, Antonia, Messalina, Agrippina Maior, Claudia Octavia, and Julia Titi. Most of these are from the mints of either Lappa or Knossos, neither of which were in use during Hadrian's reign. The only mint that previously minted images of women but was still active is the mint of the Koinon of Crete, but at this mint women only appeared on the reverses. For the coinage of Crete, see Svoronos 1972.

relevant years, or any special attention by the emperor. It is therefore easy to understand why such a province would lack coinage representing the Empress. For those provinces with almost no history of minting images of women, namely Arabia, Lycia-Pamphylia, Moesia, and the previously mentioned Cyprus, Sabina's absence on the coinage can be understood as a continuation of tradition. The same can be understood for Syria, since the cities in the province which had previously issued coins with portraits of imperial women were transferred out of this jurisdiction under Hadrian.

While Cyrenaica et Crete is the province with the most imperial attention from this group, most of this activity occurred at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, long before the start of Sabina's official coinage.<sup>237</sup> There are also no coins minted for Aelius or Antinous in the province and Hadrian's titulature does not contain PP or OLYMPIOI, leaving the possibility that all of the minting in the province occurred prior to 128. While Cyrene was a member of the Panhellenion, the province has no evidence of an imperial visit after 128, and there are other member cities which did not issue coins for Sabina.

There is plentiful evidence for minting after 128 among the coins from Galatia-Cappadocia.<sup>238</sup> However, only Caesarea had a noteworthy previous history of issuing

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<sup>237</sup> Fraser and Applebaum (1950: 86-87) argue that Hadrian's restoration of the city occurred in two phases, with the physical reconstruction occurring at the beginning of Hadrian's reign but repopulation and other efforts occurring later. Walker (2002) does not include this second stage in her version of the reconstruction efforts in the city, instead placing the majority of the efforts in 118/119.

<sup>238</sup> Coins from Sagalassus must date after 129 because of the use of the title Olympios for Hadrian and coins from Caesarea and Hierapolis have the title Pater Patriae (*RPC III*: 353, cat. 3087-3128, 3161-3177). Coins with Aelius's portrait were struck at Lystra (*RPC III*: 358) and coins were struck for Antinous at Ancyra (*RPC III*: cat. 2835-2839). Inscriptional dates after 128 are found on coins at Amasea minted in 135/6, at Cerasus in 137/8, at Tyana in 135/6-136/7, and Caesarea in 134/5 (*RPC III*: cat. 2913-2915, 2927-2928, 2955-2959, 3151-3157).

coinage for imperial women. Why Caesarea chose not to issue coinage in the Empress's name is not possible to say. Puzzling absences at large mints happen for Sabina throughout the Empire and should not be given too much significance.

These data show that previous minting history is a better indicator of future minting than visits or benefactions, at least in the case of Sabina. This does not preclude the possibility that these were motivating factors for minting elsewhere. It should be noted that there was just as sparse of a history of minting coins with portraits of imperial women, or coinage in general, in other areas that did issue coins for Sabina. Instead of questioning why the mints discussed here did not, it is better to ask why the other mints broke from their own tradition and did.

### *The Presence of Minting*

#### **Unidentified Mints**

There are a small number of Sabina's coins which the *RPC* leaves unassigned geographically. The *cistophori* from Metcalf's Mint A are discussed with the province of Asia. There are two *aes* types from unidentified mints in the *RPC* online. The first is the same type as the Hierocaesarean Sabina coin (Figure 74).<sup>239</sup> Since I first discovered it, the image of the unattributed coin has been added to the Hierocaesarean entry, although the online entry for the other coin remains unattributed. The second is harder to place (Figure 25).<sup>240</sup> The portrait most closely resembles the pre-128 coins from Gaba and

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<sup>239</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 6571. Hierocaesarean coin: *RPC* III: cat. 1850a. The reverse inscriptions do not have the same reading in the *RPC*, but, when able to be read with reference to one another, I am confident that these will also match. The figure included is the previously unattributed coin.

<sup>240</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 6578. The *RPC* online suggests a comparison with *RPC* III: cat. 1137-8, which are Trajanic coins from the Koinon of Bithynia. Besides the lack of ethnic with the type

Perinthus, with the latter being the closer match.<sup>241</sup> There are still pronounced distinctions in physiognomy between the two, so they were likely not carved by the same hand if they do belong to the same mint. The elongated body and larger head of the Demeter as well as the attributes used for the type also match the reverses from the mint. The reverse legend from the unidentified mint only identifies the type but does not include an ethnic, whereas reverse legends from all identified coins from Perinthus contain the ethnic and never label the reverse type. For this reason, the type must remain unassigned.

### **Achaea**

The province of Achaea has a long and robust history of Roman provincial minting. Seventeen mints were active in the province during Hadrian's reign.<sup>242</sup> Athens, Megara, and Anticyra minted during the reign but did not produce coins with portraits. Twelve mints issued coins with portraits of Hadrian, five with portraits of Antinous, and one, Patras, with portraits of Aelius. Augustus appears on coins from Nicopolis minted during Hadrian's reign.

Sabina's portrait is found on the coins of four cities in the province, Corinth, Patras, Argos, and Tenos (Figure 26-31).<sup>243</sup> Of these, only Patras had a fairly continuous

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label, there is little similarity between these coins. Since there is a chronological gap, it is possible that these coins were struck at the same mint in different times, but Sabina's other coins from that mint bear no resemblance to this.

<sup>241</sup> The particular types most similar are *RPC III*: cat. 715 and 3952.

<sup>242</sup> Mints at Ios, Melos, Tanagra, Carystus, Magnetes, and Phenice are attested for Nerva and/or Trajan but not Hadrian. It is likely that at least some of these minted during Hadrian's reign but no specimens have yet been identified.

<sup>243</sup> *RPC III* catalogue numbers: Argos: 388-389; Corinth: 240-243; Patras: 288-292; Tenos: 402.

minting history prior to Hadrian's reign.<sup>244</sup> Argos started issuing coinage during Hadrian's reign after a long production gap following its destruction in 146 BCE and Corinth's coinage was resumed by Trajan after a nearly thirty-year gap.<sup>245</sup> Some local obverse type coins from Tenos might predate the Sabina issue, but no other earlier coinage is known from the island.<sup>246</sup> During Hadrian's reign, the Corinthian and Argive mints also produced coins for Hadrian and Antinous and Patras for Hadrian and Aelius, while only coins with Sabina's portrait are known from Tenos.

No living women appear on coinage in the province until Roman times, when they appear sporadically at several mints starting in the triumviral period.<sup>247</sup> Marciana appears on coins which were possibly produced on Andros, which is the only appearance of a Trajanic woman in the province's coinage.<sup>248</sup> Of the mints that issued coinage for Sabina, Corinth is the only one with a long history of minting images of imperial women. Patras had not minted coins with imperial women since Cleopatra, and Argos and Tenos had never featured a living woman on their coinage.

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<sup>244</sup> Gardner 1887: xxxv; Hoover 2011: 25-26.

<sup>245</sup> Gardner 1887: lv; *RPC* III: 25, 49.

<sup>246</sup> *RPC* III: 55.

<sup>247</sup> Cleopatra is featured on the obverse of coins from Patras. According to the *RPC* (I: 39) this is Cleopatra's only numismatic portrait outside of her known kingdom. Octavia, sister of Octavian, appears on the obverse of fleet coinage struck in the province at an unknown mint. Livia is found on the obverses of coins from Corinth, Sparta, Chalcis, and possibly the Koinon of Thessaly, as well as reverses at Corinth and Thessaly. Agrippina Maior appears on the obverse of coins from Corinth. Agrippina Minor appears on coins from Corinth and Chalcis, while Claudia Octavia appears on the obverses from Corinth. Domitia is found on reverses of coins from the Koinon of Thessaly and possibly Skyros, as well as obverses from Magnetes.

<sup>248</sup> *RPC* (III: 54) does not catalogue this coin (cat. 6559) with Andros because of the doubtful nature of the attribution.

There is no secure dating for any of the coinage produced for Sabina in the province. The *RPC* suggests 134 for Sabina's Argive coinage, under the assumption that it dates to the same year as the Antinous coinage.<sup>249</sup> Flament and Marchetti alternatively propose a connection between the Argive coinage and the founding of the Panhellenion in 131/2, based on the city's panhellenic reverse iconography.<sup>250</sup> This would preclude the possibility of only one issue, since the Antinous coinage must date to no earlier than 134.<sup>251</sup> Neither theory has enough evidence to be proven with certainty, and it is possible that the Sabina coins were produced in multiple issues.

The absence of Aelius on Corinthian coinage could indicate that the Hadrianic coinage at this mint was struck prior to his adoption in 136, but this is far from certain.<sup>252</sup> Étienne proposes a connection between a hypothetical imperial visit to Tenos, presumably in 129 and the Sabina coinage from the island, but this trip is not a certainty.<sup>253</sup> Nothing in the appearance of the coinage necessitates imperial presence. There is no proposed date for the Patras coinage. None of these coinage can be dated more narrowly than the period of Sabina's regular coinage, 128-137.

While Hadrian's travels in Achaëa were extensive, there is no secure evidence of a visit to any of the cities that minted in Sabina's name between 128 and the return of the

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<sup>249</sup> *RPC* III: 49. Die links have proven that the *dupondii* were struck together, but the sequence is not secure enough to prove the same for the *asses* (the denomination on which Sabina appears). There is currently no die link between the Sabina and Antinous coins.

<sup>250</sup> Flament and Marchetti 2011: 15, 52-53.

<sup>251</sup> Blum 1914: 60.

<sup>252</sup> The *RPC* (III: 25) notes the difficulty in explaining Aelius's absence from the Corinthian coinage, but still assumes that minting occurred each year at this mint. As the evidence from Alexandria demonstrates, even the most productive provincial mints took years off, and this is the most likely explanation for his absence.

<sup>253</sup> Étienne 1990: 251.



imperial couple to Rome.<sup>254</sup> The imperial group did travel within the province in 128/9 and 131/2, and a visit to any of these cities is possible during either of these trips.<sup>255</sup> However, the cities where Hadrian is known to have been during these trips did not mint coinage for Sabina.

Hadrian's benefactions in Achaëa are numerous and well-known. Corinth and Argos both have ample evidence of attention from the emperor and were also both members of Hadrian's Panhellenion.<sup>256</sup> There is no concrete evidence of any special imperial attention for either Tenos or Patras, although both would have fulfilled the requirements of league membership.<sup>257</sup> Since membership in the Panhellenion is only known from inscriptions, it is possible that evidence for membership for either city will be found.

All reverse inscriptions used on Sabina's Achaean coins are simple statements of the city's name. None of the reverse types used for Sabina at Corinth or Tenos are unique

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<sup>254</sup> A visit to Argos on or around December 30<sup>th</sup> of 124 is likely based on the report by Pausanias that Hadrian attended the Nemean Winter Games, which happened on that date in later years (Birley 1996: 179; Pausanias 2.17.6, *IGLS IV* 1265). A trip to Corinth has been theorized for 124-125 based on evidence from Pausanias (Pausanias 2.3.5; Birley 1997: 181; Halfmann 1986: 191).

<sup>255</sup> A visit to Tenos in 129 has been proposed, but there is not strong evidence for it (Étienne 1990: 251; *RPC III*: 55).

<sup>256</sup> For Hadrian's benefactions to Corinth, see Boatwright 2000a: 97, 109; Spawforth and Walker 1986: 102; *RPC III*: 25. Hadrian's benefactions to Argos: Boatwright 2000a: 109-110, 112, 125 n. 62. Panhellenion membership: Spawforth and Walker 1985: 79-81; an updated list of cities is found in Romeo 2002: 22-23.

<sup>257</sup> Based on epigraphic evidence, the requirements seem to have been proof of authentic "Greekness", a good relationship with Rome, and benefits from the emperor (Romeo 2002: 31; Spawforth and Walker 1985: 82). While there is no evidence for the third criterion, Hadrian would likely ensure that this criteria were fulfilled for a city that he wished to admit to the league.

to her and all either relate to local mythology or major Greco-Roman deities.<sup>258</sup> The Artemis Laphria type at Patras also relates to the city's local traditions.<sup>259</sup> The Pallas Athena and Tyche types are not found on coins of Patras until Hadrian's reign, but are both common provincial reverses. The two remaining types from Patras, the male nude on a column (Figure 27) and the running nude male (Figure 28), do not have an obvious interpretation, but neither appears to have special significance to Sabina.<sup>260</sup> Similarly, the standing bearded figure from Argos does not have any distinct features from which a

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<sup>258</sup> Corinth: The reverse types are Asclepius, Hygeia, Melikertes, and Athena Chalinitis (*RPC* III: 26-27). Few of these, however, were types that were common on earlier Corinthian coinage. Hoskins Walbank (2010: 155; 2003: 343-344) notes the increased emphasis in Corinth's Greekness on coins from the Hadrianic period. The Asclepius and Hygeia reverses are possibly meant to indicate health for the state and emperor and are rare prior to Hadrian's reign (Hoskins Walbank 2010: 182-183). Melikertes was a common type on Corinthian coinage long before Hadrian's reign, but may have gained additional significance by being linked with the cult of Antinous (Hoskins Walbank 2010: 180-182). There was a cult of Athena Chalinitis in Corinth according to Pausanias (2.4.1).

Tenos: Étienne (1990: 251) suggests that the reverse image on Sabina's coins can be interpreted as either Dionysus or Poseidon. Based on the style of representation and history of the cults on Tenos, he favours a reading of the figure as Dionysus. The *RPC* (III: cat. 402) accepts this identification. Both gods are commonly represented on the coinage of the island.

<sup>259</sup> Hoover 2011: 25.

<sup>260</sup> The male nude on the column presumably represents a statue. A similar type is found on reverses from Domitian and Commodus, but the figure is in a different pose (*RPC* II: cat. 235; *RPC* IV.1: cat. 11695, 5244 (both temporary)). The Domitian type is described as standing on a fountain, which is likely the case for the reverse of the Sabina coins as well. The Commodus and Domitian types likely represent a different statue than the Sabina reverse based on the distinction of pose made between two of Hadrian's reverses from the same mint (*RPC* III: cat. 281, 284). The figure on the Sabina reverse is in the *adlocutio* pose, which suggests that the figure is a statesman. The reverse type is also found with Hadrian obverses, so it likely does not have specific significance to Sabina. The other Patras reverse type has no parallel in the mint's coinage. The *RPC* (III: cat. 291) identifies the object the running man is holding as a box, but the quality of extant specimens do not allow for this to be confirmed. The type somewhat resembles the very common *genius* at an altar type from the same mint used by many emperors but differs too much to be the same figure.

confident identification can be made, but is likely not a type specific to Sabina (Figure 31).<sup>261</sup>

The Hecate type from Argos (Figure 30), found with both Sabina and Hadrian obverse types, is noteworthy because it is the only known appearance of the goddess on Roman provincial coinage until the time of Elagabalus, where she appears exclusively on the Asian continent. Hecate also does not appear on any pre-Roman issues from Argos.<sup>262</sup> Pausanias identifies a temple to Hecate in Argos, which is adorned with three statues by famous Hellenistic sculptors, likely the intended reference of the “triformis” format of the goddess on the coins.<sup>263</sup> Since these were among the first coins the city had produced in hundreds of years, it is unsurprising that the coinage from this period includes a new type featuring a divinity of local significance.

All portraits of Sabina on the coinage of Achaëa present a fairly faithful reproduction of the nest portrait type. The portraits on the coins of Corinth are thin and young-looking and fairly high quality. Those from Argos and Patras are of lesser quality with squatter features, but do not appear to have been produced by the same hand. The coins from Tenos are extremely small. The hairstyle is very tall and overall much bigger

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<sup>261</sup> Flament and Marchetti (2011: 81-82) believe the type to be Aphrodite, but the authors of the *RPC* are confident that the figure represents a bearded male (*RPC* III: cat. 389). Without access to better samples, it is not possible to be sure, but I am more inclined towards the latter interpretation. Based on comparison with other figures with similar features, the type is most likely a representation of Nemean Zeus and, if it were in better condition, the figure would be seen accompanied by an eagle or a thunderbolt (see Flament and Marchetti 2011: 68 for examples of this figure on the Argive coinage).

<sup>262</sup> For types from the Greek period, see Hoover 2011: 157-168.

<sup>263</sup> Paus. 2.22.7; Flament and Marchetti 2011: 65.

than normal in proportion to the head, perhaps in an attempt to retain all of its features in such a small image.

Given Hadrian's noted affinity for the city, Sabina's absence from Athenian coinage might appear surprising.<sup>264</sup> However, Athens never minted coins with portraits under Hadrian or his successors, striking its traditional owls instead.<sup>265</sup> While Sabina's absence is therefore hardly noteworthy, Athena's appearance in some of the later portraits deserves comment. The earliest coins minted under Hadrian, dated to the early 120s by Kroll, generally match the traditional appearance of previous Athenian coinage.<sup>266</sup> The transitional coins and the next issue, suggested to date to Hadrian's 127/128-128/129 trip to Athens, become less traditional in their style.<sup>267</sup> On these coins, Athena sports a queue hairstyle which is not seen on previous Athenian coinage and which resembles Sabina's own queue hairstyle (Figure 32). Much of Athena's hairstyle is obscured by her helmet, but the queue itself is twisted with a tie around the end like that found on Sabina's coinage. This hairstyle continues on Athenian coins throughout later issues.

If Kroll's dating is correct, the hairstyle on these Athenian coins date at least a few years earlier than Sabina's queue portrait type. This dating assumes that such a significantly large change in the coins' appearance must relate to Hadrian, and the longest

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<sup>264</sup> The sources on Hadrian and Athens are numerous, but a few that are particularly relevant to the discussion at hand are Boatwright 1983, Boatwright 2000a, Spawforth and Walker 1985. It is also noteworthy that Hadrian restored Athens' minting after a long period of inactivity (Kroll 1993: 113).

<sup>265</sup> Kroll 1993: 120-121. Only two other cities never minted emperor portraits on their coinage according to Kroll: Chios and Termessos (Kroll 1993: 113, 120). Hadrian's respect for local traditions in general is discussed in Boatwright 2000a.

<sup>266</sup> Kroll 1993: 114, 116. These belong to Kroll's period VA

<sup>267</sup> Kroll 1993: 114. These coins are the last coins of VA and those of VB.

imperial visit in the city is seen as the most likely option.<sup>268</sup> There is no reason that this could not be pushed to the 130/131 trip. Without a more specific date, the relationship between the queue type owls and the Sabina queue portrait type is difficult to determine. The hairstyle's use on Sabina's coins elsewhere cannot have intended a direct assimilation with or nod to Athena, since it is found with headdresses related to other divinities. Nevertheless, the introduction of this particular queue in this self-consciously traditional, Greek context lends credence to the theory presented in Chapter One that the queue's significance lies in its connection with Hadrian's classicism and philhellenism instead of with Trajanic styles.

The mints producing Sabina's coinage in Achaia are both among the most and least prominent mints of the period. While Sabina's presence on coins from the province is small in comparison with some other provinces, it is an increase over the prominence of other imperial women on Achaean coins. While Hadrian's beloved Achaia did not show as strong of enthusiasm as we might hope to find for the Empress, it serves as a reminder that provincial coinage was largely influenced by local tradition, which even an emperor's favour often did not supersede.

### **Macedonia**

The Roman province of Macedonia, consisting of the areas of Illyria and Macedonia, had eight or nine known active mints during Hadrian's reign, seven of which produced coins with the emperor's portrait.<sup>269</sup> While no coins were produced for Aelius

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<sup>268</sup> Kroll 1993: 114.

<sup>269</sup> Heraclea Sintica minted local obverse type coins during either Hadrian or Trajan (*RPC* III: 84).

or Antinous in the province, two mints produced coins with Sabina's portrait on them, Cassandrea and Amphipolis (Figure 33-Figure 35).<sup>270</sup>

In many ways, Sabina's Macedonian coinage is predictable. Her presence on coinage in this province is comparable with that of her predecessors.<sup>271</sup> Sabina's reverse types from these mints represent prominent local deities, without any likely significance to her.<sup>272</sup> The obverse and reverse inscriptions are similarly predictable inclusions of Sabina's name and the name of the city, respectively. Cassandrea, a Roman colony, uses Latin, while Amphipolis uses Greek.

The Cassandrian coins are also typical in their portrait type, using a very faithful and high-quality reproduction of the nest portrait type, as is most common for provincial coinage. The Amphipolitan coins, however, make use of the queue and the chignon, both of which are rare in provincial coinage.<sup>273</sup> The portraits are still of excellent quality and faithfully reproduce the details of the imperial types. It is unclear why the Amphipolis mint seems to have followed the imperial mint's typology more closely than almost any

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<sup>270</sup> Amphipolis: *RPC III*: cat. 655, 656; Cassandrea: *RPC III*: 640A (post-publication online addition).

<sup>271</sup> Of the mints where she appears, Amphipolis had the most robust history of minting coinage with women's portraits prior to Hadrian's reign, having issued coinage for Livia, Domitia, and Plotina. Cassandrea had previously issued coins for Plotina. Thessalonica produced coinage for Livia, Antonia, Agrippina Minor. Edessa, Dium, and possibly Pella also minted coins for Livia and Stobi minted coins for Domitia. Livia's coins from Pella might actually be attributable to Dium (*RPC I*: 293-295).

<sup>272</sup> Zeus Ammon was Cassandrea's main deity and Artemis Tauropolis was an important cult in Amphipolis who was honoured on coins in the Greek and Roman periods (Head 1876: xxxix-xl, xliii; Kremydi-Sicilianou 2005: 103-104). Kremydi-Sicilianou (2005: 104) attributes the increased presence of types related to local cults in Macedonia under Hadrian to the influence of the Second Sophistic. The Amphipolis reverse types are indications of denomination and do not have any significance to the obverse subject (*RPC III*: 81).

<sup>273</sup> Queue: *RPC III*: cat. 655; Chignon: *RPC III*: cat. 656.

other provincial mint, but this was also the case earlier in the imperial period.<sup>274</sup> It is possible that this attitude still lingered in Hadrian's day.

In the field of the queue type obverses, there is a small crescent moon surrounding a pellet in the left field (Figure 33). This must be a reference to Artemis, the city's main deity. The significance of this should not be overstated. Macedonia regularly made more overt statements about the divinity of the imperial family than other provinces, especially on the coinage of free Greek cities like Amphipolis.<sup>275</sup> According to Kremydi-Sicilianou, Amphipolis was particularly emphatic about its Greekness among Macedonian cities during the Imperial Period, which possibly influenced this kind of atypical representation.<sup>276</sup> Also, while an allusion to this particular deity is not found in the representations of other imperial women at this mint, Livia is likened to Juno and Ceres and is honoured as "Thea" on these same coins, a title which is more commonly seen in the early imperial period.<sup>277</sup> Sabina herself is named "Nea Hera" in an inscription from Amphipolis.<sup>278</sup> With that said, the choice of Artemis herself for Sabina might have been viewed as a special honour.

The chignon type at Amphipolis (Figure 34) is noteworthy in its rarity on provincial coinage, only appearing at two other provincial mints, the very distant Eucarpia in Asia Minor and the Koinon of Bithynia. The type found at Amphipolis is of

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<sup>274</sup> *RPC I*: 287-288.

<sup>275</sup> Kremydi-Sicilianou 2005: 98-99. This also explains the lack of such honours on the coins from Cassandrea, since as a Roman colony, this was not the norm.

<sup>276</sup> Kremydi-Sicilianou 2005: 101.

<sup>277</sup> Kremydi-Sicilianou 2005: 98.

<sup>278</sup> Hahn 1994: 277 cat. 310.

such high quality and faithfulness to the imperial model that it must have been made by a high-skilled engraver.

Since this mint was clearly following Roman models closely, with its use of two less common types, it is reasonable to assume that the chignon coins were issued during the brief issue of the type at Rome in 129/130, or shortly thereafter. The queue coins were probably produced within the same chronological range as the type's use at Rome, 130/131-ca. 137. While there are instances of the same type being used during the same year at other mints, one of those types is always the nest. It seems more likely, given the brief use of the chignon at Rome, that these types do not overlap at Amphipolis. The Cassandrian coins could have been made at any point between 128 and Sabina's death, but cannot date earlier due to their faithful reproduction of the imperial model.

A trip to the province in 131 or 132-134 was proposed by Birley based on several reverse types from the Roman imperial mint.<sup>279</sup> There is no direct evidence that either Cassandria or Amphipolis was visited, but Amphipolis, given its prominence, would have likely been on the itinerary. It is possible that the queue type coins date to the time of this visit, which would explain the extra honour of the crescent on Sabina's obverses from this time. The chignon type coins may have been produced in anticipation for the upcoming visit.<sup>280</sup>

The minting in Sabina's name in Macedonia is fairly limited, but highly varied from a portraiture perspective. The special honour for Sabina on the coins of Amphipolis

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<sup>279</sup> Birley 1997: 262, 279; *BMCRE* III: cat. 352, 494.

<sup>280</sup> Evidence from Egypt suggests that cities could prepare for nearly a year in anticipation of an imperial visit (Sijpesteijn 1969: 116).



and its absence on coins of Cassandrea could be indicative of the divide between Greek cities, which were often eager to heap divine honours onto imperial figures, and Roman colonies, which modelled themselves more closely on the capital.<sup>281</sup> The Sabina coinage indicates that the earlier close observation of the Roman models seen in Macedonian coinage was ongoing in Hadrian's day.

### Thrace

Nine cities in Thrace had active mints during Hadrian's reign, all of which produced coins with Hadrian's portrait, with Aelius making one appearance and Antinous being completely absent. Three of these were minting for the first time, Thasos, Bizya, and Coela, and one after a long break, Maronea.<sup>282</sup> Sabina appears at two mints: Perinthus and Bizya.<sup>283</sup> Johnston suggests that Perinthus produced coinage for Bizya from the time of Antoninus Pius, and it is possible that this was also the case under Hadrian.<sup>284</sup> Sabina's coinage makes up only a small portion of the total output of the province, but represents half of the types produced at Perinthus, the capital city and seat of the governor.<sup>285</sup> Her portrait appears on the smallest denominations at both Bizya and Perinthus (Figure 36-39).<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Woytek 2011: 122.

<sup>282</sup> For the omission of Hadrianopolis, see *RPC III*: 85.

<sup>283</sup> Perinthus: *RPC III*: cat. 715-719; Bizya: *RPC III*: cat. 734-735.

<sup>284</sup> Johnston 1983: 234. Johnston identifies die sharing between the two from the reign of Caracalla.

<sup>285</sup> *RPC III*: 88, Schönert 1965: 9-10.

<sup>286</sup> *RPC III*: 88, 92. See Johnston 1983: 236-238 for denominations of coins from both mints. The Perinthus denominations are based on Schönert 1965: 30-31. Types were commonly used to differentiate between denominations at Bizya from Caracalla on (Johnston 1983: 233).

The first living women to appear on Thracian coinage were the Empress Livia and the wife of Rhoemetalces I, who appeared with their husbands on coins attributed to Thrace in general.<sup>287</sup> Following the creation of the Roman province of Thrace, there are appearances by Agrippina Minor, Claudia Octavia, and Poppaea on obverses, followed by Plotina's appearances on reverses from Perinthus.<sup>288</sup>

The reverse inscriptions on coins for Sabina in the province are simple ethnics. All reverse types used for Sabina are common Greco-Roman gods or goddesses, but the Hera type from Perinthus might have some topical significance (Figure 37).<sup>289</sup> On earlier Hera types from the mint at Perinthus, the goddess is shown on the prow of a ship, representing the transfer of the goddess from Samos to Perinthus during the city's colonization.<sup>290</sup> On the Sabina coins, Hera is no longer shown as a foreign goddess coming to visit, but as a local goddess who is just as at home in Greek Perinthus as at Samos. Perinthus's membership to Hadrian's Panhellenion indicates that it had satisfactorily proved its Greekness and the change in Hera's representation for Sabina's coins may coincide with this event.

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<sup>287</sup> Head and Gardner 1877: 208.

<sup>288</sup> Agrippina Minor: *RPC I*: cat. 1749; Claudia Octavia: *RPC I*: cat. 1750, 1755; Poppaea: *RPC I*: 1756; Head and Gardner 1877: cat. Perinthus 15; Plotina: *RPC III*: cat. 706-709; Head and Gardner 1877: cat. Perinthus 20.

<sup>289</sup> This is normal for the province at this time, with indigenous types only becoming common in the third century (Ulrike 2005: 111-112). While Ulrike believes that most of these divinities did not have any particular local significance, Schönert (1965: 55) argues that the specific divinities were chosen because of their significance to Thrace.

At Bizya, the reverse types with Sabina obverses are Artemis and Ares, both of which are common types in the province (Kose 1984: 252; Jurukova 1981: 10, 34). At Perinthus, the reverses paired with Sabina obverses are Hera, Dionysus, and Demeter. Schönert finds evidence of local worship of all three (Schönert 1965: 55-58).

<sup>290</sup> Schönert 1965: 55-56.

Most of Sabina's portraits in this province differ significantly from the Roman imperial models, and none are of a low enough quality to attribute these variations to a lack of skill.<sup>291</sup> One of these, from Perinthus, cannot be strongly correlated with any of Sabina's official portrait types (Figure 36).<sup>292</sup> In the type, Sabina's hair is brought to the back of the head and fastened into a tight bun on the occiput. The hair on the brow forms a curly mass of hair, similar to the arrangement used by Flavian and Trajanic women. Plotina appears with an almost identical hairstyle at this mint, which is also atypical for her representations (Figure 40). Although the crest of hair in the front is typical of Plotina's imperial portraits, the bun on the crown of her head instead of a looped queue at the nape is, however, completely divergent. Portraits of Claudia Octavia, Agrippina Minor, and Poppaea from this mint adhere much more closely to their official typology.

The easiest explanation for this choice of hairstyle for Sabina is that the mint lacked a sufficient model. Further support for this theory comes from the coins of nearby Byzantium, which are labelled as Sabina but use Plotina's canonical imperial portrait type (Figure 41).<sup>293</sup> It is well established that minting and coin design, including choice of subject, were often prompted by rivalries.<sup>294</sup> These neighbouring cities minting these rare non-canonical types can hardly be a coincidence. Instead, these coins must have been issued at a time when there was no proper Sabina model on which to base the coins'

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<sup>291</sup> Jurukova (1981: 10, 31) believes that the portraits of Sabina are of such high quality that they were made by a master engraver. Klose (1984: 524) questions Jurukova's assumptions about external die cutters at this mint.

<sup>292</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 715.

<sup>293</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1087.

<sup>294</sup> Horster 2013: 255-256; Ulrike 2005: 108.

design. This is especially true for the Byzantium coins given the high quality of the portraits.

Three of the four obverse dies from Perinthus and one of the two from Bizya depict Sabina with a similar hairstyle to the already discussed Perinthus type (Figure 37-38).<sup>295</sup> While still distinct from the Roman nest type, it does differ from the other Perinthus type in the use of a diadem at the front of the head in place of the crest of curls and the larger size of the bun. While these alterations more closely relate to the official Roman imperial type, they still do not come close to replicating the details of the type and are not of poor enough quality to be explained by a lack of skill.

One possible explanation is that these coins were created with reference to the basket type, which they more closely resemble, instead of the nest type. However, this explanation is less likely on practical grounds. As I argue in Chapter One, the Roman coins were likely only struck for a few months leading up to Sabina's death, late 137/early 138. Portrait models likely took at least one to three months to travel from Rome to the provinces.<sup>296</sup> The complete absence of posthumous provincial coinage for Sabina shows that provincial mints might have been even slower than that at adopting new portrait types. If these coins are basket types, it would mean that a mint which had not previously been attentive to the official models was the most up to date of any mint in the Empire for this one type and did not bother to copy entirely faithfully. This also would have to have happened near the end of Hadrian's reign, when there is no evidence

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<sup>295</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 716-718, 735.

<sup>296</sup> Fejfer 2008: 421.

of any special benefactions or other activities between the imperial court and Perinthus. It is more plausible that the type seen at Perinthus is a simplification of the nest type, perhaps also based on its earlier non-canonical models, than a version of the basket.

One final portrait type from Bizya stands out from the rest in its normalcy, being an identifiable reproduction of the nest portrait type (Figure 39).<sup>297</sup> The other coins from Bizya were likely manufactured by Perinthus, or at least by the same engravers, but how does one explain the presence of this one type that differs from the rest? It is unlikely that Perinthus produced this unique type for Bizya at the same time as the others, when clearly their own type was considered appropriate. This coin therefore either dates to a different time or was produced by a different engraver. Without an obvious candidate for a different location, a chronological distinction is more likely.<sup>298</sup>

There appear to be three chronologically distinct groups of obverse types: the provincial Plotina, the provincial nest, and the nest. Most of Hadrian's coins from the two mints are signed by the praetorian legate, although those minted for Sabina lack these markings. The first legate's coins must date to 117-119 at both mints because of the inclusion of Germanicus in Hadrian's titulature.<sup>299</sup> The second legate's name only appears at Bizya and the dating of the issue is questionable.<sup>300</sup> The remaining coins from

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<sup>297</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 734.

<sup>298</sup> Similar versions of Sabina's portrait are only found in Lydia, which is likely a coincidence.

<sup>299</sup> Jurukova 1981: 9; Schönert 1965: 18; *RPC* III: 88, 92.

<sup>300</sup> Schönert 1965: 18. Jurukova (1981: 9-10) dates the second issue to 124-128, but this dating has only tentatively been accepted by others. There is no comment on the fact that *RPC* III: cat. 731 has ΓΕΡ in Hadrian's titulature and is signed by this legate. Since this was the reason the first issue was dated to 117-119, perhaps this issue should also be dated to that period.

both mints lack legate signature. It is unclear whether the unsigned Bizyan coins belong to the same issue as the second legate issue or are a separate issue.<sup>301</sup>

Hadrian visited Thrace in October of 117 on his trip from Syria to Rome and visited Byzantium a month later, during which trip it seems likely that he would have visited the Thracian provincial capital.<sup>302</sup> Lacking official models for the new emperor and his wife, these mints issued coins on the model of the previous rulers, perhaps in anticipation or commemoration of a visit. The non-canonical portraits from the province therefore likely fit with the 117-119 Hadrian issues. The canonical nest type coins must date no earlier than 128. The provincial nest variant coins are harder to place. If the influence of a nest type model is correct, a date between 128-137 is most likely.

While only a small number of coins were minted for Sabina in Thrace, these coins are significant to the study of Sabina's provincial portraiture. In these, we see Sabina's image used at the beginning of the reign by rival cities. Along with the inclusion of a completely canonical representation of the Empress, the Thracian coins show the amount of freedom available to provincial mints in their representation of imperial figures. While her appearance varies wildly, the titulature and reverse types are completely regular. Even when deviating from the norm in one significant aspect, most mints still conformed in most areas.

### **Bithynia and Pontus**

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<sup>301</sup> Jurukova (1981: 10) argues for a third issue. Johnston (1983: 232) and the *RPC* (III: 92-93) place the unsigned coins in the same issue as the second legate coins. Any suggestion of more than three small, sporadic issues is definitely incorrect (Johnston 1983: 232).

<sup>302</sup> *CIL* VI 5076; Halfmann 1986: 190.

While the coinage of Bithynia was fairly uniform under previous emperors, likely representing some form of central administration, this ceases to be the case under Hadrian.<sup>303</sup> There were likely twelve active mints in the province during Hadrian's reign, one of which, Amastris, minted local obverse type coinage.<sup>304</sup> Hadrian appears on coinage from nine mints, while Aelius appears at two. Antinous appears on the coinage of eight mints from his home province, representing roughly one quarter of all obverse types for Antinous found throughout the Empire. Two cities, Tium and Nicomedia, both very close to his hometown of Bithynium-Claudiopolis, only minted for Antinous during Hadrian's reign. Eight mints in the province issued coins in Sabina's honour: the Koinon of Bithynia, Caesarea Germanica, Apamea (Myrlea), Cius (Prusias ad Mare), Chalchedon, Byzantium, Sinope, and Amisus (Figure 41-53).<sup>305</sup> This is the same number of mints as produced for Antinous, although with slightly fewer types.<sup>306</sup>

The mints that issued coins in Sabina's honour in Bithynia and Pontus represent a diverse group of cities. The three main regions of the province, Bithynia, Paphlagonia,

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<sup>303</sup> Sommer 1996: 150. At the same time, regionality becomes less pronounced in the appearance of coins from the province.

<sup>304</sup> Several Pontic cities included in the *RPC* for this province might have been moved to Galatia-Cappadocia during Hadrian's reign (Haymann 2011: 723; *RPC* III: 118). Two of these minted coins for Sabina: Sinope and Amisus. These cities adopted their own weight standard, which seems to have kept the coinage of Pontus and Cappadocia restricted to their respective territories, despite any official boundary changes (Haymann 2011: 723). I have kept these cities with the province of Bithynia and Pontus to remain consistent with the *RPC*.

<sup>305</sup> Koinon of Bithynia: *RPC* III: cat. 962, 988, 990, 1001, 1008, 1011, 1012, 1022-1024; Caesarea Germanica: *RPC* III: cat. 1028; Apamea: *RPC* III: cat. 1034; Cius: *RPC* III: cat. 1053; Chalchedon: *RPC* III: 1064; Byzantium: *RPC* III: cat. 1087; Sinope: *RPC* III: 1227; Amisus: *RPC* III: cat. 1270-1274, 1276, 1277, 1282-1284, 1291, 1294.

<sup>306</sup> 27 identified Sabina obverse types in the province, in comparison with Antinous's 35. It should be noted, however, that 12 of Antinous's obverse types are from his hometown of Bithynium-Claudiopolis.

and Pontus, are all represented. The group includes one koinon as well as a mixture of free Greek cities, Roman colonies, and ordinary provincial cities. Sabina appears on silver coinage at the Koinon of Bithynia and Amisus. Everywhere else, including additional coins from the Koinon, minted bronze.

Female portraits appear regularly on the coinage of the province prior to Sabina, beginning with the Pontic regent Laodice prior to her death in 114 BCE.<sup>307</sup> While no previous woman appears at nearly to as many mints as Sabina, multiple imperial women appear on the coinages of Byzantium, Sinope, Apamea, and Nicaea, with other mints issuing coins for just one empress.<sup>308</sup>

Most of the reverse inscriptions on Sabina's coins from the province are either ethnics in the case of Greek cities or the name of the colony for *coloniae*.<sup>309</sup> Two cities, Amisus and Sinope, include minting years. The Byzantine reverse type reads *ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ, ΤΟ Β*. This reference to the goddess Demeter's second eponymous magistracy is also present on Hadrian's coins from the same mint.<sup>310</sup> While it is unclear when Demeter's first eponymous magistracy occurred, divine

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<sup>307</sup> Hoover 2012: cat. 327-329; Wroth 1889: xvii. Bithynian queens Orsobaris and Orodaltis appear on the coinage of Cius, then called Prusias ad Mare, shortly after the establishment of the Roman province in 74 BCE (Hoover 2012: 184; Sommer 1996: 152).

<sup>308</sup> Byzantium: Plotina, Livia; Sinope: Livia, Agrippina Maior, Agrippina Minor, and Claudia Octavia; Apamea: Drusilla, Julia Livilla, and Agrippina Minor; Nicaea: Messalina, Agrippina Minor, Poppaea, and Statilia Messalina. Domitia appears on the coinage of Prusias ad Hypium, Messalina at Nicomedia, and Agrippina II at both Calchedon and Amisus. Plotina appears on coins from Amastris.

<sup>309</sup> The DD on Apamean reverses is a standard element of their reverse inscriptions from the Julio-Claudian Period (*RPC* I: 341-342). The ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑC in Amisus's inscription emphasizes its status as a free city, but this change occurred under Trajan, not Hadrian.

<sup>310</sup> Demeter's popularity in the city likely stems from her significance to Byzantium's mother city, Megara. She also represents the importance of agriculture to the city's economy (Schönert-Geiß 1970: 75).



magistracies seem to have been relatively common in the city.<sup>311</sup> Cius reverts to this Greek name on the coinage of Hadrian, after using its Hellenistic name (Prusias) since at least Vespasian's reign, as well as adding ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ to the ethnic.<sup>312</sup> Sommer sees the Panhellenion's influence in this new titulature.<sup>313</sup> An appeal to authentic Greekness and a display of good standing with Rome and the Emperor are an explicit statement of the city's worthiness of Panhellenion acceptance.<sup>314</sup>

Like most provincial coinage, the reverse types used on Sabina coins throughout the province are fairly standard for their locations, with a few exceptions.<sup>315</sup> Sabina herself appears on the reverse of some coins from the Koinon of Bithynia, which is uncommon but does occur at several other provincial mints. Cius's use of a new Dikaiosyne type on the Sabina coins (Figure 49) was likely influenced by Hadrian's

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<sup>311</sup> For example, Trajan's coins from the same mint record a fourth magistracy for Nike (*RPC III*: cat. 1071-1083).

<sup>312</sup> Sommer 1996: 149. There were no coins produced by the city between Claudius and Vespasian. The Claudius coins use the city's original name, Cius.

<sup>313</sup> Sommer 1996: 155. Bithynium-Claudiopolis underwent a similar change at this time. The city had previously emphasized its Greek origins when convenient (Sommer 1996: 153).

<sup>314</sup> For the criteria for Panhellenion acceptance, see Romeo 2002: 31; Spawforth and Walker 1985: 82.

<sup>315</sup> The temples found on Koinon of Bithynia coins are common (*RPC III*: 119). Tyche, as seen at Caesarea Germanica, was a common type throughout the province (Wroth 1889: xvii). Athena appears regularly on Apamean coinage from Greek times and is widely found on coinage throughout the province (Hoover 2012: lxvii; 189; *RPC III*: 118). Calchedon minted images of tripods on its coinage in the Greek period. References to Apollo's sanctuary in general were common (Hoover 2012: 170, cat. 536, 539-540; *RPC III*: 129). Tuna fish first appear on the coinage of Byzantium in the Roman period, but marine themes in connection with the city's importance as a fishing and port city are common from Greek times. The tuna fish first appear on coinage of Caligula and represent an important part of the city's economy (Schönert-Geiß 1970: 75; 1972: 33-34, cat. 1309-1312). Apollo had an important cult in Sinope and is commonly found on coinage from the city and throughout the province (Hoover 2012: lxvi; 137; *RPC III*: 145). Hera, Hermes, Artemis, and Aphrodite are all attested on Amisan coinage in Greek times, although not all are likely to have had real cults associated with them in the city (Hoover 2012: lxx, 67-74; Olshausen 1990: 1871-1884; Wroth 1889: xiv).

Panhellenic program, as is seen on the other types from Cius minted under Hadrian.<sup>316</sup> Two of Amisus's reverse types are not present on any of the city's earlier coinage. The Demeter type can be easily explained, given the importance of the grain trade in the Black Sea region and her widespread appeal as one of the main Greco-Roman divinities (Figure 45). Securitas is less common overall and appears first on the Amisan coins in the year 135/6 with obverses of both Hadrian and Sabina (Figure 44).<sup>317</sup> This year marked the end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, the beginning of which is believed to have been the impetus for the production of silver coinage at this mint.<sup>318</sup> The Securitas type therefore might serve as an announcement of the conflict's end.

Sabina's nest portrait type is reproduced very accurately from the central mint models at several mints in the province: the Koinon of Bithynia, Cius, Sinope, and the Amisus coins from 134/5 (Figure 42, 49, 51, 52). The same portrait type is reproduced with somewhat less success at Calchedon (Figure 48).<sup>319</sup> All of these portraits show a strong attempt at a faithful reproduction of the type and should therefore be dated after 128. Coins from Caesarea Germanica are also clearly based on a nest-like model but differ from it more significantly than at the other mints in the province (Figure 47). For this reason, I have called the type a provincial nest variant. This mint had very little

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<sup>316</sup> *RPC* III: 128.

<sup>317</sup> She only appears previous to this on reverses of Nero from Perinthus and Nicaea (*RPC* I: cat. 1759-1759B, 2060-2061). Nordbø (1988: 173) lists Securitas among the Roman types used on Amisan coinage.

<sup>318</sup> Haymann 2011: 722-723; *RPC* III: 148. For the reason behind the continued silver minting after the war, see Haymann 2011: 723.

<sup>319</sup> The *RPC* (III: 129) suggestion that the same engraver made the coins for Cius and Calchedon during Trajan's is certainly not true for Hadrian's reign.

activity prior to Hadrian's reign and no history of minting portraits of women, so appearance is likely due to the skill level of the engraver.

Abdy argues that the nest-like coins minted in 135/136 at Amisus are meant to represent the basket type, but I believe them to be less-faithful reproductions of the nest type (Figure 43).<sup>320</sup> The front of the hairstyle has the row of coiled locks found on nest but not basket-type coins and the hair wrapped around the top of the head also appears to be braided, another feature of the nest type. If my dating for the basket's introduction at Rome to late 137/138 is at least close to correct, the Amisan coins would be too early to represent the basket type. Therefore, instead of this very ambiguous representation being the basket type, it is much more likely that it is the nest type as executed by an inexperienced portrait artist.<sup>321</sup> The facial features on queue coins from both years and nest coins from 135/6 appear very similar to one another, but the one more accurate nest die from 134/5 appears distinct and is therefore likely the product of a different hand.<sup>322</sup> The queue is a much simpler hairstyle, explaining why it was reproduced so much more accurately than the nest by the same artist.

The queue portrait type is found at three mints in the province: bronzes from the Bithynian Koinon and Apamea, and silver from Amisus (Figure 44-46, 50). The coins from Amisus are a faithful reproduction of the type and were produced for four years from 134/5-137/8. Apamean coins are a less successful reproduction but represent a clear

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<sup>320</sup> Abdy 2014: 83; *RPC III*: cat. 1276-1277.

<sup>321</sup> Carandini (1969: 112, 115, 233) argues that the type is similar to a sculpted portrait from Athens, but I have rejected the identification of the Athens portrait with Sabina.

<sup>322</sup> There are no die links between coins struck in different years at the mint (*RPC III*: 148). For the die study of these coins, see Nordbø 1988.

attempt at reproducing the official portrait type.<sup>323</sup> Both the Amisan and Apamean coins use a simple band as the headdress. The Koinon coins are also a very faithful reproductions of the imperial model but use the crown of wheat variant seen on some queue-type *dupondii/asses* and *denarii* from the Roman mint. This was likely the result of copying an imperial model which used this variant. All of the queue type coins must date between 130/1 and Sabina's death in early 137. The Koinon also produced the rare chignon type on a small number of coins (Figure 53). Like other types from this mint, these are high quality portraits. The type's production most likely corresponds with its use at Rome, ca. 129.

The most peculiar portrait type that appears in the province is found at Byzantium, where coins labelled as Sabina use Plotina's main canonical portrait type (Figure 41). As previously argued in connection with the coins from Perinthus, the Byzantine coins were likely issued during Hadrian's journey to Rome after becoming emperor in 117. It is interesting that Plotina herself does not appear with this hairstyle on coins from this mint, instead appearing with a completely unrelated hairstyle (Figure 54).<sup>324</sup> This was produced during Trajan's third eponymous magistracy in the city but is part of Trajan's earliest issue of coinage in the city. Given that Plotina does not appear on Roman coinage until 112, a lack of model is a possible explanation.<sup>325</sup> Livia is the only previous

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<sup>323</sup> The "incompetence of the engravers" is noted in other elements of these coins (*RPC* III: 126).

<sup>324</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1070.

<sup>325</sup> *RPC* III: 130. Plotina's only other appearance in the province is on coins from Amastris minted at the end of Trajan's reign, where she is seen wearing her normal hairstyle (*RPC* III: cat. 1208).

imperial woman on coinage from this mint and is seen wearing a very similar hairstyle, so its revival on the Plotina coins could be an intentional homage.<sup>326</sup> It is, however, possible that the die engraver based the type on the only previous die of an empress they had and that there was no further intended significance.

The Plotina-Sabina portrait demonstrates that the engravers gained access to a Plotina portrait model between Trajan's third eponymous magistracy and 117. High quality coins like the ones from Byzantium demonstrate that it was not considered inappropriate to use another portrait type when the official one was unavailable. It may seem offensive to use an image of the previous empress as the portrait for the new empress, especially if one considers that, if my dating is correct, Plotina was still alive and on the trip to Byzantium with Hadrian and Sabina. This was clearly not viewed this way by those working at the Byzantine mint. Plotina was well respected and had a very positive relationship with Hadrian. It may have even been intended as flattery that Sabina was elevated to her level upon the accession of her husband.

Two of the cities in question recorded dates on their coins: Sinope and Amisus. The Amisan coins show Sabina with both the queue and the nest from years 134/5-136/7 and with the queue in 137/8.<sup>327</sup> The use of different portrait types in the same year, while not seen on imperial coinage, is found at other provincial mints with dated coinage, most notably Alexandria. While the Sinopean coins have their dates inscribed, the final digit in the date is unfortunately unreadable on the Sabina coin. The visible portion of the date

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<sup>326</sup> *RPC* I: cat. 1779, 1779B.

<sup>327</sup> Their dates are reckoned from the year the city gained free status, 32/1 BCE (*RPC* III: 147).

reads CLXX. The *RPC* tentatively completes the date as Sinopean year 170, which is equivalent to 124/5 CE.<sup>328</sup> This cannot be correct since the portrait type is a faithful reproduction of the Roman model. The date must therefore be between local years 174 and 179, equivalent to 128/9-133/4 CE. Coins were struck for Hadrian at this mint in 129/30 and 131/2, all of the same denomination as the Sabina coins. In no previous year did the mint issue more than one design per denomination, making a date in the remaining eligible years (128/9, 130/1, 132/3, or 133/4) most likely.

For the rest of the mints, the dates must be inferred. For the coins of Caesarea Germanica, Calchedon, and the nest-type coins of the Koinon of Bithynia, there is no evidence for a more specific dating than 128-137.<sup>329</sup> The queue type coins from the Koinon and Apamea can similarly only be dated based on the hairstyle to 130/1-137 and the Koinon chignon coins to ca. 129 based on portrait type.<sup>330</sup> If the coinage produced at Cius constitutes a single emission, the use of the title Eleutherion for Hadrian likely dates all of the coinage post 129 and the inclusion of Antinous likely places it after 134, but that assumption is far from certain.<sup>331</sup> Both the *RPC* and Schönert-Geiß believe that Sabina's presence on coins from Byzantium indicates that her coinage as well as all others issued during Demeter's second eponymous magistracy must date between 128 and her death.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>328</sup> *RPC* III: 145, cat. 1227.

<sup>329</sup> For Calchedon: *RPC* III: 118.

<sup>330</sup> The Apamean coinage likely constitutes a single issue of three denominations, but there is no datable information in this coinage (*RPC* III: 126).

<sup>331</sup> *RPC* III: 128.

<sup>332</sup> Schönert-Geiß 1972: 8; *RPC* III: 130.

As I have argued above, the representation of Sabina as Plotina makes it much more likely that these coins, along with those of neighbouring Perinthus, date to 117.<sup>333</sup>

Sabina's increased presence on coinage in the province in comparison with previous imperial women could be connected with the celebration of Antinous in the province. Most of the coins are undated, but many of them could plausibly belong to issues including Antinous's coinage. This is known to be true for coins produced at Amisus and is likely the case at Cius, Calchedon, and the Koinon where the coinage of Hadrian, Antinous, and Sabina combines to produce the full array of denominations. That being said, this is not true of all issues.

Sabina's appearance is varied across and within the different mints, but almost all representations of her are of the highest quality and were produced in both silver and bronze. Within the province, we also see one of the earliest representations of the empress at Byzantium and one of the latest at Amisus. Even though much of the focus was on Antinous in the province, Sabina's coinage was more than an afterthought.

### Asia

The Roman province of Asia was founded in 133 BCE and became the most prolific province for provincial minting.<sup>334</sup> 102 mints are known to have been active in the province during Hadrian's reign, with six additional *cistophoric* mints of unknown location, which may or may not represent previously identified mints. Sabina's image

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<sup>333</sup> For Hadrian's trip to Byzantium, see Birley 1997: 85; Halfmann 1989: 190; Schönert-Geiß 1972: 2. A possible second visit in 121/122 is another potential date for this coinage but is less likely (*RPC* III: 119; Schönert-Geiß 1972: 2).

<sup>334</sup> Head 1896: xxix.

appears at 63 mints in the province, plus one unidentified *cistophoric* mint. Compared to the eleven mints that minted for Aelius and fourteen for Antinous, no other province shows stronger favour for the empress than Asia. With this large number of mints, it is necessary to divide the coins into smaller regions and I have kept with the organization of the *RPC* by dividing the coins by *conventus*, district.

Sabina's image appears at all *conventus* except for three: Halicarnassus, Philadelphia, and Philomelium. Halicarnassus and Philomelium are small regions with only a few mints each and a brief history of minting images of women.<sup>335</sup> Philadelphia does have a longer history of minting images of imperial women, including Plotina, but no known coinage under Hadrian except for one small bronze Antinous coin.<sup>336</sup>

The *cistophori*, silver coins associated with various centres throughout Asia, are discussed separately in the *RPC* but here will be included in the discussions of each *conventus*.<sup>337</sup> This is unfortunately not possible for the coins from the so-called Mint A, one of several groups of *cistophori* established by Metcalf which do not feature locatable information.<sup>338</sup> At this mint, Sabina appears on two reverse types in full body, seated, one in the guise of Fortuna carrying a cornucopia and a rudder and the other as Pietas

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<sup>335</sup> Domitia and Agrippina Maior appear on coins from Cos, Agrippina Minor appears on coins from Halicarnassus, and Agrippina Minor appears on coins from Philomelium. It is unclear which cities were actually part of the Conventus of Philadelphia during Hadrian's reign (*RPC* III: 156).

<sup>336</sup> At Philadelphia: Plotina, Domitia, Agrippina I, and Agrippina II. The *conventus* under Hadrian: *RPC* III: 293.

<sup>337</sup> Metcalf (1980: 124-125) on the reasons for the locations of the *cistophoric* mints under Hadrian, with some associated with travel.

<sup>338</sup> A coin from Mint B (*RPC* III: cat. 1416) was illustrated in the print catalogue of *RPC* with the same image as cat. 1405. This has been corrected in the online catalogue to have zero known specimens and no image. I am leaving this out of the discussion until there is further evidence that such a coin exists.



holding a patera and a staff (Figure 55, 56).<sup>339</sup> A standing Fortuna type is present at Mint A and a seated Fortuna similar to the Sabina type is found at Mint B, a mint which might have had a close association with Mint A.<sup>340</sup> Hadrian himself is possibly shown in the guise of this goddess on coins from Mint A, which demonstrates a focus on luck at the time of minting.<sup>341</sup> There is no other Pietas type from any related mint, although there are other similar figures.<sup>342</sup> Since these types are designed for provincial, not local, appeal their interpretation is not hindered significantly by their lack of provenance.<sup>343</sup> The Fortuna type could, along with the travel-related types from Mint B, represent good luck for the journey in question, which according to Metcalf is likely the trip from Athens to Ephesus in 128.<sup>344</sup>

#### *Conventus of Cyzicus*

The *conventus* of Cyzicus is comprised of portions of Mysia and the Troad. Eight active mints are known for Hadrian's reign, all of which produced coins with Hadrian's portrait. Aelius only appears with Sabina on the reverse of coinage which has been

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<sup>339</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1405, 1405A. Neither of these types were identified in Metcalf 1980.

<sup>340</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1408, 1409, 1415, 1417, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1425A, 1429. Metcalf (1980: 84) notes the possibility that Mints A and B are two different phases of the same mint, but ultimately rejects this on stylistic grounds.

<sup>341</sup> Metcalf 1980: 79.

<sup>342</sup> i.e. *RPC* III: cat. 1407.

<sup>343</sup> Metcalf 1980: 128. Metcalf associates the *cistophori* of 129, to which Mints A and B may belong, to Hadrian's Panhellenic program.

<sup>344</sup> Metcalf 1980: 80, 84. Metcalf (1980: 123) gives a range of 128-130 for the striking of all of Hadrian's *cistophori*. He argues for the earlier range for Mint A because the absence of PP and inconsistencies in the Emperor's portrait are believed to be indicative of this early phase. It is not possible to identify the hairstyles of these small images of Sabina, but presumably she would not have appeared on *cistophori* before her official introduction to imperial coinage in late 127/128.

attributed to Parium, although this attribution is uncertain due to lack of ethnic.<sup>345</sup> Only Cyzicus minted coinage for Antinous.<sup>346</sup> Sabina appears on the coinage of five of the eight active mints. She appears on the obverse of the coins from Cyzicus and Assus and the reverse of coins from Lampsacus and Ilium (Figure 57, 58, 62, 65).<sup>347</sup> The previously mentioned paired reverses with Aelius as well as reverses paired with Hadrian are tentatively attributed to Parium (Figure 59-61).<sup>348</sup>

No cities in the *conventus* minted portraits of living women that did not also mint coins with Sabina's image. Assus minted coins for Plotina, Julia Titi, and Agrippina Minor, Cyzicus for Domitia, Antonia, and Claudia Octavia, and Agrippina Minor and Antonia were represented on the coinage of Ilium. The paired reverse coins of Plotina and Marciana belong to the same mint as the Sabina and Aelius and Sabina and Hadrian reverse coins.<sup>349</sup> Lampsacus is the only city in the *conventus* that minted for Sabina without previous history of minting images of living women.

The reverse inscriptions on the coins from Assus are the regular statement of the city's ethnic. The Cyzicus coins use various forms of the ethnic, with one group including the name of the *strategos*. For the remaining coins, Sabina herself appears as the reverse type and they are labelled as such, with the paired reverses adding the name of

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<sup>345</sup> On the attribution of these coins: *RPC III*: 186. *RPC III*: cat. 1546.

<sup>346</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 1582.

<sup>347</sup> Cyzicus: *RPC III*: cat. 1522-1527, 1527A; Assus: *RPC III*: cat. 1581; Lampsacus: *RPC III*: cat. 1552; Ilium: *RPC III*: cat. 1574.

<sup>348</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 1544-1546, 6574. Coin 6574 is a post-publication addition to the online *RPC* catalogue.

<sup>349</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 1543.

the other subject. The obverse inscriptions are all either Hadrian or Sabina's name, according to who is depicted.

All of the reverse types from Cyzicus had been used previously at the mint except for Tyche, which is a very common provincial type.<sup>350</sup> The reverse type from Assus is of a veiled goddess, who is also found on Plotina's coins (Figure 57). The *RPC* suggests that she is holding a *cista mystica*, in which case the figure would be Isis.<sup>351</sup> The object in question, however, is narrower at the bottom than the top, which does not fit the *cista mystica*'s iconography. A Severus Alexander coin from the same mint depicts Demeter holding a basket of grains that closely matches the Sabina and Plotina reverses (Figure 66).<sup>352</sup> Grain baskets are also represented with these dimensions elsewhere. Although this would be Demeter's first appearance on the coinage of Assus, the city was known for its production of grain in antiquity.<sup>353</sup>

The reverse from the city of Ilium shows Sabina in full body, standing holding a patera and a sceptre (Figure 58). This is similar to the figure of Claudius found on an obverse from the same mint, although the pose and dress are slightly different (Figure 67).<sup>354</sup> The reverse of that coin features a seated Claudia Antonia also holding the patera. Both Juno and Pietas are seen with these same two attributes on reverses of Sabina's imperial coinage. While Athena appears with the same attributes on reverses from this

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<sup>350</sup> Heracles, Demeter, and the bull are types that date back to the Greek period. Nearly identical wreath types are used throughout the imperial period at this mint (Wroth 1892: cat. Cyzicus; earliest: *RPC* I: 2240). On the frequent use of Tyche as a reverse type in Asia, see Weiss 2004: 183.

<sup>351</sup> *RPC* III: 190.

<sup>352</sup> *RPC* VI: cat. 4098 (temporary online catalogue number).

<sup>353</sup> Wroth 1894: xxxv.

<sup>354</sup> *RPC* I: cat. 2315.

mint, and has an obvious significance to the city, she is a less likely candidate since the type lacks any of the goddess's usual armour (Figure 68).<sup>355</sup> It is most likely, however, given Claudius's appearance in the same guise, that the type is not meant to associate Sabina with any particular goddess, presenting instead the imperial figures as pious visitors to Troy. This would explain the generic attributes as well as the use of the same type for both an emperor and empress.

The double portrait reverse coins present Sabina's portraits in a very small and undetailed format. They all attempt to reproduce Sabina's nest hairstyle, with the exception of one (Figure 59-61).<sup>356</sup> On this die, Sabina is shown with a crest of hair at the front of her head and a round bun at the nape (Figure 61). This does not match any of her official hairstyles but does closely resemble Plotina and Marciana's representations at the same mint (Figure 69).<sup>357</sup> I, therefore, argue that the Sabina die of this type was the earliest struck of the series and was made without reference to an imperial model, possibly before the mint had access to one. The remaining coins, which display the nest type, were produced later when a model was available.

The coins from Lampsacus present a peculiar provincial variant type (Figure 62). The front of the hair appears to be one uniform crest, as is seen on queue type portraits, instead of the divided rows of *stephanoi* and hair typical for the nest or the individual *stephanos* found with the basket. This hairstyle seems to be an effort to reproduce one of

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<sup>355</sup> The Athena reverse with the same attributes is shown in a more aggressive posture (*RPC* III: cat. 1572A). While the reverse inscription is illegible, the figure is unlikely to represent Sabina since she appears to be helmeted.

<sup>356</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 6574.

<sup>357</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1543.

these two hairstyles, but it is not possible to determine which one on typological grounds, although the nest is by far more likely. The poor reproduction of the type is probably largely due to the coin's very small module of only 16mm.

The only known Sabina obverse die from Assus presents a recognizable rendition of the nest type (Figure 57).<sup>358</sup> The facial features are generalized and do not resemble Sabina's canonical traits. The portraits on the Cyzicus coins are all fairly faithful reproduction of the imperial model. Different hands are observable across the obverse dies. Three of the four obverse dies with reverse inscription KYZIKHNΩN, those with obverse inscription CABEINA CEB AΔPIANOY CEB, feature very high-quality portraits which would be indistinguishable from the imperial coinage (Figure 63).<sup>359</sup> The remaining KYZIKHNΩN-paired obverse die and the KY-ZI- paired obverse, both with obverse inscription CABEINA CEBACTH, are also close reproductions of the imperial model but were carved by a different hand than the other KYZIKHNΩN-paired obverses (Figure 64).<sup>360</sup> The most distinct die was produced during the magistracy of Au. Pou. Sabeinos and features the obverse inscription CABEINA CEBACTH (Figure 65).<sup>361</sup> While it was clearly made with reference to the imperial model, the physiognomy and presentation of the hairstyle stand out from the other portraits produced at this mint. This last die must have produced at a distinct time from the others, given the inclusion of the

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<sup>358</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1581. Due to the poor quality of the images available and of the surviving samples, the details of the front of the hairstyle are hard to discern, leaving open the possibility of this being the basket type instead of the nest. I believe it to be the nest because of the scale of the mass in the front of the hairstyle as well as the protruding central element, which is only found with the nest and not the basket.

<sup>359</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1523-1525. 1523 lacks the B on the first CEB.

<sup>360</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1526-1527.

<sup>361</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1522.

*strategos*'s name. The remaining two portrait groups could have been produced at the same time by different engravers or during distinct issues.

There are no coins with dated inscriptions from the Conventus of Cyzicus. Since the image from Ilium is in full body and the details of the hairstyle are indiscernible, it is possible that those coins were struck before the beginning of Sabina's imperial minting in 128. The *RPC* does note, however, that Hadrian's portrait on these coins appears to be of post-128 style, making this dating more likely.<sup>362</sup> There is no good evidence to narrow this range for the coins from Lampsacus or Assus further than the years 128-137.

The Parium coins without canonical hairstyle are a candidate for a pre-128 production date, since these coins, unlike the others from the mint, lack PP in their obverse inscription.<sup>363</sup> The coins from Parium with Aelius must date between late 136-137. It seems likely that the canonical Sabina coins are from the same issue since they have the same obverse inscription with similar renderings of Hadrian's portrait. I propose two issues in the city under Hadrian, one with the obverse inscription IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG or similar, struck between 117-128, and the other with inscription HADRIANVS AVG PP, struck 136-137.<sup>364</sup> It is tempting to connect the earlier series with Hadrian's visit to the city in 124, but the colony's name does not include the title Hadriana until the HADRIANVS AVG PP issue, which was presumably

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<sup>362</sup> *RPC* III: 189. The *RPC* does note that the only visit occurred in 124, making this the next most likely candidate, but the correspondence between minting and imperial visits is not a necessity.

<sup>363</sup> The inscription is somewhat fragmentary, but from what remains, it is unlikely that the PP was ever present. The choice of titles included for Hadrian in this inscription also differs from the other Sabina reverse coins from the mint.

<sup>364</sup> The 119 *terminus post quem* is due to the COS III on the reverse of some of these coins.

granted during that visit.<sup>365</sup> It is more likely that these coins were an inaugural issue, struck during 117/118 along with the nearby coinage from Perinthus and Byzantium. The lack of canonical hairstyle therefore fits into the regional pattern of using pre-existing portrait types for representations of the empress prior to the creation of an official model.

The Cyzicus Sabina coins were likely struck at two or three distinct times, depending on whether or not all of the coins without magistrate names belong together. Jodin suggests the possibility of the Au. Pou Sabeinos issue dating before 128, possibly in connection with the first visit in 124 and the *RPC* dates them to 125-129.<sup>366</sup> While Sabina's portrait on these coins does stand out from others struck in the city, it is still a relatively faithful reproduction of the imperial nest prototype, eliminating the possibility of a pre-128 date. The upper date given by the *RPC* seems to be solely based on the absence of the title *Olympios* on Hadrian's coins from the issue, a title which was not used consistently at other mints. It is also absent on the issue struck under the authority of Cl. Euneos, who also minted coinage for Antinous, dating the issue well beyond 129. Therefore, none of the Cyzican coins can be dated more narrowly than 128-137.

Sabina has a strong and varied presence in this *conventus*. Coins were likely struck for her in the district at varying periods, including prior to 128. All but one of the types represent Sabina with the nest or a variation of it. This lack of variety is contrasted by the variety in format. She is shown as a full-sized bust on obverses, a full-sized bust on reverses, a smaller, paired bust on reverses, and a full body figure on reverses.

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<sup>365</sup> On the visit: Birley 1997: 163-4. On the title *Hadriana*: Boatwright 2000a: 85-6.

<sup>366</sup> Jodin 1999: 136; *RPC* III: 182.

Sabina's presence on the majority of mints in the *conventus* is consistent with her prominence on Asian coinage.

*Conventus of Adramyteum*

The *conventus* is composed mostly of cities in Mysia, with additional cities in the Troad and on Lesbos.<sup>367</sup> Hadrianothrae, Hadrianeia, and Hadriani ad Olympum were all founded by Hadrian in this district, the largest concentration of new Hadrianic foundations of any region. Eight cities struck coinage during Hadrian's reign, all of which minted coins with the emperor's portrait. Two mints, Adramyteum and Hadrianothrae, issued coins for Antinous and one, Eresus, issued coins for Aelius. Sabina's image is found on the coins of four cities: the three new foundations, where she appears alone as the obverse, and Eresus, where she appears paired with Hadrian on obverses (Figure 70-73).<sup>368</sup> The *conventus* had little history of minting coinage for other women, which is expected, given that three out of the four mints that issued coins for Sabina did not exist prior to Hadrian's reign and the region was very rural in earlier times.<sup>369</sup>

All of the district's reverse inscriptions are the city's ethnic, with the addition of a magistrate name on some coins from Hadriani ad Olympum.<sup>370</sup> The reverse types are

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<sup>367</sup> *RPC* III: 192.

<sup>368</sup> Hadriani ad Olympum: *RPC* III: cat. 1611, 1618a; Hadrianeia: *RPC* III: cat. 1622; Hadrianothrae: *RPC* III: cat. 1630; Eresus: *RPC* III: cat. 1679.

<sup>369</sup> Domitia is on the reverse of coinage from Adramyteum and Livia and Agrippina Maior are on reverses from Methymna. Adramyteum was an active mint under Hadrian, but Methymna does not appear to have been.

<sup>370</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1611.



similarly typical; all are Panhellenic deities.<sup>371</sup> The three new foundations are not located near known cult centres and their types likely did not have much significance to the area prior to Hadrian's presence.<sup>372</sup> It is tempting to see significance in the use of Artemis at two cities believed to have been founded in large part due to their favourable hunting locations, Hadrianothrae and Hadrianeia.<sup>373</sup> The use of Panhellenic deities could also be seen as part of Hadrian's efforts to promote Greco-Roman traditions in the largely undeveloped area.<sup>374</sup>

The obverse inscriptions are the typical CIBEINA CIBACTH, with the exception of the paired obverse with Hadrian from Eresus which reads AΔPIANOC CE CIBEINA CIBACTH. On the coins from the new colonies, Sabina's nest portrait type is reproduced with a high degree of skill. The coins from Eresus present Hadrian and Sabina facing each other and Sabina is seen with her queue portrait type. The details of the type are accurate to the imperial models.

Hadriani ad Olympum and Hadrianeia were both founded in 131, so their coinage must not predate this.<sup>375</sup> There is no further datable information, making the possible date

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<sup>371</sup> Athena is found on coins from Hadriani ad Olympum and Eresus, Dionysus at Hadriani ad Olympum, and Artemis at both Hadrianothrae and Hadrianeia. Under later emperors, Athena remains among the most common types on coins from Hadriani ad Olympum, as does Artemis on coins from Hadrianothrae (von Fritze 1913: 174, 195). Von Fritze did not identify the goddess on the reverse of the Sabina coins from Hadrianeia, but it has now been established as Artemis (*RPC* III: 195; von Fritze 1913: 150). Athena is not one of the traditional Greek types from Eresus.

<sup>372</sup> Boatwright 2000a: 189.

<sup>373</sup> Boatwright 2000a: 188; *RPC* III: 196. Other practical considerations, such as improving urbanization in the region and being on major routes between important cities, likely contributed to the decision for these foundations (Boatwright 2000a: 188-189).

<sup>374</sup> Boatwright 2000a: 190.

<sup>375</sup> Boatwright 2000a: 189; *RPC* III: 194, 195.

for the minting of this coinage 131-137.<sup>376</sup> Hadrianothrae was founded in 123 or 124, but the Sabina coins cannot date earlier than 128 based on portrait type.<sup>377</sup> The *RPC* places the Sabina coins in the last series struck under Hadrian at this location, which, given Antinous's presence, likely dates to 134 or later.<sup>378</sup> The Eresus coins must date no earlier than 130/1 due to the use of the queue hairstyle. Since there are so few coins, it is likely that all known types are from the same issue, which, given Aelius's presence, would date the group to 136-137.<sup>379</sup>

This *conventus* stands out in its abundance of new Hadrianic settlements. Perhaps as a result of this, Sabina's representation in the region is heavily compliant to imperial models. The use of the nest hairstyle by the new settlements, which was likely not the current type on imperial coinage at the time, is interesting. This is either illustrative of the significance of the queue hairstyle or the differing norms applied to provincial mints compared with imperial ones.

#### *Conventus of Pergamum*

The Conventus of Pergamum comprised cities from Mysia, Lydia, Aeolis, and Ionia, many of which were formerly part of the Attalid Kingdom.<sup>380</sup> Under Hadrian, there were twelve or thirteen active mints, twelve of which minted coins with the Emperor's portrait.<sup>381</sup> The same three mints issued coins for both Aelius and Antinous:

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<sup>376</sup> Sabina's coinage at Hadriani ad Olympum was struck under the archonship of Aelius Polyaeus, but there is no further information available to date this archonship (*RPC* III: 194).

<sup>377</sup> Birley 1997: 164 (124); Boatwright 2000a: 188 (123), von Fritze 1913: 194 (123).

<sup>378</sup> *RPC* III: 196.

<sup>379</sup> Aelius coins: *RPC* III: cat. 1680.

<sup>380</sup> *RPC* III: 203.

<sup>381</sup> It is unclear whether the local obverse type coins from Pitane can be attributed to Hadrian's reign (*RPC* III: cat. 1882).

Mytilene, Pergamum, and Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis.<sup>382</sup> Nine mints issued coins for Sabina: Mytilene, Pergamum, Attaea, Germe, Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis, Came, Hierocaesarea, Hermocapelia, and Elaea (Figure 74-83).<sup>383</sup> She appears exclusively on obverses, some alone and some paired with Hadrian. The *conventus* had an extensive history of minting portraits of imperial women, although five of the nine mints that produced Sabina coins had no previous history of minting images of imperial women.<sup>384</sup>

All obverse inscriptions are either a variation on Sabina Sebaste or Hadrian and Sabina when both are present.<sup>385</sup> Most cities in the district use their ethnic or the ethnic with the name of the local magistrate as the sole reverse inscription with Sabina obverses. One reverse from Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis includes the word AITHCA, likely commemorating the request to mint coinage to either the local authorities, governor, or emperor.<sup>386</sup> The coins of Pergamum include a label for the reverse type, Koronis. A rare practice for provincial coinage, it is likely employed here due to the illegibility of the type on its own. The word [ ]ΔΩΝ following the ethnic on the coins from Hierocaesarea has

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<sup>382</sup> On medallions of Aelius from Mytilene, see Amandry 2007.

<sup>383</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Mytilene 1691, 1692; Pergamum 1737; Attaea 1760; Germe 1769; Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis 1782, 1783; Came 1843; Hierocaesarea 1850A; Hermocapelia 1876; Elaea 1888, 1889. Attaea is called Attaos in the print version of the *RPC* catalogue, but is everywhere else, including the online *RPC* catalogue, called either Attaia or Attaea. These coins include the previously unattributed coin which is the same type as the Hierocaesarean coin (*RPC* III: cat. 6571).

<sup>384</sup> Mytilene: Plotina, Matidia, Domitia, Livia, Julia Livilla, Agrippina Maior, and Agrippina Minor. Thyatira: Plotina, Matidia, Marciana, Julia Titi, Domitia, Agrippina II, and Poppaea. Four imperial women's portraits are found on the coinage of the city of Pergamum. Domitia also appears on the coinage of Nacrasa and Elaea and Agrippina Minor on the coins from Hierocaesarea and Pitane.

<sup>385</sup> Hierocaesarea transliterates the Latin Augusta instead of translating it to the Greek Sebaste. Coins from Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis name Hadrian as Ktiste (founder).

<sup>386</sup> For the debate about the meaning of the word, see *RPC* II: 1-2.

been completed as ΛΥΔΩΝ in the *RPC* online, a reference to Lydia, the region in which the city was found.<sup>387</sup> The word is not found on other coins from this mint and its inclusion here could be related to Hadrian's focus on the history of the Greek east.

While most of the reverse types are easily understood as either common Panhellenic deities or old types with local significance, a few types require additional interpretation.<sup>388</sup> The man riding a horse on the reverse of Sabina's coins from Came is tentatively called the Emperor in the print edition of the *RPC*, but has been corrected as a hero in the online catalogue (Figure 82).<sup>389</sup> The figure is carrying a double axe and closely resembles the type found regularly on the coinage of Mostene, which probably relates to a local or regional myth.<sup>390</sup> The river god on the reverse from coins of Attaea is unidentified because the location of the city is still in question (Figure 76).<sup>391</sup>

Most interesting is the Koronis type from Pergamum (Figure 77). She is the mother of the healing god Asclepius, who was one of the most prominent gods in

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<sup>387</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1850A (online catalogue).

<sup>388</sup> The Apollo and Artemis types are common at Mytilene from the Greek period (Wroth 1894: xviii, lxix). Apollo was the main divinity of Germe and reverse types featuring the god exist from earlier imperial times (Head 1901: liii, 82 cat. 14, 15; Kay 2001: 15). The Dionysus type from Stratonicea is a standard Panhellenic type, while the Artemis Ephesia type is common throughout Asia. Artemis Persica is the most typical type of coins from Hierocaesarea from the first century BCE (Head 1901: lix, 102 cat. 1, 2). At Hermocapelia, the same Demeter type is seen on Plotina coins (*RPC* III: cat. 1872). Demeter is found on Elaea's earliest coinage and is the most common type on imperial coinage (Wroth 1894: liii)

<sup>389</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1843 (print and online). The idea that the figure represents the emperor seems to have originated from von Fritze (1913: 216).

<sup>390</sup> E.g. *RPC* I: cat. 2461; *RPC* III: 1961. The figure is described by Head as a "Lydo-Phrygian sungod" (Head 1901: lxxvi).

<sup>391</sup> *RPC* III: 212. This has been noted in early publications of the coinage: Von Fritze 1913: 116. On attempts to locate Attaea, see von Fritze 1913: 114.

Pergamum during the imperial period.<sup>392</sup> This is her only known appearance in all of Roman provincial coinage, which led von Fritze to conclude that Sabina was worshipped in Pergamum as Koronis.<sup>393</sup> While there is not sufficient evidence to support actual worship of Sabina in Pergamum, it is significant that this type was seemingly created for her and that its intelligibility was important enough for the engraver to include the label ΚΟΡΩΝΙΚΗ. It should also be noted that Antinous is likened to Herakles on reverses from the same issue, the first known appearance of the demi-god on Pergamene coinage.<sup>394</sup> The reverse types in this issue are more deliberate than usual and have a fairly Panhellenic character. While Pergamum did not join the Panhellenion, Amandry argues that the increase of types related to Greek heritage in member and non-member cities alike was linked to the promotion of this cultural identity at the time.<sup>395</sup>

Coins from five mints accurately reproduce Sabina's nest portrait type on solo obverse types: Pergamum, Attaea, Hermocapelia, Hierocaesarea, and Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis (Figure 74, 76, 77, 79, 81).<sup>396</sup> The paired obverse type from Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis is also a faithful copy of the type (Figure 80).<sup>397</sup> The Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis coins are of the same type and high-quality observed at Hadrian's other three new foundations in Mysia.<sup>398</sup> The double portrait type is unique for the new

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<sup>392</sup> On Asclepius's presence on coinage: Von Fritze 1910: 39-40, 47; Weisser 2005: 136; Wroth 1892: xxxi.

<sup>393</sup> Von Fritze 1910: 54.

<sup>394</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 1738. The worship of Zeus-Asclepius is believed to have been actively promoted by Hadrian in Asia Minor by Chiai (2012: 67-68).

<sup>395</sup> Amandry 2012: 402.

<sup>396</sup> Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis type from *RPC III*: cat. 1782.

<sup>397</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 1783.

<sup>398</sup> On the founding of Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis, see Boatwright 2000a: 186-187. The city was probably founded in 123 or 124: Birley 1997: 166; Head 1901: cxvii; *RPC III*: 215. It

foundations, but is found at other nearby mints. Less successful versions of the nest type are found on solo obverse coins from Mytilene and paired obverses from Germe and Elaea (Figure 75, 78, 83).<sup>399</sup> Coins from Came exhibit a high-quality engraving of the queue portrait type sporting the crown of wheat, the only example of this portrait type in the *conventus* (Figure 82).

Another paired obverse type was attributed to Elaea by the *RPC* (Figure 84).<sup>400</sup> This coin a female figure with a braided queue hairstyle as was popular in the Flavian and Trajanic periods. The portion of the inscription that labels the figures is missing. Since the original publication of the *RPC*, a new coin was discovered which labels the figures as Domitian and Domitia (Figure 85).<sup>401</sup> While the compilers of the *RPC* have questioned if the Hadrianic coin should be reassigned to that reign, they appear to have missed the fact that the obverses of these two coins are actually the same die.<sup>402</sup> This is therefore not a Hadrianic, but a Domitianic coin.

Most mints in the Conventus of Pergamum struck only one type for Sabina in a single issue. Coins from Attaea, Hermocapelia, Germe, Elaea, Mytilene, and Hierocaesarea cannot be dated more narrowly than 128-137.<sup>403</sup> The coins from

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should be noted that Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis was more of an established community at the time of its “founding” by Hadrian than the others, as displayed by the existence of a working mint under Trajan.

<sup>399</sup> Elaea type *RPC* III: cat. 1889. Matidia is also found on the coins from Mytilene, but her coins do not have the solid diadem that is seen on the Sabina coins. The Sabina coins must therefore have been made with reference to that element of Sabina’s own portrait type (Matidia coins: *RPC* III: cat. 1685).

<sup>400</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1888.

<sup>401</sup> *RPC* II: cat. 957A (online).

<sup>402</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1888 (online).

<sup>403</sup> The coins from Attaea and Germe are assigned to 130 or later by the *RPC* without explanation (*RPC* III: 212, 214). Coins from Elaea are assigned to ca. 128, presumably because

Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis must date no later than 135 because the eponymous magistrate who signed the issue held the office for a second time during which he struck coins for Aelius, which must date to 136/7.<sup>404</sup> The coins from Pergamum probably date to ca. 134 because of Antinous's inclusion in the issue.<sup>405</sup> The coins from Came must date no earlier than 130/1 based on their use of the queue portrait type. The same magistrate struck two issues at the mint, Sabina appearing on the first, so the Sabina coins must therefore not date later than 136/7 to allow for another issue before Hadrian's death.<sup>406</sup>

The coins of this district generally conform with the trends seen in the province. Sabina is present, either alone or with Hadrian, on coinage from three quarters of the mints. All coins are based on models of Sabina's official coin types.

#### *Conventus of Smyrna*

Smyrna and its environs received substantial attention during Hadrian's reign.<sup>407</sup> The *conventus* is composed of cities from Aeolis, Ionia, and Lydia, containing twelve identified active mints under Hadrian, ten of which minted coins with the emperor's

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of Sabina's presence (*RPC* III: 227). No further evidence is given and there does not appear to be grounds to limit the dating to this period.

The *RPC* (III: 204) suggests a date of 128-130 for the Mytilenaeen issue including Sabina's coins but does not provide an explanation for the dating. The coins presumably do not belong to the issue produced by Lesbonax in his second term as *strategos*, which likely dates around 134 due to the inclusion of Antinous, because the reverse inscription is not the same. These coins do have the same reverse inscription as coins for both Aelius and a second group for Antinous coins, so it is unclear why the Sabina coins could not be part of the same issue as either of these groups. The portraits do appear to be of lesser quality than the coins for either man, which might suggest a different date, but could just indicate a different engraver.

<sup>404</sup> *RPC* III: 215. The *RPC* gives a date of 128-130 for the issue, but it could presumably date later as long as it predates the Aelius issue.

<sup>405</sup> *RPC* III: 207.

<sup>406</sup> *RPC* III: 222.

<sup>407</sup> See Bowie 2012a for Hadrian's relationship with Smyrna.

portrait on them. There is no known coinage for Aelius in the district and only two mints with coins for Antinous, Cyme and Smyrna. Sabina's portrait not only appears at more mints than both Aelius and Antinous, but also more than Hadrian himself, appearing on coins from all active mints in the *conventus* (Figure 86-103).<sup>408</sup> This is the only region in which Sabina outnumbers all other figures.

Sabina's prominence in this district is anticipated, but in no way matched, by the large presence of other imperial women on coinage from the *conventus*. Every mint that issued coins for Sabina in the district also issued coins for at least one other imperial woman, with the exception of Erythrae. The most active mint in this respect was Smyrna, unsurprising since it was the most prominent city in the area and had the largest output of coinage in general.

Most reverse inscriptions are statements of the city's ethnic, sometimes with the addition of the name of the eponymous magistrate.<sup>409</sup> On some coins from Smyrna, the word ΚΑΛΕΩΝ is included as a label for the river-god that appears as the reverse type.<sup>410</sup> The inclusion of ΑΝΘΗΚΕ on the issue struck by Polemon at Smyrna likely indicates that he personally funded the coinage.<sup>411</sup> CABEINA CEBACTH or a variant on it

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<sup>408</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers for Sabina coins in the district: Myrina: 1919, *Aegae*: 1923, 1925, 1926, Cyme: 1932-1935, Phocaea: 1943, Temnus: 1944, Magnesia ad Sipylum: 1947, 1948, Hyrcanis: 1959, Mostene 1962, 1963, Smyrna: 1973, 1974, Clazomenae: 1988, Erythrae: 1996, Teos: 1999, 2000.

<sup>409</sup> The word ΑΓΩ before the magistrate's name in *RPC* III: cat. 1926 is a questionable reading. If it is corrected, it is most likely an abbreviation of *agonothete* (*RPC* III: 232).

<sup>410</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1973.

<sup>411</sup> Klose (1987: 68-69) suggests that Polemon provided funding for the metal and production cost, as well as perhaps hiring the die engravers.



appears as the obverse inscription on all coins, with the exception of those from Myrina, whose coins label the paired obverse portraits of Hadrian and Sabina as AΔPI CABEI.

Most of the reverse types are similarly generic, displaying either common Panhellenic types or local types without any known significance to Sabina.<sup>412</sup> One noteworthy type is the standing goddess holding a cornucopia, which appears on some Sabina reverses from Magnesia ad Sipylum. The figure has tentatively been called Homonoia by the *RPC* (Figure 92).<sup>413</sup> If this is correct, this is the only occurrence of Homonoia on Sabina's provincial coinage. The type bears a strong similarity to the standing Concordia Augusta reverse type used for Sabina's coins from the imperial mint, which could have served as model for the type.<sup>414</sup> Panhellenic *homonoia*, according to

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<sup>412</sup> Asclepius-related types are common in the region and found with Sabina obverses from Hyrcanis, Temnus, Clazomenae, and Erythrae (Head 1901: lxxv; *RPC* III: 240-241). The Apollo Gryneus type from Myrina refers to the prominent sanctuary of Apollo at Gryneium which was under control of Myrina (Sacks 1985: 2-4). Apollo types are seen on coins from the city from the Greek period through the Imperial Period (Sacks 1985: 4; Wroth 1894: lviii-lix). Apollo Chresterios and Isis related types, as seen on reverses from Aegae, are seen on earlier imperial coinage from the mint, with Apollo Chresterios also frequently appearing on Greek coins (Wroth 1894: lix; e.g. *RPC* I: cat. 2427; *RPC* II: cat. 969). The identity of the goddess on *RPC* III: cat. 1925 is unknown (*RPC* III: 232). Isis not on coins from Cyme prior to Hadrian's reign, but is frequently used in the region. Carandini (1969: 78-79) claims that these coins relate Sabina to Isis, but this is a misunderstanding of the significance of reverse types. Types related to the Dioscuri are found on the coinage of Phocaea in the Greek period (Head 1892: cat. Phocaea 109). The exact type of the prow with Dioscuri caps first appears under Vespasian (*RPC* II: cat. 974). Demeter appears on coins from Magnesia ad Sipylum as early as the second century BCE (Head 1901: cat. Magnesia ad Sipylum 12). Double axes and Demeter are seen on the coinage of Mostene from the second century BCE on (Head 1901: lxxvi; *RPC* III: 237). The *cistophori* from Smyrna with Sabina obverses have Cybele as their reverse. This type used on autonomous Greek issues from the city (Metcalf 1980: 38). Cybele was likened to Meter Sipylene, a local pre-Greek goddess and one of the main deities in the city (Klose 1987: 25-26). River-god types of the three main rivers near Smyrna are very common on local coinage and first appear under Nero (Klose 1987: 37; *RPC* I: cat. 2483). Teos employs the Ephesian Artemis type which is common on coins from Asia. City-goddess types, the other type from Teos, are also generic.

<sup>413</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1947.

<sup>414</sup> SEBASTH OMONOIA coins were produced under Domitian, which show the direct application of Concordia Augusta to the Greek model (Zanzarri 1997: 121).

Sheppard, had existed as a concept since the Classical period, and was promoted by Hadrian's Panhellenion.<sup>415</sup> This is likely the meaning intended by these coins.

A prow type appears on some of Sabina's reverses at Smyrna in an issue produced by Polemon (Figure 99).<sup>416</sup> Bowie theorizes that the prow type might represent the privilege of using Dionysus's trireme during a religious procession in the city, which had been granted to Polemon according to Philostratus.<sup>417</sup> Klose disagrees due to the frequent use of similar prow types on the coinage of other port cities and the lack of explicit reference to the cult of Dionysus on the Sabina coins.<sup>418</sup> However, on the Domitianic coins which use this type, the obverse type is Semele with an infant Dionysus, a potential reference to the festival.<sup>419</sup> For the Sabina coins, Polemon's grant of special status in the procession was known in the city, as shown by the Philostratus reference, so a local viewer of the coin likely could have made the connection between the prow and Dionysus.

All portraits from the *conventus* are nest type or a provincial variant on it. The highest quality obverse portrait is found on the *cistophori* from Smyrna (Figure 97) and bronzes from the same mint display a fairly faithful reproduction of the imperial model (Figure 99).<sup>420</sup> The coins from Myrina and Teos reproduce the nest type with all of its usual elements, although in an elongated and compressed format (Figure 86, 102, 103).<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> Sheppard 1984: 229, 238-240.

<sup>416</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1974. For an overview of the type, see Klose 1987: 27, 38.

<sup>417</sup> Bowie 2012a: 254-255; Philostr. *VS* 1.25.531.

<sup>418</sup> Klose 1987: 38.

<sup>419</sup> *RPC* II: 1015.

<sup>420</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1974.

<sup>421</sup> Similarities between the coins from Teos and those from Erythrae and Clazomenae are noted for Hadrian's coins in *RPC* III: 242.

Temnus also produced coins on the imperial model (Figure 91). The coins from Aegae and Cyme form their own group which features a hairstyle of smaller proportion in comparison with the face (Figure 87-89). One group of coins from Magnesia ad Sipylum also appears to be based on imperial models (Figure 92).<sup>422</sup>

A large group of coins from this *conventus* have a very similar appearance which diverges greatly from the imperial models. The group includes all of the coins from Erythrae and Clazomenae, as well as specific types from Magnesia ad Sipylum, Mostene, and Smyrna (Figure 93, 95, 98, 100, 101).<sup>423</sup> Based on the available images, it is unclear whether or not the coins from Phocaea, belong to this group (Figure 90). The group represents the Empress with a slightly elongated face with the nest element on the very top of the head and occupying a much smaller area than it does on most imperial models. The most distinct element of this group is the significantly elongated central element of the crest of hair in the front. They also lack the diadem usually found behind the main crest of hair.

The portraits in this group are so similar that it seems likely that at least some dies were carved by the same hand. Die sharing has been recorded for other coins in the region, illustrating the interconnectivity of these mints.<sup>424</sup> On the coins from Clazomenae and Erythrae (Figure 100, 101), not only are the obverse dies very similar, but the reverse

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<sup>422</sup> *RPC III*: cat. 1947.

<sup>423</sup> Magnesia ad Sipylum: *RPC III*: cat. 1948; Mostene: *RPC III*: 1962; Smyrna: *RPC III*: cat. 1973.

<sup>424</sup> Klose (1987: 86) notes die engraver sharing in the region between another group of mints. Foss (1982: 183) also records die links between Phocaea and Smyrna, as well as Tmolus in the *Conventus* of Sardis.

dies are the same type and share several common elements.<sup>425</sup> The bronze coins from Smyrna without magistrate name (Figure 98) are also very similar to these. The portraits from Mostene have wide variance, especially when it comes to facial appearance, with some possibly being produced by the same hand as the Clazomenae-Erythrae-Smyrna group (Figure 95, 96). The coins from Magnesia ad Sipylum differ from the others in the placement of the basket around the crown of the head instead of on the top (Figure 93). It is therefore unlikely that these coins shared the same hand as those from Clazomenae and Erythrae.

Regardless of whether or not some of these mints shared engravers, it is clear that they shared a common model and Alexandria is the likely source. At Alexandria, the nest type has a much more prominent central element than the imperial coins, where the element is at times nearly invisible, and lacks the diadem (Figure 174).<sup>426</sup> The use of non-Roman, and specifically Alexandrian, models for numismatic portraits was convincingly argued for by Blum concerning Antinous's coinage.<sup>427</sup>

All of the coins from this *conventus* must date between 128-137 based on the portrait type. The coins from Hyrcanis, Myrina, Phocaea, Temnus, and Teos cannot be dated any more precisely.<sup>428</sup> Sabina appears on coins signed by three different

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<sup>425</sup> The *RPC* (III: 242) notes the same similarity for Hadrian's coins from these two mints, with the addition of his coins from Teos.

<sup>426</sup> For discussion on the significance of this element, see below. See also Geissen 2008.

<sup>427</sup> Blum 1914: 64-65.

<sup>428</sup> The *RPC* (III: 232, 235) gives a date of 128 onwards for the Myrinan and Phocaeian coins. Other coins from Hyrcanis are signed by the proconsul and therefore dated, with issues known for 124/5 and 125/6, but the Sabina coins are unsigned. They must date later than the two signed issues, to 128 at the earliest, but no greater precision is possible.

The coins from Teos are in two issues, one signed and one unsigned, but they contain no additional information that would allow them to be placed in a relative order or specifically dated.

magistrates at Aegae, meaning that coins with her portrait were minted in three different years. Her appearance is similar enough across the three issues that it is possible the portraits were all produced by the same hand, but the relative order is unknown.

The coins from Cyme are unsigned and do not share their reverse inscription with any other coins from Hadrian's reign. There are two distinct groups, those where she is called CABINA (Figure 88) and those where she is called CABEINA (Figure 89), which seem to each have been produced by a different hand.<sup>429</sup> It would make sense for these to be two separate issues, since there are many specimens of each group and no overlap in obverse dies. The two groups are each comprised of one type for each of the two denominations struck for Sabina at this mint. The sequence of the issues or a specific date for either is unattainable with the present evidence.

The *cistophori* from Smyrna reproduce the imperial obverse model in both portrait and inscription, so it can be assumed that these coins were struck at the same time as that obverse type was current at Rome. This would date the production to 128-130, the same range that Metcalf gives for all of Hadrian's *cistophoric* production.<sup>430</sup> The *aes* from Smyrna were produced in two different issues. The issue signed by Polemon, containing the coins not based on the Alexandrian model, is dated to 134/5 due to Antinous's presence.<sup>431</sup> This also corresponds with the establishment of the Hadrianeia festival in the

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If the Tean coins were produced by the same hand as those from Clazomenae and Erythrae, as suggested for the Hadrian coins from these mints, the date range for the Tean coins should be refined to 128-133/4. The Sabina coins are not a perfect match with the coins from those mints and belong to a different issue than the Hadrian coins, which is why I have left them separate. It seems likely that the engraver was shared during the production year of Hadrian's coins only.

<sup>429</sup> CABINA: *RPC* III: cat. 1932, 1933; CABEINA: *RPC* III: 1934, 1935.

<sup>430</sup> Metcalf 1980: 123.

<sup>431</sup> Klose 1987: 68-69; *RPC* III: 239.

city and presumably the year Polemon rode the sacred trireme.<sup>432</sup> The other coins, those based on the Alexandrian model, are unsigned. These likely predate the Polemon issue and therefore were struck between 128 and 133/4.<sup>433</sup>

The coins that were based on the Alexandrian models, i.e., those from Clazomenae, Erythrae, and Mostene, with specific types from Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum, were likely produced around the same time. Since the Smyrnaean coin from this group can be dated 128-133/4, the rest of the group likely dates to around the same range.<sup>434</sup> The remaining type from Magnesia ad Sipylum contains no further datable information.<sup>435</sup>

Sabina's prominence in this *conventus* is noteworthy. It is one of only two areas (province or *conventus*) where she appears at all active mints, the other being the Conventus of Cibyra.<sup>436</sup> Smyrna is also the only place that minted Sabina obverse types on *cistophori*. How can this prominence be explained? The list of benefactions from

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<sup>432</sup> Bowie 2012a: 255. These two events are listed together in Philostratus, although it is possible that they occurred at different times.

<sup>433</sup> The *RPC* (III: 238) dates these coins from 128 on but says that it “anticipates the three-denominational issue struck by Polemon”. Klose (1987: 76) says it is not possible to determine the date for this issue.

<sup>434</sup> The *RPC* (III: 240, 241) dates the coins from Clazomenae and Erythrae to “from 128 onwards”.

<sup>435</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 1947. The standing Concordia reverse type on which its reverse might be based is used on *sestertii* from 128 until near the end of production. See Appendix 3a for sestertius type pairings.

<sup>436</sup> There are also two mints, Temnus and Magnesia ad Sipylum, at which Sabina's coinage is the only known to have been struck during Hadrian's reign. It is probable that coins for Hadrian or Aelius will be found for Temnus since coins were catalogued but have not been seen since for this mint (*RPC* III: 2325). The coins for Sabina from Magnesia ad Sipylum are common enough that, if the mint did produce coins for anyone else, they must have been in smaller numbers than the Sabina issues.

Hadrian to the city of Smyrna is extensive.<sup>437</sup> He is named as *ktistes* and *soter* in inscriptions from both Cyme and Smyrna, and Hadriane is added to some ethnics from Smyrna.<sup>438</sup> There are, however, no comparable honorific inscriptions for Sabina.<sup>439</sup> Hadrian also had strong connections with the area through his friendship with Polemon and it is not unlikely that Sabina also had a relationship with him.<sup>440</sup> On the other hand, there is no evidence of an imperial visit in the period during which Sabina's coinage was minted.<sup>441</sup> Personal connections and benefactions, in combination with local tradition, appear to have been factors in the decision to mint.

#### *Conventus of Ephesus*

Ephesus was one of the most prominent cities of Asia and a rival of Smyrna. The *conventus* was composed of cities from ancient Lydia and Ionia. Seven mints were active during Hadrian's reign, all of which issued coinage with the Emperor's portrait. Only Ephesus itself minted coinage for Aelius and Antinous. Sabina appears on the coinage of all active mints except for Mastaura (Figure 104-112).<sup>442</sup> This large amount of minting is similar to the neighbouring district of Smyrna.

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<sup>437</sup> Boatwright 2000a: 157-162.

<sup>438</sup> Bowie 2012a: 254; *RPC* III: 233.

<sup>439</sup> Bowie (2012a: 247) notes the relatively small number of extant inscriptions from Smyrna in comparison with a city like Ephesus, which might partially explain this absence.

<sup>440</sup> Blum (1914: 61) cites this relationship as having a possible influence on the production of coins for Antinous in the region. For more on this relationship, see Bowie 2012a; Favreau-Linder 2012.

<sup>441</sup> There is only one known visit to the *conventus*, which occurred in 123 or 124 (Bowie 2012a: 247-249)

<sup>442</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Lebedus: 2002, Hypaepa: 2031, Nicaea Cilbrianorum: 2033, Ephesus: 2078-2081, Tralles: 2087-2089, Nysa: 2091.

This is one of the few districts where Sabina's appearances are matched by a previous imperial woman. Domitia appears on the coins of six mints, three of which were active and minting for Sabina during Hadrian's reign.<sup>443</sup> Ephesus is unsurprisingly the mint that issued the most coins for imperial women, having produced images of a total of six Roman women before Sabina.<sup>444</sup> Pre-imperial portraits of Hellenistic queens were also minted in the district.<sup>445</sup>

The obverse inscriptions are generic, either stating Sabina's name alone, or paired with Hadrian's name on coins with double bust obverses. Most reverse types do not merit specific comment.<sup>446</sup> All reverse inscriptions from the *conventus* contain a combination of the ethnic, magistrate names, and/or reverse type label.<sup>447</sup>

Two Ephesian reverse inscriptions, which are found with paired Sabina and Hadrian obverses, also include Hadrian's name, even though he is not represented in the reverse image: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΗ ΕΦΕ and ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΦΕ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΚΥΝΕ (Figure

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<sup>443</sup> The shared mints are Ephesus, Tralles, and Nysa. Colophon, Metropolis, and Cilbiani Superiores were not active under Hadrian.

<sup>444</sup> Octavia, Livia, Agrippina Minor, Poppaea, Statilia Messalina, and Domitia.

<sup>445</sup> Head 1892: 55 (Arsinoe), 56 (Eurydice).

<sup>446</sup> The Isis type from Lebedus is new, but the goddess appears frequently on coins from the region (*RPC* III: 243). The same is true of the Apollo Tyrimnaios reverse type from Hypaepa, previously unseen but presumably related to worship in the region (Altinoluk 2013: 87 on the significance of the Hypaepan reverse type). Eirene is found on earlier imperial coins from Nicaea Cilbianorum (Head 1901: xlvi; cat. Nicaea Cilbianorum 2; *RPC* III: cat. 1055). Zeus was the chief god of Tralles, explaining the eagle reverse type (Head 1901: cxxxiv; cat. Tralles 59, 69). The Asclepius type is new for the city but common in the region (*RPC* III: 254). Myths related to Dionysus had a long history at Nysa (Price 2004: 119)

<sup>447</sup> The Ephesian coins contain labels of the reverse types Nike, Dikaio-syne, and Artemis Ephesia. The coins of Nysa include ΔΙΟΝΥΚΟΚ as a description of the reverse type. Similar explanatory inscriptions are found on earlier coins from both mints, e.g. *RPC* I: cat. 2667; *RPC* II: cat. 1111; *RPC* III: cat. 2047, cat. 2049. The reverse inscription for *RPC* III: cat. 2081 is ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΕΦΕΚΙΑ, not ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΕΦΕΚΙΩΝ as is recorded in the *RPC*.



106, 107).<sup>448</sup> The *Dikaiosyne* type is new for the mint and might refer to a particular legislative or legal action taken by the Emperor. The same Nike type can be found on some Domitianic coins that feature paired obverses of Domitian and Domitia and the inscription ΝΕΙΚΗ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΦΕ.<sup>449</sup> The *RPC* interprets the Domitianic type as a reference to one of his victories, not just the general concept of victory, due to the inclusion of the Emperor's name in the inscription.<sup>450</sup> It is possible that the Hadrianic coins were also inspired by a specific event.

Lebedus, Hypaepa, and Tralles all reproduce the nest portrait type fairly faithfully, all seemingly by different hands (Figure 104, 105, 111, 112). Although coins from Teos are signed by the same magistrate as those from Lebedus, they do not share enough stylistic similarities to argue for shared engravers between the two cities (Teos: Figure 103).

The coins from Nysa, Nicaea Cilbianorum, and some of the coins from Ephesus feature obverses with Sabina and Hadrian facing one another (Figure 106, 107, 109, 110).<sup>451</sup> The nest type is used on the Nysan and Ephesian coins. These look very similar to one another and were likely carved from a common model. Hadrian's titulature is slightly different on the Nysan coins and the busts also differ between the two mints; Hadrian appears cuirassed on the coins from Nysa but nude on the coins from Ephesus. The obverse dies therefore appear to have been carved specifically for each mint, even if

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<sup>448</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2079, cat. 2080.

<sup>449</sup> *RPC* II: cat. 1076.

<sup>450</sup> *RPC* II: 167.

<sup>451</sup> Ephesus coins *RPC* III: cat. 2078-2080.

they were done by the same hand. The queue with the band variant is used on the coins from Nicaea Cilbianorum. Hadrian appears with a nude bust and bare head, whereas he is laureate on the other paired obverses.

The final type from Ephesus shows Sabina with a braided loop of hair hanging from the nape of the neck, with the hair on the top of the head left in its natural texture and wrapped with a simple band (Figure 108).<sup>452</sup> The hair in front of the band is swept back in individual waves and presumably parted down the middle, although this is not visible on the coins. The engraving of this type at Ephesus is of superior quality to that of the paired Hadrian and Sabina coins from the same mint. The Sabina type that is most similar is the chignon, but these two types still differ greatly. The Ephesian type is also not a close match for any previously issued types from this mint.<sup>453</sup> I have not been able to find a single example of an ancient hairstyle that is a match for this one.

The type must either be a variant of the chignon in which great liberties were taken, or it is an independent type, whose passing resemblance to one of Sabina's canonical types is coincidental. I favour the latter explanation. The coin is of far too high quality for the differences to be a mistake. Close replicas of the chignon are found on the reverse of some Vespasianic *denarii* from Ephesus, although the headdress is different, and some Livia portraits from the same mint.<sup>454</sup> The type was therefore familiar to

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<sup>452</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2081.

<sup>453</sup> The closest parallels are portraits of Domitia and Statilia Messalina, but these similarities begin and end with the braided, looped queue (*RPC* I: cat. 2629A, 2631, 2632).

<sup>454</sup> Vespasian: The closest version is *RPC* II: cat. 828. The others lack the lock of wavy hair on the neck. Livia: e.g. *RPC* I: cat. 2576.

Ephesus and was considered an appropriate mode of representation for an empress under previous administrations.

If it were possible to establish the type's production date, its significance might be better understood. Hadrian's Ephesian coins in the *RPC* have been divided into two groups, pre- and post-129.<sup>455</sup> Some coins in the second group can also be dated to 131 or later if they make reference to the second *neokoros*, which was granted in that year.<sup>456</sup> The Artemis reverse type used with this Sabina obverse is also found with Hadrian obverses which both contain and do not contain the title *Olympios*, but no die links have been found.<sup>457</sup> The physiognomy of the portrait is specific to Sabina, so the coin should not date earlier than the beginning of her official portraiture in 128.

Due to the much higher quality of the type in comparison with the other Ephesian Sabina coins and the specialized portrait type, the issue is likely commemorative, with the imperial visit in 129 most probable.<sup>458</sup> This would make the Sabina coin part of the  $\Delta\Delta\text{PIANOC O}\Lambda\text{YMI}\text{IIOC}$  issue. The other possibility is 131, which might correspond with a visit, but at the very least corresponds with the grant of the city's second *neokoros*. This is less likely since no mention of the temple is made on the Sabina coins, whereas the inscription  $\Delta\text{IC NE}\Omega\text{KOP}\Omega\text{N}$  is found on other coins from this issue. The same

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<sup>455</sup> *RPC* III: 250.

<sup>456</sup> *RPC* III: 250. For the dating of the second *neokoros*, see Bowie 2012b: 271-272; Burrell 2004: 66-67.

<sup>457</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2060, 2074.

<sup>458</sup> For the evidence for Hadrian's visits to Ephesus, see Chapter One.

argument can be used against dating these coins to the year in which the temple was actually dedicated, 134/5 or 135/6.<sup>459</sup>

The remaining coins from Ephesus, those with paired Sabina and Hadrian obverses, likely do not date to the same year as the solo Sabina coins since Hadrian does not have the title *Olympios*.<sup>460</sup> If the correlation between Hadrian's titulature and dating at this mint, as laid out by the *RPC*, is correct, then these coins must date prior to 129.<sup>461</sup> The inscription used on these coins is also, however, placed earlier than another pre-129 issue, the *ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ* coins. This cannot be correct for the paired obverse coins since it would place the issue prior to 128, before the introduction of Sabina's portrait type. The reverse types offer little help. While it is likely that they refer to specific incidents of Hadrian's justice and victory, the exact context is hard to establish.<sup>462</sup> Titles *ktistes* and *soter* are found on inscriptions from Ephesus to describe Hadrian starting from 129 which refers to a change of law instituted by Hadrian.<sup>463</sup> This kind of action could be the reason for the *Dikaiosyne* type but does not explain the use of Nike. Hadrian's most obvious victory from the Roman perspective is the Bar Kokhba revolt, which ended in 135/6, but there is no particular connection between the revolt and Ephesus. The date for these coins must for now be left as 128-137. The coins from Nysa

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<sup>459</sup> Bowie (2012b: 271-272) favours 135/6.

<sup>460</sup> The fact that Sabina has a different portrait type on these coins is not necessarily evidence that they date to a different year. Alexandrian Sabina coins prove that she could be shown with two different portrait types at the same mint within the same year.

<sup>461</sup> *RPC* III: 250.

<sup>462</sup> If the Nike type can be applied to sport instead of war, it could be connected with the initiation of the *Olympia* or *Hadrianeia* in Ephesus in 128/9 and 131/2, respectively (for this dating, see Bowie 2012b: 273-278). This seems an unlikely use of the type and grammatically confusing since the inscription implies that it is Hadrian's victory.

<sup>463</sup> Bowie 2012b: 269; *IvEph* 274.

closely resemble the paired portrait coins from Ephesus and likely date to around the same time.

Most of the remaining coins from this *conventus* cannot be dated more narrowly than 128-137. The coins from Lebedus could date to the same time as those from Teos if the magistrate that signed the coins from both mints held the magistracies simultaneously, but it is more likely that these positions were held in different years. The coins from Tralles belong to two separate issues, those signed by the magistrate Apelles and those without magistrate name, but it is not possible to date either issue.<sup>464</sup>

The opposing bust coins from Nicaea Cilbianorum must date no earlier than 130/131 because of the use of the queue portrait type. This means that the issue is later than Hadrian's grant of the title *Olympios* in 129, which appears on other coins from the mint. If instead the paired obverse coins predated the *Olympios* coins, this means that the title did not appear until at least 131/132 and coins were struck in the year immediately after Hadrian gained the title without its inclusion. Hadrian was in the region in 129, immediately after he gained the title, and the evidence supports dating the *Olympios* issue to this time.<sup>465</sup> The title was then abandoned for later issues, including the paired obverse coins. The paired obverse portrait coins cannot be dated more precisely than 130/1-137.

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<sup>464</sup> The unsigned Sabina coins likely do not belong with the unsigned Hadrian coins because the unsigned Hadrian coins are dated to the beginning of the reign and the Sabina coins must date to 128 or later based on portrait type.

<sup>465</sup> Birley 1997: 222; Bowie 2012b: 268-270; Halfmann 1987: 193, 199-201. A larger denomination was also added during this time, the reverse of which is Zeus (*RPC* III: 248, cat. 2034). The remaining *Olympios* coins are smaller denominations and likely belong to the same issue. The abnormally large issue also lends credence to the idea of it being commemorative.

The interest in the Empress in the Conventus of Ephesus nearly matches that of neighbouring Smyrna. This could be evidence of rivalry between the two regions, favour for the Empress, or both. Ephesian types show a particular interest in the imperial family, with topical reverse types on some coins and a completely unique portrait type on others.

### *Conventus of Miletus*

The *conventus* is mostly comprised of cities from Ionia, with the addition of Amyzon from Caria, which was not active during Hadrian's reign. Four mints produced coinage under Hadrian and all issued coins with the emperor's portrait. No coinage is known for either Aelius or Antinous. Two of the four mints issued coins for Sabina, Magnesia ad Maeandrum and Miletus, both of which were members of the Panhellenion (Figure 113, 114).<sup>466</sup> This small region has a sparse history of minting coins for previous imperial women.<sup>467</sup> Sabina is the first woman on the obverses of coins from both cities at which she appears and is the first woman to appear in any capacity on the coinage of Magnesia ad Maeandrum.

Reverse inscriptions from Magnesia ad Maeandrum follow the city's normal practice of including the city's ethnic and a label of the type, in this case Kore.<sup>468</sup> Reverses from Miletus include the ethnic and the magistrate's name, for the Sabina coins a certain Roupfos. At the time of the publication of the *RPC*, these coins were assigned to the magistrate's first term in office, but newly discovered coins led to this being

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<sup>466</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Magnesia ad Maeandrum: 2129; Miletus: 2146, 2146A.

<sup>467</sup> Samos issued coins for both Domitia and Agrippina Minor and Drusilla appears on reverses from Miletus.

<sup>468</sup> The *RPC* (III: 260) uses this as its justification for attributing these coins to Magnesia ad Maeander instead of Magnesia ad Sipyllum.

corrected to his second.<sup>469</sup> The Kore reverse type was a new type for the Magnesian mint but fairly common throughout provincial coinage. The coins from Miletus use Tyche and Apollo as their reverse types. Apollo is a long-used type for the mint, whereas Tyche is a new but generic type.<sup>470</sup>

The *RPC* assigns additional nest type coins to Magnesia ad Maeandrum, believing that they share the ΚΟΡΗ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ reverse inscription of the other coins from this mint (Figure 115).<sup>471</sup> The attribution of this type was originally questioned by Schultz, who first proposed the possibility that it should be assigned to Magnesia ad Sipylum instead.<sup>472</sup> Comparison with the Sabina coins from Magnesia ad Sipylum confirms Schultz's suspicions (Figure 93). Not only are these coins very similar, but they actually share common dies for both obverse and reverse. The legend of all of the coins should be read as ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΚΙΠΥΛΟΥ and all should be assigned to Magnesia ad Sipylum.

The remaining obverse type from Magnesia ad Maeandrum differs slightly from the model nest type from the Roman mint and shares no obvious similarities with renditions of the type from other mints. These coins cannot be dated more specifically than 128-137. Sabina's portrait at Miletus is a high-quality reproduction of the queue portrait type, narrowing the possible date to 130/1-137.<sup>473</sup>

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<sup>469</sup> See *RPC* III: cat. 2146 and 2146A online.

<sup>470</sup> Apollo's earliest appearance dates to ca. 350 BCE: Head 1892: cat. Miletus 51.

<sup>471</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2128

<sup>472</sup> Schultz 1975: 127-128.

<sup>473</sup> The *RPC* (III: 261) gives the dating of ca. 130 but does not clarify this reasoning besides that Sabina is depicted.

While there are not many Sabina coins at this *conventus*, her prominence is still increased in comparison with other imperial women in the same district. She appears on the largest denomination at Miletus, a denomination that no one else appears on. That two different portrait types are found on coins from such a small district is emblematic of the variety found in Sabina's public image.

*Conventus of Alabanda*

This district, combined with the Conventus of Halicarnassus, comprises most of the area of ancient Caria, with one additional Phrygian city, Harpasa. Of the sixteen active mints during Hadrian's reign, all issued coins with the emperor's portrait. Only Mylasa issued coins for Aelius and there are no coins known for Antinous. Only four cities issued coins for Sabina: Harpasa, Attuda, Trapezopolis, and Heraclea Salbace (Figure 116-121), a much smaller portion of active mints than is normal for Asia.<sup>474</sup>

Fifteen mints had minted images of imperial women prior to Sabina, but none of these issued coins for more than two women, and the majority only issued coins for a single woman. Both Domitia and Agrippina Minor are found on coins from more mints than Sabina, a rarity in provincial coinage.<sup>475</sup> Coins with Plotina's portrait were minted at Tabae and possibly Euromus with Matidia. Sabina's absence from these mints is consistent with the sporadic nature of coin production in the district. All of the mints on

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<sup>474</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Harpasa: 2227, Attuda: 2258, 2259, Trapezopolis: 2262A, Heraclea Salbace: 2272-2274.

<sup>475</sup> Domitia's image is found at five mints (Tabae, Rhodes, Harpasa, and Attuda) and Agrippina Minor's at six (Alabanda, Euromus, Ceramus, Alinda, Orthosia, and Heraclea Salbace).



whose coinage Sabina appears had minted for a single previous empress, except for Trapezopolis, which had very little previous minting.

All obverse inscriptions contain some version of CIBEINA CEBACTH with the addition of Hadrian's name for opposing bust obverses. The reverse inscriptions for Harpasa and Heraclea Salbace consist of just the city's ethnic. The coins from Attuda and Trapezopolis include the addition of ΔΙΑ followed by the name of the local magistrate, a formula which is characteristic of a group of mints from north eastern Caria.<sup>476</sup> Most of the reverse designs are also predictable.<sup>477</sup> The temple on the reverse of paired Sabina and Hadrian obverse coins from Heraclea Salbace is that of Ephesian Artemis.<sup>478</sup> The other type from this mint, which depicts three divine figures, has been the source of debate (Figure 120). Fleischer's assessment of the figures as Leto, Apollo and Artemis, as related to the sanctuary of these figures in Heraclea Salbace is the most convincing.<sup>479</sup>

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<sup>476</sup> Head (1896: xli-xlii, lxxviii-lxxix) includes in this group, in addition to the two mints mentioned above, Laodicea ad Lycum and Cidrama, with occasional occurrences on the coinages of Apollonia Salbace and Tabae. The only city outside of this group which uses ΔΙΑ in this way in the *RPC* is Antandrus under Titus (*RPC* II: cat. 907-908). Head suggests that the ΔΙΑ means that the coins produced with the magistrate's own funds.

<sup>477</sup> Athena appears on coins from Harpasa from the Hellenistic period and first appears on imperial coinage under Domitian (Parker 2016: 80; *RPC* III: cat. 1215). In Attuda, Asclepius was likened to Men, who had a prominent temple in the city (Head 1896: xli). This also explains the presence of Men on coins from neighbouring Trapezopolis (Head 1896: lxxix). Zeus appears on coins from Attuda starting with Domitian (*RPC* II: cat. 1226).

<sup>478</sup> Head (1896: lvii) suggests that it is instead the temple of Aphrodite from neighbouring Aphrodisias, but the iconography of the figure is clearly that of Ephesian Artemis. For the worship of Artemis Ephesia throughout the Roman world, see Oster 1990: 1703-1706. Ancient sources on this topic include Paus. 4.31.8; Strab.4.1.4-8, 3.4.6; Acts 19.27.

<sup>479</sup> Fleischer 2000: 448-452. An alternative theory is proposed by Robert and Robert (1954: 228-230), which reads the middle figure as female. This theory is less likely on iconographic grounds and also has less of a secure connection with the city.

The final type from this mint is a herm, which is a relatively uncommon type with unknown significance to the city (Figure 121).

All coins from the *conventus* feature the nest hairstyle. The opposing bust obverses from Heraclea Salbace are clearly carved by a different and more skilled engraver than the solo obverse type from the same mint (Figure 120, 121).

The portraits from Trapezopolis and the solo obverse type at Attuda bear a strong similarity with one another (Figure 118, 119). Given the close relationship between the two cities, it seems likely that these were made by the same hand.<sup>480</sup> These coins feature an additional element rarely seen among nest type coins: two dots above the centre of the frontal crest of hair, which is seen across multiple dies. This element is seen on some of the Alexandrian coins of both this type and the queue type, which I have interpreted below as a knot. This therefore seems to be another example of a mint using Alexandrian models instead of Roman imperial models for its coinage. There is, however, a similar knot found images of the Boule on coins from Trapezopolis, so it must also have had a local significance.<sup>481</sup> The knot generally had an apotropaic association in the ancient world, and it is likely this meaning that was intended here.<sup>482</sup>

One type from Attuda without imperial portrait has been assigned to Hadrian's reign based in part on the Tyche's similarity to Sabina's portraits, but I believe that these similarities are overstated (Figure 122).<sup>483</sup> The same physiognomy and hairstyle are

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<sup>480</sup> The available coins from Attuda are in worse condition, so it is possible that this conclusion will not hold up in the face of better-quality samples.

<sup>481</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2264.

<sup>482</sup> On the apotropaic meaning of the square knot, see Nicgorski 1995: 21-31.

<sup>483</sup> *RPC* III: 279, cat. 2260.

visible on coins from the same mint assigned to either the reign of Domitian or Trajan.<sup>484</sup> Both the facial features and coiffeur are also common for divinities in general. This does not disprove a Hadrianic dating for these coins, but there is no reason to link them with Sabina.

The Trapezopolis issue struck during the magistracy of Titus Flavius Maximus Lysias, to which the Sabina coins belongs, was dated to the mid-120s by the *RPC* before the discovery of the Sabina portrait coins, although the reasoning is unclear.<sup>485</sup> Now that these coins are known, the issue cannot date earlier than 128. The central dot on the obverse portrait is not visible on the Alexandrian nest-type coins until 131/2, although it can be seen on queue-type coins from the previous year. It is therefore likely that the coins from Trapezopolis and the similar looking coins from Attuda were struck no earlier than 131/2. Since the remaining coins from Attuda were struck under the same magistrate, they must also date within this range. The coins from Harpasa and Heraclea Salbace cannot be dated more narrowly than 128-137.

This *conventus* is one of the Asian districts with the least plentiful coinage for Sabina. When considering this regionally, her coinage is prominent in the northern and north-eastern areas of Caria, while completely absent in the western and southern areas of the region. This corresponds with the absence of minting in the neighbouring Conventus of Halicarnassus. None of the minting cities are very large and none seem to have minted more than a single issue.

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<sup>484</sup> *RPC* II: cat. 1233; *RPC* III: 279.

<sup>485</sup> *RPC* III: 280.

*Conventus of Cibyra*

The Conventus of Cibyra is composed entirely of Phrygian cities. There were five active mints under Hadrian, all of which issued coins with the emperor's portrait. While none issued coins in honour of Antinous, three issued coins for Aelius, a larger presence than normal for Hadrian's short-lived heir. Portraits of women were produced previously at all these mints with the exception of Colossae.<sup>486</sup> Sabina's portrait is found on the bronze of four cities, Cibyra, Colossae, Laodicea, and Hydrela, and on the reverse of *cistophori* from the fifth, Hierapolis (Figure 123-129).<sup>487</sup> This is the second district in Asia which minted Sabina's portrait on coins from all active mints, although one only on *cistophori*.

The reverse inscriptions are combinations of ethnic and magistrate names for the most part.<sup>488</sup> The reading of the first word on some of the coins from Cibyra has been debated.<sup>489</sup> The current interpretation, that it reads ΠΙCΙΑΙΚΗ, is based on comparison with a Geta coin from the same mint.<sup>490</sup> The verb ANEΘHKEN appears after the name of the magistrate on the coins from Colossae, Hydrela, and Laodice. This shows that the person personally dedicated the coinage, as opposed to their name just indicating the year, similar to the proposed function of ΔΙΑ.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>486</sup> Plotina and Matidia appear on coins from Laodicea. Earlier women also include possible portraits of Laodice herself on bronzes from the second century BCE in Laodicea (Head 1906: lxxiv, cat. Laodikea 31; Hoover 2012: 263).

<sup>487</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Cibyra: 2301-2304; Colossae: 2310-2311; Laodicea: 2332-2336; Hydrela: 2361; Hierapolis: 1394.

<sup>488</sup> The *cistophori* use the inscription SABINA AVGVSTA since she is the reverse type.

<sup>489</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2304.

<sup>490</sup> *RPC* III: 285.

<sup>491</sup> *RPC* III: 866.

The reverse types are mostly either Panhellenic deities or common personifications.<sup>492</sup> The Nike type from Laodicea is previous seen on the reverses of local obverse type coins from Domitian's reign.<sup>493</sup> Given the obverse type of either Roma or Athena, the writers of the *RPC* conclude that the type is related to an imperial victory.<sup>494</sup> It unclear if the same is true for the use of the type with Sabina obverses.

The other noteworthy reverse type is the basket seen on the reverse of coins from Cibyra (Figure 125). The design does not match other common baskets such as the grain basket or the *cista mystica*. This type is accompanied by the reverse inscription ΠΙCΙΑΙΚΗ ΚΙΒΥΡΑΤΩΝ, presumably indicating that the basket is related to Thea Pisidike, a local goddess. The same basket is seen on many later coins from the mint, mostly without the ΠΙCΙΑΙΚΗ label.<sup>495</sup> Representations of the goddess herself wearing the basket on her head are found on coins struck at Cibyra under Marcus Aurelius, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander.<sup>496</sup> This basket appears to have become an emblem of the city by this later period and is found with various deities and types.

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<sup>492</sup> Athena is found on coins from Cibyra with Domitia on the obverse (*RPC* II: cat. 1265). The Asclepius and Tyche types are new to the mint but are very common types throughout the east. Tyche is also found on coins with Sabina's portrait from Laodicea and Hydrela. The Artemis type from Colossae could be related to their local hunting god, as exemplified by the version of Zeus found on coins from this mint (Hoover 2012: 260). If not, she is still a common Panhellenic type. There was a sanctuary to Zeus Laodiceus in Laodicea and according to myth he had a role in the founding of the city (Hoover 2012: 262). He is the most common reverse type from this mint (Head 1896: lxxxii; *RPC* III: 228). Cybele also appears on other coins from Laodicea, possibly as early as the second century BCE (Head 1906: cat. Laodikea 22; Hoover 2012: 263). The Capitoline Triad type is similarly Panhellenic.

<sup>493</sup> E.g. *RPC* II: cat. 1293.

<sup>494</sup> *RPC* II: 194.

<sup>495</sup> *RPC* IV.2: cat. 1950, 1954; *RPC* VI: cat. 5405, 5412 (temporary numbers). The Geta coin described in the *RPC* (III: 285) is not in the online catalogue as of this writing.

<sup>496</sup> *RPC* IV.2: 1947, 2970, 2971; *RPC* VI: cat. 5406 and 5418 (all temporary).

Thea Pisidike must have been an important deity for Cibyra and, based on her name, was associated with the city's Pisidian origins. While it is known that Cibyra's traditional foundation was from Pisidia, during Hadrian's reign there was a concerted effort to promote the idea that the city was a Spartan foundation.<sup>497</sup> This, presumably newly invented, Greek origin story resulted in the city's acceptance into the Panhellenion. So why during this time do they choose to make such an explicit statement of Pisidian heritage on their coinage for the first time? It is likely that the type postdates the city's acceptance in the Panhellenion, as discussed below, so it may be the case that the city promoted its Spartan origin only for as long as was necessary. While Greekness appears to be the most important criterion for admission into the Panhellenion, perhaps a cursory effort in this regard was sufficient if the city had a strong enough relationship with Rome and the Emperor. Given the popularity of Thea Pisidike in various forms on the coinage of the city after Hadrian's reign, it seems that the local realities quickly superseded the public fiction.

One obverse inscription from Laodicea, CABEINA CEBACTH AΔPIANOY CEBACTOY (Figure 128), includes Hadrian's titles, which is very rare on provincial coins. The portraits on these coins are of much higher quality than the other coins from this mint.<sup>498</sup> This corresponds with a distinction in reverse legends, with the better-

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<sup>497</sup> Boatwright 2000a: 149; Oliver 1970: cat. 6; Romeo 2002: 26; Spawforth and Walker 1985: 82; Weiß 2004: 192-193.

<sup>498</sup> *RPC* III: cat 2332-2334 are by a different hand than 2335 and 2336.

quality obverses including the magistrate's name and the lesser quality ones lacking this feature.<sup>499</sup> These coins were therefore struck at two different times.

The lesser quality coins closely resemble Matidia's coins from the same mint, which could indicate an earlier date, possibly prior to the creation of an official Sabina model (Figure 127, 130 (Matidia)). Matidia's coins were likely struck in 116/117, immediately before Hadrian's accession, so perhaps Sabina's portraits are a direct continuation of this production.<sup>500</sup> The higher quality coins must date no earlier than 129 because of the use of the title *Olympios* for Hadrian.<sup>501</sup> The imperial travelling group visited the city in June 129.<sup>502</sup> This would explain the unique obverse type and inscription, which closely resembles coins from the imperial mint. The city might have commissioned a special engraver for the occasion, or perhaps the engraver of these coins was part of Hadrian's retinue.

Two distinct hands are also observable for the Cibyan coins.<sup>503</sup> There is no distinction in reverse legend as is found on the Laodicean coins, but a chronological divide is also likely here. There is a die link between one of the better-quality Sabina coins and an Aelius coin, which suggests that these coins belong to the same issue, which must date to 136-137 (Figure 124).<sup>504</sup> The lesser-quality coins likely date prior to this, since Sabina's death comes shortly after that of Aelius (Figure 125). Even the higher-

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<sup>499</sup> Coins 2335 and 2336 include the magistrate's name whereas the others contain just the ethnic.

<sup>500</sup> *RPC* III: 287-288.

<sup>501</sup> *RPC* III: 228.

<sup>502</sup> Birley 1997: 222; Halfmann 1986: 204; *JGR* 4 1033; *RPC* III: 228.

<sup>503</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2301 and 2302 are clearly different from 2303 and 2304.

<sup>504</sup> *RPC* III: 285.

quality coins from this mint are not of the same caliber as those from Laodicea and also lack the special obverse inscription. There is not the same evidence here to support a connection with travels.<sup>505</sup>

The portrait on the *cistophori* attributed by the *RPC* to Hierapolis is clearly based on the imperial model (Figure 123).<sup>506</sup> These coins were likely struck between 128-130, as is the case with all of Hadrian's *cistophori*. The coins without magistrate name from Laodicea, the higher quality Cibyan coins, and the coins from Hydrela seem to be based on a common model. None can date earlier than 129 and the Cibyan coins likely date to 136-137.<sup>507</sup> The Laodicean coins were produced first, likely around June 129, and the coins from the other two mints were produced based on them to the best of the local engravers' abilities. In the case of the mint at Cibyra, this happened several years later. The Hydrelan coins likely date to sometime between these two issues (Figure 129).

The coins from Colossae accurately reproduced the imperial queue portrait type with the band variant (Figure 126). These coins can be dated between 130/1 and 137 based on portrait type. Those signed by Oct. Apollonios Oua. must date to 136-137 because of Aelius's presence in the issue.<sup>508</sup> The coins from the two issues look very similar in both their obverse and reverse types, which might suggest that they are close chronologically.

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<sup>505</sup> Similarly, Head's (1906: lxxx) theory that all Roman era coins from this mint date to festival years cannot be proven.

<sup>506</sup> The type was unknown to Metcalf 1980 (discussion of Hierapolis pg. 64-67). On the mint attribution for this type, see *RPC* III: 173.

<sup>507</sup> The Hydrelan coins are part of an issue that includes the title Olympios (*RPC* III: 292).

<sup>508</sup> *RPC* III: 286.



Although there were only four active *aes* mints issuing coins for Sabina in this district, they produced a large number of types, with only one producing just a single type. It also appears that coins with Sabina's image were produced in multiple issues at three of the mints, Cibyra, Colossae, and Laodicea, showing a sustained minting.

#### *Conventus of Sardis*

The *conventus* is comprised of cities from Lydia and Phrygia. Sixteen mints were active during Hadrian's reign, all of which produced coinage with his portrait. Tmolus, Sardis, and Sala all produced coinage for Antinous, while Aelius appears with Hadrian on coins from Tmolus. Thirteen mints struck coinage for Sabina in the district.<sup>509</sup> All of these are solo obverses, and all the coinage is *aes* (Figure 131-146).

Minting for women of the previous generations is plentiful although not on the same scale as Sabina's. Domitia is the most frequently represented of the earlier imperial woman and is found on coins from seven mints. Plotina appears at three mints, Sardis, Ancyra, and Iulia Gordus and Marciana also makes a rare appearance at Sardis. While this number is small compared to other imperial women, it is substantial in comparison with their minting in most other regions.

The reverse inscriptions from the *conventus* rarely include any information besides the ethnic. One type from Sardis includes a label for the river Hermos.<sup>510</sup> Magistrate names are found on coins from Bagis and Aezani. There is debate over

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<sup>509</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Tmolus: 2388, 2388A; Sardis: 2403-2305; Daldis: 2415A; Sala: 2445; Blaundus: 2450; Bagis 2460A; Grimenothyrae: 2491, 2492; Cadi: 2500, 2501; Aezani: 2508, 2509; Tiberiopolis: 2519; Ancyra: 2541; Saitta: 2544; Iulia Gordus: 2554, 2555. *RPC* III: 2305 is a misread type that has now been attributed to Cyme (see the online entry).

<sup>510</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2405.

whether the inscription from Aezani should be read as EIII M or EIIIM. Those assuming the former interpret the M as the magistrate's praenomen.<sup>511</sup> The authors of the *RPC* believe the correct reading to be the latter as an abbreviation of επιμεληθείς, “having attended to/been curator of”, or another form of the same verb, indicating that the magistrate was personally responsible for the coinage.<sup>512</sup>

The reverse types from the district are all either Panhellenic deities or river gods, except for two.<sup>513</sup> The first is a hero type from Tmolus, whose specific meaning is obscure, but which must have had significance to the locals (Figure 131).<sup>514</sup> The second is from Sardis and is described as Sabina veiled in the *RPC* (Figure 134).<sup>515</sup> The image is, however, not labelled, unlike all other full-bodied reverses that have been identified as Sabina. The details of the hairstyle are obscured by the veil. The best indication that

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<sup>511</sup> Von Aulock 1979: 84.

<sup>512</sup> *RPC* III: 311, 864.

<sup>513</sup> The significance of Apollo, a frequently type at Tmolus, to the city is unclear, but is likely associated with Mount Tmolus as the other gods on the coinage are (Foss 1982: 184-185; Head 1901: cxxxii). The *RPC* (III: 297) suggests that it is associated with a contest between Pan and Apollo for which Tmolus was the judge. Another Apollo type appears at Daldis, where the local version of Apollo was frequently represented (Head 1901: 1). Apollo appears on pre-Roman Sardian coinage (Head 1901: cat. Sardis 10). Cybele appears on the coinage from Sala on its earliest coinage, which was produced under Domitian (*RPC* II: cat. 1343). Artemis Ephesia appears on reverses from Cadi, Ancyra, and Iulia Gordus. For the dissemination of the cult of Artemis Ephesia throughout the Roman world, see Oster 1990: 1703-1706. Another Artemis type is found commonly at Tiberiopolis, but the relevance is unclear. Demeter appears on coins from both Blaundus and Bagis, both of which saw the goddess on earlier coinage (*RPC* II: cat. 1348, 1356). Athena's significance to Grimenothyrae is unclear, but she is featured on Trajanic coinage as well (*RPC* III: 2484; for Athena's relevance in Asia, see Parker 2016). Asclepius first appears on the coinage of Aezani under Domitian (*RPC* II: cat. 1370). The Hygeia type from the mint is new but is related to the cult of Asclepius. Coinage began at Saitta under Hadrian, but the Dionysus type continued to be used during later emissions (e.g. *RPC* IV.2: cat. 9961 (temporary)). River god types appear at Sardis and Iulia Gordus, both of which do not require further explanation.

<sup>514</sup> *RPC* III; cat. 2388A

<sup>515</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2404.

Sabina is the intended subject is in the lack of attributes and therefore lack of obvious alternative interpretation. This is, however, not a strong enough argument for an identification with the Empress.

As in most places, the nest is the most common portrait type. The type found at Sardis has a very high frontal crest of hair, a diadem at the centre of the head, and the basket of hair on the back of the head (Figure 132, 133). This type closely resembles coins found at Cibyra, Germe, and Hypaepa. Sardis and Hypaepa are close to one another and therefore the similarities are likely the result of a shared model. Cibyra and Germe are much further away, but travelling die engravers are a possibility.<sup>516</sup>

The portraits on the coins from Iulia Gordus and Daldis have strong similarities to each other and differ considerably from the imperial model in the proportions of the various elements of the hairstyle (Figure 135, 145). The basket element is at the very back of the head and there is a lot of empty space between it and the diadem. These cities are close neighbours, and the coins were likely produced by the same hand.

A large group of the remaining coins, including those from Aezani, Blaundus, Cadi, and Tiberiopolis, as well as one version of the type from Grimenothyrae, all share one distinct element (Figure 137, 140, 141, 142, 144).<sup>517</sup> While there is some texture regularly seen in the frontal crest of hair on coins for this type, all of the coins listed emphasize this much more than is common on either provincial or imperial coinage. The

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<sup>516</sup> The idea of itinerant engravers has been controversial but has mostly focused on the significance of the reverse types to the city where they were minted. The idea of obverse dies being produced for multiple mints by the same artist has not been met with the same amount of controversy. For a summary of this debate, see Brandt 2002: n. 124.

<sup>517</sup> Grimenothyrae: *RPC* III: cat. 2492.

elements show much clearer separation, and the top appears as a series of hills instead of being relatively uniform. There are significant differences between the portraits from this group, which suggest that these were not made from a common hand but might have influenced each other.

It is noteworthy that this variant is commonly found in the same *conventus* as Marciana's coins from Sardis, where she is seen wearing a similar hairstyle (Figure 147). Marciana's portrait is extremely rare on provincial coinage.<sup>518</sup> Since she died in 112 and is not represented as a *diva*, her appearance on the Sardian coins must date to that year or earlier.<sup>519</sup> Marciana's appearance is most similar to the coins from Cadi. There is one key typological difference between the two: the Sabina coins only have one row of the diadem-like ridge of bumps whereas the Marciana type has two. This corresponds with the distinction in their canonical types. With this large break between the two, it is interesting that these ridges carried over from the Marciana coins. It might not, however be this simple. The previously mentioned coins from Laodicea of Sabina and Matidia I (Figure 127, 130) bear striking resemblance to the Sabina coin from Cadi and the Marciana ones from Sardis. The Matidia I coin has only one row of bumps, while the Sabina one confusingly has two. It seems likely that these were all made by the same artist or at least with direct reference to one another. Working on the relative sequence is challenging. The Marciana portrait certainly comes first, and likely the Matidia one second. It is possible that both Sabina coins predate the official introduction of her

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<sup>518</sup> She appears on obverses from three mints and reverses from three as well. Only three of these represent her with the basket hairstyle.

<sup>519</sup> *RPC* (III: 297) tentatively suggests the year 112 itself.

coinage since they each appear to be based on these older types. The Cadi one is a better match for Sabina's canonical hairstyle, making it the more likely candidate for a post-128 date. The style from these portraits seems to have influenced the other mints in the region that produced portraits which were more clearly designed from Sabina's nest portrait type but retained the more prominent ridges on the frontal crest of hair.

The remaining nest-based portraits, those from Ancyra, Bagis, and Saitta, and the remaining coins from Grimenothyrae, do not bear a strong resemblance to other coins or each other.<sup>520</sup> The Saitta coins adhere fairly well to the imperial model (Figure 146), while the Bagis coins show an effort to adhere to the type with several inaccurate elements and a highly generalized physiognomy (Figure 138). The Ancyra coins depict Sabina with a much smaller head in proportion to the hairstyle than is normal but the hairstyle itself appears relatively regular for provincial coinage (Figure 143). These proportional issues are likely due to the very small module, as was also the case with the coins from Tenos. The remaining Grimenothyrae coins have a unique appearance, with the basket element encircling a much larger area than usual (Figure 139).

The queue is seen much more frequently on coins from this *conventus* than it is in most other places, appearing at three mints: Tmolus, Sardis, and Sala (Figure 131, 134, 136). All of these coins are fairly successful in their reproduction of the type but contain the same noteworthy variation. The Empress wears a diadem on all of these coins instead of the customary band or wreath, replacing the crest of hair that is usually present. No other provincial coins feature this variant, but it is seen in one portrait in the round that

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<sup>520</sup> Grimenothyrae: *RPC* III: cat. 2491.

was found in Rome (**cat. 10**). A detailed interpretation of the type and the possible connection between the portrait in Rome and these coins is found in Chapter Three.

The coins from Tmolus most likely date to 136-137 because of the presence of Aelius in coins that are probably from the issue.<sup>521</sup> The Salan coins likely belong to the same issue as the Antinous coins from the same mint, dating the issue to 134-137.<sup>522</sup> The queue type coins from Sardis must date to 130/1 or later based on portrait type. Given the similar date range for the queue type coins from Tmolus and Sala, a date within this period is also most likely for the Sardis coins. While it is possible that the nest type coins from Sardis belong to the same issue, this would indicate a larger output than is reasonable. The nest issue likely predates the queue issue since the queue coins were likely produced near the end of Sabina's provincial minting.

The two versions of Sabina's portrait from Grimenothyrae, since they are found on the same denomination and have very distinct appearances, likely belong to separate issues. Two issues are known for Hadrian and Sabina's coins likely belong to these. Given the quality of the portraits, the Sabina coins resembling the Marciana/Matidia type more likely belong to the Asklepiades Apoll. issue and those without that feature to the Loukios Tullios Per. issue. Given the connection with the Marciana type, the Asklepaides Apoll. issue is likely the earlier of the two issues, but a precise date for either is not possible.

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<sup>521</sup> *RPC* III: 297.

<sup>522</sup> *RPC* III: 302.

The coins from Daldis and Iulia Gordus were likely struck around the same time as one another, but a narrower dating is not possible.<sup>523</sup> A different magistrate signed the Sabina coins from Bagis than the other known coins from the mint.<sup>524</sup> The year of either issue is not known, although the Hadrian coins might date to the end of his reign.<sup>525</sup> The *RPC* suggests that the Sabina coins from Cadi belong to the same issue as the Hadrian coins struck during the archonship of Diogenes, but a specific date for this issue is not proposed.<sup>526</sup> The remaining coins cannot be dated more narrowly than 128-137. No imperial travels within the *conventus* are known during the period of Sabina's coinage, but it is possible that the major reconstruction of a temple to Artemis which also incorporated the imperial cult took place during Hadrian's reign.<sup>527</sup>

The Sardinian *conventus* shows both interesting local variants as well as evidence of connections with other mints throughout Asia. The frequent use of the queue portrait type shows an attention to imperial portrait trends, while the variant on it perhaps shows the mints' freedom and an interesting connection with private courtly portraiture from the city of Rome. The evidence from the Marciana/Matidia influenced coins suggests

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<sup>523</sup> The Iulia Gordus coins likely belong to the signed series of Hadrian coins from the same mint, but this series is undated (*RPC* III: 317).

<sup>524</sup> The Sabina coins are signed by a magistrate named Gaius, who also signed coins under Trajan (*RPC* III: cat. 2452-2454). The number of times he held the magistracy was not indicated on the Sabina coins. It is, however, not possible that the coins were struck in the same year (i.e. 117) because the portrait type must date after 128 and the Trajanic Gaius issue has been dated to early in his reign (*RPC* III: 305). It is possible that these are different Gaiuses, given the commonness of the name.

<sup>525</sup> *RPC* III: 305.

<sup>526</sup> *RPC* III: 310.

<sup>527</sup> See Yegül 2010 for information on the temple. Vermeule (2000: 18) suggests that Sabina travelled to Sardis with Hadrian in 125 and inspired some to name their female children after her, but there is not strong evidence for either claim.

possible travelling engravers and at the very least connections between cities in different districts.

*Conventus of Apamea*

The Conventus of Apamea was comprised entirely of cities from Phrygia with the exception of Tripolis, which was located in Lydia and was not an active mint under Hadrian. Eight other mints produced coinage under Hadrian, all of which minted portraits of the emperor. No coins were produced for either Aelius or Antinous. Sabina is found on coins from only two cities: Eumenea and Eucarpia (Figure 148, 149).<sup>528</sup> Only a single type is known for her at each of these mints. She appears alone as the obverse on all of these coins.

The *RPC* assigns another type to Dionysopolis which has opposing busts of Sabina and Hadrian on the obverse and Dionysus on the reverse (Figure 150).<sup>529</sup> Upon comparison with coins from Nysa, however, it is clear that these use the same dies (Figure 110).<sup>530</sup> I have assigned these coins to Nysa because the C at the end ΔIONYCOC the reverse inscription is clearly visible on samples, making it impossible for it to read ΔIONYCOΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. Nysa also previously minted opposing bust coins for Domitian and Domitia with a similar appearance, whereas Dionysopolis has no similar history.<sup>531</sup>

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<sup>528</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Eumenea: 2584; Eucarpia: 2589.

<sup>529</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2575.

<sup>530</sup> Nysa: *RPC* III: cat. 2091. The Panther is not visible on the image on the *RPC* online for Dionysopolis, but it is visible in another specimen assigned to the same mint at Yale (2004.6.327).

<sup>531</sup> *RPC* II: cat. 1114.



This district produced some of the earliest known coins with the portrait of a Roman woman. Eumenea was renamed Fulvia by Antony and the city struck coins with unlabelled portraits of his wife.<sup>532</sup> Following this, Livia, Agrippina Minor, and Domitia were represented at this mint. Livia and Agrippina Minor appear at three additional mints each. Eucarpia only previously minted for Livia.

The reverse types from the district are unremarkable. Although Tyche and Cybele are new for their respective mints of Eumenea and Eucarpia, they are common types throughout Asia.<sup>533</sup> Eumenea uses just the ethnic for its reverse inscriptions. Eucarpia includes the name of the magistrate, Pedia Secunda, introduced by EIII. Other coins from the same issue include EΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΙΧΗC in the place of EΠΙ, likely indicating that the issue was personally provided for by Pedia Secunda.<sup>534</sup> The coins produced for either Augustus or Tiberius, the only previous Roman coins produced at this mint, are signed by a man, whereas the coins produced for Livia are signed by a woman who is labelled as a priestess, paralleling the Sabina/Hadrian issue.<sup>535</sup> That these women were the wives of the eponymous magistrates, as the *RPC* suggests, is not a necessity.<sup>536</sup> It is noteworthy that with these coins, and nowhere else to my knowledge, there was a correlation between the gender of the dedicator and that of the dedicatee. This pattern is abandoned by Hadrian's successor.<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>532</sup> Harvey 2020: 6, 34-39; *RPC* I: 38.

<sup>533</sup> References to a cult for Cybele are found on other coins from Eucarpia, see Head 1906: lix-ix.

<sup>534</sup> *RPC* III: 323, 864.

<sup>535</sup> *RPC* I: 511.

<sup>536</sup> *RPC* III: 323.

<sup>537</sup> The coins for Faustina Minor are signed by the same male magistrate as Antoninus Pius's own coins: *RPC* IV.2: 1982 (temporary).

While the obverse inscriptions from Eucarpia are standard, the inscription used at Eumeneia is the most noteworthy in all of Sabina's provincial coinage as the only added epithet on her coinage. The inscription reads CABINA CEB MHTHP ΘEΩN, with the "Mother of the Gods" referring to an indigenous Phrygian goddess often syncretized with Cybele. Chiai argues that she was also sometimes a city goddess and Tyche types from Phrygia are related to her, the same type that appears on Sabina's reverses from this mint.<sup>538</sup> The explicit reference to Sabina's divinity while still alive is paralleled by some provincial inscriptions but is absent on coinage. The Eumenean mint had a history of honouring women above what was customary with the creation of the Fulvia coins and minting for so many previous empresses. There is also precedent for elevated titles for women on coins from this mint in Livia's coins, on which one obverse type names her as HPA Λ(E)IBIA.<sup>539</sup> It should be noted that elevated titles like this were more common at that time. No other women before or after Sabina were honoured on Eumenean coinage in this way.

References to Eumeneia's Greekness, in the introduction of Argive Hera as a reverse type and AXAIΩN in the city's titulature, are present under Hadrian.<sup>540</sup> Hadrian is styled as Olympios and Panhellenios on some coins from this mint, the latter title being

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<sup>538</sup> Chiai 2012: 56-57, 64.

<sup>539</sup> *RPC* I: cat. 3143.

<sup>540</sup> Bowie 1970: 30-31; *RPC* III: 322.

quite rare.<sup>541</sup> All of these suggest explicit efforts to promote the city's Greekness at this time to please the emperor and gain admission into the Panhellenion.<sup>542</sup>

One would expect that the divine titulature on Sabina's coins would be linked to this effort, but the connection is not as readily apparent. Instead of being presented as Hera, wife to Hadrian's Zeus Olympios/Panhellenios, as Livia was, Sabina is Meter Theon. While she was certainly admitted into the Greek and Roman Pantheons, this mother goddess always retained her identity as a foreign, in particular Phrygian, goddess.<sup>543</sup> As mentioned by Weiß, the Eumeneans did not see a problem with celebrating both their Hellenistic and supposed Greek origins and their acceptance into the Panhellenion might have been more connected with their positive relationship with Rome and the Emperor than their claim of Argive ancestry.<sup>544</sup> The rest of the Eumenean coinage is much more explicit about its Greek origins and its membership in the Panhellenion than that of any other city.<sup>545</sup> Perhaps those choosing the coin designs wanted to honour their Phrygian origins on this one type to balance the emphasis on the city's Greek origins on the remaining coinage.

For such a unique inscription, the accompanying portrait on the Eumenean coins is quite regular. It is a nest type with the details of the hairstyle elongated. It most closely resembles coins from Aezani and Sardis. The lack of coherent message between

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<sup>541</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 2581.

<sup>542</sup> The city was not included in the Panhellenion by Spawforth and Walker or Boatwright but was added by Romeo 2002 and Weiß 2000: 618. Whether or not these origins were at all connected with reality is discussed in Weiß 2000.

<sup>543</sup> On the origins of the cult, see Roller 1999. On the Roman views on this foreign cult, see Beard 1994.

<sup>544</sup> Weiß 2000: 625-626.

<sup>545</sup> Weiß 2000: 621-622.

these and the other Hadrianic coinage from the mint could also be an indication of a chronological distinction. However, the titles used for Sabina are most likely meant to parallel Hadrian's Olympios Panhellenios titulature, and therefore these coins should belong to the same issue, which dates ca. 131/2.<sup>546</sup> The lack of ΑΧΑΙΩΝ in the reverse inscription is probably due to the smaller size of the coins and is not an indication of separate issues.

The coins from Eucarpia use the rare chignon type. The type is very faithfully reproduced from the imperial models, but Sabina is wearing a crown of wheat instead of a laurel and the diadem is absent. The reason behind this change is unclear, but it must be intentional given the high quality of the coins. These coins were likely produced during the type's brief run at the imperial mint, ca. 129/130. The same *terminus post quem* was established by the *RPC* for Hadrian's emission based on the inclusion of Hadrian's title Olympios.<sup>547</sup> It is likely that these coins all formed one large issue, as was proposed for the parallel Augustus or Tiberius/Livia issue. Hadrian and company were in Apamea on July 23<sup>rd</sup> of 129, an appropriate occasion for the minting of these coins.<sup>548</sup>

With only two minting cities, both mints provide some rarities. At Eumeneia, the only divine titles associated with Sabina on coinage are found. At Eucarpia, the use of the very rarely seen portrait type allows for a narrow dating and possible association with the Hadrian issue, as well as a connection with imperial travels.

#### *Conventus of Synnada*

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<sup>546</sup> *RPC* III: 322.

<sup>547</sup> *RPC* III: 323.

<sup>548</sup> Birley 1997: 223; Halfmann 1989: 193, 204.

This remote *conventus* was composed entirely of Phrygian cities. The minting cities are very spread out and produced coinage only sporadically. Three mints are known to have been active under Hadrian: Palaeobeudus, Dorylaeum, and Amorium. The first two minted coinage for the Emperor and Amorium produced coins for Antinous. Dorylaeum is the only city that issued coinage for Sabina (Figure 151).<sup>549</sup> Three mints produced coinage for previous empresses, but Dorylaeum is not one of them.<sup>550</sup>

The coins cannot be dated more specifically than 128-137. The reverse inscription found with Sabina's obverses at Dorylaeum is just the city's ethnic and the obverse inscription is the normal CABEINA CEBACTH. The reverse types are Cybele and a Genius. The former is the standard type for the denomination on which it appears.<sup>551</sup> The latter is new but lacks an obvious local or topical explanation. The portrait type features a basket of hair swooping all the way to the front of the head that occupies much more space than on coins from anywhere else. No other coins offer obvious parallels.

### Cilicia

The Roman province of Cilicia was re-established by Vespasian in 72 CE after unrest between its original founding in 103 BCE and that date.<sup>552</sup> The province was possibly expanded to include Isauria and Lycaonia, formerly part of Galatia, following

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<sup>549</sup> *RPC* III: 2641, 2642.

<sup>550</sup> The most active mint in this respect was Cotiaeum, which produced coinage for four previous empresses but was inactive during Hadrian's reign. Synnada and Docimeum produced coins for one empress each.

<sup>551</sup> *RPC* III: 331; Head 1906: lvii, cat. Dorylaeum 1.

<sup>552</sup> *RPC* III: 399; Hill 1900: xxix.

Hadrian's visit in 131.<sup>553</sup> In order to remain consistent with the *RPC*, the province of Cilicia here refers only to the territories of Cilicia Tracheia and Cilicia Pedias.

There are up to twenty-three active mints known during Hadrian's reign in the province. Four of these, Tarsus, Aegeae, Seleucia ad Calycadnum, and Mopsus, produced silver coinage.<sup>554</sup> Twenty-one mints displayed the emperor's portrait on their coins, while the remaining two, Adana and Alexandria ad Issum, have only local obverse type coins attested.<sup>555</sup> Aelius appears at two mints, Augusta and Cestrus, and Antinous appears at three, Tarsus, Mallus, and Aegeae. All of these except for Cestrus are in Cilicia Pedias. Sabina appears on the coins of ten mints: Cestrus, Seleucia ad Calycadnum, Corycus, Pompeiopolis, Zephyrion, Tarsus, Mallus, Aegeae, Mopsus, and Epiphanea (Figure 152-166).<sup>556</sup> Three of these are in Cilicia Tracheia, with the rest in Cilicia Pedias.

No previous woman appears on the coins of Cilicia Tracheia and there was almost no minting in the region in general prior to Domitian. In Cilicia Pedias, ten different mints issued coins with female portraits, eight of these only on one occasion.<sup>557</sup> Livia regularly appeared on the coinage of her namesake city, Augusta, including during Hadrian's reign. No other imperial women appear on the coinage of that city.

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<sup>553</sup> *RPC* III: 399.

<sup>554</sup> For the purpose of this coinage, see Haymann 2014, esp. 154.

<sup>555</sup> *RPC* III: 420, 431.

<sup>556</sup> *RPC* III type numbers: Cestrus: 3188; Seleucia ad Calycadnum: 3235; Corycus: 3243A; Pompeiopolis: 3245; Zephyrion: 3251-3253; Tarsus: 3275-3277, 3284; Mallus: 3326; Aegeae: 3350-3352, 3354; Mopsus: 3360-3361; Epiphanea: 3394.

<sup>557</sup> Mopsus issued coins for both Domitia and Livia, and Anazarbus issued coins for all of the Trajanic Augustae and Domitia. The latter mint does not appear to have been active under Hadrian.

Sabina occupies the reverse of the coins at seven of the ten mints.<sup>558</sup> On most of these coins, the reverse inscription includes her name, with the city's ethnic and the local year are also frequently included. The AV on some of the Sabina reverses from Tarsus and Pompeiopolis is likely short for Augusta to parallel the ΠΠΠ, short for Pater Patriae, on the obverse, even though Sebaste is already included.<sup>559</sup> The coins from Mopsus intentionally mimic the Tarsian titulature in their inclusion of the unusual ΠΟΛΕΩΣ, which mirrors Tarsus's metropolis title.<sup>560</sup>

Many reverse legends in the province allude to imperial benefactions or visits, which is highly irregular for provincial coinage. Zephyrion, Tarsus, and Mopsus added Hadriane or Hadrianopolis to their titulature during Hadrian's reign, likely during the time of his visit to the province in 131.<sup>561</sup> The coins from Aegeae began using Hadriane in 129, likely in connection with a visit in the summer of that year during which a temple of Asclepius was granted by Hadrian.<sup>562</sup> The epithet is only found on coins until 130/131, which Haymann views as an indication that the title celebrated the temple's dedication and was not intended as a permanent element of the city's titulature.<sup>563</sup> At Seleucia ad Calycadnum, ΘΗΓ ΙΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΑΓ ΑΥΤ, "the sacred and inviolable", is found after the

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<sup>558</sup> Seleucia ad Calycadnum, Corycus, Pompeiopolis, Zephyrion, Tarsus, Aegeae, Mopsus, and Epiphanea.

<sup>559</sup> Hill 1900: lxxxix-xc; *RPC* III: 413.

<sup>560</sup> Hill 1900: cxii.

<sup>561</sup> On Zephyrion's adoption of this title: Levante 1988: 134. Tarsus: *RPC* III: 413. Mopsus: Hill 1900: cxii.

<sup>562</sup> Haymann 2014: 153-154.

<sup>563</sup> Haymann 2014: 155-156.

ethnic on some coins.<sup>564</sup> This likely refers to a special honour that the city received from the emperor, possibly during a visit in 131.<sup>565</sup> One reverse inscription from Zephyrion includes the word ΕΥΧΕΒΩΝ, “pious”, in the city’s titulature.<sup>566</sup> While the exact insinuation is unclear, it is likely also associated with an imperial benefaction.<sup>567</sup> All of these additions demonstrate an enthusiasm for Hadrian that is not so clearly expressed on coins from any other region. Hadrian increased the importance of coinage in Cilicia by his expansion of its silver production, which might partially explain the effusive inscriptions.

The obverse inscriptions include Sabina’s name, Hadrian’s name, or a combination of both, depending on who is depicted. The inclusion of ΑΥΓ after Sabina’s titulature at Mallus is possibly due to the influence of the redundant reverse inscriptions from Tarsus and Pompeiopolis. The inclusion of ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ on both the obverse and reverse inscriptions from Zephyrion promotes the city’s relationship with Hadrian.

Many of the reverse types represent Sabina herself. The other types are easily understood and do not appear to have any special significance to Hadrian’s reign or Sabina.<sup>568</sup>

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<sup>564</sup> The Sabina coins, one of Hadrian’s solo types, and the paired Artemis and Apollo coins includes this addition: *RPC III*: cat. 3233-3236.

<sup>565</sup> *RPC III*: 399. There is no direct evidence for this trip besides the coins, but it is on the route between known stops on the trip (*RPC III*: 409).

<sup>566</sup> *RPC III*: 3253.

<sup>567</sup> Hill 1900: lxxvi; Levante 1988: 136.

<sup>568</sup> The Europa type from Seleucia ad Calycadnum is probably related to the mythical founder of Cilicia, Cilix, who was Europa’s son (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1). Boule types, as seen at Tarsus, are common in provincial coinage. The Tyche types, as seen at Mallus and Aegeae, are



Non-canonical portraits attributed to Sabina are depicted on two types from Seleucia ad Calycadnum (Figure 165).<sup>569</sup> These coins feature standard representations of Artemis and Apollo, important gods in the city, opposite one another.<sup>570</sup> It is unlikely that these are meant to be representations of the imperial couple. These images contain no features that specifically relate to the portraiture of Hadrian or Sabina. On all other coins where both Hadrian and Sabina occupy the obverse, both of their names are included, whereas here, Sabina is not mentioned in either inscription.<sup>571</sup> The same type was issued at this mint under Hadrian without an inscription, which must be understood as a representation of Apollo and Artemis, since there is nothing on the coin to connect it with the imperial couple.<sup>572</sup> The same type reappears frequently on later reverses from the mint, again with no reference to imperial figures.<sup>573</sup> Paired obverses or reverses depicting the imperial couple are not found elsewhere in the province, so this representing Hadrian and Sabina would not fit with local tradition. The pairing of a local obverse type with the emperor's full titulature is also unusual, although irregular legends are common in Cilicia.

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also very common. The type from Mallus has local details added and closely resembles coins from Tarsus (e.g. *RPC* III: cat. 3254). There is no image available for the Aegeae type, but from its description it appears to be fairly standard. The star and crescent type from Cestrus seems to be related to the cult of Men (Levante 1991: 208). Similar types are found at nearby mints.

<sup>569</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 3234, 3236. Carandini (1969: 78) also tentatively attributes these images to Hadrian and Sabina.

<sup>570</sup> Hill 1900: lxiv-lxvi.

<sup>571</sup> The reading and meaning of one of the inscriptions that is tentatively read as AYT KAI TP AΔPIANOY ΓENH ETOYΓ is unclear and there is likely a spelling error involved. The other reads AYT KAI TP AΔPIANOΓ ΓEB II II ETOYΓ K.

<sup>572</sup> *RPC* III; cat. 3237.

<sup>573</sup> These types become extremely common in the later empire, but a few of the earlier examples are (all temporary numbers): *RPC* IV.3: cat. 5836, *RPC* VI: cat. 7043, *RPC* VIII: unassigned; ID 2169, 70283. The Commodus coin (*RPC* IV.3: cat. 5836) is labelled as Commodus and Crispina, but this presents the same problem as the Hadrianic coins, with no label of the Empress or Emperor appearing on the reverse and no visual connection to them.

Three mints produced silver: Aegeae, Tarsus, and Mopsus. The silver from Tarsus features two distinct variations on Sabina's portrait. On the first, the bust is surrounded by the crescent moon, displaying Sabina in the guise of Selene (Figure 158).<sup>574</sup> Hadrian is shown radiate on the obverse, making him Helios/Sol. Sabina's physiognomy is the furthest from her usual appearance here among all the coins from Tarsus. The second portrait rendition from Tarsus shows Sabina with a cornucopia on the reverse and Hadrian wearing a cuirass and laurel crown on the obverse (Figure 159).<sup>575</sup>

A third obverse type is attributed to this mint in the *RPC* on which Sabina is likened to Artemis, carrying a quiver on her shoulder, while a laureate Hadrian appears as Apollo on the obverse (Figure 166).<sup>576</sup> The reverse die on this coin exactly matches one from Mopsus and the obverse types are the same (Figure 163).<sup>577</sup> Mopsus is the correct attribution for all of these coins, since the legend is legible as *CABEINA CEB AΔPI MOΨEATΩN ΠOΛEΩC* when both coins are compared. A second die of the same type is also known for Mopsus, where the entire legend is legible (Figure 162).<sup>578</sup> On this die, a crescent moon is also present.

The remaining silver coins come from Aegeae (Figure 161). The known obverse dies were probably all carved by the same hand and are a fairly accurate reproduction of

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<sup>574</sup> Carandini 1969: 78; *RPC* III: cat. 3275.

<sup>575</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 3277.

<sup>576</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 3276.

<sup>577</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 3361.

<sup>578</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 3360.

the imperial model. The image of a goat which is found beneath Sabina's bust on these coins is common on the coinage of Aegeae and appear to have been a city emblem.<sup>579</sup>

The remaining coinage is *aes*. All feature the nest portrait type, and none have any additional embellishments as found on the silver. There are no similarities between any of the bronzes strong enough to indicate that they were carved by the same hand. I have unfortunately been unable to access an image of the *aes* from Aegeae.

Much of the coinage in the province has the date included in the inscription. At Aegeae, dated silver coins were struck in 129/130, 130/131, and 133/134, while the bronze dates to 128/129. Haymann argues that the bronze and the first year of the silver production are connected with an imperial visit to the city in which Hadrian commissioned a temple of Asclepius.<sup>580</sup> He argues that the silver from this and the 130/131 issue was struck to commemorate as well as finance the temple's construction.<sup>581</sup> The two years between the 130/131 issue and the 133/134 issue, the next on which Sabina appears, have reduced silver production. The small number of obverse dies and the level of wear shown on some specimens suggests to Haymann that there was not a local engraver who could make satisfactory portrait dies for the mint.<sup>582</sup> In 133/4, apparently after acquiring a new engraver, Sabina appears on approximately one third of the coins

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<sup>579</sup> E.g. *RPC* II: cat. 1175; *RPC* III: cat. 3329.

<sup>580</sup> Haymann 2014: 153-154. Haymann (2014: 143, 154) also notes that the increase in Hadrian's focus on healing cults at this time could be linked with his illness between 128-132, as Strack (1933: 93-94) on Hadrian's imperial coinage.

<sup>581</sup> Haymann 2014: 155-158.

<sup>582</sup> Haymann 2014: 158.

produced.<sup>583</sup> This coinage was produced at the apex of the Bar Kokhba Revolt and was likely used as payment for the troops.<sup>584</sup>

The other silver is not dated, but similar circumstances were likely involved in its production. Since the undated coins from Mopsus and Tarsus include the title *Hadriane*, this coinage is likely associated with, or at least begins, with the imperial visit in 129.<sup>585</sup> The *Sabina* coins from Mopsus likely constitute a single issue from that year. The two *Sabina* types from Tarsus are, however, very different in appearance and message, and the same is true for the *Hadrian* portraits on the obverses. Such distinct messages would make more sense as separate issues. The radiate portrait of *Hadrian* found with the *Selene-Sabina* reverses matches coins with reverses showing the *neokoros* temple, which possibly was dedicated by *Hadrian* in an unknown year, perhaps 131.<sup>586</sup> The silver with the *cornucopia* type is distinct both stylistically and thematically and likely dates to a different year. The military and prosperity imagery in the *cuirass/cornucopia* issue could be a reference to the *Bar Kokhba* revolt. If this were true, a date of ca. 134, matching the height of the conflict as the *Aegeae* issue does, would be appropriate. This would make the issue contemporary with the *Antinous* bronze coins from this mint, which does more closely resemble the *cuirass/cornucopia* silver than the *Selene/Helios* issue.

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<sup>583</sup> Haymann 2011: 722; Haymann 2014: 159.

<sup>584</sup> Amandry 2012: 398; Haymann 2014: 159. Levy (1998: 647-648) argues that the silver production in the region was transferred to Cilicia as punishment for *Hadrian*'s unsatisfactory stay in *Antioch*, the previous silver mint. It is likely that this was a contributing factor to the decision and is compatible with Haymann's theories.

<sup>585</sup> *RPC* III: 426. The *RPC* (III: 413) dates the *Tarsus* trip to 131, although the trip to other cities in the region has been dated in the same work to 129.

<sup>586</sup> Burrell 2004: 212-213.

Bronze coinage from two of the remaining mints records the year. The coins from Pompeiopolis are dated to 131/2 and those from Epiphanea to 137/138. The Epiphanean year most likely ran from autumn to autumn.<sup>587</sup> It is possible that these coins were struck after Sabina's death if they were made late enough in 138, but there was plenty of time for the mint to have produced these coins before her death, or at least before news of her death made it to the city.<sup>588</sup> There is nothing in her representation on these coins that indicates an awareness of her death. These coins are evidence for a date no earlier than autumn 137 for Sabina's demise.

The remaining coins do not have recorded dates. Other coins from Seleucia ad Calycadnum with the same reverse inscription as the Sabina coins, ΓΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩ Π ΚΑΛΥΚΑΔΝΩ ΤΗΓ ΙΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΑΓ ΑΥΤ, record the year 135/6.<sup>589</sup> Since the reverse inscription is so exceptional, it is likely that the coins with this legend represent a single issue celebrating a specific event. The end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt is a tempting option.

The coins from Cestrus are not dated, but since only rare coins are known and they include coins for Aelius, it is likely that they all constitute one issue in 136/137. The coins from Zephyrion date no earlier than the imperial visit in either 129 or 131 because of the added ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ and ΕΥΚΕΒΩΝ.<sup>590</sup> The coins from neighbouring

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<sup>587</sup> *RPC* III: 850.

<sup>588</sup> *RPC* III: 430. Others date Sabina's death earlier, to 136 or 137, but I don't agree with this assessment. See Chapter One for the discussion of Sabina's death.

<sup>589</sup> The *RPC* (III: cat. 3233) also records the year 20 as equivalent to 137/8, the instinctive date without considering the time the year changed. 135/6, as recorded for *RPC* III: cat. 3234 appears to be the correct answer, as is explained in the discussion of the mint (*RPC* III: 409).

<sup>590</sup> *RPC* III: 411.

Pompeopolis are dated to 131 and it is likely the coinage was produced in both places at the same time. The coinage from Mallus is likely all one issue and, since Antinous is depicted, this likely dates between 134-137.<sup>591</sup> The coin from Corycus is the only known specimen from Hadrian's reign and does not contain any datable information.

The coinage of Cilicia present a high degree of variation in its inscriptions and attributes but adhere more strictly to portrait type than most other regions. The portraits are all of high quality, supporting Haymann's theory about hiring external engravers for the portraits. The datable coins show connections between events and coinage, including the dedication of temples, imperial visits, and military activity. Sabina's increased presence compared to previous Augustae can be partially explained by the increased minting activity in the province in general, especially when it comes to silver production. However, her presence is also increased at mints that were previously active. Therefore, her increased prominence must also be attributed to other factors.

### **Judaea**

The province of Judaea is the site of several major events in Hadrian's reign. It is home to one of Hadrian's few new foundations, the colony Aelia Capitolina in the city of Jerusalem, a rare veteran colony for this period.<sup>592</sup> Judaea was also the location of the most significant military conflict of Hadrian's reign, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, from 132-

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<sup>591</sup> *RPC* III: 422.

<sup>592</sup> On the history of veteran colonies, see Isaac 1998: 88-104. On the dating of the founding of the colony, see Baker 2012; Gitler 2012: 492-493.

135/6, likely motivated at least in part by the colony's founding.<sup>593</sup> Both of these events had major influences on the coinage of the region. The province was renamed to Syria Palestina after the revolt, but since most of the coinage under discussion pre-dates this name change, I will be referring to it as Judaea.<sup>594</sup>

There were only six active mints in the province under Hadrian, all of which issued coins with his image. No coinage was produced for Antinous. Most of his coinage elsewhere was produced ca. 134, the high point of the revolt, during which little imperial coinage was produced in the province. Aelia Capitolina produced coinage for Aelius and Antoninus. Minting for women was plentiful during the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>595</sup> The only mint producing coinage for imperial women after this is Gaba, which produced coinage for Domitia and Plotina. Sabina appears on coinage issued at this mint as well as the newly founded Aelia Capitolina (Figure 167-170).<sup>596</sup>

Sabina appears exclusively on reverses from Aelia Capitolina and on both obverses and reverses from Gaba. The inscriptions for reverses on which Sabina appears include her regular name and titles, in Latin at Aelia Capitolina and in Greek at Gaba.

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<sup>593</sup> Most sources give 135 as the date of the end of the war, but Eck (1999: 87-89) argues for 136. For more on this debate, see *RPC* III: 794. On the Roman perspective of the revolt, see Eck 1999. On the reasons for the revolt, see Isaac 1998: 234.

<sup>594</sup> On the significance of the name change, see Eck 1999: 88-89; Goodman 2005: 166.

<sup>595</sup> Julio-Claudian women appeared frequently on the coinage of the Judaeian Kingdom, as well as coinage from Caesarea Paneas.

<sup>596</sup> *RPC* catalogue numbers of the Sabina coins: Aelia Capitolina: 3968; Gaba: 3950-3952. There is no ethnic or other reference to the mint on the Hadrian/Sabina coins from Aelia Capitolina. The attribution has been made based on findspots (*RPC* III: cat. 3968). If these were not attributable to this mint, it would be a rare instance where Sabina does not appear on the coins of one of Hadrian's new foundations. There are other Sabina coins from Gaba attested without images in other sources, which have been excluded from the *RPC* (III: 512). Without images, it is not possible to give significant comment on them here either.

The coins from Gaba also include the ethnic and the production year, sometimes including the epithets Clau. Phi.<sup>597</sup> The only reverse type used on Sabina coins besides the Empress herself is Zeus, on coins from Gaba, which is found on coinage dating back to Vespasian.<sup>598</sup> The obverse inscription are all either Hadrian or Sabina's titles, depending on who is represented.

The portraits from Aelia Capitolina, like those from Hadrian's other new colonies, are faithful to the imperial model of the nest portrait type (Figure 167). The reverse types from Gaba have a unique appearance in both physiognomy and hairstyle but appear to be an attempt at reproducing either the basket or the nest, with the latter most likely (Figure 168). The hairstyle seen on the remaining coins features a large bun in the very back with a crest of puffed hair in the front (Figure 169, 170). Plotina is shown with this hairstyle at the same mint, and Domitia wears a similar variant of the type (Figure 171).<sup>599</sup> Sabina's physiognomy is also not specific to her.<sup>600</sup> These portraits therefore do not appear to be based on any of Sabina's canonical hairstyles.

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<sup>597</sup> For the debate about what the date refers to, see *RPC III*: 511. This date corresponds with the city's restoration to polis status, and possibly the physical reconstruction of the city centre (Kushnir-Stein 2005: 159-160). The Clau. is likely short of Claudiea, in reference to some benefit the city received from Claudius. The Phi is probably related to Marcius Philippus, who gave the city polis status (*RPC III*: 511).

<sup>598</sup> *RPC II*: cat. 2232.

<sup>599</sup> Domitia: *RPC II*: cat. 2239; Plotina: *RPC III*: 3943, 3944.

<sup>600</sup> Domitia is, interestingly, shown with distinct physiognomy resembling that of Domitian, while Plotina is shown with generalized features. This could be evidence that the mint did have a model for Domitia, but chose a different hairstyle, or that they based her appearance on that of her husband. The earliest of the Plotina coins (3943) dates to 111/112, the first year of her imperial minting. It is likely that the mint did not have a model for her portrait when these first coins were produced.



The non-canonical coins from Gaba with the reverse inscription including Claud. Phi. date to the year 117/118, when Hadrian had first become emperor (Figure 169).<sup>601</sup> Hadrian was nearby in the province of Syria when this happened, so this might be a case of local enthusiasm for the new imperial couple. It is implausible that he actually visited Judaea at this time because he headed north from Antioch to Cilicia at the time of his accession. He did, however, issue special orders immediately in 117 to remove Lusius Quietus as military commander in Judaea, a move which was celebrated by the locals in the province.<sup>602</sup> It is possibly a combination of positive sentiment over this and the physical proximity of the new imperial couple that inspired the city of Gaba to produce its 117/118 issue with Sabina's portrait.

The other coins with this portrait type have an inscription which appears to read ΠϞΔ, which is the local year 194, equivalent to 134/5 CE (Figure 170). This is surprising because of the existence of the other coins from this mint on which Sabina wears her normal nest portrait type, which likely date in between the two issues of the non-canonical type.<sup>603</sup> There are no actual die links, so this is not a case of die reuse, at least not based on the currently known coins. Assuming that the reading of the date on these coins is correct, the return to the non-canonical type can likely be attributed to the unavailability of specialized die engravers. The *RPC* dates the nest type coins to 129/130 due to similarities between Hadrian's portrait on other coins from this mint dated to that

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<sup>601</sup> The *RPC* (III: 511) states that this is the only time that Sabina appears prior to 128. It is true that this is the only time this happens without a recorded date, but I have argued for several other pre-128 issues elsewhere.

<sup>602</sup> Birley 1997: 79.

<sup>603</sup> *RPC* III: 511.

year.<sup>604</sup> This corresponds with the imperial visit to the province in the first half of 130.<sup>605</sup> The 134/5 issue dates to the height of the Bar Kokhba revolt, and perhaps the level of instability it created was partially responsible for a lack of access to proper models or skilled engravers for the coinage at that time.<sup>606</sup>

The coins from Aelia Capitolina do not include dates in their inscriptions. The colony was likely founded during Hadrian's 129/130 visit, so this is the *terminus post quem*.<sup>607</sup> Both Aelius and Antoninus are shown on the coinage, so the mint must have been active for at least two issues between 136-138 for both of these men to be represented. It is unclear, however, if the Sabina coins belong to either issue. The reverse inscription lacks the ethnic that is found on the Aelius and Antoninus coins and Hadrian's titulature is also slightly different.<sup>608</sup> These differences can be explained by the smaller diameter of the Sabina coins.<sup>609</sup> The *RPC* also notes that family groups were struck on coins of Amisus in 137/8, so these might belong to a wider trend.<sup>610</sup> The Sabina coins most likely belong in the same issue as the other family coins from the mint and therefore date to 136-138.

The timing of these issues is revealing of Hadrian's history with the province. It shows early enthusiasm for the Emperor's accession in the coins from Gaba. The impact

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<sup>604</sup> *RPC* III: 511.

<sup>605</sup> Halfmann 1987: 207; *RPC* III: 507.

<sup>606</sup> It is unclear to what extent the Bar Kokhba revolt reached Gaba, but the rebels certainly did not have enough control of the area to cease the creation of imperial coinage based on the production of coins at the height of the conflict. For the geographical scope of the conflict, see Eck 1999: 81-84, *passim*.

<sup>607</sup> Baker 2012: 163; Gitler 2012: 492-493; Goodman 2005: 166; Isaac 1998: 87.

<sup>608</sup> *RPC* III: 516.

<sup>609</sup> *RPC* III: 516.

<sup>610</sup> *RPC* III: 516.

of the imperial visit can be seen in the distinct appearance of Sabina on the coinage struck in 130 at the same mint. The enduring desire to issue coins in honour of the Empress, but absence of some combination of good models, skilled engravers, or desire to adhere to official models leads to a return to the non-canonical coin type in 134/5. In the last years of Hadrian's reign, after the Bar Kokhba revolt had ended, a very Roman issue is produced at the new colony of Aelia Capitolina that makes a strong dynastic statement about the stability of Roman power.

### **Egypt**

Hadrian and his companions spent from the fall of 130 until the spring of 131 in the province of Egypt, and it is the one location on all of the travels where Sabina's presence is confirmed. The coinage of Roman Egypt under Hadrian was entirely produced at the Alexandrian mint, but Hadrian is the only figure to appear on the coinage the mint produced for the *nomes* during his reign. The main Alexandrian coinage was produced regularly and in large quantities.<sup>611</sup> Antinous's presence is noteworthy, given his absence on the coinage produced at the Roman mint and the close connection between the two mints.<sup>612</sup> He does not, however, appear on the silver, as Sabina and Aelius do, perhaps an indication of his less official role. Seven previous Roman women were portrayed on the main Alexandrian coinage, and none on that of the *nomes*.<sup>613</sup> Sabina's

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<sup>611</sup> *RPC* III: 543, 553.

<sup>612</sup> *RPC* III: 544.

<sup>613</sup> Domitia, Livia, Antoonia, Messalina, Agrippina Minor, Claudia Octavia, Poppaea.

Alexandrian coinage comprises a lower proportion of the total output at Alexandria than it does at Rome, but still more than previous women (Figure 172-178).<sup>614</sup>

The chronology of Sabina's coinage at this mint is best expressed in tabular form (Appendix 9).<sup>615</sup> The coinage follows a predictable pattern, starting in smaller numbers, increasing during the imperial couple's visit to Egypt, and becoming more irregular in subsequent years. The bronze coinage is produced more sporadically than the silver, but neither is produced every year. There is a gap in production of Sabina types in the year 129/130. Antinous and possibly Aelius also have a year's gap in minting after their first appearances, so there is likely no significance to this occurring for Sabina.<sup>616</sup>

Sabina's absence in the year 22 (137/138 CE) has at various times been used as justification for placing her death before September 137.<sup>617</sup> However, the coinage of year 22 is very scarce and Antinous and Antoninus are also absent, the latter despite Aelius's appearance on the coinage immediately following his adoption.<sup>618</sup> The *RPC* argues that Antoninus's absence is due to the small amount of coinage being produced at the time, but still argues that Sabina's absence is due to her death.<sup>619</sup> There is substantial evidence for Sabina's death occurring in 137/138, including other provincial coin issues, as discussed in Chapter One. Sabina was absent from the coinage of 137/8 at Alexandria not

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<sup>614</sup> *RPC* III: 544. Her presence is also notably greater than that of her successor, Faustina I, who appears on only reverses and for only three issues, although this might be in part due to the lack of precedent for issuing coins of deceased imperial women at Alexandria (Beckmann 2012: 78-80).

<sup>615</sup> See also Geissen 2008; *RPC* III: 663, table 5.

<sup>616</sup> *RPC* III: 738. Possible Aelius coins in year 22 (137/8 CE): *RPC* III: 749.

<sup>617</sup> *RPC* III: 554, 662-663. See Chapter One for discussion of Sabina's death.

<sup>618</sup> *RPC* III: 741.

<sup>619</sup> *RPC* III: 544.

because she died earlier than that year but because production was low, and only Hadrian coinage was produced.

The obverse and reverse inscriptions on Sabina's coinage are all either a statement of the emperor or empress's name, depending on who is represented.<sup>620</sup> All of the reverses include the Alexandrian regnal year. One reverse type includes a label of the type, Nike. The inclusion of CEBACTH with this reverse inscription is a feature of reverse inscriptions at this mint and unrelated to the Empress.<sup>621</sup>

In previous regimes, the Alexandrian reverse types used for the imperial women were largely distinct from the Emperor's. Sabina's coinage, however, uses mostly the same types as her husband's, a trend which was continued for later imperial women.<sup>622</sup> Many of these types were common in previous generations and are unlikely to have any topical or personal significance.<sup>623</sup> The Isis Pharia type might be related to the departure of the imperial couple. She was a tutelary deity of seafarers and appears on Sabina's coins from 131/132.<sup>624</sup> Sabina herself appears on the reverse of many coins. Those

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<sup>620</sup> For the sequence of the spelling of Sabina's name on Alexandrian coins, see *RPC III*: 663.

<sup>621</sup> *RPC III*: 658.

<sup>622</sup> Milne 1933: xliii.

<sup>623</sup> The Pharos type was first introduced under Domitian and its significance to the city of Alexandria is self-explanatory (Milne 1933: xxxiii; *RPC III*: 548). Selene first appears on Alexandrian coinage under Trajan. Dikaiosyne first appears under Nero and remains a common type (*RPC I*: cat. 5206; Curtis 1969: xvii). Sarapis first appears under Claudius. While there may have been some special importance to Sarapis under Hadrian from his construction at the Sarapeium, the type was extremely common in the imperial period, perhaps functioning as a tutelary deity of the emperors, and should not be viewed as topical (Savopoulos 2010: 83-84). Hermanubis first appears on Alexandrian coinage under Domitian (*RPC II*: cat. 2616). He first appears as a bust on Hadrianic coinage but appears in his traditional full-bodied format on the Sabina coins (Milne 1933: xxx). Topical significance for the Nike type was proposed by Poole (1892: liv) but the *RPC (III)*: 658) argues convincingly against this.

<sup>624</sup> Curtis 1969: xviii.

which feature her as a bust will be discussed with the rest of her portraits from the mint. Two reverse types show Sabina in full body, used with both Hadrian and Sabina obverses. In one, she is seated on a throne holding corn ears in one hand and a sceptre in the other (Figure 172). In other, she is standing, also holding a sceptre, and sprinkling incense over an altar (Figure 173). These have traditionally been interpreted as Sabina as Demeter and as Eusebia, respectively.<sup>625</sup>

Sabina appears with two portrait types at the mint: the nest and the queue. The nest hairstyle is used during all of the years of Sabina's coin production at Alexandria: 128/9, 130/1-135/6. The type is a fairly close match for the coins from Rome, except for in the absence of the diadem on all but a few rare dies.<sup>626</sup> The queue is found only during the years of the imperial visit: 130/1-131/2. It is further from the imperial model of the type but still recognizable. The type was likely invented at Alexandria, as discussed in Chapter One.

Some of the portraits, both queues and nests, feature an additional central element which appears as either one or two bumps placed at the top of the frontal crest of hair. The feature is not present on any coins from earlier empresses, either at Alexandria or

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<sup>625</sup> Hadrian obverse: *RPC III*: cat. 5770, 5771; Sabina obverse: *RPC III*: cat. 5772-5775. The identifications of Eusebia and Demeter were first made by Dattari (1901: cat. 1259, 1260, 2060) and adopted by later scholars (Carandini 1969: 83; Milne 1933: xxvi). The *RPC* has questioned the latter identification, arguing that she holds corn ears over the altar in the reverses paired with Hadrian obverses and therefore she is again being likened to Demeter instead of Eusebia (*RPC III*: cat. 5771). I am not sure what element they are identifying with corn ears, but the type matches exactly the representations found on the reverses of the Sabina obverse coins. The type is also a close match for some versions of the Faustina-as-Eusebia reverses from the same mint.

<sup>626</sup> Dattari (1901: cat. 1250-1251, 1253-1258, 2062) identifies pearls in some of these hairstyles, but this must be a misinterpretation of the texture of the hair.

elsewhere. Geissen interprets this element as a poppy-cap, which would liken the Empress to Demeter/Isis (Figure 172, 173).<sup>627</sup> Jucker interpreted this element as a *uraeus*, the snake worn by Egyptian kings and queens in both the Pharonic and later periods (Figure 178).<sup>628</sup> It was a common attribute of Isis and was a symbol of power as well as protection for the wearer.<sup>629</sup> Brennan instead interprets it as a Herakles knot (Figure 176, 177).<sup>630</sup> Brennan's interpretation is most likely correct, given the clear appearance of the knot on some examples and its parallels in sculpture. A similar knot is also found on coins from Trapezopolis and Attuda.<sup>631</sup>

The significance of the knot can be best understood within its chronological context. It first appears on the coins from 130/131, the year of the imperial visit, and continues on all subsequent issues, save a few rare reverses on which the diadem returns.<sup>632</sup> However, it is does not appear that the knot was added to the coinage at the very beginning of the year's production. Some nest type coins produced this year do not

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<sup>627</sup> Geissen 2008: 222-223. A similar element is seen on a portrait in the round of Cleopatra in the Vatican (inv. 38511). This connection was first noticed by Brennan (2018: 173), although with a different interpretation. It should be noted that this portrait has been dated to the first half of the second century CE, around the same time as the Sabina coins and this element is otherwise unattested in Cleopatra's portraiture.

<sup>628</sup> E.g. *RPC* III: cat. 5787, 5942. Jucker 1961: 299. This interpretation has also been adopted by Mikocki 1995: 56, 59; Salzmänn 1989: 364. Brennan (2018: 173) suggests that the element is the same hair knot mentioned below but a reference to the *uraeus* may be implied.

<sup>629</sup> Josephson 1992: 123. Jucker (1961: 299) interprets the use of the *uraeus* in imagery of Cleopatra as a presentation of her as the "new Isis".

<sup>630</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 5788, 5821.

<sup>631</sup> For more on the portraits in the round, see Chapter Three, Adembri 2007: 81-82; Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012; Brennan 2018: 172-178. I disagree with Brennan's identification of the knot on coins from Gaba and Amisus, as well as the Roman posthumous coins (Brennan 2018: 172).

<sup>632</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 5870. Brennan (2018: 173 n. 61) interprets all of the Alexandrian coins with the larger central element as knots in the hair. This is not the case, as can be seen from frontal views of Sabina's portraits of this style and Matidia's coins from the Roman mint.

include this element but do include the diadem seen on the Roman version of the type, which was not included on coins from the previous year (Figure 175).<sup>633</sup> It is possible that this more accurate copy was the intended type for the coinage of the visit, and these coins represent the production in anticipation of the imperial couple's arrival.

There is evidence for this chronology in the reverses. There are two main reverse types found in 130/131 with Sabina obverses, the Sabina/Demeter and Sabina/Eusebia types. The arrival of the imperial travellers is celebrated on all other reverse types from this year, and these special Sabina types must belong to this program.<sup>634</sup> With the queue type obverses, all of the reverses show Sabina wearing the queue hairstyle. With the nest, however, some reverses wear the queue and others the nest. It therefore appears that the diademed nest types were produced first with reverses showing Sabina with a matching hairstyle. During production, the new queue type was introduced, which was used with some remaining knot-less nest obverse dies before these were also replaced with knot type hairstyles.

Knowing that the imperial couple likely arrived in Egypt between July and August of 130, and that this trip was known of in advance, it does not appear that the knot was part of the original iconographic program associated with the couple's arrival and must have instead been introduced at a later point during the year.<sup>635</sup>

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<sup>633</sup> *RPC* III: cat. 5773.

<sup>634</sup> *RPC* III: 662.

<sup>635</sup> While a connection with the Egyptian grain supply might suffice as an explanation for the full-bodied Sabina-Demeter reverse type on the Alexandrian coins (Hahn 1994: 280-281), the attributes chosen for the bust types do not relate to the grain element of Demeter. Especially considering the use of the corn crown on Roman Sabina coins, surely this would have been used if it were the intended interpretation of the type.



I suggest that the knot's introduction might be associated with the most famous event from the trip: Antinous's death. Following Antinous's drowning in the Nile on October 30, 130, Hadrian founded the city of Antinoopolis in his honour and established the cult of Osirantinous.<sup>636</sup> Antinous's assimilation with Osiris is recorded on the Obelisk of Antinous, located on the Pincian Hill in Rome, the text of which describes the establishment of the cult.<sup>637</sup> One side speaks of Sabina with otherwise unattested titles, honouring her as "the queen of both countries" and "the great royal lady". The former is a reference to Upper and Lower Egypt, which is also emphasized in the obelisk's description of Hadrian.

As Brennan and Nicgorski note, rule over the two lands is also part of the Egyptian significance of the square knot.<sup>638</sup> The knot also held an association with funerals for elites to express hope for a royal afterlife.<sup>639</sup> Finally, it had a strong apotropaic significance in both Egyptian and later periods, in Egypt specifically as related to protection for the royal family.<sup>640</sup> These are messages that appear to have been

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<sup>636</sup> On the worship of Antinous in Egypt: Renberg 2010: 174-179.

<sup>637</sup> For a translation of the relevant portion of the obelisk inscription, see Boatwright 1987: 244. For the history of scholarship on the obelisk, see Renberg 2010: 181-198.

<sup>638</sup> Brennan 2018: 172; Nicgorski 1995: 76-77. Nicgorski also notes a similar meaning for the *uraeus*, which was Jucker's interpretation of the element.

<sup>639</sup> Nicgorski 1995: 83.

<sup>640</sup> Adembri 2007: 81 n. 35; Nicgorski 1995: 85-87. Wood (2015: 250) interprets the use of a similar knot on a statue from Perge as a reference to Artemis or Apollo, but this explanation does not seem relevant to the Egyptian iconography. I reject Adembri (2007: 81-82) and Brennan's (2018: 173-174) conflation with this knot and the *nodus* popular in Julio-Claudian female portraiture. While both technically called knots, the *nodus* is not actually a knot and does not bear much of a resemblance to this feature. It would be unreasonable to assume that an ancient viewer would have made this connection, especially given the wide chronological gap between the two styles and the Egyptian audience. Similarly, the knot seen on the Cleopatra portrait mentioned by Brennan is not a square knot (Brennan 2018: 173).

especially potent at the time of Antinous' death. The explicit statement of Sabina as the queen of both lands in the Pincian Obelisk must have been relevant to Sabina's role in the cult of Antinous, given the rest of the obelisk's contents. The focus on Antinous's resurrection is made clear by his assimilation with Osiris, and therefore the idea of the royal afterlife expressed by the knot is also relevant. This connection between Sabina and Antinous's resurrection is perhaps also illustrated by the tribe names of Antinoopolis, which name Sabina as Kore and her mother Matidia I as Demeter, linking them to the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>641</sup> The apotropaic function was perhaps considered appropriate given the misfortune of Antinous's drowning, especially given Hadrian's known superstitiousness.

This association with the aftermath of Antinous's death explains why the knot continued to be used even after Sabina's departure, since the cult continued to be relevant. This was no longer significant in the next reign, explaining the knot's absence from portraits of Faustina I at Alexandria.<sup>642</sup> Why do Hadrian and the other members of the imperial family remain unaltered on Alexandrian coinage? Romeo suggests that Sabina's descent from Trajan and the Egyptian focus on matrilineal descent might have made Sabina an important figure for Hadrian's legitimacy in Egypt, as has been proposed for Rome as well.<sup>643</sup> It is also likely that this kind of embellishment was considered more appropriate for images of an empress than the imperial men.<sup>644</sup> This is observable

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<sup>641</sup> Adembri 2007: 80.

<sup>642</sup> Faustina's provincial coinage overview: Beckmann 2012: 73-83.

<sup>643</sup> Romeo 2007: 70.

<sup>644</sup> Burnett (2011: 20) notes the greater frequency of the use of  $\theta\epsilon\alpha$  with imperial women during the Julio-Claudians than the equivalent for men.

throughout provincial coinage, where divinizing additions are more commonly seen for women.

While the Alexandrian mint clearly communicated with Rome, the differences between the products of the two are noteworthy. Most obviously, Alexandria did not issue coins with the chignon, basket, or veil portrait types. The absence of the basket and posthumous types are explained by the lack of minting after the summer of 136, when both types were introduced at Rome. The chignon type's Roman issue also coincides with a gap in Sabina coin production at Alexandria in year 14 (129/130). There is, however, also evidence that the Alexandrian mint did not always adhere to the Roman mint's portrait typology. The absence of the queue type after 132, despite its continued use for many years at the Roman mint and the use of the nest long after its discontinuation at the capital exemplify this. The same is seen throughout the rest of the provincial coinage, but, given Alexandria's prominence, the departure is striking. Clearly these types had a different resonance to the Alexandrians than the Romans, whether based on messaging or aesthetics. The inclusion of the knot in Sabina's portraiture shows how far the mint was able to diverge from the imperial models. While it clearly still adhered with imperial wishes, it should not be forgotten that Alexandria was a provincial mint, not an offshoot of the imperial mint.

### Conclusions

The provincial coinage issued in honour of Sabina is revealing about both the messaging associated with her as well as the workings of provincial mints. As is to be expected, the coinage is varied and regional. She outpaces previous empresses' coinage

provincially in a similar way as she does at Rome. While the provincial mints were largely independent, this parallel is perhaps evidence that there was some external influence. It is unlikely that this took the form of actual orders from the Roman administration, given Sabina's absence from several of the largest provincial mints, and her inconsistent appearance at others. It is also not likely on practical grounds, given the sporadic, need-based nature of provincial minting. Instead, this influence more plausibly took the form of mints being sent models for Sabina portraits, which they could choose whether or not to use, and somehow being made aware of Sabina's prominence in imperial iconography through the local elites' connections with Rome.<sup>645</sup>

Two additional factors which possibly had an effect on the choice of minting were travels and the Panhellenion. For the former, there is plentiful evidence of coinage either beginning for Sabina or being changed iconographically in correspondence with an imperial visit. There are several places, however, that Hadrian and Sabina visited which did not produce Sabina coinage, illustrating that, while travels could influence coin production, they did not always necessitate it.<sup>646</sup> Of the 33 known or theorized Panhellenion cities, Sabina appears on the coinage of only seven.<sup>647</sup> Six of the others have no known coinage at all during Hadrian's reign.<sup>648</sup> Cibyra and Eumeneia, both members of the Panhellenion, each produced a new reverse type advertising their non-

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<sup>645</sup> On local elites and their role in provincial coinage, see Horster 2013, especially 257.

<sup>646</sup> Harvey (2020: 108) similarly observes that there was some impact of imperial benefactions on the production of coinage for Livia, but that imperial attention could not explain all coin production.

<sup>647</sup> The Panhellenion city list is a combination of the cities recorded by Spawforth and Walker 1985: 79-81 and Romeo 2002, with the addition of Cius as suggested by Sommer 1996.

<sup>648</sup> Acriaephae, Amphicleia, Methana, Rhodes, Synnada, and Naryka.

Greek heritage, both likely after the founding of the Panhellenion, perhaps further evidence for its lack of impact on coinage. There are a few cases where Panhellenion membership seems to have affected the choice to mint or the coin design for certain cities, but league membership does not appear to have had a significant impact on Sabina coin production in terms of quantity.

The history of minting is a stronger indicator, at least on a regional level. In general, areas with little or no history of issuing coinage in honour of living women minted only modestly for Sabina if at all, while regions that had already been issuing this coinage for generations reproduced Sabina's image most plentifully. Appendices 7a, e, and f represent the distribution of minting in the eastern provinces for Sabina, Livia, and Domitia, respectively.<sup>649</sup> There is only slight variance in the geographical distribution of the mints between the three women, but Sabina's minting is more plentiful in every area. The main area where there is a pronounced increase in minting for Sabina is northwestern Asia Minor, in the regions of Mysia and Bithynia. Mysia was affected by Hadrian's urbanization efforts, including multiple new city foundations, and Bithynia was the home of Antinous. The increase in minting over the women of Trajan's time correlates with the relatively small amount of public commemoration of these women in other media during his administration.

Additional divinizing elements are added to a small number of obverse types. Sabina is likened to Selene or Artemis on coins from Amphipolis, Tarsus, and Mopsus,

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<sup>649</sup> I chose Domitia because she was the most recent woman to have a plentiful provincial coinage and Livia because of the intentional connections made between the two in Hadrian's political program.

with the addition of a crescent in most cases and a quiver at Mopsus.<sup>650</sup> She is also found with a cornucopia on other coins from Tarsus, although it is unclear if a specific divine association is intended. Finally, a square knot is added to her portraits at Alexandria and Trapezopolis. The significance is probably slightly different in each place, but the apotropaic effect of the symbol is likely relevant in both. Finally, the coins from Eumeneia include the inscription MHTHP ΘΗΩΝ, likening Sabina to their local mother goddess. This group of coins with special portrait alterations represents a wide geographical spread. The inclusion of two mints from Cilicia is unsurprising given the effusive praise found on much of the coinage from the region. Overall, these appear to have been initiatives by individual cities which in most cases did not have an impact on other coinage. These alterations, though infrequent, are more numerous than for any of the male members of the imperial house at this time, revealing a distinction between the norms of representation between the genders in the provinces.

### *Portrait Types*

Of the 216 types used for the Empress Sabina in the provinces, two are full body representations with indeterminable portrait types (1%), seven are non-canonical types (3%), three are the chignon type (1%), thirty-one use the queue (14%), and the remaining 174 types (81%) use the nest. Neither the basket nor the veil type makes an appearance. This is a significant shift from the proportions at the imperial mint, where the nest

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<sup>650</sup> This group was also identified by Mikocki 1995: 57, 59.

accounts for about a quarter of all known coins and the queue is shown on half to three quarters of specimens from the various denominations.

### **Non-canonical Portrait Types**

Six mints produced portrait types which were not based on any of Sabina's official portrait types. Five of these, Perinthus, Byzantium, Parium, Laodicea and the first issue at Gaba, likely date prior to the introduction of her imperial coinage in 128 and all employed pre-existing types used for other empresses to represent Sabina. Hadrian's accession and subsequent travels back to Rome are likely the reason for the production of all of these issues. The coinage from Gaba, dated to 117/118, was probably produced very shortly after Hadrian was named emperor when he was still in the region (Figure 169). The coinage from Perinthus, Byzantium, and Parium was likely all produced in anticipation for or during Hadrian's visit in the winter of 117/118 (Figure 36, 41, 61). Nowhere else are there multiple mints producing non-canonical types within the same region, so it should be assumed that the mints influenced each other in this matter. A second non-canonical issue was produced at Gaba in 134/5 with the same portrait type as the 117/118 issue, despite the use of the next portrait type in 129/130 (Figure 170). This seems to be due to a lack of portrait die engraver in the region after Hadrian's visit.

The coins from Laodicea do not fit this pattern. While they were likely produced at this early time, there is no evidence that Hadrian's travels went through the region of Cibyra at the beginning of his reign. The same problem exists with the similar looking coins from Cadi, although these were possibly produced with reference to an imperial model. There was either a motivating benefaction that inspired these early coins that is

unknown, or these are a rare example of non-canonical portraits produced without a clear imperial connection.

The final non-canonical type comes from Ephesus and dates to ca. 129 (Figure 108). It stands out in the group as the only non-canonical type to not be a reproduction of an earlier type from the same mint. It is also by far the highest quality carving of the group. The type is the only known example of the use of a non-canonical type used for Sabina for intentional, commemorative purposes.

There are a few main conclusions from this evidence. First, most of these unofficial types were not used due to a desire to send a specific message, a lack of skill on the part of the engraver, or to adhere more closely to local tastes. They were instead almost exclusively used for practical reasons, mostly due to lack of model but in the case of the 133/134 Gaba issue due to lack of access to a dedicated portrait engraver. It is noteworthy that all of these mints employed the same strategy to solve this problem: using the portrait type they had for the most recent empress.<sup>651</sup> This demonstrates a desire to adhere to official portrait models as much as possible. The use of canonical types for Hadrian in the same issues and at times on the same coins is further evidence that the non-canonical Sabina types were used out of necessity, with only the Ephesian coins breaking this trend.

Another pattern that emerges is the link between travel and the creation of these non-canonical portrait coins. The production of coins for Sabina prior to the introduction

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<sup>651</sup> The same phenomenon has been observed for some provincial emperor portraits, like those of Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Hadrian from early issues at Alexandria (Geissen 2012: 565).



of her to the imperial coinage shows an initiative by these cities to indicate enthusiasm for the new regime, regardless of how genuine this was. But this enthusiasm did not exist in a vacuum. In all places but Laodicea, the empress's proximity can be seen as a motivation for the creation of the issue. With the coins from Byzantium, Perinthus, and Ephesus, it is likely that Hadrian and Sabina were physically present around the time that the coins were produced. There is no direct evidence of an actual visit to Parium, so it is possible that this issue was produced due to the influence of the issues of nearby cities. While there was no actual visit to Gaba, imperial proximity and attention to the province at the time of Hadrian's accession can explain this numismatic gesture.

### **The Nest**

With 175 known types, it is unsurprising that the representation of the nest in provincial coinage is highly varied. It is also the case that it is Sabina's most visually complex portrait type, leading to many variants resulting from the skill of the artist. All coins of the type must date between 128-137, the period of following the introduction of the type in Rome.

Given that there are so many examples of this type, it is unsurprising that many of the coins can be divided into clusters of similar designs. It is unclear in all cases whether these similarities are due to common engravers, common models, or coincidences. The Alexandrian coins make up their own group and comprise 24 of the 175 nest type coins. Other coins were likely modelled after the Alexandrian type but have an otherwise dissimilar appearance. 28 other types can be considered very high quality, faithful

reproductions of the imperial model.<sup>652</sup> Most of these are large minting centres or new Hadrianic foundations.

Another group, consisting of thirteen types across seven mints, is characterized by the bumpier appearance of the frontal arrangement, the placement of the basket element on the crown of the head, and the small, squished proportions of the facial features.<sup>653</sup> Four of the seven mints are very close to one another in the southern region of the Conventus of Pergamum and the northern region of the Conventus of Smyrna: Aegae, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Hyrcanis, and Hierocaesarea. The similarities between these coins must be due to some common influence between them, although likely not a common engraver in all cases. The remaining three mints are also in the province of Asia but are significantly more distant: Cadi in the Conventus of Sardis, the non-canonical Laodicea coins from the Conventus of Cibyra, and Harpasa in the Conventus of Alabanda. It is tempting to see evidence of itinerant die engravers within this group, especially with comparison between coins from distantly connected places like Harpasa and Hierocaesarea (Figure 74, 116) or Cadi and Aegae (Figure 87, 142).

Another group consists of types where the whole hairstyle is stretched upwards, the basket element is on the back of the head, and Sabina's neck is elongated. The group

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<sup>652</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Aegae 3350-3352, Aelia Capitolina 3968, Attaea 1760, Cassandrea 640A, Cius 1053, Corinth 240-243, Cyzicus 1523-1525, Hadrianeia 1622, Hadriani ad Olympum 1611, 1618, Hadrianothrae 1630, Koinon of Bithynia 990, 1011, 1012, 1022, 1024, Laodicea 2335, 2336, Smyrna 1363, Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis 1782-1783.

<sup>653</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Aegae 1923, 1925, 1926, Cadi 2500, 2501, Harpasa 2227, Hierocaesarea 6571, Hyrcanis 1959, Laodicea 2332-2334, 1947, Magnesia ad Sipylum 1947, 1948.

consists of twenty types across thirteen mints.<sup>654</sup> All of the types are from Asia but cover a wide area with no evidence of regionality. There is again evidence of travelling engravers between these mints, especially from similarities between distant locals like Sardis and Cibyra (Figure 134).

Similarities are observable in several other smaller groups, some of which might be coincidental. However, with most mint issuing coinage infrequently, it is sensible to assume that engravers travelled between different cities that required their services.<sup>655</sup> This is especially likely for mints which produced only one small issue but produced portraits of the highest quality, such as Cassandrea, and new foundations, such as Hadrianeia, Hadrianothrae, and Hadriani ad Olympum.

While the nest may have been the most common provincial type, there was still room for individual local expression within the type both with the addition of attributes, individualized inscriptions, and topical reverse types, all most prominently seen in the coinage of Cilicia, the Conventus of Apamea, and Alexandria. All of these alterations connect Sabina with local traditions and honour her above what is customary for imperial and provincial coinage.

### **The Chignon**

The chignon appears at only three provincial mints, Amphipolis, Eucarpia, and the Koinon of Bithynia. These cities share no obvious connection either culturally or

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<sup>654</sup> *RPC* III catalogue numbers: Aezani 2508, 2509, Ancyra 2541, Attuda 2258, 2259, Blaundus 2450, Cibyra 2303, 2304, Ephesus 2078-2080, Eumeneia 2584, Germe 1769, Hypaepa 2031, Iulia Gordus 2554, 2555, Magnesia ad Maeandrum 2128, 2129, Sardis 2405, Smyrna 1973.

<sup>655</sup> For previous debate on the issue, see Parker 2016: 76-77; Ulrike 2005: 113.

geographically. All issues were likely produced during the time of the type's use in Rome since the precise replication of such a short-lived type at another time is unlikely. In the case of Amphipolis, the type's use can be explained by the region's history of closely following the typology of the imperial mint and/or anticipation for the imperial visit the following year. In the case of Eucarpia, the type was likely produced by a travelling engraver in Hadrian's troupe during their visit to the region in 129. Therefore, while both mints produced the type for separate reasons by separate engravers, the reasoning for both was likely commemorative. In the case of the Koinon, this is likely a reflection of the league's close adherence to imperial models in coinage.<sup>656</sup> Metcalf notes that the bronzes from the Koinon closely parallel the *cistophori* from the same mint and appear to have been produced by the same engravers.<sup>657</sup> This explains both the bronzes' exceptionally high quality and imperial style portraits.

### **The Queue**

Thirteen mints produced coinage with the queue portrait type, four of which also produced coinage with the nest, and one which also produced the chignon type. The coins from only two of these mints are connected with travels: Alexandria and Amphipolis. Two regions, the Conventus of Sardis and Bithynia-Pontus, produced the queue at several mints, showing intraregional typological influence.

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<sup>656</sup> A visit in 131 is possible (*RPC* III: 120), but not confirmed, and is too late to be relevant to the chignon portrait type.

<sup>657</sup> Metcalf 1980: 137-138.

The use of headdress varies across representations of the type at different mints. The band is found on coins from Amisus, Amphipolis, Apamea, Colossae, Nicaea Cilbianorum, and Miletus, while the crown of wheat is found on coins from the Koinon of Bithynia and Came. The poor quality of available samples from Eresus make the analysis of the headdress difficult, but it appears more likely to be a band. Two regions diverge from the headdresses found on the imperial coinage: the coins from the mints within the Conventus of Sardis (Sala, Sardis, and Tmolus) use a diadem and the coins from Alexandria use a double knot. Mints using the band or crown of wheat were likely copying the imperial model that they had, while the Alexandrian and Sardian coins illustrate a deliberate iconographic choice.

The chronology of the queue's use in provincial coinage is highly varied. Dated coins from Alexandria and Amisus place its use in 130-132 and 134-137, respectively. Coins from Sala, Sardis, and Tmolus date to around the same time as the Amisus coins. The coins from Eresus likely date to 136 and the remaining coins are undated. The evidence suggests that, while the queue was not nearly as prominent on provincial coinage as it was at Rome, the chronology of its usage, from 130/1 to 136/7 was the same in both regions. While at places like Alexandria the type was briefly adopted and then abandoned in favour of the nest, others like Amisus used it later in parallel with the central Roman mint.

### **The Basket and the Veil**

Two of the portrait types produced by the imperial mint are absent on provincial coinage: the basket and veil types. Both were very short lived at Rome. The

distinguishing factor which might have contributed to the appearance of other short-lived type, the chignon, over the basket and veil is timing. The chignon was introduced during Hadrian's travels, and at least one of the types can be connected with Hadrian's presence in the provinces. While not all instances of the queue's use are connected with travel, its first appearance in the provinces and possibly anywhere is at Alexandria during a long imperial visit. Both the basket and veil types were introduced after the couple had completed their major provincial travels, allowing no opportunity for them to be first introduced to the provinces through travel.

Hekster argues that empresses lack posthumous provincial issues because they could no longer serve as negotiate with the emperor on the cities' behalf.<sup>658</sup> This argument is based on the absence of deceased empresses on coinage of their husbands' successors, despite the fact that this also did not occur in many cases on the imperial coinage, including for Sabina. Faustina I's appearance at 21 provincial mints, as counted by Hekster, illustrates that the provinces were willing to issue coins for deceased empresses during the reigns of their husbands.

Instead, Sabina's absence is likely related to the length of time during which posthumous coins were produced at Rome. The absence of the veil type on provincial coinage supports the dating for Sabina's death in early 138. If her death were earlier, one would expect some proliferation of her veil type on provincial coinage, especially given the relatively plentiful commemoration of Antinous on provincial coinage starting just a few years earlier.

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<sup>658</sup> Hekster 2015: 138.

### **The Dissemination of Portrait Types on Provincial Coinage**

How can the major differences in proportion of portrait types produced between the Roman and provincial mints be explained? The possibility that most provincial coins were produced from 128-130, the years when the nest was in use at Rome, can be excluded. All of the coins with dates of production written on them use the nest type for at least some issues, all beyond 130, several all the way until the end of Sabina's lifetime. Other nest type coins can be confidently dated by external evidence to well after 130.

It is unlikely that provincial mints were reliably supplied with current types but chose not to use them. The rarity of non-canonical types and circumstances under which they were produced illustrates that divergences from the official typology were almost exclusively done out of necessity. There would be more divergent types if the provincial mints did not care to adhere to imperial models. It is not possible that the provinces minted out-dated types against Rome's wishes, since this was done in Hadrian's new colonies as well as prominent mints like Alexandria.

The answer must instead be that the provinces were not provided with models for all of Sabina's portrait types nor were they in any way encouraged to keep up to date with the typology of the imperial mint. The reason for this, as is often the case with Roman art, is most likely practical. In 128, the administration decided to make Sabina a prominent part of the official imperial messaging by putting her on the coinage. Whoever made these decisions wanted her presence to be visible throughout the Empire, and therefore supplied the provinces with models of her first official portrait type. The nest, with its close resemblance to the portraits of her mother and grandmother, would have

been a fairly readable image for provincial viewers, some of whom would have been familiar with the appearance of these women from statuary and coinage. As new portrait types were introduced, Rome did not see the need to send their models to the provinces because their meanings would have been lost on a provincial audience. Understanding the chignon's reference to Livia required recalling one of the less common portrait types of an empress from a century prior. The queue and the basket's representation of Hadrian's new artistic style were again not relevant messages for most provincial audiences. The message of the nest, as much as it was readable, was evergreen so it was not necessary to introduce new types which would have probably had no meaning for most viewers.

The use of types other than the nest was generally not the central administration forcing them upon the provinces, but provincial mints making conscious choices to commemorate imperial visits or benefactions with special types, often introduced to them by the travellers themselves. In a few cases with the queue, the type spread to a few other locations which were not visited through coins from nearby mints.

The Romans once again prove themselves to be more pragmatic when it comes to their use of art than art historians often want to believe.<sup>659</sup> It remains to be seen if these observations hold true for other imperial figures. However, these results do raise questions about several commonly held beliefs about how portraiture worked in the

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<sup>659</sup> Amandry (2012: 395) notes this pragmatic approach by the Romans to provincial coinage in general.



Roman provinces. If these results prove to be true more broadly, they will require reconsideration of how we analyse, date, and discuss provincial portraiture going forward.

### **Chapter Three: Sculpted Portraits of Sabina**

#### Introduction

A substantial number of sculpted portraits of Sabina were produced. Like their numismatic counterparts, they were made with a variety of hairstyles and in all areas of the Empire. They do, however, differ significantly from both the imperial and provincial coinage in the relative quantities of each type produced, and in some cases the appearance of the type itself. These differences are instructive of how medium affected both the production and spread of portraits in the Roman Empire. The appearance of sculpted portraits was also affected by display context, a factor not relevant to the numismatic evidence.

Sabina was much more frequently represented in sculpture than Flavian and Trajanic imperial women were. In Alexandridis's catalogue, there are seventeen portraits of Sabina, compared to six of Julia Titi, four of Domitia, and one each of Plotina, Marciana, and Matidia I.<sup>660</sup> The number of extant portraits of Sabina is, however, significantly less than those of Rome's first Empress, Livia, and other Julio-Claudian women are represented in around the same number of identified portraits as Sabina. Alexandridis catalogues 43 Livia portraits, 24 Agrippina II portraits, and eleven each of Antonia II and Agrippina I.<sup>661</sup> In terms of number, the extant sculpted portraits of Sabina are therefore not as significant of an outlier as representations on coinage, where they

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<sup>660</sup> Alexandridis 2004. In Wegner 1956, there are thirteen portraits of Plotina, five of Marciana, and eleven of Matidia I. This compares to 31 portraits of Sabina in the same catalogue. Daltrop 1966 catalogued thirteen portraits of Julia Titi, two of Domitilla, and eleven of Domitia.

<sup>661</sup> Alexandridis 2004. Bartman 1999 contains 91 portraits of Livia, more than twice the number of portraits catalogued here for Sabina.

significantly outnumber all previous living empresses. The quantity of Sabina portraits is also significantly less than both Hadrian and Antinous.<sup>662</sup>

There are several medium-specific challenges when dealing with portraits in the round. Sculptures were not produced through a central authority, but by many individual workshops spread throughout the Empire. The imperial administration did commission sculpted portraits as they did coins, but local governments, organizations, and individuals were responsible for the production of most of the extant works. All of these individual commissions leave more room for typological variety in portrait sculpture than in imperial coinage. The situation is more comparable to that of provincial coins, but even those were the exclusive domain of mint officials.

Portraits in the round also have the added difficulty of identification. Since the original identifying inscriptions are rarely found with portrait sculptures, their subjects can only be identified by context and/or comparison with known types. This makes non-canonical portrait types are extremely difficult to identify in the round. I was not able to confidently include any non-canonical sculptures of Sabina in my catalogue, even though they were very likely produced, as discussed below. Many portraits that have sustained substantial damage are also unable to be identified.

Seventeen of the 39 portraits of Sabina included in this catalogue have an unknown provenance, and several others have questionable or unspecific origins. The portraits which do have known provenance are not a representative sample of their

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<sup>662</sup> Caenaro (2010: 14) calculates Sabina's portraits at around one tenth of those of Antinous.

original geographic spread. While the provincial coinage is plentiful enough to present a fairly reliable picture of the provincial distribution of the portrait types, the vast majority of portraits in the round originate in Italy. This is due to several factors including thoroughness of excavation, the materials and formats of the original portraits, and the production of non-canonical representations in the provinces. This makes broad geographical study of the portraits, as was done with the provincial coinage, unfeasible.

Forgeries are also a much bigger problem for sculpture. While modern fakes of ancient coins also exist, any coins linked to the die study are almost certainly genuine, and the large corpus of data means that a few fakes do not significantly alter the understanding of portraits in this medium. With only 39 portrait sculptures in this catalogue, many of which present unique characteristics, forgeries can have a significant impact. It is often difficult to prove conclusively that a portrait is a modern forgery, so I have included all portraits which have not been proven to be inauthentic, while noting my concerns about specific artifacts here and in the catalogue.

Bernoulli was first to establish a typology for Sabina's sculpted portraits and create a catalogue of known examples.<sup>663</sup> Wegner carried out a more detailed study of the portraits, as part of the *Herrscherbild* series, in which established a typology and chronology for the portraits based mostly on comparison with the numismatic evidence as compiled by Strack.<sup>664</sup> Carandini conducted the most detailed study of Sabina's portraits in his 1969 monograph.<sup>665</sup> Wegner and Carandini differed greatly in their attributions.

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<sup>663</sup> Bernoulli 1891.

<sup>664</sup> Strack 1933; Wegner 1956.

<sup>665</sup> Carandini 1969.

Wegner's updated 1984 catalogue identified 30 possible portraits of Sabina, whereas Carandini had more than twice that with 69 portraits.<sup>666</sup> I align more closely with Wegner's more conservative approach to portrait identifications. While many of Carandini's attributions do not hold up today, many of his original conclusions still stand and the work is foundational in the study of female portraiture.

Carandini remains the only full work dedicated to Sabina's portraits, but there have been some significant publications in recent years. Alexandridis's landmark 2004 work on the portraits of imperial women contains a catalogue of portraits of Sabina as well as significant contribution to the methodology of the study of portraits of imperial women.<sup>667</sup> The book *Vibia Sabina: da Augusta a Diva* contains a select catalogue of portraits of the Empress as well as a chapter dedicated to her sculpted portraits written by Adembri.<sup>668</sup> Adembri's chapter provides a much needed, although brief, update to Carandini's typology. Brennan's biography of Sabina does not focus on portraiture but does include a catalogue of portraits as well as brief discussion of their typology.

This study is the first complete examination of Sabina's sculpted portraits since Carandini. With the new data provided by the numismatic evidence, these portraits can be dated more accurately and, in some cases, attributed more securely than was previously possible. This allows for new interpretations of the significance of each portrait type and a better understanding of the relationship between the portraits in the round and those on coins in terms of messaging and dissemination. I compiled a

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<sup>666</sup> Wegner and Unger 1984.

<sup>667</sup> Alexandridis 2004.

<sup>668</sup> Adembri and Nicolai 2007.

catalogue of sculpted portraits which I identify as representations of Sabina. What follows are the conclusions drawn from that catalogue concerning the representation of Sabina in sculpture, organized chronologically and by portrait type. I compare these results with the numismatic evidence in order to interpret the role that medium plays in the differences between sculptural and numismatic representations. I also consider the role that geographic and archaeological context played in the creation and iconography of each portrait.

### Attributions

There are over one hundred portraits which have at some point been identified as Sabina, of which I have identified 39 as likely representations of the Empress. The accompanying catalogue contains all of the accepted and rejected identifications, with the first 39 entries being the former and the rest the latter. The accepted identifications are organized chronologically by portrait type, and within each type they are sorted alphabetically by country, then city. Rejected identifications often do not belong with one of the portrait types, and for that reason they are organized only alphabetically by country, then city.

I established the portrait identifications from individual analysis of the hairstyle, physiognomy, and archaeological context of each artifact. Almost all of the portraits in the catalogue have a clear connection with the imperial numismatic portrait types.<sup>669</sup> In most cases, the hairstyle also has a strong affinity with other portraits in the round of the

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<sup>669</sup> I have made one exception: the knot portrait type. As discussed below, the exception was made due to find context, physiognomy, and a parallel with the Alexandrian coinage.

same type. The relevance of this criterion is exemplified by the nest type portraits. While many portraits look somewhat similar to the nest as it appears in profile on coins, the lyre-shaped central element that is only clearly visible in the round is a defining characteristic that separates Sabina portraits from other similar styles. When the facial features are preserved, they must replicate Sabina's standard appearance in at least a general way. Allowance must be made for different levels of skill or faithfulness of copying between specimens, but major divergences such as a substantially older subject can be rejected on these grounds. Archaeological context can at times support questionable identifications but in no case does it completely supersede the other factors. There are no Sabina portraits found in a secure enough context to argue in support of an identification despite major typological issues. There are, however, portraits that were borderline cases that were accepted on the strength of contextual evidence.

The rejected portraits diverge significantly from Sabina's established typology and physiognomy or are too badly damaged for a positive identification to be possible. Groups of portraits which have been frequently affiliated with one of Sabina's official types but have been rejected here are included in the discussion of the relevant type. There are, however, a few noteworthy portraits which lack typological connection with any of the established types.

One is the portrait from the central gate of the Horrea of Hadrian in Andriace (**cat. 98**). The gate's inscription names the area as the Horrea of Hadrian.<sup>670</sup> The two heads

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<sup>670</sup> HORREA IMP CAESARIS DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI F DIVI NERVAE NEPOTIS TRAIANI HADRIANI AVGVSTI COS III. Carandini 1969: 166; Wörrle 1975: 67.

affixed to the gate have been identified as Hadrian and Sabina because of this inscription. This is in spite of the fact that no portrait scholar has, to my knowledge, properly assessed these portraits in person, which are only recorded in only one low-quality photograph.<sup>671</sup> Wörrle dates the portrait of Sabina to ca. 130 due to its hairstyle, but it is unclear which portrait type this is meant to correspond with.<sup>672</sup> In spite of not being able to view the portrait, based on Wörrle's description, Carandini dates the style to 129 and assumes the hair is of the basket type.<sup>673</sup> This does not match what is visible in the available image, which clearly shows hair falling on the figure's shoulders, which does not correspond with any of Sabina's official portrait types. Mikocki asserts that the hairstyle is meant to assimilate Sabina with Isis, which is possible but not confirmable with the available evidence.<sup>674</sup> Without a typological connection, despite the clear reference to Hadrian in the inscription, it cannot be assumed that this head is meant to represent Sabina.

Another example is a portrait in the Hermitage (**cat. 89**).<sup>675</sup> The similarities between the facial features of this image and Sabina are striking enough to convince many scholars of its attribution despite the hairstyle bearing no resemblance to any other portraits of Sabina.<sup>676</sup> The myrtle crown the figure wears is also unattested for Sabina.

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<sup>671</sup> Alexandridis (2004: 215) rejected the identification due to her inability to view the portrait properly. Carandini (1969: 166-167) and Wegner and Unger (1984: 145) were also unable to view the sculpture in person.

<sup>672</sup> Wörrle 1975: 68. This is repeated by Evers 1994: 59.

<sup>673</sup> Carandini 1969: 167.

<sup>674</sup> Mikocki 1995: 59.

<sup>675</sup> Cat. 89.

<sup>676</sup> Alexandridis (2004: 83), Carandini (1969: 193, somewhat hesitantly due to lack of images), Fittschen and Zanker (1983: 13 n. 5), Mikocki (1995: 195), and Vostchinina (1974: 160-161) all attribute the portrait to Sabina. Wegner and Unger (1984: 149) rejected the identification due to lack of similarity with Sabina's typology.



While the facial features offer a close parallel, there has been significant restoration to the nose and mouth, which may give the impression of a closer correspondence than is factual. Given the prevalence of private citizens assimilating their appearance to members of the imperial family, a portrait with such a typological divergence in the hairstyle and no provenance cannot be confirmed as a portrait of the Empress.<sup>677</sup>

While portraits were rejected from the catalogue based on divergences from Sabina's typology, this does not mean that none of these could be portraits of Sabina. As Riccardi demonstrates, portraits which deviated from official typology were likely common in the provinces.<sup>678</sup> There are several instances of non-canonical portraits used on the provincial coinage for Sabina, so it was likely the case that some were also produced in the round. While acknowledging this reality, it is very difficult to make an argument for a non-canonical portrait's identification without strong supporting evidence, such as find context, that makes the portrait's subject clear. The popularity of certain hairstyles throughout Roman society and the strong idealization of many female portraits make it nearly impossible to identify non-canonical portraits in the round. In this catalogue, I take a conservative approach to the attributions, with acknowledgement that non-canonical portraits were also produced.

#### Portrait Types

Of the 39 portraits in this catalogue, nine are the nest type, one is the queue, twenty are the basket type, and five are the veil. Four portraits included in the catalogue

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<sup>677</sup> On assimilation in Roman portraits, see Fittschen 2011.

<sup>678</sup> Riccardi 2000; cf. Fittschen 2010: 232-233.

are a type which does not appear on the coinage, which I have named the knot. As can be seen in the table below, these proportions do not correspond well with either the imperial or provincial numismatic evidence. This is informative about how the differences between media affect typological spread. Since portrait sculpture needed a specific commission and was not connected to a consistently recurring, practical need like coinage, types with a higher proportion in sculpture than in coinage might be related to an event that gave rise to an increase in portrait production.

*Percentage of each portrait type in the available samples*

	<b>Pre-128</b>	<b>Nest</b>	<b>Chignon</b>	<b>Queue</b>	<b>Basket</b>	<b>Knot</b>	<b>Veil</b>
<b>Aurei</b>	0	18	0	55	23	0	4
<b>Dupondii/Asses</b>	0	32	12	55	1	0	0
<b>Provincial Coinage</b>	3	81	1	14	0	0	0
<b>Sculpture</b>	0	23	0	3	51	10	13

*Pre-128*

Statue base evidence confirms that portrait statues of Sabina were erected prior to the start of her official coinage in 128.<sup>679</sup> The five extant dateable bases all come from outside of Italy, namely Athens, Ephesus, Crete, Africa Proconsularis, and Olisipo in Lusitania.<sup>680</sup> Several portraits have been suggested as representations of the Empress from this period, although none has been universally accepted.

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<sup>679</sup> This contradicts Evers's assertion that it is generally accepted that there were no portraits produced of Sabina prior to 128 (Evers 1994: 39). This is different from the evidence for Julia Domna, who has no dated statue bases prior to 195, which matches the evidence from sculpted portraits (Fejfer 1984: 131; 1988: 296). It should be noted that this was only a two-year gap, as opposed to the ten-year gap for Sabina. Julia Domna has coin portraits from that period.

<sup>680</sup> *IG* II/III.2.3387 (before 128); *I Eph* 280 = *CIG* 2966 (124/5); *SEG* 36, 815 (119-121/122); *CIL* II Suppl. 5221 = *CIL* II 4992 (121); *AE* 1951, 43 (before 128). See Eck 1982 for discussion of these early dedications.

The most frequently cited candidates for Sabina's appearance during this period are a group of portraits which feature a nest of braids that wraps around the entire head and across the brow, with no frontal arrangement of the hair.<sup>681</sup> Carandini cites two instances of the type, both from Ostia (**cat. 65, 66**), to which Adembri adds a third, currently in the Museo Nazionale Romano (**cat. 69**).<sup>682</sup> Both also hesitantly include the possibility of a head in the Torlonia collection belonging to this group (**cat. 72**).<sup>683</sup>

These four portraits have significant typological differences among one another, to the extent that they should not be grouped together as one type. The Torlonia and MNR heads have much thicker braids and varying texture between the frontal row of locks, which is scalloped, and the rest, which appear as regular braids. One of the Ostia heads (**cat. 66**) has fairly thick braids, but they do not have the same variation in texture. The remaining Ostia portrait (**cat. 65**) has much thinner braids in the first three rows than in the upper registers. There is no reason to connect any of these portraits with Sabina. The hairstyle does not correspond with securely identified portraits of the Empress on coins or elsewhere. Unfortunately, the facial features of the MNR head and one of the Ostia heads (**cat. 66**) are too poorly preserved to analyse. The Torlonia head appears older than any known portraits of Sabina and the eyes are also much closer together and smaller than usual. The remaining Ostia portrait (**cat. 65**) appears younger than usual,

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<sup>681</sup> Carandini 1969: 223 (the so-called "Traiana" hairstyle). Elsewhere, Carandini suggests the possibility that this type was invented in celebration of Sabina's wedding to Hadrian in ca. 100 (Carandini 1969: 61).

<sup>682</sup> Adembri 2007: 78-79.

<sup>683</sup> Adembri: 78 n. 19; Carandini 1969: 147-148 cat. 18. Carandini mentions both this and Athens National Museum inv. 357 but does not argue that the latter should belong with this group.

with a wider jaw and uncharacteristic downturned brow. Given the current evidence, these should not be in consideration as representations of Sabina.

Another portrait which has been proposed as a representation of Sabina from this period is from the gate of Plancia Magna at Perge (**cat. 100**). If it is a portrait of Sabina, it would be a veiled basket type, which does not appear on coinage until the end of Sabina's life and could not plausibly pre-date the nest and the queue in sculpture. There are also typological issues with the portrait which make it unlikely to represent the Empress, as discussed below and in the catalogue.

Hausmann argued that a portrait in the Fiesole Museum is a representation of Sabina from this period, and specifically argued that it was created as a wedding type ca. 100 (**cat. 59**).<sup>684</sup> The association with Sabina was argued due to Hausmann's dating of the hairstyle to ca. 100, the discovery of two other replicas of the type, and similarities to Sabina's physiognomy. Both Carandini and Wegner rejected this theory, and I agree with their assessments.<sup>685</sup> The physiognomic similarities to Sabina are overstated. The eyes are much smaller, the brows lower, and the mouth wider and fuller than is typical for the Empress. The hairstyle has no association with any known coiffeurs of Sabina. While Hausmann is correct that the absence of coin portraits does not preclude the production of sculpted portraits, there is not good reason to associate these particular portraits with Sabina.<sup>686</sup>

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<sup>684</sup> Hausmann 1959: 183, 186-187.

<sup>685</sup> Carandini 1969: 199; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147.

<sup>686</sup> Hausmann 1959: 184.

Carandini also argued that the nest type portraits which are typified by the Vaison portrait (**cat. 3**) began to be produced prior to 128, although he believed they returned in 132-134.<sup>687</sup> This was based on the proposed connection between the Vaison portrait and the imperial trip to Gaul in 122, which is unlikely to be accurate, as discussed below and in the catalogue. No other nest type portrait has a contextual reason for a date prior to 128. While this does not exclude the possibility of the type's use prior to 128, its absence from imperial and dated provincial coinage prior to 128 makes this an unlikely possibility.

There are no candidates remaining for pre-128 representations of Sabina in sculpture. On the provincial coins, all coins datable before 128 feature non-canonical portraits.<sup>688</sup> These mints used models that had previously been used for other empresses to compensate for their lack of model for Sabina. If the mints lacked a pre-128 model, it is unlikely that local sculptors in the east had access to one. It therefore seems most likely that any pre-128 sculpted portrait, like the coins, was similarly unrelated to an official imperial model. These would be unidentifiable without with an accompanying inscription or other clear contextual clues.<sup>689</sup>

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<sup>687</sup> Carandini 1969: 223-224.

<sup>688</sup> See Chapter Two for discussion of the non-canonical types in provincial coinage.

<sup>689</sup> Wegner (1956: 88) also suggests that pre-128 portraits should be viewed as “unofficial” and not belonging to an actual type.

### *The Nest*

The nine portraits in the round of the nest type (**cat. 1-9**) are all closely linked with the imperial coinage model, but there is variation between them.<sup>690</sup> Four of the accepted portraits come from Italy (**cat. 1, 2, 6, 9**), three of which are from the Villa Adriana (**cat. 2, 6, 9**). One comes from Gaul (**cat. 3**) and another from Italic (**cat. 7**). The remaining three portraits lack provenance (**cat. 4, 5, 8**). The type's appearance on Roman imperial coinage suggests a start date of 128 for the type's use, but the provincial evidence shows that the type was continually used in the provinces through the rest of Sabina's life. As discussed above, a date earlier than 128 is unlikely. None of these portraits can be dated more specifically than 128-138.<sup>691</sup>

The type closely parallels the imperial coin version, with slight variations found among the sculpted replicas. All feature a lyre-shaped section in the middle of the two frontal tiers of hair, whose proper appearance is not comprehensible from the coin portraits. This element along with the uniform, unwoven texture of the second row of hair in the frontal arrangement are the two main features that distinguish the Sabina portraits from the very similar portraits of Marciana and Matidia I.

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<sup>690</sup> D'Ambra (2015: 49) sees a distinction between the coin portraits and portraits in the round in terms of the relative proportion of the hairstyle. She argues that the style is more subdued in sculpture. I do not agree with this assessment and believe it is instead due to the absence of the diadem in all but one of the portraits in the round.

<sup>691</sup> Adembri (2007: 76-77) dates the type between 128-134. Carandini (1969: 223-225, 153) dates the Malmö portrait to 128 in correspondence with the *decennalia* and acquisition of the title Augusta but believes the type was originally introduced much earlier in the reign. Fittschen (1996: 42) proposes that the type was perhaps invented in 117 to celebrate Hadrian's accession, which the numismatic evidence speaks against. Scholars have dated the Vaison portrait to 122-123 due to a perceived connection with Hadrian's travels in the province, which has recently been convincingly argued against by Alexandridis and Rosso. See cat. 3 for discussion. Alexandridis 2004: 184; Rosso 2006: 424.

Two of the portraits, those in Malmö and Rouen (**cat. 8, 2**), have carved irises and pupils, although this might be modern in the latter. The Copenhagen, Dubroff, and Medici-Riccardi heads all do not (**cat. 1, 9, 5**). There is too much damage to the heads from Benevento, Sevilla, Vaison, and the Villa Adriana to determine whether or not this was done (**cat. 4, 7, 3, 6**). This sculptural feature was used inconsistently throughout the latter half of Hadrian's reign and the absence or presence of pupils should not be used as evidence for chronology.<sup>692</sup>

All but one of the portraits (**cat. 5**) lack the diadem which is present on coins.<sup>693</sup> Some scholars assert that a diadem in metal was added to some of these portraits.<sup>694</sup> The shallow channel behind the second frontal hair element appears to be the reason for this assumption, along with a desire for the portraits in the round to match the coins. There is, however, no hole for attachment nor any other sign of metal having been previously attached on any of the portraits I viewed in person. Several also do not have a continuous channel but instead one on each side with the middle solid, making the attachment of a

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<sup>692</sup> Wegner (1956: 88) dated its introduction at Rome to 128 although he believed it began earlier at Athens. Harrison (1953: 37 cat. 25 n. 9) argued for an inverse of this relationship, with the practice being introduced to Greece in portraits of the imperial family. Carandini (1969: 74, 163) supported Harrison's theory, and dated its beginnings to 125-128. Fittschen (2011: 282) dates the start of the quarter circle iris with hook form pupil to 130 at the earliest. Either way, it is clear that the practice was in existence during the production of all or nearly all of Sabina's known portrait types and was never universal in the production of her portraits, making it unhelpful for dating.

<sup>693</sup> Mannsperger (1998: 68-69) believes that the diadem was a structurally integral element of the hairstyle and the height of the hair on coinage would not be possible without this element.

<sup>694</sup> Copenhagen: Calza 1964: 78; Vaison: Mikocki 1995: 198; Wegner 1938: 304; Wegner 1956: 131.

diadem impossible.<sup>695</sup> The lack of diadem is therefore a distinction between the numismatic and most sculpted portraits, the reason for which is unclear. Alexandridis argues convincingly that, by Sabina's time, the diadem was not a consistent indicator of the title Augusta or being an imperial woman.<sup>696</sup> The absence of the diadem should therefore not be viewed as evidence that these portraits were produced prior to Sabina's acquisition of the title.

The type can be divided into two groups based on one feature: in some, the hair on the temples is a corkscrew curl and in others, the same hair is a smaller, single ringlet. The former is the variety seen on coinage. Sculptures in the corkscrew group are the Copenhagen, Malmö, Medici-Riccardi, and Vaison heads (**cat. 1, 8, 5, 3**). The Dubroff, Villa Adriana, and Rouen heads (**cat. 9, 6, 2**) belong to the second group.<sup>697</sup> The Benevento and Sevilla heads (**cat. 4, 7**) are too damaged to tell the state of this element without viewing them in person.<sup>698</sup> It is noteworthy that all three portraits of the single ringlet variant come from the Villa Adriana. It is plausible that this was a variant commissioned and produced specifically for this location. Perhaps the Empress sat for the original portrait of the variant, thereby creating a separate model than that used for the coins. These portraits are otherwise entirely consistent with the typology of the corkscrew group, leaving no question about their identification with Sabina.

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<sup>695</sup> Alexandridis (2004: 185 n. 3) makes the same observation about the Vaison head's lack of suitability for the attachment.

<sup>696</sup> Alexandridis 2004: 49-50.

<sup>697</sup> The Rouen head is entirely reconstructed from the middle of the second register of hair up, but the hair on the temples is preserved. See cat. 2 for full discussion.

<sup>698</sup> See cat. 7 for discussion of the locks in the Sevilla head.



The Palazzo Medici-Riccardi head (**cat. 5**) is unique in several ways. The nest element of the hair is further back on the head than normal. In this way, it most closely resembles the Villa Adriana and Dubroff portraits. This portrait also lacks the sectioned portion of hair running straight above the ears which is visible on most other portraits of the type.<sup>699</sup> Most unusually, this portrait has a diadem carved in stone. These elements could be enough to argue against the identification of the portrait with Sabina; it is certainly not a faithful copy of the same model as any of the other extant nest portraits. In spite of these discrepancies, the head contains all of the key elements of the type, supporting the identification with Sabina.

Another irregular portrait is the Copenhagen head (**cat. 1**).<sup>700</sup> It is the only portrait in the group that is over-life-size. The textural distinction between the central lyre element and the rest of the frontal two tiers of hair is not as pronounced as usual. A squared off dip appears at each side of the nest, instead of the more natural twist that is customary for the type. There are two measuring points still visible in the front of the hairstyle, which suggest that the portrait was unfinished. While a somewhat uncertain identification, the major elements of Sabina's portraiture are present, with particularly

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<sup>699</sup> This feature is also absent from the Copenhagen portrait because the nest is much wider than normal. It is less prominent than usual on the Vaison and Malmö heads for the same reason. It is either absent or less prominent than usual on the Rouen head. The Medici-Riccardi head has ample space for this element, unlike the first three examples.

<sup>700</sup> Due to these irregularities, it has been identified as several different imperial women: Visconti believed it to be Plotina, which Calza (1964: 78 cat. 125) echoes. Poulsen (1951: 470-471) identifies the portrait as Marciana, although he also acknowledges similarities with Sabina. Most recent scholarship has accepted the identification with Sabina: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 158-159 (Østergaard); Brennan 2018: cat. C17; Carandini 1969: 145-147 cat. 17; Poulsen 1974: 71-72. The identification with Sabina was suggested by Wegner (1956: 126), which he remained unsure of in his later catalogue (1984: 148).

close parallels in the Vaison and Malmö heads. The scale of the piece and the presence of the *puntelli*, demonstrating that it was copied from a model, both speak for this representing an imperial woman, and Sabina is the most likely candidate.

Other portraits of nest-like types have been associated with Sabina in other studies that I have rejected here. Those which exist in multiple copies are likely other imperial women from Trajan and Hadrian's reigns. Two portraits of the same type (**cat. 48, 111**) that were associated with Sabina in the past have been, in my view, correctly identified as representations of Avidia Plautia by Matheson.<sup>701</sup> Baratte first brought attention to a group of portraits with the nest element in the back of the head and wavy locks divided in the middle in the front (**cat. 46, 112**).<sup>702</sup> These, along with other examples of the type, were identified as representations of Matidia II following the discovery of two portraits of Sabina's sister from Sessa Aurunca.<sup>703</sup>

The most plentiful type that I have eliminated from the catalogue is the group of portraits from North Africa characterized by their "serpentine" locks in the frontal hair

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<sup>701</sup> Matheson 1992: 87-90. This idea was repeated by Broucke in Kleiner and Matheson 1996: 74-75 cat. 30 in reference to the Yale portrait. The private Paris portrait was recently identified as Sabina despite Matheson's arguments (Chevalier 2011) and Brennan accepts the identification with Sabina for both (Brennan 2018: cat. N112 and cat. N113). Chevalier (2011: 6) also associates Louvre Ma 4882 (cat. 46) with this group, but there is actually little similarity with this group and is instead a portrait of Matidia II (see de Kersauson 1996: 142 ca. 58 and Zanker 2016: 215).

<sup>702</sup> Baratte 1984. Both Baratte and Chevalier (2011: 6) suggest the possibility of an identification with Sabina, although Baratte is uncertain.

<sup>703</sup> Five replicas of the type are catalogued in Zanker 2016: 215-215 cat. 80. Baratte included another portrait in the original publication of the type in 1984, before the discovery of the Sessa Aurunca portraits. On the Sessa Aurunca portraits: Cascella 2013; Wood 2015; Woodhull 2018.

arrangement (**cat. 40, 45, 93, 94, 96, 97**).<sup>704</sup> A bust of this type was found with the Dubroff Sabina at the Villa Adriana in Tivoli, although little information is available about this discovery. The style and distinctive damage on the two busts confirms the paired display. Fittschen argues that this type can therefore not represent Sabina and instead proposes the identification of Matidia II.<sup>705</sup> I agree with this identification. There is a comprehensible relationship between these and the other type identified as Matidia II above. The facial features of the portraits of the two types are also a close match for one another. Matidia II was also a large landowner in North Africa, explaining the prevalence of the type in the region.<sup>706</sup>

The nine nest type Sabina portraits in this catalogue are the earliest identifiable sculpted portraits of the Empress. They represent Sabina's first official portrait type that was sent through the Empire to be copied. They conform largely with the coin evidence and carry the same message of dynastic continuity as their numismatic counterparts.

### *The Chignon*

The chignon is unattested in sculpted portraits of Sabina.<sup>707</sup> This conforms with the numismatic evidence showing that it was very short lived on the coinage of both Rome and the provinces. Even if portrait sculptures were produced, a secure

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<sup>704</sup> Carandini (1969: 224-225) refers to this as the Carthage type, but portraits from elsewhere in North Africa are included in his catalogue. I have for this reason referred to it as the North African. Adembri 2007: 77 acknowledges this as a variant of the nest type.

<sup>705</sup> Fittschen 1993: 206-207; 1996: 46. De Kersauson (1997: 34) argues that the portraits represent Sabina because the diadem indicates she was Augusta, which is refuted by Alexandridis 2004: 49-50.

<sup>706</sup> Fittschen 1993: 207, n. 29.

<sup>707</sup> Carandini (1969: 227-228) was also uncertain if this type appeared in sculpture, despite allowing it a date range of 131-137 and possibly earlier.

identification would be extremely difficult given the type's lack of distinct appearance. In order to be confident a portrait represents the Sabina version of the type and not Livia, there would have to be either distinguishing facial features preserved, datable technical elements, or a clear find context. No portrait has been found which fulfills any of these conditions.

Fittschen and Zanker propose two possible portraits for the type.<sup>708</sup> The first is currently on display in the courtyard of the Villa Medici (**cat. 70**). The portrait is heavily weathered but still clearly does not conform with the type as it appears on coinage. The hair in the back is much too long and there is extra hair at the sides of the head which is not part of the coin type. The other portrait is privately owned (**cat. 80**) and was first identified as a possible portrait of Sabina by Carandini.<sup>709</sup> I have not been able to personally view this portrait but, from what is visible in available images, the portrait's physiognomy does not closely match Sabina's.<sup>710</sup> The portions of the hairstyle which are visible mostly match the type, but there are slight differences. The hair on the sides of the head is behind the ears, instead of in front of them as is the case in the numismatic examples. The texture of the hair also appears less realistic than is usual for Sabina's other sculpted portraits. It is unlikely that either is a representation of Sabina.

This short-lived type was likely produced in few, if any, portraits in the round. Since the type's appearance on coins does not seem to correspond with a major public

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<sup>708</sup> Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 n. 9.

<sup>709</sup> Carandini 1969: 178-179 cat. 41.

<sup>710</sup> Alexandridis (2004: 216) similarly rejects this identification on the grounds of lack of physiognomic connection and its Julio-Claudian style.

event that prompted the creation of portraits, it is possible that the type was never intended to be produced in the round and never was.

### *The Queue*

Despite being the most common type on imperial coinage, there is only one portrait sculpture which can be associated with the queue type (**cat. 10**). Another portrait in the Capitoline Museum has been argued to represent Sabina (**cat. 68**).<sup>711</sup> There are, however, too many typological differences in the non-reconstructed portions of the portrait for this identification to be accepted. In particular, the formation of the frontal crest of hair is completely dissimilar to the type as it appears on coins. The face also appears rounder than normal and the lips somewhat smaller. There are no other convincing candidates for identification with Sabina's queue type. The reason for the small number of sculpted portraits in comparison with the imperial coinage is likely that the type was not introduced for an occasion that corresponded with a large production of portrait statues and a model was not sent to most provincial cities, as demonstrated by the provincial coin evidence. The type's production in sculpture likely dates to the same period as it does on the imperial coinage: ca. 130/1-137.<sup>712</sup>

The lone example of the queue type in sculpture is a portrait that was found on the Esquiline and is now housed in the Capitoline Museum. The figure wears a peplos and a diadem. The physiognomy clearly matches Sabina's. The hairstyle matches the

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<sup>711</sup> In support of the Sabina identification: Brennan 2018: cat. C38; Carandini 1969: 174-175 cat. 38; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10 cat. 9. Those against the identification: Bernoulli 1891: 132; Stuart Jones 1912: 307 cat. 68; Wegner 1956: 128; Wegner and Unger 1984: 151.

<sup>712</sup> Adembri (2007: 77) dates the type to 128-134, and Carandini (1969: 237-238) to 128-137. This earlier dating is unlikely when the numismatic evidence is considered.

construction to the queue type on imperial coinage except that it uses a diadem in the place of the crest of hair. This variant is found in one other place: coinage struck at the cities Sala, Sardis, and Tmolus in the Conventus of Sardis.<sup>713</sup> These must all share a common model, which is different than that on which the imperial and other provincial coins were based. How can the creation of this variant and its use in these two locations be explained?

Several scholars argue that the Esquiline portrait is assimilated to a goddess. The diadem does not necessarily have divine meaning, but the peplos, according to Alexandridis, did usually have this connotation.<sup>714</sup> Alexandridis suggests a possible association with Athena/Minerva for this portrait, while Fittschen and Zanker favour the interpretation of Artemis.<sup>715</sup> As discussed in Chapter One, there are similar hairstyles worn by many goddesses in the Classical Greek context. The diadem and peplos are not specific enough to favour one particular option.

The Artemis option is intriguing in connection with Sardis, which was home to a prominent cult of the goddess. Artemis was worshipped within a temple which was likely renovated late in Hadrian's reign and possibly given its association with the imperial cult at that time.<sup>716</sup> Sabina was also frequently honoured as Artemis in provincial inscriptions

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<sup>713</sup> See Chapter Two for discussion of the type in provincial coinage.

<sup>714</sup> Alexandridis 2004: 41-42 on the significance of the peplos.

<sup>715</sup> Alexandridis 2004: 183; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 13. Caenaro (2010: 20 n. 14) and Mikocki (1995: 57) repeat the Artemis interpretation. Adembri and Nicolai (2007: 136) agree that the portrait represents a divinity but do not argue for a specific identification. Carandini (1969: 177) described the type as a combination of the Plotina style and fifth century Greek styles.

<sup>716</sup> Burrell 2004: 100-103; Yegül 2010 on the temple.

and coinage.<sup>717</sup> While it is not provable from the iconography, it is tempting to see an association with the goddess in both the provincial coins and the Esquiline portrait. At the very least, the variant is a deliberate elevation of the appearance of the Empress above the standard version of the type with more pointed divine allusions.

The Esquiline portrait was found in the Horti Tauriani, privately owned imperial gardens.<sup>718</sup> High quality portraits of Hadrian and Matidia I were also discovered in the same *horti*.<sup>719</sup> It is unlikely that these three portraits were made at the same time.<sup>720</sup> This private context might help explain the appearance of the Sabina portrait. The more overt divine associations might have been more suited to this private context.

Both the coins from the city of Sardis and the sculpted portrait cannot be dated more narrowly than the time after which the queue type was introduced at Rome. The Tmolus coins most likely date to 136-137 and the Sala coins between 134-137.<sup>721</sup> It is possible that the coins were produced in the Sardis region to celebrate their new temple to the imperial cult sometime near the end of Hadrian's reign, in which case the variant was intended to liken Sabina to Artemis. There is, however, no explicit reference to Artemis or the temple on the coins, which might be more explicit if this was the intended

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<sup>717</sup> Brennan (2018: 232) and Woodhull (2018: 218-220) on the prevalence of representations of Sabina and Artemis in provincial coinage and inscriptions.

<sup>718</sup> Alexandridis 2004: 183 cat. 179; Claridge 2010: 379; Richardson 1992: 204. On the excavation: Lanciani 1874: 33-88.

<sup>719</sup> Hadrian: Evers 1994: 162 cat. 103, Conservatori inv. 890; Matidia I: Wegner 1956: 124, Conservatori Gallery 75.

<sup>720</sup> The Hadrian portrait is the Baiae type, which is dated by Evers (1994: 250-251) to ca. 125-26, but there is no reason to assume that these portraits must have been commissioned at the same time or even displayed close together. The Matidia I portrait must date significantly earlier than both the Hadrian and Sabina portraits unless it was produced long after her death.

<sup>721</sup> See Chapter Two for more discussion of this dating.

message.<sup>722</sup> There is no other obvious reason for the introduction of the variant to the region at this time.

There are two main options for the origins of the variant. It was either invented at Rome and made its way to the *conventus*, or it was first introduced on the provincial coins and was then reproduced at Rome. Since the sculpted portrait at Rome appears in a private context, the latter seems the more likely option. The imperial travelling group likely went through the region in 131, although there is not evidence of a specific stop at any of the relevant cities.<sup>723</sup> While the evidence from Tmolus and Sala suggests a later date for the variant's appearance, it is possible that the coins from Sardis itself date earlier. It is also possible that the type was introduced later in Sardis and that its appearance is not connected to the physical presence of the emperor. In this case, the court must have somehow been informed of the type's appearance, which then influenced the production of the sculpted version in the private imperial gardens.

The sole extant example of the queue portrait type in the round illustrates the disconnect between imperial coinage and portraiture. The Esquiline portrait shows that the variant seen in the Sardis region was also known about and produced in Rome, demonstrating that portrait models were able to spread between provincial coinage and sculpture without influence from the imperial coinage. It also is perhaps illustrative of

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<sup>722</sup> There are several coins of Hadrian from Sardis which are undated and show a temple with a divinity whose identity is not secure (*RPC* III: cat. 2402), but the figure is unlikely to be Artemis. There are also coins which show Artemis Ephesia on the reverse with the senate as the obverse type (*RPC* III: cat. 2398A), but it is unclear when these date to. These coins belong to two different issues. This is not sufficient evidence of a celebration of the temple on the coinage.

<sup>723</sup> There is evidence of visits the Conventus of Ephesus and Adramyteum in that year, which presumably would have required travel through the Conventus of Sardis in between: Birley 1997: 261-262; *AE* 1977, 797; *IKHadrianoi* 1987: 56, 126, 156.



the different standards of representation depending on the audience. While the imperial coinage had to match Roman expectations, there was more freedom for divine allusions in the provincial context. This same freedom has been observed in private Italian contexts, as also illustrated below with the knot portrait type. This is perhaps why there exist these two examples of types being borrowed from provincial coinage for the emperor's private audience.

### *The Basket*

By far the largest group of sculpted portraits belongs to the basket type. There are twenty replicas of the type in the catalogue (**cat. 11-30**), approximately half of all identified portraits. This is a significant increase from both the provincial and imperial coinage, where the type is extremely rare. One portrait is a small gem carved in the round and another is part of a relief. The rest are life-sized heads either alone, on busts, or on statues.

Nine of the portraits have no ancient provenance (**cat. 12, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22, 25, 28, 30**). Another two have questionable origins in the city of Rome (**cat. 15, 23**). Three replicas have previously been associated with a provenance outside of Italy: one from Ephesus now in Vienna (**cat. 11**), one currently in the Musée Saint-Raymond said to be from Gaul (**cat. 13**), and the other presently in Berlin which is allegedly from Asia Minor (**cat. 16**). Capus has recently argued persuasively against the Gaulish origins of the Musée Saint-Raymond portrait.<sup>724</sup> The Berlin head lacks any credible evidence to support its alleged origin. Only the Ephesian relief portrait can be confidently said to

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<sup>724</sup> Capus 2019 (see cat. 13 for further discussion).

have originated in the provinces, and this was produced long after Sabina's death. There are six remaining portraits, all of which were found in Italy (**cat. 18, 19, 24, 26, 27, 29**), one of which is from the Villa Adriana (**cat. 29**).

There is remarkable consistency between sculpted portraits of this type, both among each other and in comparison with the numismatic evidence.<sup>725</sup> The hair is left in a natural, wavy texture. It is parted in the middle and brushed straight back over the tops of the ears. In the back, the hair is twisted up and around in a basket shape. Many replicas have a small lock of hair on each temple, but this is not consistent. There are two main variants in the type of headdress worn: the circlet and the diadem. Some diadems are decorated, and others are left plain. Veiled versions are discussed below as a separate type. Like all of Sabina's portraits, some have marked pupils and irises, and others do not.

There is only one portrait in the group with any noteworthy typological variation: the portrait from the relief of the so-called Parthian monument from Ephesus (**cat. 11**).<sup>726</sup> The front and sides of the hairstyle are exactly as expected for this type. The facial features are somewhat damaged but seem to conform with Sabina's usual appearance. The only divergence from type is the top of the head. Instead of having a diadem or circlet with the hair in a basket behind it, there appears to be a circlet with a diadem above it, which then has more hair piled on top. From the available images, it does not

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<sup>725</sup> This consistency led Carandini (1969: 159) to claim that there was no main model for Sabina's sculpted portraits prior to this type, which he dated to ca. 134. This appears to be an exaggeration, based on the proliferation of the next type in both sculpture and coinage.

<sup>726</sup> See the catalogue for bibliography on this monument.

appear that the top of the head is finished, so perhaps the top of the head and absence of the basket element were not visible in context. The portrait when viewed from below appears very similar to the Syracuse head, which clearly does have the proper basket in the back. Mikocki interprets the portrait as an assimilation with Hera but does not have the same interpretation of all of the other basket type portraits.<sup>727</sup> There is not sufficient evidence to support this theory.

This figure has been reconstructed within the Parthian monument as part of a scene of either the adoptions of both Antoninus Pius by Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus by Antoninus Pius or the apotheosis of Hadrian, with the former more common.<sup>728</sup> Sabina would have been deceased in either scenario. There is enough typological divergence in the top of the hairstyle to question the identification. Given the context, however, it seems more likely that this is a posthumous representation of Sabina made many years after her death.<sup>729</sup>

A portrait from Athens (**cat. 54**) has previously been identified as belonging to this type despite significant typological divergence.<sup>730</sup> Datsulis-Stravridis and Rüsç also

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<sup>727</sup> Mikocki 1995: 58.

<sup>728</sup> Apotheosis: Alexandridis 2004: 185-186. Adoption: Evers 1994: 62; Inan and Rosenbaum 1979: 105; Oberleitner 1999: 623.

<sup>729</sup> Identifications as Sabina: Brennan 2018: cat. C68bis; Carandini 1969: 198 cat. 68; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Oberleitner 1978: 180; Oberleitner 1999: 623. Alexandridis (2004: 185-186 cat. 184), Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum (1979: 104 cat. 52), Mikocki (1995: 198 cat. 331), and Vermeule (1968: 112) identify it as questionably Sabina. Wegner and Unger (1984: 156) claim that the identification cannot be proven iconographically, but do not exclude the possibility. Kampen 1991: 226-227, n. 24 argues that all of the female portraits from the relief are too generalized for specific identifications.

<sup>730</sup> Schröder (1993: 203) argues that the basket type originated in Athens based on this portrait. Carandini (1969: 77-78) refers to it as the most important portrait of Sabina from its period. Other identifications as a portrait of Sabina: Brennan 2018: cat. C27; Carandini 1969: 161-166 cat. 27; Datsulis-Stravridis 1974: 261; Harrison 1953: 37 n. 9; Poulsen 1941: 78 note 1;

argue that a similar portrait from Thessaloniki (**cat. 58**) belongs to the same variant group.<sup>731</sup> Neither of these has the diadem or circlet, a feature found on all replicas of the type.<sup>732</sup> The texture of the hair is also significantly different; it is more smooth and less stringy. The hair is not combed straight back and over the ears as is typical. The basket element is also much larger than it is in the standard type in the Athens portrait and much smaller in the Thessaloniki piece. These both should therefore not be considered portraits of Sabina, but might both be influenced by the basket type.<sup>733</sup>

The biggest challenge for attributions of this type is the identification of modern forgeries. Evers identifies many modern forgeries of portraits of Hadrian, and it appears that some were also produced of portraits of his wife.<sup>734</sup> The most famous Sabina forgery is the Sala dei Busti 359 portrait from the Vatican (**cat. 115**). This was for many years elevated as the exemplary portrait of the basket type, to the extent that the type was named after it.<sup>735</sup> While the portrait had long been noted for having a worked-over surface and exceptional state of preservation, it was not confirmed as a modern forgery until 1999 by Spinola.<sup>736</sup> This was proven by the fact that the nose is copied from the reconstructed nose of a portrait of the same type in the Capitoline, as well as the complete

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Vermeule 1968b: 263; Wegner 1938: 304; Wegner 1956: 87-88, 126; Wegner and Unger 1984: 146; West 1941: 125 cat. 1.

<sup>731</sup> Datsulis-Stravridis 1974: 266-267; Rüsçh 1969: 76, 118.

<sup>732</sup> Fittschen and Zanker (1983: 12) believe that these were part of the original design since they are present in all copies.

<sup>733</sup> The identification of the Athens portrait as a private citizen was proposed by Kaltsas (2002: 340).

<sup>734</sup> Evers 1994: 201-211.

<sup>735</sup> Amelung 1908: 549; Carandini 1969: 190-191; Wegner 1956: 128-129; Wegner and Unger 1984: 153.

<sup>736</sup> Spinola 1999: 92-93.

lack of damage to the piece, which is carved from a single piece of marble. A second portrait of the type in the Vatican is also confirmed to be a modern creation (**cat. 117**).<sup>737</sup>

Given the large number of well-preserved portraits of this type with harsh surface treatments and no provenance, it is likely that there are more modern forgeries in this catalogue. Portraits with secure provenance can be excluded, as well as those sufficiently damaged to be significantly less valuable.<sup>738</sup> The gem (**cat. 17**) cannot be proven to be ancient but is external to this discussion. There remain five well preserved marble portraits without good provenance (**cat. 14, 20, 21, 25, 28**). All five have notably heavy surface cleaning. All are also on a bust or body that they did not originally belong to, all of which are confirmed to be modern with the exception of the Prado bust (**cat. 28**). The Louvre head (**cat. 14**) is unlikely to be a forgery because of the inconsistent level of wear to the back of the head, which appears to be authentic. There is also more damage to the nose and ears than would be expected for a forgery. This Louvre head is also a different variant than the others. Notably, the other four are the less common circlet variant, the variant worn by the two Vatican forgeries.<sup>739</sup> There are securely identified portraits of this variant, so this alone is not evidence of forgery. If, however, a group of forgeries had the same origin, this level of matching might support the conclusion. I do not have strong enough evidence to propose any individual portrait of this group as a certain forgery. There are certainly many ancient portraits which have this level of ambiguity as to their

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<sup>737</sup> This has been known to be modern since 1908 (Amelung 1908: 686). Spinola (1999: 171) claims it to be a copy of the modern head from the Sala dei Busti.

<sup>738</sup> Portraits excluded based on condition: cat. 12, 13, 22, 30 (not as badly damaged as the others, but the surface is significantly discoloured and there were traces of paint found on it).

<sup>739</sup> There are nine circlets and eleven diadems in the catalogue.

origins and are well preserved. It would, however, be surprising if the only two forgeries of the type were those in the Vatican.

The dating of the type's introduction on coinage established in Chapter One allows for a better understanding of the motivations behind the type's creation. Many previous scholars have dated the type significantly earlier, often in relation to the acquisition of the title *Augusta*, assumed to have happened in 128, due to the large number of extant portraits.<sup>740</sup> The connection between the diadem and the title *Augusta* has been debunked by Alexandridis and the coin evidence dates the type to ca. 137. An explanation is therefore needed for the production of such a large number of portraits in such a short period of time. There are not enough potential fakes in the group to make up for this discrepancy.

It is first important to note that the type was not just used in the brief interval between 137 and Sabina's consecration, but continued to be produced posthumously. This was also the case on coinage, although for a very short period of time. Portraits from Sessa Aurunca (**cat. 26**) and the Parthian monument (**cat. 11**) were almost certainly posthumous, the latter significantly so.<sup>741</sup> However, the numismatic evidence proves that

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<sup>740</sup> Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012: 154 (119 or 123, with *Augusta* title); D'Ambra 2015: 49 (119-128); Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11 (128 or earlier); Fittschen 1996: 42 (with *Augusta* title, between 119-128); Mannsperger 1998: 70 (128); von Heintze 1958: 478 (earlier than the acquisition of the title *Augusta*); Rosso 2006: 457 (no later than 128). Some are closer but are still several years earlier than what the numismatic evidence suggests is accurate: Adembri 2007: 79 (134-136); Carandini 1969: 231-232 (134-137). See Chapter One for numismatic dating theories.

<sup>741</sup> The Sessa Aurunca portrait was found in the theatre which was restored by Sabina's sister Matidia in 139. It is possible that the portrait was commissioned before her death but must have been an acceptable posthumous format since it was kept in the final display. This is also confirmed by the coins. See *cat. 26* for full discussion for the Sessa Aurunca portrait.

the type was not invented for this reason, since it was already produced during Sabina's lifetime. Balty, Cazes, and Rosso also point out how unusual it would be for a new type to have been invented after her death, especially given the short time between her death and Hadrian's.<sup>742</sup>

Several scholars have suggested a link between a special event and the production of the portrait type.<sup>743</sup> I suggest that this event was the *vicennalia*, the twentieth anniversary of Hadrian's reign, which was most likely celebrated in 137-138.<sup>744</sup> Højte uses the statue base evidence to argue against the possibility of a large number of new statues of the Emperor being made during Hadrian's reign in celebration of either the *decennalia* or *vicennalia*.<sup>745</sup> He argues this because of a lack of increase in datable statue bases in either year. However, 127/8 and 137/138, the dates of the two jubilees, fall within the least datable period of Hadrian's reign. As discussed in Appendix 10, bases produced each year is not equally likely to be datable since dates are often based on the acquisition of new titles. Of the 418 statue bases that Højte catalogues for Hadrian, 207 of them could date to either year but are unable to be dated more narrowly than a range of a decade or more. In addition, the statue base evidence is heavily skewed towards the provinces. If these celebrations were mostly confined to Rome, an increase in statue production would likely not be visible in the statue base evidence. Therefore, the statue base evidence does not disprove the production of new portraits for Hadrian's *decennalia*

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<sup>742</sup> Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012: 154.

<sup>743</sup> Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012: 153.

<sup>744</sup> Chastagnol 1984: 106-107 (August 11<sup>th</sup> of either 136, 137, or 138); Keinast 1996: 129 (December 13<sup>th</sup> 137 "Vicennalienfeier"); Rachtel 1980: 206 (August 11<sup>th</sup> 137-August 10<sup>th</sup> 138).

<sup>745</sup> Højte 2005: 157-158.

or *vicennalia*.<sup>746</sup> For further discussion of the statue base evidence and Højte's methods, see Appendix 10.

There is evidence for portrait types being introduced in correspondence with the *decennalia* and *vicennalia*, although some of these are controversial.<sup>747</sup> One of the most secure *decennalia* types is Sabina's nest portrait type, as discussed in Chapter One, which is confidently dated to 127/128 on coinage. Despite not being explicitly mentioned in inscriptions or on coins, there is evidence for a significant celebration of Hadrian's *vicennalia*.<sup>748</sup> This absence from coins is unsurprising given that explicit references to jubilees do not appear on Roman coinage until 147.<sup>749</sup>

The *vicennalia* as the motivation for the type's invention would also explain the discrepancy between the coins and the portraits. Coins featuring the basket type were produced sometime between August of 137 and Sabina's death, with the new basket type commissioned to celebrate the *vicennalia*. These were produced in substantial numbers in the gold but were only just beginning to appear on other denominations at the time of

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<sup>746</sup> Højte (2005: 159) does argue for an increase in dedications related to anniversaries, including the *vicennalia*, of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, but I have not conducted the same analysis on this emperor's data to see if this conclusion is valid.

<sup>747</sup> E.g.: Trajan *decennalia*: Gross 1940: 85-98; Strack 1931-1937: 29 (quoted in Højte 2005: 157); Hadrian *decennalia and vicennalia*: Evers 1994: 251; Wegner 1956: 60-61, 63. Sabina's first appearance on coinage as part of *decennalia* coin reforms: Duncan-Jones 2006: 226. Schröder's (1993: 200) suggestion that the basket portrait was introduced at the same time as Hadrian's youthful portrait type must be excluded on chronological grounds. Beckmann (2019: 151-154) has proven that the type's introduction dates to mid-138, which would place it at least several months after Sabina's death. Fejfer (1984: 133-134; 1988: 298) observes a similar phenomenon with Julia Domna's statue bases, which appear to correlate with the celebration of special dynastic events.

<sup>748</sup> Adembri 2007: 78; Rachet 1980: 205-207. Rachet argues for connecting Hadrian's final *liberalitas* with the *vicennalia*, as well as several coin emissions.

<sup>749</sup> Duncan-Jones 2006: 225.



Sabina's death. Sculptures, which were produced sporadically as result of public or individual desire are much more effected by specific events, like the celebration of the emperor's twentieth anniversary as ruler.

Sabina died during the year of the *vicennalia*. Her death and subsequent consecration might have also contributed to an increase in portrait production if they coincided with festivities. It is possible that many of these statues were produced during the interval between her death and consecration.<sup>750</sup> The creation of family group statues following Antoninus's adoption on February 28<sup>th</sup> of 138 might also have contributed to more statues of Sabina being produced in the months following her death. All of these factors might have been enough to explain the significant portrait production in Italy during this brief chronological period.

### *The Knot*

The one type included here which does not appear on coinage produced at Rome is the knot. The back of the head closely resembles the basket type, consisting of wavy hair wound around the crown of the head in a wide circle. The front of the hair, however, diverges significantly. The hair is knotted into a large complex knot which visually replaces the diadem. The type exists in four copies (**cat. 31-34**). Two of these are veiled (**cat. 32, 34**) and the other two are bare headed (**cat. 31, 33**). Three were found at the Villa Adriana and the fourth has no known provenance (**cat. 33**). Give the common origin of the others, the fourth is likely to have come from Tivoli as well.

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<sup>750</sup> Birley (1997: 194) dates the consecration to March 138.

Despite its absence from Roman coinage, there is reason to believe that the type represents Sabina.<sup>751</sup> The facial features of these images bear a strong resemblance to Sabina, as does the posterior portion of the hair. The hair in the front of the face is reminiscent of the basket type, with the knot replacing the diadem or circlet. The Villa Adriana provenance also speaks to this conclusion. This is especially the case for **cat. 32**, which was found in what is believed to be an imperial gallery.<sup>752</sup>

Although this is the first use of the knot with a basket-like type, this is not the first time that a knot is seen in Sabina's portraiture. Coins from Egypt also display this feature on some nest type coins, as discussed in Chapter Two. These coins begin to be produced in 131/132, the start of Sabina and Hadrian's extensive stay in the province. I interpret the knot on the coins as a Hercules knot, meant to indicate rule over both upper and lower Egypt, a concept repeated on the Pincian Obelisk in Rome.<sup>753</sup> I believe the same interpretation applies to the knots on these portraits, an idea first proposed by Brennan.<sup>754</sup> The Villa Adriana is famous for its wealth of Egyptianizing monuments, including many portraits of Antinous.<sup>755</sup> These Egyptian-influenced portraits of Sabina would make sense in this context. This also explains why this type is exclusively found in portraits from the

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<sup>751</sup> Scholars who have accepted the identification with Sabina: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 81-82, 111, 166, 170; Brennan 2018: cat. C35, N102, N107, N109; Carandini 1969: 171-172 cat. 35; Vermeule 1981: 314 cat. 270. Scholars who have rejected the identification with Sabina: Carandini 1969: 199 (referring to the Turin head, said that he could not find it); Felletti Maj 1953: 104; Giuliano 1988: 269-261 (Caesarano); Wegner and Unger 1984: 152; 155.

<sup>752</sup> Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 170.

<sup>753</sup> On this meaning for the Hercules knot, see Nicgorski 1995: 77.

<sup>754</sup> Brennan 2018: 173.

<sup>755</sup> On the Egyptianizing monuments from the Villa Adriana, see Roulet 1974, especially 49-50.

Villa. Like the Egyptian Antinous portraits, these were not intended for a public audience.

It is difficult to date the introduction of the type because it does not appear on the Roman coinage. While the knot element itself first appears on Alexandrian coinage in 131/2, it is added to the nest and queue portrait types, earlier types than the basket type with which the villa portraits are more closely related. It probably should not date earlier than 133, the year that Hadrian and Sabina returned from their trip that included their visit to Egypt. It could date as late as 138, if it were invented after the basket, but this is unlikely given the short period of time available. It is more likely that the knot predates the basket and was introduced at the Villa Adriana between 134-137. It is possible that some of the knot portraits were produced posthumously, especially the two veiled portraits, but this is not necessary.

This portrait type was intended for Hadrian's close inner circle. It has strong Egyptian associations which would perhaps not have been understood or appreciated by the Roman general public. I argue in the case of the Alexandrian coins that the knot and other variant central elements are meant to associate Sabina with the death of Antinous. It is unclear if the same meaning was intended here, or if these portraits were stylistic choices to match the Egyptian style décor. In either case, this appears to be an example of variants on provincial coinage connecting with statues produced in Italy, as was seen with the Esquiline portrait (**cat. 10**).

### *The Veil*

There are five portraits of the veil type in the catalogue (**cat. 35-39**). The two veiled knot portraits discussed above will not be included here. Three of the veil type replicas are portraits in the round and one is from the apotheosis of Sabina relief previously on the Arco di Portogallo, now housed in the Capitoline Museum (**cat. 37**). Four of the five portraits are from Italy. The relief and one other portrait (**cat. 38**) come from Rome and two others (**cat. 35, 36**) are from Ostia. The final portrait (**cat. 39**) was found in Izmit in ancient Nicomedia.

While the veil type on coinage shows the hair underneath arranged in the chignon style, in sculpture the hair underneath is the basket type. On coinage, the type exclusively occupies a particular time period and uses different headdresses from its unveiled counterpart, which makes it useful to discuss as a separate type. In sculpture, the type is an exact match for the basket portraits with the addition of the veil. It is also not clear that the type is chronologically distinct from the basket. I have kept this as a separate type here to remain consistent with the numismatic typology, but this is probably not an accurate description of the significance of the variant.

Only the Arco di Portogallo relief (**cat. 37**) is confirmed to be posthumous. It is most likely Hadrianic and therefore can be dated to 138. As demonstrated by Alexandridis, the veil did not always indicate a posthumous representation in sculpture.<sup>756</sup> The remaining four portraits date no earlier than 137, when the basket type was

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<sup>756</sup> Alexandridis 2004: 44-46. Previous scholarship on the type has assumed all of the portraits are posthumous based on the coinage and veil (Adembri 2007: 80; Carandini 1969: 239).

introduced, but could possibly have been produced into the reign of Antoninus Pius. Since there are no representations of earlier types with veils, and the unveiled basket was introduced close to Sabina's death, it is most likely that all of the veiled portraits are posthumous. The inverse is not true: there are unveiled posthumous portraits of Sabina attested in sculpture and some rare *denarii*, as discussed previously.

Veiled portraits with wavy hair parted in the middle are commonly found throughout the Empire, many of which have been identified as representations of Sabina in the past. In order for a portrait to be accepted as a representation of Sabina in this catalogue, it must have a few key features. All of the confirmed portraits of the veiled basket type wear either a diadem or circlet, like their unveiled counterparts.<sup>757</sup> The sides of the hair in portraits of the basket and chignon types are always brushed straight back and cover the tops of the ears, and the same is visible in the veiled sculpted portraits. This is one of the main ways that Sabina's hairstyle is identifiable among the many portraits with a similar style. There are also usually small locks of hair on the temples carved in low relief, although this is not a requirement.<sup>758</sup> The hair has a natural stringy and wavy texture with no evidence of artificial curling or styling. If the facial features are preserved well enough, they should match Sabina's established appearance.<sup>759</sup> This does

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<sup>757</sup> Cat. 36 is the only known portrait of Sabina that wears both the diadem and the circlet together.

<sup>758</sup> All of the veiled portraits here have this feature except for the two Ostia portraits (cat. 35, 36), one of which is too badly damaged to tell. The feature also appears inconsistently in veilless basket portraits.

<sup>759</sup> Sabina's facial features did not change significantly on either coins or sculpture after her death. The veiled portrait in the MNR and the veiled knot are both easily recognizable as Sabina based on their facial features.

not mean that portraits rejected as Sabina are certainly not her, but that with such a generalized hairstyle, they are not able to be confirmed as such.

I rejected many veiled portraits as representations of Sabina because they diverge substantially from the confirmed portraits or their features are too generalized (**cat. 42, 60, 64, 66, 94, 97, 99, 100, 103, 104, 110, 114**). In some cases, the distinction between an accepted and rejected portrait is subtle. A portrait statue found at the gate of Plancia Magna in Perge (**cat. 100**), which has often been identified as Sabina, is one noteworthy example. At first glance, the portrait appears very similar to the accepted portrait from Izmit (**cat. 39**), but there are a few distinctions that resulted in the Perge statue being rejected and the Izmit one accepted.

The hairstyle of the Perge portrait has the basic features of the type but with a few subtle differences. The hair is not brushed straight back in the same way as usual, although it does cover the ears. Its texture is more undulating than normal. There is no lock of hair on the temple, which is common, but not required for the type. The facial features are damaged, but what is visible is highly generalized. The lower half of the face is wider than normal, and the eyes are more forward. In contrast, the Izmit portrait has the curl on the temple, hair of the correct texture and arrangement (especially visible on the left side of the head), and facial features which are badly damaged but do not obviously diverge from Sabina's usual features.

Of course, typological divergences, especially in provincial portraits, do not always mean that the identification is incorrect. From a statue base, it is known that there

was once a portrait of Sabina at the Plancia Magna gate in Perge.<sup>760</sup> This has contributed to the portrait's continued identification as Sabina. Understanding the chronology of Sabina's portrait types, however, this portrait could not possibly date as early as the Hadrian portrait from the same location, which dates to 121, more than fifteen years before the invention of the veiled basket type for Sabina.<sup>761</sup> This portrait can therefore confidently be rejected as a portrait of Sabina.

The Izmit portrait is the only veiled portrait of Sabina that I have identified from the provinces. Given the complete absence of the basket and veil types in provincial coinage, it is unsurprising that there are not more. There are two statue bases from Mauretania which name Sabina as *diva*, proving that posthumous portraits were produced for Sabina in the provinces, although this evidence come from far away from Nicomedia.<sup>762</sup> The Izmit portrait is the only evidence of posthumous portraits of Sabina in the eastern half of the empire, if this portrait can be identified as posthumous.

The veiled sculpted portraits are typologically distinct from those on coins. In spite of this, they conform well with what is understood about the type from the numismatic evidence. A combination of veiled and unveiled Sabina portraits were produced posthumously. The numismatic evidence shows that posthumous portraiture of the Empress was mostly confined to Italy. Since most extant sculpted portraits in general

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<sup>760</sup> *AE* 1965 p. 69 n. 211 = *SEG* XXIV 424.

<sup>761</sup> See cat. 100 for a more detailed discussion of the portrait and its dating.

<sup>762</sup> *CIL* VIII 2 8929; *CIL* VIII Suppl 2 17847. There is only one other posthumous statue base, which is from Rome: *NSc* 133 p. 433, pl. IX = *AE* 1934 39 no. 146 = *CIL* VI 40528 = *AE* 2010, 177. There are too few bases to draw any significance from this geographical distribution except to say that there were posthumous portraits of Sabina produced in both locations.

come from Italy, the Italian evidence is probably overrepresented in sculpture. It does, however, seem to support the findings from the coinage.

### Conclusions

This new analysis allows for production of Sabina's portrait statues to be understood. Statue bases prove that pre-128 portraits were produced in the east, which most likely were non-canonical. The first officially sanctioned portrait type, the nest, was introduced in 127/128 at the same time as, and likely in connection with, the *decennalia*. The type was disseminated throughout the Empire, and a substantial number of portraits were produced. The chignon and queue portrait types were not introduced in association with the type of special occasion that would prompt the production of large quantities of portrait statues and were likely not sent to most provincial centres for copying. For this reason, both types are barely present in the sculptural record, in stark contrast with the numismatic evidence in the case of the queue. During the year of Hadrian's *vicennalia*, a new Sabina portrait type is once again introduced, paralleling the events of ten years prior. The combination of the jubilee festivities, Sabina's death and consecration, and Antoninus Pius's adoption resulted in production of portraits in Italy from 137-138. At some point after the return of the couple from the east in 134, an Egyptianizing portrait type with typological links to the basket was produced exclusively at Hadrian's Tivoli villa, intended only for this private context. Following Sabina's death, the basket continued to be used in portraiture, both veiled and unveiled.

The evidence from this chronology demonstrates how large of a role events played in influencing the production of Sabina's sculpted portraits. There is no correlation



between the portraits in the round and the length of time a type appeared on imperial coinage or its prevalence in provincial coinage. Instead, the imperial jubilees appear to have been the largest drivers of portrait production in Italy, the source of the majority of the portraits.

There are seven portraits of Sabina known to come from the Villa Adriana: three nest, one basket, and three knot type. The fourth knot type portrait can probably be added to this group. The portraits demonstrate that Sabina was a significant part of the portrait imagery at the villa, despite ancient accounts of the imperial couple's negative relationship. They also show that new portraits of Sabina were produced at the villa at a few different times, but that the older types were not completely removed once new ones were introduced. The absence of the chignon and queue types at Tivoli suggests that the villa did not acquire new portraits with any regularity, but instead, like with other sculpture, produced them sporadically based on factors outside of our knowledge.

The knot type portraits and the Esquiline queue portrait demonstrate that sculpted portraits in private contexts did not have to strictly follow the official imperial typology, while the other Villa Adriana portraits show that they often did anyway. The knot and Esquiline portraits also show that inspiration for these private portraits could come from provincial coinage, which was more permissive of divinizing iconography than the Roman imperial coinage. This influence is perhaps evidence of the court's awareness of and interaction with provincial coinage. In the case of Alexandria, the court certainly encountered the coins while they were there, but the Sardinian evidence leaves open the possibility of the court becoming aware of provincial coin types from afar. This evidence

has further underlined the importance of provincial coinage for a complete understanding of imperial portraiture. While Harvey has noted the parallels between provincial coin portrait variants and sculpture found in the same region, this is to my knowledge the first time a link between provincial variants and Rome has been observed without also influence from the imperial coinage.<sup>763</sup>

In sculpture, Sabina is once again a much more significant part of Hadrianic public presentation than would be assumed from the ancient sources. Her portraits are similarly plentiful in private. The statue bases and some extant portraits illustrate that her portraits were spread throughout the Empire. The Apotheosis of Sabina portrait shows a public promotion of the consecration of the Empress that was likely an official commission. This and other posthumous portraits illustrate that Sabina had an important role in the public conception of the imperial family even after her death.

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<sup>763</sup> Harvey 2020: 76.

### **Conclusions**

In the introduction, I laid out three primary goals. The first was to establish a secure chronology of the imperial coin types, in order to properly understand the progression of Sabina's representation in official imperial imagery. The second was to provide proper context to the portraits. Medium, commissioner, function, display location, and audience are just some of the criteria that are encompassed by this, all of which contributed to the decision of when to produce a portrait and how that portrait looked. All of this information is necessary for the third goal, the interpretation of the role of Sabina's portraiture in the imperial messaging of Hadrian's reign.

For the first goal, the two die studies provide a relative chronology, from which I was able to apply absolute dates for the introduction of each portrait type. These conclusions are supported by the dated provincial coins and sculpted replicas, despite the typological distinctions between the media. With the second goal, the discrepancies between the proportions of different portrait types are able to be understood when the full available contextual information for each artifact is considered. In general, the coins from the imperial mint provide evidence for the administration's goals for Sabina's public representation. The coins from the provinces illustrate that there was not a concerted effort to introduce new portrait types to the eastern provinces. Provincial mints, however, show a high level of adherence to imperial portrait models when they were available. Sculpture shows the importance of specific events in the production of portraits in the round. Artifacts from private imperial contexts, most significantly the Villa Adriana, reveal how Sabina was presented in Hadrian's inner circle.

With all of this evidence compiled, I propose the following progression of Sabina's portraiture. Prior to 128, portraits were produced in the provinces by a small number of cities in celebration of the new imperial couple. Numismatic evidence suggests that this was mostly confined to the period of Hadrian's journey back to Rome in 117/118 on coinage, while epigraphic evidence demonstrates that there were a small number of sculptures produced during the subsequent decade. The provincial coins show that there was no official model from which these cities were able to produce these portraits, and therefore they reused designs originally made for previous imperial women. Sculptures were a significantly larger investment, and the appearance of the portrait might have mattered more to the commissioners. We therefore cannot assume that provincial portrait statues of Sabina from this period would have also used the same tactic. However, since in both cases there was no official model, these sculpted portraits must have also been non-canonical. The existence of these pre-128 portraits in the provinces demonstrates the freedom of individuals and communities to produce portraits of members of the imperial family with little oversight. Their small number shows that, without any imperial influence, most chose not to. The existence of any portraits from this period is, however, significant in its illustration of the celebration of the imperial family in the provinces, regardless of whether it was for political, personal, or affective reasons. There is no evidence for this phenomenon at Rome.

Sabina's portraiture began on imperial coinage at the very end of 127 or early 128 as part of a visual program celebrating Hadrian's *decennalia*. The next type was an intentional reference to Sabina's mother and grandmother, Matidia I and Marciana. A

model of it was distributed among provincial centres and the type was widely used on the local coinage of eastern mints. A substantial number of portraits in the round were also produced with the type, probably because it was the first of her official types and also possibly in connection with *decennalia* celebrations. At least two of these were produced outside of Italy, one in Gaul and the other in Hadrian and Sabina's hometown of Italica. The absence of sculpted portraits of the type from the eastern provinces is unsurprising, given the comparatively small number of identifiable portrait statues from this region in comparison with Italy. The coinage and sculpture together confirm the use of the type throughout the entire empire. The prevalence of the type at the Villa Adriana shows that the type was also embraced in private by Hadrian's inner circle.

The chignon was introduced on the imperial coinage as a commemorative issue. The type bears strong resemblance with Livia and was likely introduced in 129 in celebration of the one-hundred-year anniversary of her death. The administration's attempt to connect Hadrian with Augustus was likely the motivation for the type. The type has a Rome-centric meaning and was very short lived, appearing on only two denominations at the central mint. For this reason, it has almost no impact in either provincial coinage or sculpture. It is found on coins from only three provincial mints and there are no confirmed examples of the type in sculpture.

The queue was introduced while the imperial couple was in Egypt in 130/131 and represents the first move away from retrospective portrait types. It instead represents a uniquely Hadrianic style, having more in common with eastern imagery than traditional Roman iconography. The type was most likely invented in Alexandria, either by a local

artist or someone travelling with the imperial court. The type is by far the most common on imperial coins, probably for no other reason than that it lasted the longest before being replaced by the next type, and Sabina coinage was consistently minted every year at Rome. The type was not intentionally spread to the provinces by the imperial administration, presumably because the type's messaging was not relevant for this audience. For this reason, it appears at only a handful of mints, usually in connection with imperial travels or due to a particular attentiveness of the mint to imperial typology. There is only one known example of the type in sculpture, likely because the type's introduction was not related to an event that motivated statue production. The lone queue portrait in sculpture (**cat. 10**) was found in a private imperial context and uses a variant of the type only found on provincial coinage.

The basket was produced as part of the celebration of Hadrian's *vicennalia* in 137, paralleling the beginning of Sabina's portraiture during the *decennalia*. The type is a continuation of the classicizing Hadrianic style that was begun by the queue. The production of coinage using the type began at the time of the jubilee but was interrupted by Sabina's death. For a very brief time the basket type continued on the posthumous coinage. The short period of manufacture of the type on imperial coinage might explain its absence from provincial coinage. It is, however, also likely that the type would not have had a significant presence at eastern mints regardless. The evidence from the chignon and queue illustrates that types after the nest were not intentionally spread to provincial centres in the same way as the nest was. In contrast with the coinage, large amounts of sculpture was produced, mostly at Rome, likely as part of the *vicennalia*

celebration. Like on the imperial coinage, the type was also used posthumously in sculpture.

Another type appears in four sculptures, probably all from the Villa Adriana, that could be viewed as either a variant of the basket or its own distinct type, which I have named the knot. The type appears to have been influenced by the Alexandrian coinage, which, starting in 130/131 features a knot element in Sabina's queue and nest portrait types. The square knot is likely meant as a representation of Sabina's role as Queen of Egypt, as well as having an apotropaic function. The type in sculpture is most closely related to the basket type. It therefore was probably invented later than its Alexandrian counterpart, likely sometime from 134-137. The type's confinement to the villa suggests that it was not designed for public consumption. The Egyptian influence of the type fits with the Egyptianizing décor of the Villa Adriana, which explains the reason for the prominence of this type at the villa.

Following Sabina's death and consecration, coinage was produced at Rome with the Empress wearing a veil over the chignon hairstyle. The veil represents her as a *diva* as well as representing her *pietas*, and the hairstyle refers to Livia. The type is absent from provincial coinage. It is unlikely that the type would have been intentionally sent to the mints for copying by Rome, but the short interval between Sabina's consecration and Hadrian's death certainly prevented this possibility. In sculpture, the hairstyle under the veil is the basket instead of the chignon. A small number of these sculptures were produced, mostly confined to Italy. The Apotheosis of Sabina relief panel, possibly part of an arch commemorating her consecration, shows public commemoration of the event

at Rome. The type is more difficult to interpret in sculpture than coinage because the veil might not have been intended to represent consecration in all cases. Additionally, without accompanying inscriptions, it is difficult to identify portraits of Sabina of this type because so little of the hairstyle is visible.

If I am correct, there was a specific reason behind each new portrait type's introduction. I do not intend for this conclusion to extend beyond the Sabina evidence; there is good reason for skepticism of the idea that all portrait types were associated with special events. However, in the case of Sabina, each type is significantly different from what came before it in both its contents and presumed message, and each can be linked chronologically with a motivating occasion for its creation. Fejfer's theory of portrait type creation through competition of workshops is possibly correct in the case of Hadrian since there are such subtle changes between his portrait types. This, however, seems less likely for his wife. This is especially clear for the chignon. The type is not a new design, was created for a specific date, and only appears on coinage. The nest is similarly referential, although not time specific. The queue and basket represent a new, classicizing style, which was first introduced when the imperial couple was abroad, which is easier to understand as a specific commission than an invention of competing workshops.

Sabina's portrait types do not have a unified program. Unlike Fittschen's theory of birth-related motivations for Faustina II's portrait types, a variety of events motivated the creation of Sabina's new types. The nest, basket, and chignon, corresponding with the *decennalia*, *vicennalia*, and the centennial of Livia's, might have been planned well in



advance, while the queue and the veil were most likely not. There does not appear to have been an attempt to tell a coherent story across these portrait types. Instead, each portrait type is a representation of the messaging of the court at the time of its introduction, without any necessary connection with the types that came before it. There are also several seemingly important occasions that did not result in the invention of a new imperial portrait type, such as Hadrian's accession, the return to Rome in 133, and Sabina's acceptance of the title Augusta.

The lack of programmatic organization to these types is perhaps the result of the experimental nature of this project. Those in charge of selecting Sabina's official imagery were discovering new ways to use the image of an imperial woman within their broader messaging scheme. The first portrait type, the nest, was a conservative retrospective type. The second shares this reflective nature but serves a new role. While Hadrian was known to have wanted to emulate Augustus, those choosing the imagery were apparently unable or unwilling to do so with his official portraiture. They instead saw the empress's image as the more appropriate vehicle. The next two portrait types are a clear departure, representing hairstyles that fit more with Greek tradition than Roman. These are once again an example of an element of the Hadrianic administration's messaging program that is clearly represented in Sabina's portraiture, in this case with Greek classicism.

The differences between the sculpture and coin evidence are also revealing of the impact of special occasions on the different media. While events can be linked to the introduction of new types on coinage, they unsurprisingly had very little impact on the

quantity of coins produced. This is true for both Rome and the provinces. In contrast, the celebration of jubilees appears to have been the main driver of statue production for Sabina, at least within Italy. Statues were made for other reasons throughout the reign, as demonstrated by the statue bases, but there is an undeniable concentration of production surrounding the *decennalia* and *vicennalia*.

There are notable differences between the provincial evidence and the products of the imperial mint. In looking at the provincial coinage, it is apparent that only the nest was actively sent to the provinces for copying and the other types were introduced only in a few places, mostly through imperial visits. There are only two known portraits in the round of Sabina from the eastern provinces, and both are posthumous. Models were likely not sent to provincial centres with the introduction of each new type. This instead appears to have only occurred on a large scale with Sabina's first official portrait type. It makes sense in the context of the interpretations of the messages behind each type, none of which is particularly relevant to a provincial audience. It would have been an unnecessary expenditure of resources to send all five types to provincial centres when none of their contents was particularly relevant to the local audience.

I observed another significant phenomenon among Sabina's portraits: the influence of provincial coin portrait types on Italian sculpture. There are several examples of types appearing exclusively on provincial coins but being produced at Rome. The first is the queue type variant from the Conventus of Sardis appearing on the portrait found on the Esquiline. The second is the use of the knot from Alexandrian coins on the portraits at Tivoli. It is possible that the queue type itself was originally a provincial

invention before it was introduced to the Roman imperial coinage. All of the sculpted portraits with provincial influence were found in private courtly contexts; perhaps the types were brought back to Rome by members of the court. It is possible that this is a uniquely Hadrianic phenomenon. The extensive imperial travels and Hadrian's noted interest in art might have promoted this transposition of provincial influence to Rome. This is evidence that provincial coins were perhaps more significant bearers of the imperial image than previously thought. While most of their typological alterations do not appear to have had influence outside of a small local area, these types show the potential for them to impact other media in other locations.

Why was Sabina's image made such a prominent element of the administration's visual program? The prominence of some previous imperial women has been explained by their active role in the administration, others by their status as mothers to potential heirs. Neither of these applies to Sabina. There is no evidence for any significant political activity or influence on her part, not even for personal benefactions by her. Her marriage with Hadrian produced no children. She was a close relative of Trajan's, which would have certainly elevated her position somewhat. However, this does not explain the huge increase in her representation nor its variety. Nicolai's characterization is probably correct. The use of Sabina's image was not about her. The administration saw an opportunity to use her likeness to convey its messages and did so in an innovative way.<sup>764</sup>

The picture established by Sabina's portraits is very different from the negative one presented in the literary sources. The characterization of Sabina as an unpleasant

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<sup>764</sup> Nicolai 2007: 101-102.

wife has often been repeated by modern scholars, including art historians who wish to see in her portraits evidence of her cold, unhappy nature. This is perhaps best illustrated by West, who, in his work on her portraits, characterizes Sabina as a woman who “lacked the gift of understanding such a complex and ingenious man as Hadrian”.<sup>765</sup> Sabina’s strong presence in the visual record does not disprove ancient accounts of the negative relationship between her and Hadrian or say anything more about who she really was. These portraits only relate what the administration wanted the public to see. It does, however, show the power of the Empress’s image in imperial messaging. Sabina’s image was promoted as an important part of the imperial image program and was actively updated many times throughout Hadrian’s reign. This represents the first time in Roman history that the image of an empress was utilized so plentifully. This was a paradigm shift in the representation of imperial women and was expanded upon by subsequent regimes.

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<sup>765</sup> West 1941: 123. Translation is my own.

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## Sculpted Portrait Catalogue

This catalogue contains all of the portraits I am aware of that have been identified as Sabina. It is sorted between identifications that I support (**cat. 1-39**) and those which I reject (**cat. 40-118**).

### Accepted Identifications

The following portraits are those most securely identified as representations of Sabina. I have organized them chronologically by type, the order in which they appear in Chapter Three (nest, queue, basket, knot, and veil). Within each section, the portraits are organized alphabetically by country and then by city.

#### **The Nest**

##### ***1. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 774 (cat. 675)***

Over-life-size portrait head

Portrait type: Nest

Dimensions: 36 cm high

Provenance: Allegedly found in the so-called Baths of Marciana in Ostia in 1831-1836; acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in 1888 from an auction in Rome

Condition: Part of nose missing; face and hair lightly chipped

Literature: Adembri 2007: 77; Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 158-159 (Østergaard); Boatwright 2000b: 67-70; Brennan 2018: cat. C17; Caenaro 2010: 19 cat. 2; Calza 1964: 78 cat. 125; Carandini 1969: 145-147 cat. 17; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 note 5; Johansen 1995: 116-117 cat. 43; Poulsen 1951: 470-471 cat. 675; Poulsen 1974: 71-72, cat. 44; von Heintze 1958: 478; Wegner 1956: 126; Wegner and Unger 1984: 148

This portrait has been identified with most of the Trajanic/Hadrianic imperial women at some point, but most scholars now agree with its identification with Sabina. The over-life-size scale makes it likely a representation of a member of the imperial household. Its findspot in the Baths of Marciana where portraits of other imperial women were also found has also been used to support this theory, but it is possible that this provenance is inaccurate, and that the portrait does not come from Ostia based on Østergaard's findings in Adembri and Nicolai's catalogue.

The portrait most closely resembles the Vaison and Malmö heads, although there are a few distinctions. The lyre shaped element in the two frontal tiers of hair is less pronounced in the centre, although some of this is possibly due to damage. The nest element is also somewhat wider than the others, which leaves no visible space for the

usual segment of hair running above the ear to the nest. This element is less pronounced on the Vaison and Malmö heads than the others as well, but even less so here. The nest element in general appears more rigid and less natural than normal. This may be a result of the portrait's scale. The basket has a rigid dip on the side instead of the usual natural twist of the hair as is seen on the coins and other sculpted portraits. Calza suggest that it originally had a metal diadem, which is unlikely true, although not possible to confirm without a viewing.

The facial features generally conform with Sabina's, although the eyes appear somewhat narrower. These differences might again be due to the scale.

## **2. Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, France, inv. 2008.1.102**

Portrait head on a restored bust

Portrait type: Nest

Dimensions: 60 cm high; 30 cm high head

Provenance: Allegedly from the Villa Adriana, Tivoli; according to the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, entered France in 1866

Condition: Back of the hairstyle, nose, bust, and foot are all restoration from the 19<sup>th</sup> century; restored chips on the face; some additional chipping on the face

Literature: Adembri 2007: 77; Brennan 2018: cat. C37; Carandini 1969: 173-174 cat. 37; Caenaro 2010: 19 cat. 5; D'Escamps 1856: 89; Gusman 1904: 277-278.

The portrait is heavily restored. Carandini was unable to view it in person and was therefore unaware that this restoration included the entire upper section of the hair all the way around the head behind the forelocks. Adembri and Caenaro also miss this. All therefore view this as a hybrid portrait type between the nest and the basket. When viewed in its current state of restoration, it is clear that the entire back section including the basket element is modern.

What remains of the ancient forelocks and back does, however, correspond with known examples of the nest portrait type. What is especially telling is the lyre-formed element at the centre of the forelocks which is particular to this type. The facial features also correspond with other portraits of Sabina, with the exception of the modern nose. Given the provenance, if true, of the Villa Adriana, there is enough evidence to assert confidently that this is a nest type portrait of Sabina.

Pupils are lightly drilled, and irises are slightly indicated.

## **3. Musée archéologique, Vaison-la-Romaine, France, inv. 990.54.004**

Draped portrait statue in Pudicitia format

Portrait type: Nest

Dimensions: 206 cm high with plinth; 190 cm high without plinth; 27.5 cm high head

Provenance: Discovered in 1912/1913 in the theatre of Vaison-la-Romaine in the *hyposcaenium* of the theatre in front of the *valva regia*

Condition: Head reconstructed from several broken pieces; other breakages fixed with plaster; chipping in several places (see Chataignère and Chinn for full details of restoration)

Literature: Adembri 2007: 77; Alexandridis 2004: 184 cat. 183; Boatwright 2000b: 66-67; Braemer 1999: 51; Brennan 2018: cat. C3; Caenaro 2010: 22 cat. 6; Carandini 1969: 136-138 cat. 3; Chataignère 1997: 4-19 (museum restoration report); Chinn 1974 (museum restoration report); D’Ambra 2015: 49; Espérandieu 1925: 129-130 cat. 6768; Evers 1994: 194-195 cat. 144 (Hadrian); Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 notes 5, 11; Kruse 1969: 133-134, 343 cat. D32; Mikocki 1995: 58; 197-198 cat. 329; Poulsen 1923: 78 note 5; Rosso 2006: 423-425 cat. 192; Salviat 1982: 9-14; Wegner 1938: 303-304; Wegner 1956: 84, 85-86, 130-131; Wegner and Unger 1984: 155; West 1941: 124 cat. 1

This is one of the most securely identified sculpted portraits of Sabina. The hairstyle matches numismatic portraits of the nest portrait type except for the absence of the diadem. It has a secure find context with a portrait of Hadrian.

Most scholars believe that a diadem was originally attached in metal to complete the hairstyle, but Alexandridis questions this because she does not see evidence of the piece having been inserted. There is a completely flattened channel between the crest of hair and the rest of the hairstyle. The channel is, however, not continuous but instead detached in the middle by the central “lyre-shaped” element. There are also no holes for a diadem to be attached. For this reason, the possibility of an additional diadem must be excluded.

Several scholars have proposed a date of ca. 122 corresponding with Hadrian’s trip to Gaul as a date for this portrait’s creation (Boatwright, Braemer, Carandini, Espérandieu, Salviat, Wegner, West). More recently, Alexandridis and Rosso have rejected the necessary connection between the trip and the creation of the portrait statue. Evers argues that the type of the Hadrian portrait cannot date earlier than 128. Given the absence of evidence for the use of this prototype for Sabina prior to 128, the dating of 128 until her death is more likely. It is not possible to narrow the date further given the evidence from the provincial coinage demonstrating that the nest was continually in use in the eastern provinces after 128. While Gaul certainly would have received the coins with updated portrait models on them, it is plausible that they were not supplied with the necessary three-dimensional model to create portraits in the round of other types.

#### ***4. Museo del Sannio, Benevento, Italy, inv. 1950***

Portrait head

Portrait type: Nest

Dimensions: 24 cm high

Provenance: Rome or Benevento (according to Carandini)

Condition: Surface heavily weathered

Literature: Carandini 1969: 148 cat. 19

Despite its poor state of preservation, the portrait appears to have all of the usual elements of the basket portrait type. There is a lyre-shaped element in the middle of the frontal hair arrangement, although this is difficult to be sure with its current state of preservation. It is also not currently possible to determine whether or not the irises are incised.

***5. Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence, Italy, Marble Gallery n. 19***

Draped and diademed portrait bust

Portrait type: Nest

Dimensions: 67.2 cm high; 55.2 cm high head and bust; 31 cm high head with neck; 23 cm high head

Provenance: Acquired in September 1967 by the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi

Condition: Nose and left half of diadem are restoration; stucco above right eye; head reattached to bust; restoration in 1968 and 1996; forehead, chin, and mouth chipped

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 146-153 (Buccino); Brennan 2018: cat. N103; Caenaro 2010: 19 cat. 3-4

This portrait is unique among the sculpted nest portraits of Sabina in its inclusion of a diadem carved in the marble. The nest element is also lower on the head than normal. Like the other portraits of this type, it is possible that this represents Matidia I. I support the identification with Sabina because this portrait lacks the prominent central element which is visible on Matidia's coinage. The centre of the frontal arrangement here has the lyre-shaped feature which is common across the confirmed portraits of the nest type. The lower nest of hair suggests that this portrait was not directly copied from a Roman model, which might also explain the use of the marble diadem.

***6. Villa Adriana, Tivoli, Italy, inv. 44438***

Fragmentary portrait head

Portrait type: Nest

Dimensions: 30.8 cm high

Provenance: Villa Adriana (according to Adembri)

Condition: Face, neck, and large pieces of the nest of hair broken off

Literature: Adembri 2007: 77; Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 174-175; Brennan 2018: cat. N111; Reggiani 2004: 110 (Adembri)

Although the head is highly fragmentary, enough of the hair remains to identify this as a nest type portrait of Sabina. There are distinct elements behind the initial coil of hair that would be visible if this were a portrait of Marciana, Matidia I, or Matidia II. The way that the basket twists and the sections of hair that come straight back from the forelocks above each of the ears are also characteristic of Sabina.

### ***7. Museo Arqueologico Provincial, Seville, Spain, RE 148-2***

Highly damaged portrait head

Portrait type: Nest

Dimensions: 30 cm high

Provenance: From the forum of Italica; acquired in 1880 by the museum in Seville

Condition: Missing nose; very corroded surface; restorations to stabilize the piece in 2018

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. C4; Carandini 1969: 138 cat. 4; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 note 5; García and Bellido 1951: 20-21 cat. 18; León 2001: 346-347 cat 106; Wegner 1956: 87, 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 154

While the piece is heavily damaged, there is enough remaining of the hair to allow for a fairly confident identification of Sabina. The hair appears to be a very close match for other nest type portraits of Sabina. Small details like the segment of hair above the ear that leads to the nest and the raised central element give support to this conclusion. The locks in front of the ears were pointed out by León as a feature outside of the norm for the type. It is difficult to tell the exact format of these locks with the available image and the piece's state of preservation (see Chapter Three for discussion of this element). Portraits of Plotina, Matidia, and Marciana also show variation in the representation of this feature. The facial features are heavily damaged, but there is nothing out of character for Sabina in what is visible.

### ***8. Malmström Collection, Malmö, Sweden***

Portrait head

Portrait type: Nest

Dimensions: 29.5 cm high

Provenance: Acquired from the Jandolo Market in 1950 in Rome

Condition: Nose broken off, smoothed down for restoration which has since been removed; neck and part of right side of hair broken off; chin and cheeks chipped

Literature: Andren 1960: 23-25 cat. 11; Brennan 2018: cat. C22; Carandini 1969: 151-153 cat. 22; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 note 5; Wegner 1956: 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 149

Wegner was unsure of the identification whereas Carandini and Andren argued convincingly in favour of it. When compared with other confirmed nest portraits, the details of the hair and facial features correspond closely. This portrait has an especially noteworthy connection with the portrait from Vaison (cat. 3). There are faint indications of irises and pupils according to Carandini and Andren.

***9. Privately owned by the Dubroff Family, currently on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC, USA, inv. L. 1995.6.1***

Draped portrait bust

Portrait type: Nest

Provenance: Allegedly found in the Villa Adriana at Tivoli; acquired in 1994 by the Dubroff Family in New York Sotheby's auction; previously sold by Sotheby's New York in 1983

Condition: Edges of both ears broken off; gray encrustation on much of the surface

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 149 n. 15 (Buccino); Fittschen 1993: 206-207 n. 25; Fittschen 1996: 46

This portrait was allegedly found with an accompanying portrait of Matidia at the Villa Adriana. The details of the hairstyle and physiognomy are a perfect match for the Empress's numismatic representations, except for the lack of diadem, as is common of portrait sculptures of the type, and slight differences in proportions between the elements of the hairstyle. There is no space for a diadem to have been attached. The eyes do not appear to be incised.

### **The Queue**

***10. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 848 (Sala dei Fasti Moderni II 7)***



Diademed and draped portrait bust

Portrait type: Queue

Dimensions: 65 cm high; 26.5 cm high head (without diadem)

Provenance: Discovered on the Esquiline on the Via di Porta San Lorenzo in Rome in 1873

Condition: Nose, part of diadem, end of hair, part of neck and part of bust all restored

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 136-137; Alexandridis 2004: 42, 183 cat. 179; Bernoulli 1891: 132; Brennan 2018: cat. C39; Caenaro 2010: 20 n. 14; Carandini 1969: 175-178 cat. 39; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 cat. 12; Mikocki 1995: 196 cat. 317; Stuart Jones 1926: 76-77 cat. 7; Wegner 1938: 305; Wegner 1956: 88, 128; Wegner and Unger 1984: 151; West 1941: 125 cat. 2

The portrait clearly displays Sabina's physiognomy. The pupils and irises are incised.

Carandini interpreted the type as a combination between the queue and popular fifth century hairstyles. Adembri and Nicolai and Fittschen and Zanker identify the hairstyle as a combination of the basket and the queue. Alexandridis considered this a variant of the basket type, similar to Abdy's interpretation of the queue on coinage. Its original publication by Bernoulli actually contains what I believe to be the most accurate description of the type, that is a variant of the queue in which the crest of hair is replaced with a diadem. An exact parallel for the type is found on the coins from three cities in the Conventus of Sardis: Sala, Sardis, and Tmolus. See Chapter Three – The Queue for the interpretation of the portrait.

### **The Basket**

#### ***11. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria, inv. I 1660 (head) and I 1674 (upper body)***

Diademed and draped portrait statue in high relief

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 96 cm high; 32 cm high head

Provenance: Found in 1898 in the Atrium Thermarum Constantianarum in Ephesus

Condition: Head broken off at neck; nose, chin, right brow, and hair chipped; lower body missing; pieces of shoulder and both hands missing; detached from the rest of the relief

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 185-186 cat. 184; Brennan 2018: cat. C68bis; Caenaro 2010: 22 cat. 4; Carandini 1969: 198 cat. 68bis; Evers 1994: 62; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: 104 cat. 52; Kampen 1991: 226-227; Mikocki 1995: 198 cat. 331; Oberleitner 1978: 80 cat. 63; Oberleitner 1999: 620, 623; Vermeule 1968: 112; Wegner and Unger 1984: 156

This portrait is believed to belong to the Parthian Monument made for Lucius Verus around 170 in Ephesus. It most likely belongs in the scene showing the adoption of Antoninus Pius by Hadrian and the adoptions of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius by Antoninus Pius. Sabina in this context would be a *diva*, since she most likely died before this took place.

The figure wears a chiton and mantle as well as a diadem in her hair. The irises and pupils are indicated, unsurprising given the late date of the piece. The top of the hair diverges slightly from Sabina's usual iconography. Hair is visible on top of the diadem, which is never the case for Sabina. This is possibly, however, due to the top being left mostly unfinished because of the height at which the piece was originally displayed. The facial features and other elements of the hair correspond strongly enough with Sabina that these along with the context make the attribution with Sabina likely.

### ***12. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 1489 (683)***

Portrait head

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 36 cm high

Provenance: Acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek from the Terre Martinetti, Rome in 1896

Condition: Nose, chin, and left brow are chipped; other areas of the face with minor abrasions; the basket element of the hair is missing; modern restorations removed in 1954

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 215; Brennan 2018: cat. C54; Carandini 1969: 188-189 cat. 54; Poulsen 1923: 78 note 1; Poulsen 1951: 478-479 cat. 683; Poulsen 1974: 72 cat. 45; Wegner 1938: 311; Wegner 1956: 90, 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 148

It is unclear why this portrait was rejected by Alexandridis, but all other scholars accept the identification. Despite the missing basket element, all of the visible features of the portrait conform with Sabina's accepted iconography. This is a basket type replica with the circlet variant. The pupils and irises are engraved.

### ***13. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse, France, inv. Ra 76 (formerly 30.133)***

Diademed draped portrait bust

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 43 cm high; 28 cm high head; 34.5 cm wide; 25 cm deep

Provenance: Acquired 1826-1830 by the MSR; see discussion

Condition: Nose, edges of ears, and large part of the bust are missing; nose shows evidence of an ancient restoration; the surface is heavily weathered

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 184 cat. 182; Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012: 146-161; Brennan 2018: cat. C49; Caenaro 2010: 19 cat. 6; Capus 2019; Carandini 1969: 185 cat. 49; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Mikocki 1995: 197 cat. 320; Rosso 2006: 256-257 cat. 218; Wegner 1956: 90, 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 155

This portrait has long been believed to have come from the villa at Chiragan in Gaul, but this has recently been questioned by Capus. There are inconsistencies between this portrait and the others from the villa which speak against a common origin. The other portraits from Chiragan are in a much better state of preservation. There is no accompanying Hadrian portrait, which might be expected given the group of other emperors represented at the villa, and there are no portraits of other empresses from the villa. The marble was tested and confirmed to be Parian (Lychnite), whereas the confirmed portraits from the villa from this period were made of marble from Göktepe. While each of these issues alone is not sufficient evidence against the Chiragan attribution, taken together they suggest that the Sabina portrait has a different origin. Capus suggested during my visit to the museum that the origin is likely Rome.

The portrait is a clear replica of the basket portrait type with the diadem variant. The face is too badly damaged to determine whether or not the eyes are incised. There is no reason to doubt its authenticity, especially given its poor state of preservation. Caenaro describes the portrait as assimilated to Artemis, but there is not enough evidence to support this assertion.

#### ***14. Louvre, Paris, France, MR 342 (MA 1190)***

Diademed portrait head on an Abundantia-type body that does not belong

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 215 cm high; 27.5 cm high head

Provenance: Acquired by the Louvre from the Borghese collection in 1807

Condition: Surface heavily cleaned; nose restoration; edge of left ear chipped off; body does not belong

Literature: Adembri 2007: 79; Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 132-135 (Roger); Alexandridis 2004: 181 cat. 174; Bernoulli 1891: 129 cat. 8; Brennan 2018: cat. C47; Caenaro 2010: 22 cat. 3; Carandini 1969: 184 cat. 47; de Kersauson 1996: 138-139 cat. 56; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Mikocki 1995: 196-197 cat. 319; Scholz 1992: 44-45 cat. St. 26; Wegner 1938: 313; Wegner 1956: 90, 128; Wegner and Unger 1984: 151

The head is of unknown provenance. It was allegedly already in the Borghese collection when it was attached to the ancient body from Gabii. The head is the basket type with the diadem variant. This diadem is decorated with a floral motif.

Scholars have accepted this head as ancient despite its heavy cleaning and the modern drilling of the irises and pupils. There is reason to be skeptical of the antiquity of the piece given its questionable origins and modern reworking. There is, however, wear to the back of the head which looks authentic. It is most likely that this is an authentic head with modern reworking to some facial features.

**15. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany, inv. 496**

Portrait head on a body that does not belong

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 27.7 cm high head

Provenance: See commentary

Condition: Heavily cleaned; tip of nose, right eyebrow, part of right cheek and ear, and neck are all restoration; body does not belong with the head

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 129 cat. 10; Blümel 1933: 23 cat. R 54; Brennan 2018: cat. C60; Carandini 1969: 192-193 cat. 60; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10; Kekule von Stradonitz 1922: 288; Wegner 1938: 311; Wegner 1956: 90, 126; Wegner and Unger 1984: 146; West 1941: 126-127 cat. 11

The portrait was allegedly found in Frascati in the House of Marius, but this origin has been questioned. The portrait is basket type with the diadem variant. Pupils and irises are carved.

**16. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany, Charlottenburg Antikensammlung, inv. 1973.3**

Diademed portrait head

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 28.4 cm high; 20 cm wide, 23 cm deep

Provenance: Formerly in the J. J. Klejman Collection in New York; see below  
Condition: Nose and diadem chipped; neck broken off under the chin

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 179-180 cat. 168; Brennan 2018: cat. C44; Carandini 1969: 183 cat. 44; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: 102-104 cat. 51; Mikocki 1995: 196 cat. 318; Wegner and Unger 1984: 146, 150

This portrait has been reported to be “allegedly” from Asia Minor from its earliest publications. There is no concrete evidence to support this origin. If it were from this location, it would be a rare instance of the type outside of Italy.

This is a replica of the basket type with the diadem variant. The diadem in this portrait has spiral decorations on its front and pearl-shaped elements along the ridge. Eyes are not incised.

***17. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence, Italy, inv. 14547***

Aquamarine gem diademed portrait head

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: ca. 2 cm high

Provenance: Unknown

Condition: Small chip on diadem

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 186 cat. 185; Bernoulli 1891: 129 cat. 11; Brennan 2018: cat. C48; Carandini 1969: 184-185 cat. 48; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Megow 1987: 265 cat. B 35; Wegner 1956: 126; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147

The provenance of the piece is unknown, so the authenticity of the piece cannot be confirmed. If it is ancient, it is certainly a representation of Sabina. The face appears older than it usually does in sculpture, having a closer resemblance to the coin portraits. This makes sense given the evidence that the same workers who made coin dies also made cameos and gems. The gem represents the basket type with the diadem variant. The irises and pupils are incised.

***18. Quadreria G. Cesarini, Fossombrone, Italy, inv. 1392***

Diademed portrait head

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 26 cm high

- Provenance: Herdonia (Ortona, Foggia), near the Cacciaguerra estate  
Condition: Broken off at upper neck; nose missing; chipping to ears, brows, upper lip, and chin; surface damage; some encrustations on the side of the head
- Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 180 cat. 169; Brennan 2018: cat. C46; Carandini 1969: 184 cat. 46; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147

This is a replica of the basket type with the diadem variant. The eyes are not incised. Carandini's assertion that it was made in Rome cannot be confirmed.

**19. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 457**

Portrait head

Portrait type: Basket

- Dimensions: 34 cm high  
Provenance: Ostia  
Condition: Facial features heavily damaged; some of the hair on the left side of the basket is missing

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 144-145 (Germoni); Brennan 2018: cat. C53; Calza 1964: 78-79 cat. 126; Carandini 1969: 188 cat. 53; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10; Wegner 1956: 90, 128; Wegner and Unger 1984: 150-151

The excavation information about this portrait is unknown. Despite the poor condition of the face, the distinct hairstyle can easily be identified securely as a basket type representation of Sabina with the circlet variant. It is not possible to tell whether or not the eyes are incised due to the damage. Wegner saw them as carved whereas Germoni does not.

**20. Palazzo Ducale di Mantova, Mantua, Italy, inv. b819**

Portrait head on a modern bust

Portrait type: Basket

- Dimensions: 28 cm high head  
Provenance: Allegedly entered the collection of the Museo dell'Accademia in 1774/5; transferred to the Palazzo degli Studi in ca. 1784; entered the Palazzo Ducale in 1915; restoration work in 2002  
Condition: Largely reworked and heavily cleaned; nose restoration; chipping around ears; lower part of back of basket broken off

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 180 cat. 170; Bernoulli 1891: 129 cat. 7; Brennan 2018: cat. C50; Carandini 1969: 185 cat. 50; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Labus 1837: 231; Levi 1931: 62; Wegner 1938: 311; Wegner 1956: 90, 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 149

The portrait displays the basket type with the circlet variant. Irises and pupils are incised, possibly a modern reworking.

The authenticity of the piece was questioned by Carandini. The piece lacks meaningful provenance. The restored nose and neck make the portrait look less like Sabina than it would otherwise. The mouth also appears somewhat different than usual, with the bottom lip protruding beyond the upper one. Part of this seems to be due to the restoration to the philtrum which makes the area between the nose and mouth higher than usual. It is unclear how much of this is due to the excessive cleaning and restoration. The portrait should for these reasons be treated with caution.

### ***21. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 338***

Portrait bust

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 61 cm high; 31 cm high head

Provenance: Unknown

Condition: Surface heavily cleaned; tip of nose, part of left ear, part of the hair, and the bust are restoration

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 128 cat. 1; Brennan 2018: cat. C57; Carandini 1969: 191 cat. 57; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10-12 cat. 10; Reggiani 2004: 112 (Mattei); Stuart Jones 1912: 179 cat. 94; Wegner 1938: 312; Wegner 1956: 90, 128; Wegner and Unger 1984: 151; West 1941: 125-126 cat. 6

There is no known provenance for this artifact. It displays the circlet variant of the basket type. Irises and pupils are not carved.

### ***22. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 1433***

Fragmentary portrait head

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 26 cm high

Provenance: Unknown

Condition: The bottom half of the face is broken off; the nose and right side of the face are heavily damaged

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. C61; Carandini 1969: 193 cat. 61; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 cat. 11; Wegner 1956: 128-129; Wegner and Unger 1984: 152

The portrait was noted by Wegner in his original publication for its lack of restoration or supplementation. This makes it one of the most reliable replicas of the type. The portrait is a replica of the basket type with the circlet variant. The irises and pupils are not carved.

**23. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 577**

Diademed portrait head on a modern neck and foot

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 41 cm high; 33 cm high ancient portion

Provenance: Probably from the bed of the Tiber near Sirena alla Salaria, Rome

Condition: Surface damaged; nose, left eye and eyebrow, neck, and foot all restoration; diadem chipped

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 181-182 cat. 175; Brennan 2018: cat. C43; Carandini 1969: 181-182 cat. 43; Felletti Maj 1953: 103 cat. 196; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Giuliano et al 1988: 268 cat. R196 (Martelli); Poulsen 1923: 78; Wegner 1938: 312; Wegner 1956: 89-90, 129; Wegner and Unger 1984: 152; West 1941: 126 cat. 10

Most sources express uncertainty about the Tiber provenance. This portrait displays the diadem variant of the basket type. Pupils and irises are not carved.

**24. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy inv. 1222**

Diademed and draped portrait bust

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 68.5 cm high

Provenance: Via Appia

Condition: Tip of nose, right eyebrow, and edge of diadem chipped; neck reattached to bust



Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 140-141 (Marino); Alexandridis 2004: 182 n 176; Brennan 2018: cat. C42; Caenaro 2010: 20 cat. 12; Carandini 1969: 180-181 cat. 42; Felletti Maj 1953: 102-103 cat. 195; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Guiliano et al 1988: 264-266 cat. R195 (Martelli); Wegner 1938: 312; Wegner 1956: 89-90, 129; Wegner and Unger 1984: 152; West 1941: 126 cat. 9

This is a replica of the basket type with the diadem variant. Pupils are carved but irises are not. Martelli notes a close connection between this and the portrait from Syracuse (cat. 27). Caenaro suggests a possible assimilation with Juno based on the diadem and style. This cannot be proven.

**25. Uffizi Gallery, Rome, Italy, inv. 1914.161**

Portrait head on a modern bust

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 49 cm high; 28 cm high ancient part

Provenance: See below

Condition: Chemically cleaned; nose, ears, and front of diadem restoration

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 142; Bernoulli 1891: 129 cat. 6; Brennan 2018: cat. C59; Carandini 1969: 192 cat. 59; Diacciati 2011: 88; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10; Mansuelli 1958: 89 cat. 95; Poulsen 1923: 78 note 1; Wegner 1938: 311; Wegner 1956: 90, 126; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147; West 1941: 125 cat. 4

The history of the head has been incorrectly reported in many sources, as was recently corrected by Diacciati. This piece has no proper provenance and has been in the Uffizi since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

This is a basket type portrait with the circlet variant. Irises and pupils are not carved, although it has been suggested these were erased due to the heavy cleaning.

**26. Castello Ducale, Sessa Aurunca, Italy, inv. 297043**

Draped portrait bust

Portrait type: Basket

Provenance: The *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Suessa Aurunca

Condition: Tip and side of nose broken; left shoulder missing

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. N104; Caenaro 2010: 20 cat. 15; Cascella 2013: 83; Reggiani 2004: 136 (Valeri); Wood 2015: 238-239, 242; Woodhull 2018: 215, 218-220

This portrait is significant as one of few certainly posthumous representations of Sabina. This determination is based on its archaeological context, which is in the Suessa Aurunca theatre in modern Sessa Aurunca that was restored by Matidia II in 139. It is possible that the portrait was commissioned before her death, at the time when Hadrian was working on the theatre (see Cascella 2013 for the theatre's restoration history). The exact context in which the portrait was displayed is unclear. Most of the other portraits from the theatre are in statue form and were likely displayed in niches (See Wood 2016 on the Hadrian statue from this theatre). Wood suggests that the head might have originally been displayed in another part of the structure, like one of the large flanking basilicas, being later moved to the imperial gallery of the *scaenae frons*. This might be further evidence that the portrait was not actually produced posthumously but was instead made while Hadrian was alive and moved when Matidia took over the project. This is, however, highly speculative.

It is a replica of the basket type with the circlet variant. I have not been able to access a detailed enough photo to establish whether or not the eyes are incised.

### **27. Syracuse Museum, Syracuse, Italy, inv. 72699**

Draped portrait bust

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 55.4 cm tall

Provenance: Found in 1972 on the Viale Cadorna in Syracuse

Condition: Nose, chin, and right brow chipped; head remounted on the bust; left half of the bust broken off

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 183-184 cat. 181; Anderson 1989: 120-121 cat. 52; Brennan 2018: cat. N114; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Giuliano et al 1988: 266 (Martelli); Wegner and Unger 1984: 154

What remains of the facial features and the hairstyle corresponds well with Sabina's established iconography. It is unclear whether or not the eyes are incised.

### **28. Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain, inv. 210-E**

Portrait head on a bust that does not belong

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 85.5 cm high with bust  
Provenance: Unknown  
Condition: Surface heavily cleaned; nose, ears, part of the circlet, and neck are restoration

Literature: Barrón 1907: 154-155 cat. 210; Bernoulli 1891: 129 cat. 9; Brennan 2018: cat. C56; Caenaro 2010: 20 cat. 8; Carandini 1969: 191 cat. 56; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10; Schröder 1993: 200-203 cat. 53; Wegner 1938: 311; Wegner 1956: 90, 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 149

There is no known provenance for the portrait. It is the basket type with the circlet variant. Irises and pupils are incised. The crescent moon that Caenaro identifies in the circlet appears to just be repaired damage and not, as Caenaro suggests, an allusion to Artemis.

### ***29. Formerly Margam Park, UK***

Diademed portrait head on a modern bust

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 28 cm high  
Provenance: Found in 1769 at the Villa Adriana in Tivoli; sold by Christies London in 1941 to AH Smith  
Condition: Surface cleaned with acid; tip of nose restoration; part of ear and diadem broken off

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 180 cat. 171; Bernoulli 1891: 131-132; Brennan 2018: cat. C45; Carandini 1969: 183-184 cat. 45; Gusman 1904: 277; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Michaelis 1882: 520 cat. 11; Poulsen 1923: 77-78 cat. 62; Wegner 1938: 311-312; Wegner 1956: 90, 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 150; West 1941: 126 cat. 7

The portrait was found at the Villa Adriana accompanied by a bust of Hadrian. It is the diadem variant of the basket type. Irises and pupils are not visible, but this could be due to the thorough cleaning. Further analysis is not possible without locating the piece.

### ***30. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 1350 (Chiaramonti 712)***

Portrait head on a modern bust

Portrait type: Basket

Dimensions: 27.5 cm high head

Provenance: Acquired by the Vatican from an art merchant in 1803  
Condition: Surface weathered; tip of nose, neck, and bust restored

Literature: Amelung 1903: 800 cat. 712; Bernoulli 1891: 128 cat. 2; Brennan 2018: cat. C58; Carandini 1969: 192 cat. 58; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Liverani 1989: 30 cat. XI.3; Wegner 1938: 312; Wegner 1956: 90, 129; Wegner and Unger 1984: 153; West 1941: 127 cat. 12

Amelung reported traces of yellow paint in the hair of the portrait. This portrait is the basket type with the circlet variant. It is difficult to tell whether or not the irises and pupils were originally carved due to the weathering.

### **The Knot**

#### ***31. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 121539***

Portrait head

Portrait type: Knot

Dimensions: 30.5 cm high  
Provenance: Allegedly from the Villa Adriana  
Condition: Reassembled from three pieces; ear, part of right cheek and lips, and chin restored; missing nose

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 166-167 (Marino); Brennan 2018: cat. C35; Carandini 1969: 171-172 cat. 35; Felletti Maj 1953: 104 cat. 198; Giuliano et al 1988: 269-271 cat. R198 (Cesarano); Reggiani 2004: 108 (Rotondi); von Heintze 1958: 478; Wegner and Unger 1984: 152

The portrait's origins have been cited as the Villa Adriana since its earliest publication. The portrait's identification as Sabina was first proposed by von Heintze. This portrait is part of the knot group. For discussion, see Chapter Three – The Knot.

#### ***32. Villa Adriana, Tivoli, Italy***

Veiled portrait head

Portrait type: Knot

Dimensions: 28 cm high  
Provenance: Found in the 1970s in the Piazza d'Oro at the Villa Adriana  
Condition: Right side of the head broken off; neck broken off; nose and ears broken; chipping on the left cheek, chin, and mantle

Literature: Adembri 2004: 51-52; Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 168-171 (Reggiani); Brennan 2018: cat. N109; Caenaro 2010: 19 cat. 1; Reggiani 2004: 100-103.

The Piazza d'Oro is believed to have housed an imperial portrait gallery. This portrait is part of the knot group. For discussion of the type, see Chapter Three – The Knot.

### ***33. Musei Reali di Torino, Turin, Italy***

Portrait head on a modern bust

Portrait type: Knot

Dimensions: 72 cm high

Provenance: Unknown

Condition: Nose, ears, and part of bun broken off

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 164; Brennan 2018: cat. N102; Caenaro 2010: 20 cat. 10-11; Carandini 1969: 199; Wegner and Unger 1984: 155

The identification is supported by Adembri and Nicolai but rejected by Wegner and Unger. Carandini was unable to locate the portrait. This bust has no known provenance. Since the other portraits of the type are from the Villa Adriana, the same origin is likely for this piece. Irises and pupils are not carved. For discussion on the type, see Chapter Three – The Knot.

### ***34. Formerly Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA, inv. 1979.556***

Draped and veiled portrait statue of Large Herculaneum type

Portrait type: Knot

Dimensions: 204 cm high

Provenance: Allegedly from the Villa Adriana; purchased by the MFA in 1979; returned to Italy in 2006

Condition: No major damage or restoration; traces of red paint on the mantle

Literature: Adembri 2007: 81; Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 111-115; Brennan 2018: cat. N107; Caenaro 2010; Godart and De Caro 2007: 232 cat. 67; Trimble 2011: 396-397 cat. 85; Vermeule 1981: 314 cat. 270; Wegner and Unger 1984: 146

This portrait statue was first published by Vermeule in 1981. It was returned to Italy in 2006 after having been discovered to have been illegally excavated. While there is no published evidence for the claim of origin at the Villa, the existence of this type seemingly exclusively in that location makes the claim likely. Adembri and Nicolai suggest that the portrait originally wore a metal crown of wheat, but this seems unlikely based on photo evidence and the evidence against the addition of diadems from other portraits. The portrait is part of the knot type group. For discussion, see Chapter Three – The Knot.

### The Veil

#### *35. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 25*

Veiled and draped portrait statue

Portrait type: Veil

Dimensions: 186 cm high; 26 cm high head

Provenance: Found in the Palaestra of the baths of Neptune in Ostia in 1909

Condition: Nose chipped; right hand missing

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 120-121; Alexandridis 2004: 180-181 cat. 172; Boatwright 2000b: 67-68; Brennan 2018: cat. C65; Caenaro 2010: 22 cat. 8-9; Calza 1964: 79-80 cat. 127; Calza and Floriani Squarciapino 1962: 56; Carandini 1969: 195-196 cat. 65; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Kruse 1975: 239-240 cat. A12; Mikocki 1995: 195 cat. 309; Wegner 1956: 86, 90-91, 127-128; Wegner and Unger 1984: 150; West 1941: 124 cat. 2

The portrait in question was found in the so-called baths of Neptune in Ostia, a project begun by Hadrian and completed under Antoninus Pius. A portrait of Plotina was found elsewhere in the complex.

The figure appears draped and veiled, wearing a circlet on her head and holding wheat and poppies, a clear reference to Ceres.

The hair, from what is visible, appears to be the veiled basket type with the circlet variant. The hair is brushed straight to the sides as is characteristic of the type. The pupils and irises are not carved. The hairstyle corresponds well with the dates of the baths' construction, late Hadrianic/early Antonine. The veil and dating of the complex makes this likely a posthumous image. The top of the head behind the circlet and the back of the body are more roughly finished suggesting a display context where these were not visible.

The face is highly idealized and appears younger and rounder than is typical of portraits of Sabina. The chin is somewhat more protruding than normal, but the other features are a good match. Strong similarity can be seen with the portrait MNR 629 (cat. 38)

Despite small physiognomic divergences, the overall impression of the face is identifiable as Sabina. The hair is also a precise match and the assimilation with Ceres corresponds well with the numismatic and epigraphic evidence of the association between the goddess and the Empress. Combined with the strong archaeological context which suggests a date appropriate for the portrait type, this should be considered to be a portrait of Sabina.

**36. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 1242 and 1963**

Fragmentary veiled and draped portrait statue

Portrait type: Veil

Dimensions: ca. 77 cm high

Provenance: Found in 1910 in the Theatre in Ostia

Condition: Head reassembled from two fragments; lower half of face heavily damaged; nose broken off; much of the back of the head is missing; lower part of body missing; upper body reassembled from three pieces

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 181 cat. 173; Brennan 2018: cat. C66; Carandini 1969: 196 cat. 66; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Kruse 1975: 238-239 cat. A11; Mikocki 1995: 195 cat. 310; Wegner and Unger 1984: 151

The portrait appears to be wearing both a diadem and a circlet, which is unattested among Sabina's portraits. Although the piece is fragmentary and I have not been able to access it in person, what is visible corresponds well with other portraits of the veil type. The texture of the hair, the size of the brow, and direction of the arrangement on the sides of the head all correspond with typical basket and veil sculpted portraits. The face is heavily damaged but what remains does appear to conform with Sabina's physiognomy. The pupils and irises are carved.

**37. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 1213 (Scala IV II)**

Veiled and draped portrait in relief

Portrait type: Veil

Dimensions: 295 cm high panel; 252 cm wide panel

Provenance: Removed from the Arco di Portogallo in 1662 in Rome; placed on the Arco di Portogallo likely in 5<sup>th</sup> century CE

Condition: Sabina: Nose, left part of bust, left hand, part of left leg, and drapery all restored; other parts of the relief are also heavily restored

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 176-177; Alexandridis 2004: 182-183 cat. 178; Boatwright 1987: 226-229; Brennan 2018: cat. C64; Caenaro 2010: 16; Carandini 1969: 194-195 cat. 64; Davies 2000: 105, 116; De Maria 1988: 324-325 cat. 104; Evers 1994: 60; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Kruse 1975: 130; La Rocca 1986: 24-31; Matheson 1996: 186; Oppermann 1985: 141-145; Stuart Jones 1926: 266 cat. 11; VanderLeest 1995: 319-330; Wegner 1938: 306; Wegner 1956: 84, 90, 128; Wegner and Unger 1984: 152; West 1941: 123

The relief depicts Sabina riding on the back of a winged figure, usually interpreted as Aeternitas, above a funeral pyre and personification, most commonly associated with the Campus Martius with Hadrian and another figure watching. A second relief which this was found with of Hadrian giving an address is commonly described as the *laudatio funebris* for Sabina, although La Rocca has interpreted it as the *institutio alimentaria*. Most scholars believe that this was originally part of an altar or memorial monument to Sabina.

There is heavy restoration throughout the relief. The pyre and flames are modern. The figure which now appears as Hadrian in these reliefs has been heavily restored. Oppermann argues that the figure is more accurately identified as Antoninus Pius, given the emphasis on his piety in his messaging, which La Rocca argues against. The numismatic evidence, however, proves that Sabina was consecrated during Hadrian's reign. It would also be surprising for this monument not to also include Hadrian, like the Antoninus Pius and Faustina I consecration relief, if it were made under Antoninus Pius.

Since Hadrian is present in the relief, it must have at least been commissioned in the short period between Sabina's consecration in early 138 and Hadrian's own death that summer.

Sabina wears a veil and diadem. It is not possible to determine whether she is wearing the basket or chignon underneath. Given the prevalence of the basket in veiled sculpted portraits, this is the more likely option.

### **38. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 629**

Veiled and diademed portrait head

Portrait type: Veil

Dimensions: 36 cm high

Provenance: Found when digging the foundations of the Vittorio Emanuele Monument in the Piazza Venezia in Rome in 1887

Condition: Left eye, lip, chin, edge and mantle, and diadem are damaged; these were previously restored

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 182 cat. 177; Brennan 2018: cat. C63; Caenaro 2010: 20-21 cat. 16; Carandini 1969: 193-194 cat. 63; Felletti Maj 1953: 103-104



cat. 197; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Giuliano 1979: 282 cat. 175 (Picciotti Giornetti); Mikocki 1995: 198 cat. 332; Reggiani 2004: 98 (Rotondi); von Heintze 1958: 478; Wegner 1938: 312; Wegner 1956: 90, 129; Wegner and Unger 1984: 152; West 1941: 126 cat. 8

Alexandridis suggests an original display in one of the imperial fora due to the proximity of the findspot.

There are remnants of red paint visible on the mantle. The hair was originally painted brown, as were the irises. The head was originally placed on a draped statue body.

This is a replica of the veil type with a diadem. Like all sculpted veiled portraits of Sabina, she appears to be wearing the basket hairstyle underneath. The irises and pupils are carved.

### ***39. Izmit Museum, Izmit, Turkey, inv. 881***

Veiled portrait head

Portrait type: Veil

Dimensions: 32.5 cm high

Provenance: Found in 1975 in Izmit (ancient Nicomedia)

Condition: Nose and neck broken; damage to eyebrows, eyes, chin, part of hair, and stephane

Literature: Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 note 4; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: 102 cat. 50; Wegner and Unger 1984: 148

Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum first proposed this identification. It was questioned by Fittschen and Zanker and rejected by Wegner and Unger. The facial features are too badly damaged to make any strong claims based on them alone, but their general proportions appear to match Sabina's. The mouth and nose are both small and narrow and the tapered facial shape matches confirmed portraits of the empress like the one in the MNR (inv. 629, here cat. 38). The diadem and veil also parallel the MNR portrait. What remains of the hair covers the ears in the same way as confirmed portraits and the locks on the temples also match. Based on this evidence, I somewhat tentatively support the identification of this portrait with Sabina.

### Rejected Identifications

The following portraits have at one time been identified as representations of Sabina but have been rejected as such for the reasons presented. The portraits are organized alphabetically by country and then by city. Catalogue entries in Carandini from Maxula and the Louvre inv. 3128 (Carandini 1969: cat. 14 and 32) are not included

because Carandini did not believe that the former existed and the latter he did not argue contained a portrait of Sabina.

**40. Musée National des Antiquités, Algiers, Algeria**

Portrait head

Dimensions: 34 cm high; 20 cm high face  
Provenance: Serapeum in Carthage  
Condition: Surface heavily damaged, especially on face

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 186 cat. 186; Carandini 1969: 142 cat. 11; Doublet 1890: 38-39; Fittschen 1993: 207 n. 27

This portrait is part of Carandini's North African group. For discussion on the rejection of this group as Sabina, see Chapter Three – The Nest.

**41. Annaba Archaeological Museum, Annaba, Algeria**

Fragment of a head

Dimensions: 27 cm high  
Provenance: Forum of Hyppo Regius  
Condition: Highly damaged and fragmentary: only the top of the head and the upper half of the right side of the face survives

Literature: Carandini 1969: 143 cat. 12; Fittschen 1993: 207 n. 27 d

Carandini identified this portrait as part of the North African group. The identification of this group with Sabina has been refuted convincingly by Fittschen (1993: 206-207; 1996: 46 and n. 54). Despite its highly fragmentary state, it is clear that there are also elements of the hairstyle which diverge from that group as well.

**42. Musée Municipal, Lambaesis, Algeria, inv. 5**

Draped statue with a portrait head

Dimensions: 1.9 m entire height; 25 cm head with hair; 24.5 cm profile of head  
Provenance: Praetorium at Lambaesis  
Condition: No major restoration; Missing left arm, various chipping on the drapery, abrasions on the face

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. C13; Cagnat 1895: 46-47 pl. 3.3; Carandini 1969: 143 cat. 13; Kruse 1975: 306 cat. C11; Wegner and Unger 1984: 148

Carandini was first to make the identification of this portrait with Sabina, which has been questioned by subsequent scholarship. The face is too worn to make a confident assessment of its physiognomy, but there is nothing here that fits specifically enough with Sabina to argue for an identification.

**43. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 1458**

Draped portrait bust

Dimensions: 59 cm high; 28 cm high from chin to top of head

Provenance: Acquired in 1895 from a family in Naples

Condition: Part of forehead, right eye, nose, left cheek originally restored; restorations removed in 1964; weathering to lower part of face

Literature: Carandini 1969: 199; Fittschen 1996: 46; Poulsen 1951: 479-480 cat. 684; Poulsen 1974: 73 cat. 46; von Heintze 1958: 478; Wegner 1956: 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 148

Poulsen originally suggested an identification with Sabina in 1951. This has been subsequently rejected by all later sources. Fittschen identifies this portrait as Domitia Lucilla, Marcus Aurelius's mother. The hairstyle and facial features both clearly diverge from Sabina's usual appearance and bear closer resemblance to Antonine women.

**44. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 1742**

Colossal head

Dimensions: 66 cm high

Provenance: Acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in 1900 from the Palazzo Sciarra in Rome

Condition: Nose, lips, part of diadem, hair on left and lock of hair on right side of neck all restored

The online catalogue for the Glyptotek suggests that this could be a portrait of Sabina, but the hairstyle and generalized, classical facial features exclude this possibility.

**45. Louvre, Paris, France, inv. MNE 1014 (hair Ma 1756, body Ma 1683)**

Draped portrait statue

Dimensions: 128 cm high; 31.5 cm high head

- Provenance: Excavated from the Serapeum in Carthage in 1874; on the Magenta in the port of Toulon in 1875 where the ship exploded, and the face was lost; the face was discovered in 1995 during an underwater excavation
- Condition: Face blackened and damaged due to explosion; cleaned in 2019; nose, right foot, and arms missing; head reassembled from three pieces
- Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 154-157; Alexandridis 2004: 186-187 cat. 187; Brennan 2018: cat. C5; Caenaro 2010: 19 cat. 7; Carandini 1969: 138-139 cat. 5; de Kersauson 1996: 134-137 cat. 55; de Kersauson 1997: 128-135; Doublet 1890: 39; Fittschen 1993: 207 n. 27 e Kruse 19: 349 cat. D43; Laporte 1997: 410-414

The portrait was found near a portrait of Hadrian during the same excavation. Alexandridis suggests that the portraits were being stored together to be used in a lime kiln. The face was rediscovered in 1995 and was only reattached to the hair during 2019 so most previous scholarship is based on the incomplete portrait and drawings of the piece pre-explosion. The portrait is part of Carandini's North African group. For discussion of the group's attribution, see Chapter Three – The Nest.

**46. Louvre, Paris, France, inv. Ma 4882 (MNE 794)**

Portrait head

- Dimensions: 27.5 cm high; 22 cm wide; 22.5 cm deep
- Provenance: Acquired by the Louvre in 1981
- Condition: Nose and chin chipped

Literature: Baratte 1984; Chevalier 2011: 6; de Kersauson 1996: 142 cat. 58; Zanker 2016: 215

Chevalier proposes this portrait as a representation of Sabina based on its similarities with the portraits from Yale and a Paris private collection (cat. 111 and 48, respectively), but it actually has little resemblance with these. Both de Kersauson and Zanker reject the Sabina identification of the Louvre head and instead propose an identification with Matidia the Younger. See discussion of this type in Chapter Three – The Nest.

**47. Louvre, Paris, France, Bernoulli II 2 132 (not pictured)**

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 132; Wegner and Unger 1984: 151

Bernoulli describes a portrait of Sabina in the Louvre that wears a bun, but no future scholar has been able to identify the portrait meant by this.

**48. Private Collection, Paris, France**

Portrait bust

Dimensions: 58 cm high; 23.5 cm high head

Provenance: Private sale by Phoenix Ancient Art in 2014; sold by Sotheby's in 2012; formerly owned by a member of the Council of State of Paris, 1950-1960; previously purchased from Rome by Pietro Stettiner prior to 1912

Condition: Restoration work in 2008; previous restorations in 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. N112; Chevalier 2011; Kleiner and Matheson 1996:74-75 note 1; Fittschen 1996: 48

Chevalier wrote the first detailed publication of the piece and argued for an identification with Sabina. Matheson's identification of this type as Avidia Plautia is convincing. See the Yale portrait for further discussion (cat. 111).

**49. Graflich Erbach-Erbachische Sammlung, Erbach, Germany**

Smaller-than-life-size portrait bust on a modern base

Dimensions: 46 cm high, 21.5 cm chin to vertex

Condition: Nose, edge of ears, and both shoulders restored

Literature: Carandini 1969: 200; Fittschen 1977: 79 cat. 29; Wegner 1956: 126; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147

Carandini, Fittschen, and Wegner all reject the identification. The portrait does not have any strong resemblance to Sabina in either the facial features or hairstyle, although the hairstyle likely dates to around the time of Hadrian's reign.

**50. Fasanerie Castle, Fulda, Germany**

Portrait head

Condition: Broken off at neck; unclear extent of restoration

Literature: Carandini 1969: 201; von Heintze 1968: 47 cat. 32; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147

The identification with Sabina was proposed by von Heintze and rejected by Carandini and Wegner. The portrait has nothing in common with Sabina in the hairstyle or the facial features.

**51. *Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart, Germany***

Portrait head

Literature: Hausmann 1975: 40-43; Wegner and Unger 1984: 154

Hausmann identified this head as a portrait of Sabina, although he acknowledged that it could not be connected with any of her known portrait types. Wegner and Unger claim to have carefully studied the head and do not believe it to be a portrait of Sabina.

**52. *Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Germany***

Heavily damaged portrait head

Dimensions: 29 cm high

Provenance: Baths of Treviri

Condition: Heavily weathered; front of face and hairstyle badly damaged; back of hairstyle missing with a dowel hole

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 216; Brennan 2018: cat. C52bis; Carandini 1969: 186 cat. 52bis; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 11; Wegner and Unger 1984: 155

Carandini, Fittschen and Zanker, and Wegner all believe this to be a portrait of Sabina. Alexandridis argues against this attribution due to the lower placement of the dowel hole on the back of Sabina's head, suggesting that the hairstyle was situated lower than usual for the basket type. Carandini suggests that the large amount of chiaroscuro used for the portrait recalls the Antonine period. The level of damage makes a confident rejection difficult, but I ultimately favour Alexandridis's assessment.

**53. *Athens National Museum, Athens, Greece, inv. 357***

Portrait head wearing a diadem

Dimensions: Colossal

Provenance: Crete

Condition: Diadem and part of neck chipped; broken at the neck

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 215; Carandini 1969: 169 cat. 31; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 9 note 5; Kaltsas 2002: 338; Poulsen 1923: 77 fig. 47-8; Wegner 1956: 118

Poulsen was first to notice an iconographic connection between this portrait and Sabina, but suggested it was a portrait of Plotina. Wegner agreed with the Plotina attribution. Carandini also saw similarities with Sabina but leaned towards an identification with

Matidia. Alexandridis and Fittschen and Zanker identify this as a portrait of a private citizen. The portrait has no significant connection with the hairstyle or facial features of any imperial woman from this period.

**54. Athens National Museum, Athens, Greece, inv. 449**

Portrait head

Dimensions: 32 cm high

Provenance: Athens

Condition: Surface damage to front of face; nose broken

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. C27; Carandini 1969: 77-78; 161-166 cat. 27; Kaltsas 2002: 340; Poulsen 1941: 78 note 1; Vermeule 1968b: 263; Wegner 1938: 304; Wegner 1956: 87-88, 126; Wegner and Unger 1984: 146; West 1941: 125 cat. 1

While the portrait does bear similarity to Sabina's basket portrait type, there are too many typological differences for this to be confirmed as a portrait of the Empress. The portrait lacks any band or circlet, one of which is found with all confirmed portraits of the type. The hair has an overall smoother texture than normal for Sabina. The hair at the sides of the head is brushed in a downward direction instead of straight to the side. The formation of the basket is also much different. In usual basket portraits, the hair is twisted to the crown of the head where the basket begins. The basket here begins much lower and doesn't have the same characteristic twist in the back. This also comes much farther forward than usual. The face is quite damaged, so it is not possible to analyse the specific features. The irises and pupils, are, however, fairly well preserved and appear more pronounced than is customary.

While Wegner's suggestion that this is an *Einzelstuck* of Sabina made by a Greek artist cannot be disproven, there is no evidence to support this claim. It is instead more likely that the portrait was produced at the time when the basket or similar styles were popular and represents a private citizen, as suggested by Kaltsas.

**55. Chersoneses, Crete, Greece**

Fragmentary portrait head

Provenance: Found in Vourlidia, Crete

Condition: Only the top half of the head above the mouth remains

Literature: Carandini 1969: 199; Marinatos 1933-1935: 64-65 cat. 8; Wegner 1956: 126; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147

Marinatos noticed a resemblance between the front part of the hair and some portraits of Sabina. Both Carandini and Wegner rejected the identification. The images provided by Marinatos are not of high enough quality to make a proper assessment of the piece. The style of carving is unusual, with unnatural lines indicating the strands of hair, but this could be a local preference. The arrangement of the basket element also appears to be unusual, with a strand running across the top, although no hair strands are visible, so it is possible that the top of the head is unfinished. The figure does not appear to wear either a circlet or a diadem, as is customary for portraits of Sabina. It is not possible to assess the facial features in their current state of preservation. Overall, there is not enough evidence to argue for an identification with Sabina.

**56. Olympia Museum, Olympia, Greece, inv. 104**

Draped portrait statue with missing face

Dimensions: 150 cm total height

Provenance: Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, Olympia

Condition: Statue broken off at knees; face broken off; some chipping and weathering throughout

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. C69; Carandini 1969: 198 cat. 69; Kruse 1975: 374-375 cat. D88; Wegner and Unger 1984: 150

The back of the hairstyle, as much as is preserved, has some correspondence with Sabina's basket type hairstyle, but without the face and the front of the hairstyle, a positive identification is not possible.

**57. Limenas, Thasos, Greece (not pictured)**

Portrait statue of a young woman

Provenance: Near the triumphal arch at Limenas, Thasos

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 133

A triumphal arch had been recently excavated at the time of Bernoulli's publication. He identified one of the statues found at the site as a possible portrait of Sabina. This identification has not to my knowledge been repeated since and I have not been able to find an image of the portrait he describes.

**58. Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki, Greece, inv. 3**

Portrait head



Dimensions: 23 cm high  
Provenance: Thessaloniki  
Condition: Broken at neck; nose missing; some chipping on the face

Literature: Datsulis-Stravridis 1974: 266-267; Rüschi 1969: 76, 118 cat. P17; Wegner and Unger 1984: 154

Rüschi and Datsulis-Stravridis argue for an identification with Sabina based on the similarities between this head and a similar one in Athens (inv. 449, here cat. 54). Wegner and Unger are, however, correct that there are too many differences between this and Sabina's regular portraiture to confirm the identification. The hairstyle is different from the basket in several ways, and also differs from the Athens head. The unusually deeply incised eyes are explained by Datsulis-Stravridis as a characteristic of its Macedonian workmanship. Regardless of whether or not this is true, the other facial features also do not match Sabina. The mouth is too large and the eyelids are too protruding, among other things.

#### ***59. Musei di Fiesole, Fiesole, Italy***

Portrait head

Condition: Tip of nose chipped

Literature: Carandini 1969: 199; Hausmann 1959; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147

Hausmann argued for an association with Sabina, but both Carandini and Wegner rejected this identification. The portrait bears no clear connection to Sabina's known iconography in either the face or the hair. Wegner questioned whether or not the head was ancient.

#### ***60. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence, Italy, inv. 91230***

Veiled head

Dimensions: 26 cm high; 20 cm deep  
Condition: Nose, lower lip, chin, and top of diadem broken

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 215; Carandini 1969: 170 cat. 33; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 note 4

Carandini was skeptical about the attribution of this portrait, as were Fittschen and Zanker. Alexandridis rejected the possibility because of the portrait's high degree of idealization. I agree with Alexandridis that this does not represent Sabina. Both the facial features and type are not an exact match. The forehead is much shorter and the eye lids much heavier, and the nose is straighter than is usual for the empress. The face has a

very generalized, classicizing appearance and is possibly not a portrait. The hair is also much wider, and the diadem is not the same format.

**61. Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Italy inv. 1914.151**

Portrait head on a modern bust

Dimensions: 81 cm high; 27 cm high ancient part

Condition: Surface somewhat damaged; nose, right ear, back of the head, upper lip, several fingers, and parts of bust are restoration

Literature: Carandini 1969: 140 cat. 7; Fittschen 1993: 207 n. 27 a; Mansuelli 1958: 84 cat. 86

Carandini was unsure whether or not the bust belonged with the portrait. If ancient, this is a portrait of Matidia II. For discussion of the type, see Chapter Three – The Nest.

**62. Private collection of Baron M. Lazzaroni, Florence, Italy**

Portrait Head

Literature: Carandini 1969: 200; Mingazzini 1932: 233-238; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147

Mingazzini believed this portrait represents Sabina. The identification was rejected by both Carandini and Wegner. The facial features and arrangement of the hair do not correspond with Sabina's known iconography.

**63. Museo di Grumentum, Grumento Nova, Italy (not pictured)**

Veiled portrait on a seated statue in the guise of Venus

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. N105; Caenaro 2010: 20 n. 16, 21 n. 1

Caenaro describes a portrait of Sabina as Venus housed in Grumento which is seated with a cupid at her feet. I have not been able to find an image of the portrait described here and can therefore not verify its connection with Sabina.

**64. Museo di Lucus Feroniae, Lucus Feroniae, Italy, inv. 848**

Veiled portrait head

Dimensions: 29.5 cm high

Provenance: Discovered in 1965 in the Villa of the Volusii in Lucus Feroniae

Condition: Left side of head heavily damaged; nose and upper lip repaired in antiquity

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 162-163; Brennan 2018: cat. N101; Carandini 1969: 201; Moretti 1965: 109 fig. 40; Moretti and Moretti 1977: 39-40; Neudecker 1988: 157 cat. 15.10; Wegner and Unger 1984: 149

This portrait was rejected as an image of Sabina by Carandini, Neudecker, and Wegner and Unger. Moretti and Moretti first proposed this as a portrait of Sabina in 1977. Adembri and Nicolai agree with this identification. The original rejection must be correct. The hairstyle diverges significantly from Sabina's known typology and the facial features are also not a perfect match.

**65. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 24**

Draped portrait statue in the guise of Venus Genetrix

Dimensions: 180 cm high; 23 cm high head

Provenance: Found in the College of the Augustali in Ostia in 1941

Condition: Right arm, fingers on left hand, and tip of nose missing

Literature: Adembri 2007: 78-79; Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 130-131 (Germoni); Alexandridis 2004: 215; Brennan 2018: cat. C1; Caenaro 2010: 21 cat. 1; Calza 1964: 77-78; Calza and Floriani Squarciapino 1962: 56-57; Carandini 1969: 134-136 cat. 1; D'Ambra 2000: 107-109; De Chirico 1941: 230-233; Kruse 1975: 132, 342 cat. D30; Mikocki 1995: 60, 199 cat. 336; Valeri 2001: 427 n. XII.15; Wegner 1956: 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 150; Wood 2000: 107

Adembri groups this portrait with two others: one from the Museo Nazionale Romano and one from the Museo Torlonia (cat. 72). There is typological variety between these three portraits, and none can be securely connected with Sabina.

The facial features are not immediately recognizable as the Empress. The person depicted is clearly younger than any of Sabina's securely identified portraits, which could mean that this is a particularly early representation of the Empress. The face is also, however, rounder, and the features generally larger than normal. The archaeological context is not strong enough evidence to counter these typological discrepancies. Alexandridis, D'Ambra Mikocki, and Wegner support this conclusion. D'Ambra suggests the possibility that the figure represents a local priestess or benefactress.

**66. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 1244 (body), 1954 (head)**

Veiled and draped portrait statue in the guise of Ceres

Dimensions: 190 cm high with plinth

Provenance: Found in 1910 in a taberna to the east of the theatre in Ostia  
Condition: Missing right arm; surface heavily weathered; front of face damaged beyond recognition

Literature: Calza 1964: 109 cat. 190; Carandini 1969: 136 cat. 2; de Kersauson 1997: 31; Mikocki 1995: 194 cat. 304 (wrong image); Wegner and Unger 1984: 151

The statue was first reassembled by Calza from a head and body that were found separately. No scholar has been able to confidently assert this to be Sabina because of the severe damage to the face and front of the hair. Since the back of the head is veiled, none of the identifying features of the portrait are visible.

**67. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. MC 0444 (*Imperatori 33*)**

Diademed draped portrait bust

Dimensions: 96 cm tall

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 131; Carandini 1969: 199; Wegner 1938: 313; Wegner 1956: 128; Wegner and Unger 1984: 151; West 1941: 125 cat. 3

This portrait has been rejected as a portrait of Sabina by all scholars since Bernoulli. It is now generally believed to be a portrait of Livia.

**68. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 690 (*formerly Albani B 99*)**

Portrait bust

Dimensions: 46 cm high; 29 cm high head

Condition: Heavily cleaned; Nose, ears, top of head, back of neck and hair, back of bust all restoration; head reattached to bust

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 116-117; Bernoulli 1891: 132; Brennan 2018: cat. C38; Carandini 1969: 174-175 cat. 38; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10 cat. 9; Stuart Jones 1912: 307 cat. 68; Wegner 1956: 128; Wegner and Unger 1984: 151

Bernoulli, Jones, and Wegner all originally rejected the identification due to the perceived lack of correspondence between the facial features and Sabina. Carandini was first to argue affirmatively for the identification, which has since been accepted by Fittschen and Zanker.

The portrait diverges from the coin portraits in the disappearance of the band under the frontal crest of hair and the width of the band. The hair on the sides of the brow

is also brushed up towards the crest, whereas on coins the hair is brushed straight back, suggesting a different construction of the crest itself. Much of the top of the hairstyle is restoration. Enough of the right side is preserved to suggest that the reconstruction is fairly accurate on the sides, but nothing remains of the top of the head. Some of the back of the hair is also restoration, although it is unclear how much based on the images available.

The face has a rounder appearance than is usual for sculpted portraits of the Empress, but the same is true for coin portraits of the queue type. The nose restoration might also contribute to the portrait's unfamiliar appearance. The lips appear somewhat less pronounced than normal based on the available images. Irises and pupils do not appear to be incised.

I was not able to view this portrait with any detail due to its display on a very high shelf. Due to the high degree of restoration and the divergences from Sabina's usual appearance, I cannot be confident that it is a representation of Sabina.

**69. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 52634**

Portrait head

Dimensions: 22 cm high

Provenance: Originally housed in the Palatine Museum

Condition: Face heavily weathered; nose and chin broken off; back of head heavily damaged

Literature: Adembri 2007: 79; Giuliano 1988: 246-247 cat. R185

Adembri associates this portrait with the Ostia inv. 24 group. This entire group cannot be linked to Sabina.

**70. Villa Medici, Rome, Italy, east wing of the garden**

Portrait head on an unrelated ancient body

Dimensions: 34 cm high head

Condition: (head only) Heavily weathered surface; mouth, nose and chin restored; missing part of the neck; back of the head is missing; square hole in back of the head for an attached piece which is missing

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 67 n. 628, 215; Brennan 2018: cat. C40; Carandini 1969: 178 cat. 40; De Azevedo 1951: 77-78 cat. 71; Fabrèga-Dubert 2015: 320; Wegner 1956: 90, 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 154

The portrait is heavily damaged by weather, so it is not possible to analyse the facial features. The hairstyle, however, is not an exact match for any of the empress's known

hairstyles. It comes closest to the chignon, but the bun here is longer and appears to have an additional element coming out of the left side. This was likely mirrored on the right, but it is too badly damaged to be certain. Even if this is a representation of the chignon, this was not a portrait type exclusive to Sabina. In its current condition, it would be impossible to determine whether this represents Sabina or any other imperial woman or goddess who is known to have worn a similar hairstyle.

**71. Villa Medici, Rome, Italy**

Relief portrait in the guise of Venus

Dimensions: 210 cm high, 100 cm wide  
Provenance: From the collection of Della Valle  
Condition: Missing right hand; head slightly restored

Literature: Carandini 1969: 199; de Azevedo 1951: 40-41 cat. 12; Wegner 1956: 120, 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 154

Carandini, de Azevedo, and Wegner rejected the possibility of this as a portrait of Sabina. Wegner suggested that it was instead a representation of the wife of a general in the guise of Venus. Both de Azevedo and Wegner believe this to be a funerary relief. The woman's hairstyle bears only a passing resemblance with Sabina's and the facial features are completely different.

**72. Museo Torlonia, Rome, Italy, inv. 543**

Portrait on a bust which likely does not belong

Dimensions: 63 cm high  
Provenance: Rome or Ostia

Literature: Adembri 2007: 78 n. 19; Carandini 1969: 147-148 cat. 18; Wegner 1956: 122; Wegner and Unger 1984: 152

Carandini believed this to be a pre-128 portrait of Sabina, which Adembri agrees with. Wegner rejected this identification. There is nothing about the hairstyle or the facial features that specifically recalls Sabina.

**73. Museo Torlonia, Rome, Italy, inv. 547**

Portrait on a bust which likely does not belong

Literature: Carandini 1969: 172 cat. 36; Wegner 1938: 313; Wegner 1956: 129; Wegner and Unger 1984: 152

Wegner rejected the identification and Carandini was unable to confirm it. Based on the facial features and hairstyle in the available image, there is no reason to associate this portrait with Sabina. There are some superficial similarities, but the arrangement of the hair is distinct, and the facial features are not a close match.

**74. *Villa Albani, Rome, Italy, right gallery 128 (not pictured)***

Portrait bust

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 129 cat. 5; Carandini 1969: 199; Wegner 1938: 313; Wegner 1956: 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 154

The identification with Sabina was first suggested by Bernoulli but has not been supported by any later scholars. I have not been able to view this portrait and therefore cannot provide further analysis.

**75. *Palazzo Cardelli, Rome, Italy (not pictured)***

Plaster copy of a portrait bust

Literature: Carandini 1969: 199; Wegner 1938: 312; Wegner 1956: 90, 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 153

This portrait was originally listed in Wegner's 1956 catalogue, but Carandini identified it as a plaster copy of a Sabina portrait.

**76. *Palazzo Odescalchi, Rome, Italy***

Portrait head on a body to which it does not belong

Dimensions: 27 cm high

Condition: Nose, chin, and neck are restored; the surface is heavily damaged; the lips are especially poorly preserved

Literature: Ashby 1916: 74; Carandini 1969: 159-160 cat. 25

Carandini compared this portrait with one in a private collection in Rome (Carandini 1969: cat. 24, here cat. 78) and identified it as a replica of the nest type. This identification is possible, although there are a few elements of the hairstyle that bring this into question. Based on the available images, it appears that the front coil is much wider than usual, and the frontal crest of hair also appears very high without any central element. The nest element of the hairstyle appears higher on the head than is customary.

The poor preservation of the face does not allow for its features to be analysed. In its current state of preservation, this cannot be confidently stated to be a portrait of Sabina.

**77. Catacombs of S. Sebastiano, Rome, Italy**

Portrait head

Dimensions: 23 cm high

Provenance: Rome

Condition: Surface damage; chignon and nose missing; neck broken off under the chin

Literature: Carandini 1969: 148-149 cat. 20

Carandini is the only source that I have found which discusses this as a possible representation of Sabina. The front of the hairstyle has more in common with portraits of Marciana than Sabina, which Carandini noted. The combination of the Marciana-style front with what was presumably a low bun in the back is unattested for either woman. The face is damaged, but the proportions of what remains appear squarer than Sabina's usual appearance. This is most likely a private portrait.

**78. Private collection, Rome, Italy**

Portrait head

Dimensions: 21 cm high

Provenance: On display in the Mostra dell'Antiquariato nella Casamoderna in Florence in 1962

Condition: Nose broken off; neck broken off under chin; some chipping in hair

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. C24; Carandini 1969: 154-159 cat. 24; Wegner and Unger 1984: 153-154

This portrait does not have the typical lyre-shaped element in the middle of the forelocks and the hair on the temples is arranged in swirls that are otherwise unattested for portraits of Sabina. There are also three rows of hair in the frontal arrangement instead of the standard two. This is more likely a portrait of Matidia I.

**79. Private collection, Rome, Italy (not pictured)**

Under-life-size portrait

Literature: Carandini 1969: 199; Wegner 1956: 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 153



Carandini and Wegner both reject this identification.

**80. Formerly on the Jandolo Art Market, Rome, Italy**

Portrait head

Provenance: Sold on the Jandolo art market in Rome; owned by the Schwarzenberg Collection at the time of the publication of Fittschen and Zanker (1983)

Condition: Tip of nose missing; face chipped in various places

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 67 n. 628, 216; Carandini 1969: 178-179 cat. 41; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 n. 9

According to Carandini, the portrait has space for the insertion of a diadem, although I am skeptical due to the inaccuracy of this claim about other portraits. I have not been able to view the portrait in person and have not been able to access high-quality images. The texture of the hair in the front does conform well with Sabina's usual basket type portraits. The way that the hair is combed straight back above the ears does match the coin images of the chignon type well, although on the coins the hair covers the tops of the ears, whereas in the sculpted portrait it does not. I am not able to access any detailed images of the sculpture to evaluate the chignon or the back of the head. Alexandridis claims that the hair in the back is a "*Nackenzopf*", instead of the "*Nackenknott*" usually found with the type.

The main problem with attempting to link this portrait with Sabina is that the chignon is not a type which is particular to her. There is no reason to favour an identification of the portrait with Sabina over Livia, for example. The facial features are too badly damaged to make any concrete conclusions based on them, although the eyes appear too small to be Livia's from what is visible. Given that the type is completely unattested for Sabina in sculpture, it is difficult to argue that this should be identified with her given the ambiguity.

**81. Lost from Villa Adriana, Tivoli, Italy**

Seated draped portrait statue with a feline seated underneath the chair

Provenance: Stage of the Odeon in the Villa Adriana; formerly in the villa of the Cardinal d'Este on the Quirinal; lost in a shipwreck near Ischia in 1774

Literature: Calza 1955: 110-112; Carandini 1969: 186 cat. 52

Carandini was not able to see the original himself but believed the identification with Sabina based on the available drawing and Calza's interpretation as such. Based on the

extant image, I see no reason for an identification with Sabina. The hairstyle is not a match for any of her portrait types and the statue format is unusual.

**82. *Cyrene Museum, Cyrene, Libya, inv. C57002***

Draped portrait statue

Dimensions: 158 cm high; 26 cm high face

Provenance: Found in Temple B in the central valley of Cyrene in 1957

Condition: Part of nose missing; chipping to right side of the face

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. C15; Carandini 1969: 143-144 cat. 15; Kruse 1975: 345 cat. D35; Rosenbaum 1960: 51 cat. 33; Wegner and Unger 1984: 148

The portrait was found with an imperial group featuring Commodus, Trajan, and Hadrian, which motivated the identification of the portrait with Sabina. Carandini supported the identification, but Kruse and Wegner rejected it based on its typological divergences from the Empress. Rosenbaum stated that the portrait would not be in contention as a portrait of an imperial woman were it not for the context. She therefore suggested the explanation that the portrait originally depicted a private citizen but was later brought into the imperial group after being mistaken for Sabina during the time of Commodus. She also proposed that the portrait was thrown into the temple following its destruction and was never meant to represent Sabina.

The context is therefore not enough to argue for an identification with Sabina. As Rosenbaum says, the type was common for private individuals at the time. The type is very similar to some of the non-canonical coin portraits from provincial mints discussed in Chapter Two, which were used interchangeably for Sabina and other imperial women. The hair has two frontal ridges of hair like Sabina's nest portrait type, but there is no lyre-formed middle section as far as is visible from available images and there are no locks on the temples. The hair is also pulled to the back of the head and the nest is much more simple and smaller than usual.

**83. *Lost from Cyrene, Libya***

Fragment of a portrait head

Provenance: Found in 1915 in a tetrastyle temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius in the agora of Cyrene

Condition: Only the lower right quarter of the head was preserved; now lost

Literature: Carandini 1969: 197 cat. 67; Rosenbaum 1960: 128 cat. 298; Wegner and Unger 1984: 148

From the small amount that remains of this portrait, it can still be confidently rejected as a portrait of Sabina. The lips are too wide and flat and the nose too bulbous to match her physiognomy.

**84. *Leptis Magna, Libya***

Seated draped portrait statue with Eros seated on the figure's lap

Provenance: Found in a well in Leptis Magna; located in the *summa cavea* of the theatre

Literature: Caputo and Traversari 1976: 89-91 cat. 68; Wegner and Unger 1984: 149

Caputo and Traversari identified this statue as a representation of Sabina based on the woman's hairstyle and irises, and the piece's prominent display context in the theatre. Wegner and Unger reject the identification. The large, low bun hairstyle does not appear in imperial art until the Antonines and the child's hairstyle, which Caputo and Traversari identify as Hadrianic, also fits well into the Antonine period. The front of the hair is somewhat reminiscent of Hadrianic styles but does not bear a close enough resemblance with Sabina's hair to support an identification.

**85. *Tripoli Museum, Tripoli, Libya, inv. 56***

Draped portrait statue in Artemis the Huntress format

Dimensions: 200 cm high without plinth, 31.5 cm high head without diadem

Provenance: Found in the theatre of Leptis Magna in 1936-1937

Condition: Reconstituted from various fragments; chipping all over; missing nose and right arm

Literature: Caputo 1965: 125-131; Caputo and Traversari 1976: 87 cat. 67; Carandini 1969: 187-188; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: 103; Wegner and Unger 1984: 155

Caputo originally suggested the identification of Sabina based largely on the similarities he saw in the hairstyle with the chignon type. This was rejected by Carandini, Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, and Wegner and Unger. The portrait does not bear a stronger connection with Sabina's portraiture than other portraits of goddesses from the Hadrianic period. Neither the facial features nor the hairstyle are a particularly close match to the empress's established typology nor is she known to be depicted as Artemis elsewhere. This statue can therefore be rejected as a portrait of Sabina.

**86. *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Netherlands, inv. Pb 108***

Portrait Bust

Dimensions: 26 cm high  
Provenance: Likely Italy (Janssen)  
Condition: Neck and bust are modern; nose and top of hair are broken

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 129; Carandini 1969: 200; Janssen 1848: 20 cat. 148;  
Wegner 1938: 313; Wegner 1956: 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 148

Janssen identified the portrait as Sabina. Bernoulli and Wegner were unsure about the association. The identification was rejected by Carandini. The portrait does not have more than a superficial resemblance to Sabina's usual hair and has no resemblance with her in the facial features.

**87. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Netherlands, inv. Pb 140**

Portrait bust

Dimensions: 21 cm high  
Condition: Nose, part of hair, and the bust are modern

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 129; Carandini 1969: 200; Janssen 1848: 20 cat. 150;  
Wegner 1938: 313; Wegner 1956: 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 148

Janssen identified the portrait as Plotina. Bernoulli and Wegner were unsure about the association between this and Sabina. The identification with Sabina was rejected by Carandini. The portrait has nothing particular in its hair or facial features to support an identification with Sabina or Plotina.

**88. The State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russia**

Portrait bust

Dimensions: 34 cm high  
Condition: Parts of brow, nose, lips, chin, left eyebrow, and neck restored

Literature: Carandini 1969: 160-161 cat. 26

Carandini was uncertain about the identification with Sabina. Neither the physiognomy nor the hair is an exact match for her established iconography. The overall arrangement of the hair is related to Sabina's next portrait type, but the frontal elements are very different. These have woven oval shaped sections of hair which has closer parallels in portraits of Matidia I than Sabina.

**89. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia, inv. 400a**

Veiled portrait head wearing a myrtle wreath

Dimensions: 28.5 cm high  
Provenance: Acquired in 1862 from the Campana Collection  
Condition: Nose, parts of ears, and lips are restoration; forehead and cheeks mended with plaster; surface heavily cleaned

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 183 cat. 180; Bernoulli 1891: 133; Carandini 1969: 193 cat. 62; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 13 n. 5; Mikocki 1995: 195 cat. 308; Vostchinina 1974: 460-461 cat. 33; Wegner 1956: 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 149

This portrait's hairstyle does not clearly conform with any of Sabina's known portrait types. The front of the hair, which is combed to the sides, is somewhat reminiscent of the basket. The rest of the hair, however, is combed straight back and appears to be left somewhat loose. The hair is wider at the sides than it would be in the normal arrangement of the queue, although a very loose fastening at the end cannot be eliminated as a possibility. The myrtle wreath is also unique, although other attributes of Ceres are known for Sabina.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the facial features appear to be a closely connected with Sabina's. This might in part, however, be due to the modern restoration of the nose and lips. Therefore, while it is possible that this is a portrait of Sabina, the type is too irregular for this to be confidently asserted.

**90. National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, inv. 93**

Portrait head

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 129; Carandini 1969: 200; Wegner 1938: 313; Wegner 1956: 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 154

Bernoulli was initially skeptical about whether or not to associate this portrait with Sabina. All subsequent scholars have either been unable to view the portrait or have viewed and rejected it. This portrait diverges in several significant ways from the established typology of Sabina and the facial features do not closely resemble her.

**91. Private Collection, Zurich, Switzerland (not pictured)**

Portrait bust

Provenance: In the collection of Prof. H. Schinz in 1953  
Condition: Surface weathered

Literature: Carandini 1969: 199; Jucker 1953: 31-32 cat. 52; Wegner 1956: 131; Wegner and Unger 1984: 156

The portrait's identification was questioned by Jucker and rejected by Carandini and Wegner. I have not been able to view the piece, but based on the visual description provided by Jucker, an identification is highly unlikely.

**92. Private Collection, Zurich, Switzerland**

Portrait head

Dimensions: 31.5 cm high  
Provenance: Purchased from the Basel Art Market by a private collector  
Condition: The back half of the head is broken off; the head is broken off at the neck  
Literature: Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 note 5; Jucker 1981: 708-710; Jucker and Willers 1983: 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 156

While what remains of the front of the hairstyle could possibly be connected with Sabina, the facial features have no resemblance to her. With the back of the head missing, there is not enough evidence in the hair to counter the strong typological divergence in the face.

**93. Sousse Museum, Hadrumetum, Tunisia**

Portrait head

Dimensions: 30 cm high; 25 cm high face  
Provenance: Found in the Port of Sousse in 1898  
Condition: Nose, part of chin missing; left side of the face badly weathered  
Literature: Carandini 1969: 139-140 cat. 6; Fittschen 1993: 207 n. 27 f; Gauckler et al. 1902: 41 cat. 12

The portrait belongs to Carandini's North African group. For discussion, see Chapter Three – The Nest.

**94. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C983**

Draped portrait statue

Dimensions: 192 cm high; 27 cm high face  
Provenance: Carthage

Condition: Nose, mouth, and chin broken off; forehead and eyes damaged; bottom half of the statue is restoration; drapery chipped; left hand missing; right hand damaged

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 187 cat. 188; Carandini 1969: 141 cat. 9; de Kersauson 1997: 31; Fittschen 1993: 207 n. 27 g; Gauckler et al. 1910: 52 cat. 983; Kruse 1975: 236 cat. 983; Mikocki 1995: 194-195 cat. 305; Wegner and Unger 1984: 155

Carandini argued for an identification with Sabina for this statue, Kruse and Mikocki were skeptical, but Alexandridis, Fittschen, and Wegner reject the identification. The hairstyle is part of the North African group, which I have rejected as representations of Sabina. For discussion of this type, see Chapter Three – The Nest.

**95. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C1015**

Draped statue of Ceres type

Dimensions: 250 cm high  
Provenance: Temple of Apollo in Bulla Regia  
Condition: both hands broken off; damage to face

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 216; Brennan 2018: cat. N115; Gauckler et al. 1910: 57 cat. 1015; Kruse 1975: 351-353 cat. D49-51a; Mikocki 1995: 195 cat. 306; Wegner and Unger 1984: 155

Kruse argued for an identification with Sabina because of similarities he saw with her typology and physiognomy and the context, which found the statue near an inscription that says “*dea Augusta*”. Wegner did not see as close of a visual similarity but left open the possibility of an identification due to the archaeological context. Mikocki sees equal similarity with this statue in portraits of both Faustina and Sabina. Alexandridis rejects the identification on typological grounds.

The statue does not have any clear connection with Sabina. The front of the hair does bear some resemblance to her official portraiture, but no more so than it does the portraits of countless other women from the mid to late second century. The facial features do not bear a strong resemblance to her.

**96. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C1346**

Portrait head

Dimensions: 40 cm high  
Provenance: Found in a gallery north of the forum in Thuburbo Maius; acquired by the Musée du Bardo in 1914

Condition: Nose broken off; back of the head flattened

Literature: Carandini 1969: 140-141 cat. 8; Fittschen 1993: 207 n. 27 i; Merlin 1922: 56 cat. 1346

The back of the head is unfortunately missing so the entire hairstyle cannot be evaluated. The front features a crest of deeply drilled curls behind the usual flat ridge of hair on the brow. This feature is more reminiscent of Matidia II than Sabina. This portrait is part of Carandini's North Africa group. For discussion of the group, see Chapter Three – The Nest.

**97. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C1363**

Portrait statue in the guise of Ceres

Dimensions: ca. 205 cm high

Provenance: Found in 1914 at the *thermae aestivales* in Thuburbo Maius, likely a secondary find context (see Alexandridis cat. 189 note 1)

Condition: Reconstructed from several pieces; missing part of right arm, left hand, and part of mantle, as well as nose and the edge of the mantle around the hair; chipping in hair and right eye

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 187 cat. 189; Carandini 1969: 141-142 cat. 10; de Kersauson 1997: 31; Fittschen 1993: 207 n. 27 h; Kruse 1975: 336 cat. D23; Merlin 1922: 60 cat. 1363; Mikocki 1995: 195 cat. 307; Wegner and Unger 1984: 155

There is too much damage to the face and front of hair to make a positive identification without viewing the piece in person. Carandini asserts that this portrait has the same hairstyle as the others from North Africa, which Fittschen has shown to be portraits of Matidia (see Chapter Three – The Nest).

**98. Horrea of Hadrian, Andriace, Turkey**

Female portrait head attached to the central gate of the Horrea of Hadrian

Provenance: Horrea of Hadrian in Andriace

Condition: Heavily weathered

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 215; Boatwright 2000a: 123-124; Brennan 2018: cat. C28; Carandini 1969: 166-167 cat. 28; Evers 1994: 59; Mikocki 1995: 198 cat. 334; Wegner and Unger 1984: 145; Wörrle 1975: 66-70



Two heads are found attached to the central gate of the Horrea of Hadrian, identified as such based on the gate's inscription. Due mostly to this inscription, the portraits affixed to the gate have been identified as Hadrian and Sabina. This is despite strong weathering which makes the interpretation of their details difficult. Wörrle identified the hairstyle that Sabina wears as one which was introduced during the first half of 130. Neither Carandini nor Wegner was able to view the portrait in person. Evers also did not view it in person and was unable to analyse the Hadrian portrait typologically but describes the likeness as “not striking” based on photographs.

From the images I have been able to see, I am unsure which hairstyle he is referring to. The hair appears to be falling around the shoulders, but there are strands too far to each side for this to correspond with the queue, which is the only type which shows Sabina's hair in this loose fashion. I also do not see evidence for a tall crest of hair in the front which is expected for this type. With the poor quality of the photos and extreme weathering of the portrait, I am unable to speak further about the identification. The context does make an identification tempting, but impossible without further inspection.

**99. Antalya Museum, Antalya, Turkey, inv. 3045 (inv. 18 statue, inv. 18A head)**

Draped and veiled portrait statue

Dimensions: 180 cm high; 33 cm high head

Provenance: Found at the city gate of Perge

Condition: Tip of nose broken off; ears, neck, and drapery chipped; head reattached to body; left hand broken off; fingers on right hand damaged

Literature: Fittschen 1993: 58 cat. 47; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966: 78 cat. 47; Kruse 1975: 288-289 cat. B41

This portrait was published as Faustina the Younger by Inan and Rosenbaum but later suggested as a possible portrait of Sabina by Fittschen and Zanker. The hair is fastened in a queue underneath the veil according to both above cited sources, which I have not been able to confirm from the available images.

The facial features and arrangement of the hair do not correspond well with Sabina's established portraits. The waves of hair in the front are too broad and deep for Sabina's usual appearance. The hair is also brushed down towards the ears on the sides instead of straight back as is normal for veiled portraits of the chignon or basket type.

The facial features are very different from Sabina's usual appearance. The face is much rounder, the ears protrude much more, and the mouth has a different shape than normal. The eyes also have very heavy lids with deeply carved irises and pupils, which are more typical of Antonine portraiture.

**100. Antalya Museum, Antalya, Turkey, inv. 3066 (head) 3086 (body)**

Veiled and diademed portrait statue

- Dimensions: 182 cm high; 26.5 cm high head  
Provenance: Found in 1954 (head) and 1955 (body) at the monumental arch of Plancia Magna, Perge  
Condition: Nose broken off; lips and chin chipped; right hand missing
- Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 112; Alexandridis 2004: 215; Boatwright 2000b: 64-66; Brennan 2018: cat. C29; Carandini 1969: 167-168 cat. 29; Fittschen 1973: 57 cat. 36; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 note 4; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966: 72-73 cat. 36; Kruse 1975: 281-283 cat. B26; Trimble 2011: 402-404 cat. 85; Vermeule 1968b: 263; Wegner and Unger 1984: 146, 151

The statue was discovered near the gate of the city of Perge, presumably as part of the monumental main city gate or arch which adorned it (see Boatwright 1993 for excavation details). The monument was decorated with statues of locally significant gods, prominent citizens, and members of the imperial family. Several statue bases were found referring to members of the imperial family from Trajan and Hadrian's reigns. In these bases, Marciana and Matidia I are referred to as *diva*, while Plotina and Sabina are simply Augusta. This combined with the titulature on Hadrian's base suggests a date for the group of 121.

This portrait has been identified as Sabina by all above listed authors with the exception Fittschen and Zanker, Trimble, and Wegner who were unsure, and Alexandridis, who rejects the identification. Those questioning the identification do so on the grounds that the facial features are too idealized.

I agree with the analysis that the facial features do not conform closely enough with Sabina to allow for this to be securely identified as a representation of her, as is a common problem among veiled portraits with this hairstyle (see Chapter Three – The Veil). The hairstyle also does not precisely correspond with Sabina's. The hair is not brushed straight back at the sides of the head, as it does with basket, chignon, and veil type portraits. There is extra hair behind the diadem, although could just be unfinished due to the high display context.

In addition, this hairstyle does not make sense for a portrait of this date, assuming that the portrait was produced at the same time as the Hadrian one in 121. Carandini, to support his later dating of Sabina's acquisition of the title Augusta while still identifying this as a portrait of Sabina, suggested that the Sabina portrait was produced later than the Hadrian one. As the other evidence has shown, this portrait type was not made until the very end of Sabina's life. It seems unlikely that a new Sabina portrait would have been produced in the small timeframe between the type's introduction at Rome and her consecration as *diva*, which would be reflected in the inscription. It would also be surprising if this one portrait in the group was updated without also updating the status of *diva* Plotina or Hadrian's titulature.

Instead, given the portrait's lack of correspondence with Sabina's facial features or hairstyle, it is more likely that the portrait represents one of the many other female

figures from the gate and arch. Given its high degree of idealization, one of the goddesses is a possibility.

**101. Formerly Aspendos Museum, Aspendos, Turkey (not pictured)**

Over-life-sized headless draped statue in Hera of Ephesus format

Literature: Alexandridis 2004: 215; Carandini 1969: 168-169 cat. 30; Lankoroński 1890: 94-95; Mikocki 1995: 198 cat. 330

Lankoroński believed that two headless statue bodies found in Aspendos represented two members of the imperial family but did not argue for a specific identification. Carandini made the association with Sabina based on its discovery with another headless statue that he believed to be Hadrian. According to Alexandridis, this piece is now lost. The identity of either cannot be confirmed without the head or stronger archaeological evidence.

**102. Geyre Museum, Geyre, Turkey, inv. 68-341 (head), 70-496 (body)**

Portrait statue wearing a diadem and a Doric peplos

Dimensions: 211 cm high; 25 cm high head; 9 cm high plinth

Provenance: Head found in 1968 in northern part of the orchestra of the theatre of Geyre; the body was found in 1970 with the plinth and right arm in the *proscenium*

Condition: Body reconstituted from several parts; left arm missing; head broken in several pieces; nose, chin, part of diadem broken off; surface damage to body

Literature: Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: 100-101 cat. 49; Wegner and Unger 1984: 147

Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum suggested a connection with Sabina based on similarities with the portrait from Perge (cat. 100). Wegner and Unger rejected this identification. I agree with Wegner and Unger. The hairstyle from the front does resemble Sabina, but the style of the chignon is not found in any confirmed portraits of her. The facial features are too badly damaged to interpret.

**103. Mansia Museum, Mansia, Turkey, inv. 3**

Portrait head

Dimensions: 31 cm high, 20 cm wide, 23.5 cm deep

Provenance: Unknown

Condition: Break from diadem to back of head; neck broken off; missing tip of nose

Literature: Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 95-96 cat. 78

This portrait was first published by Hanfmann and Ramage, who disagreed on the identification of Sabina. While the catalogue entry argues for a connection with Sabina, Hanfmann believes the head to be Claudian. Fittschen and Zanker were unsure whether or not this portrait could be associated with Sabina. From the available images, it appears that the nose is too straight and the mouth too full to match Sabina's usual features. In profile the portrait has a completely generalized, classicizing appearance which does not match confirmed portraits of the empress. The styling of the drilling in the hair is much less natural in appearance than usual portraits of the empress. I therefore tentatively reject Ramage's identification.

***104. Selçuk Museum, Selçuk, Turkey, inv. 963***

Veiled portrait head

Dimensions: 32.7 cm high; 27 cm high head

Provenance: Found in 1958 in Turkey

Condition: Broken left ear and piece of hair; damage to face overall; head broken off at neck

Literature: Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 12 note 4; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: 174-175 cat. 132

Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum suggest the possibility of an identification with Sabina on the grounds of the portrait's similarity with the one from Perge. The Perge portrait is itself not without attribution issues (cat. 100). Taken on its own, there is no reason to believe this portrait is more likely to represent Sabina than any other woman from around the end of Hadrian's reign or the reign of Antoninus Pius.

***105. Formerly Marbury Hall, Cheshire, UK***

Portrait head on a body that does not belong to it

Dimensions: 30 cm high

Provenance: From the Villa Mattei ca. 1776; Sold from Marbury Hall between 1943-1946 through private auction; current location unknown

Condition: Badly weathered and cracked; missing nose

Literature: Bernoulli 1891: 133; Carandini 1969: 153-154 cat. 23; Kruse 1975: 344 cat. D33; Michaelis 1882: 501-502; Wegner 1956: 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 150

Michaelis identified this portrait as Sabina. Carandini was unsure whether to assign this portrait to Sabina or Matidia, but ultimately favoured the latter. Kruse and Wegner agreed with the identification with Matidia. It is difficult to analyse the piece which has not been publicly viewable since the 1940s, but from the available images I agree that the portrait has more typologically in common with Matidia I than Sabina.

***106. British Museum, London, UK, inv. 1478 (not pictured)***

Headless statue draped with a sleeveless tunic and mantle

Dimensions: 163 cm high

Provenance: Discovered in 1860-1861 near the gate of Zeus Soter, Roma, and Augustus in the Agora of Cyrene

Condition: Headless; left hand and little finger of right hand broken off; minor chipping on drapery

Literature: Carandini 1969: 197-198 cat. 68; Rosenbaum 1960: 95 cat. 167; Smith 1900: 255 cat. 1478; Traversari 1960: 72 cat. 31; Wegner and Unger 1984: 149

Carandini first suggested that this headless statue originally had Sabina's head on it. This was argued due to the presence of a base believed to support statues of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, which he argues has enough space to also support a statue of Sabina. While this is not possible to disprove, there is not any evidence to make a positive identification possible.

***107. British Museum, London, UK***

Portrait head

Dimensions: 23 cm high; 16.5 cm wide

Provenance: Eastern portion of the "sand site" in Salamis on Cyprus

Condition: Tip of nose and right ear are missing; top and back of head are damaged

Literature: Carandini 1969: 144-145 cat. 16; Munro, Tubbs, and Wroth 1890: 129-131

Carandini identified the portrait, first published in Munro, Tubbs, and Wroth, as Sabina based on similarities with the head from Cyrene (cat. 87). Neither head is a perfect match for Sabina's typology, and both do not match each other. The Salamis head on its own is

clearly not Sabina. The hair and facial features are both different from known representations of the Empress.

**108. *Holkham Hall, Norfolk, UK***

Portrait bust

Dimensions: 58 cm high; 27 cm high head

Provenance: Purchased by Holkham Hall in 1752

Condition: Tip of the nose, part of the chin, and bust are all restoration; the surface has undergone modern smoothing

Literature: Carandini 1969: 113-114; 171 cat. 34; Poulsen 1923: 87-88 cat. 72

Carandini was unsure about whether or not to connect this portrait with Sabina. The facial features share nothing in common with Sabina and the hairstyle is also completely different.

**109. *The Getty Villa, Malibu, California, USA, inv. 70.AA.100***

Diademed draped portrait bust

Dimensions: 43 cm high

Provenance: Purchased from Rome from Barsanti by the Getty in 1939

Condition: Right shoulder and diadem chipped; abrasions to surface

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. C51; Caenaro 2010: 20 cat. 13; Carandini 1969: 185-186 cat. 51; Frel 1981: 60-61 cat. 44; Kleiner and Matheson 1996: 69-70 cat. 23 (Broucke); Wegner and Unger 1984: 149

This portrait is not a match for Sabina in either its facial features or hairstyle.

**110. *The Getty Villa, Malibu, California, USA, inv. 70.AA.117***

Female marble head

Dimensions: 40.3 cm high; 28.6 cm high head

Condition: Back of the head flattened, likely in modern times; head broken off at the neck; some discoloration; holes in ears; modern dowel holes in neck

Literature: Frel 1981: 59 cat. 43; Wegner and Unger 1984: 149

This was originally believed to be a representation of a goddess and I believe this to be the correct analysis. The facial features have no connection with Sabina. The nose in

particular is much too large. The hair is much less natural in appearance than her usual portraits and the diadem is unattested for the empress.

***111. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, USA, inv. 1992.2.1***

Portrait bust

Dimensions: 53 cm high

Provenance: London art market

Condition: Nose missing; forehead and chin chipped; back of hair and left shoulder broken off

Literature: Brennan 2018: cat. N113; Fittschen 1996: 48; Kleiner and Matheson 1996: 74-75 cat. 30 (Broucke); Matheson 1992: 87-90

Both the hairstyle and facial features are not an exact match for Sabina. Matheson's identification of the portrait as Avidia Paulina is convincing. The portrait is the same type as one in a private collection in Paris (cat. 48).

***112. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, USA, inv. 21.88.35***

Portrait head

Dimensions: 37.5 cm high

Provenance: Acquired by the MET in 1921 from Alfredo Barsanti in Rome

Condition: Tip of nose chipped off; minor chipping on face

Literature: Baratte 1984: 303-305; Chevalier 2011: 6; Fittschen 1996: 47; Zanker 2016: 214-215 cat. 80

Baratte groups this portrait with other examples of the type in the Louvre (cat. 46) and Warsaw National Museum. Zanker adds to this two portraits from Sessa Aurunca. Fittschen suggests an identification with Domitia Paulina for the portrait. With the new evidence of the portraits from Sessa Aurunca, Zanker identifies them as Matidia Minor.

***113. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC, USA, inv. 22.139.2***

Over-life-size portrait head

Dimensions: 37.5 cm high

Provenance: Acquired by the MET in 1922 from Alfredo Barsanti in Rome

Condition: Surface damaged; forehead, nose, and lips broken; top of the front of the hairstyle broken off at a right angle

Literature: Carandini 1969: 149-151 cat. 21; D'Ambra 2015; Wegner 1956: 127; Wegner and Unger 1984: 150; Zanker 2016: 208-209 cat. 77

Carandini, Fittschen, and Wegner are all doubtful about the identification with Sabina. D'Ambra argues that this portrait represents a transition between the nest and the basket. The hair does not conform with any securely identified portraits of Sabina. The curly arrangement on the front corresponds more with Matidia II than Sabina. The facial features are damaged but what is visible does correspond fairly well with Sabina. This could, however, just as easily be a representation of Matidia or another imperial woman.

***114. New York University, NYC, USA, inv. X.008***

Diademed and veiled portrait head

Dimensions: 25.5 cm high  
Provenance: Acquired by C. J. Kraemer near Rome  
Condition: Nose, lips, and chin badly damaged; chipping throughout

Literature: Adembri 2007: 84 n. 4; Bonfante and Fowlkes 2006: 173-174 cat. 58 (Bonfante)

Adembri believes that the portrait is Sabina based on comparison with the Antalya 3066-3086 portrait, which I have argued is not Sabina (cat. 100). Bonfante argues that the piece is modelled on Sabina's portraits. I have only been able to access a single image, but from what is visible, I agree with Bonfante. The hair does not have the same texture as is usual for portraits of the Empress and the hair does not appear to be brushed straight back at the sides as is customary for the type.

***115. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 634 (Sala dei Busti 359)***

Modern portrait bust

Dimensions: 78 cm high  
Provenance: Allegedly discovered in the Antonine villa in Lanuvium by Gavin Hamilton; given to Pius VI who gave it to the Vatican  
Condition: Modern; entirely intact bust made of one piece of marble; surface treated

Literature: Amelung 1908: 549-550 cat. 359; Bernoulli 1891: 129 cat. 4; Brennan 2018: cat. C55; Carandini 1969: 189-191 cat. 55; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10; Spinola 1999: 92-93; Wegner 1938: 306, 311; Wegner 1956: 90, 129; Wegner 1984: 153; West 1941: 125 cat. 5

This was long held up as the best model of Sabina's main sculpted portrait type, the basket, to the point that several sources named the type after it. Spinola discovered that



this is, however, actually a modern forgery based on a head from the Capitoline (inv. 338, here cat. 21).

***116. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 698 (not pictured)***

Portrait head

Dimensions: 29.7 cm high

Condition: Nose, lips, chip, and part of neck are missing; chipping in various places; neck broken

Literature: Carandini 1969: 199; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1936: 287-288 cat. 698; Wegner 1956: 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 153

This portrait's identification was first proposed by Kaschnitz-Weinberg but has been rejected by all subsequent scholars.

***117. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 816 (Gabinetto delle Maschere 429)***

Statue of in Aphrodite Frejus format with a modern portrait head

Dimensions: 179 cm high; 27 cm high head

Provenance: The body was found between 1778-1779 near the basilica in Otricoli; the modern head was added in 1782

Condition: Modern

Literature: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 126-129 (Spinola); Amelung 1908: 686 cat. 429; Bernoulli 1891: 128-129, n. 3; Brennan 2018: cat. N106; Caenaro 2010: 21 cat. 2; Spinola 1999: 171; Wegner 1938: 313; Wegner 1956: 130; Wegner and Unger 1984: 153

The head is modern. See Spinola for a full discussion.

***118. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, Braccio Nuovo inv. MV 2248 (Braccio Nuovo 73, formerly 80) (not pictured)***

Portrait head on a statue that does not belong with it

Dimensions: 211 cm high

Condition: Nose, ears, neck, queue, much of the chest and shoulders, right hand restoration; restored chipping all over

Literature: Amelung 1903: 86-87 cat. 80; Bernoulli 1891: 132; Carandini 1969: 200;  
Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 10; Wegner 1956: 129

There are many differences between this head and Sabina's usual appearance in both the hair and the face. The portrait is also significantly restored, so its original appearance is hard to establish.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: The Aurei of Sabina from the Roman Imperial Mint

#### *1a: Catalogue*

##### *Abbreviations*

ANS = American Numismatic Society  
Augsburg = Augsburg hoard, L. Weber. 1981. "Ein Schatzfund römischer Aurei in Augsburg," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 28: 133-170.  
BMC = British Museum Collection  
BnF = Bibliothèque Nationale du France  
CNG = Classical Numismatic Group  
Diarbekir = Diarbekir hoard, Kurt Regling. 1931. "Der Schatz römischer Goldmünzen von Diarbekir (Madrin)," *Blätter für Münzfreunde*: 353-365.  
FRK = Fritz Rudolf Kuenker GmbH & Co KG  
Gorny & Mosch = Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung  
Hunter = Robertson, A. 1971. *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, v. II: Trajan to Commodus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press  
HWCA = Heritage World Coin Auctions  
MAF = Museo Archaeologico di Firenze (numbers are provisional, not real inventory)  
MRT = Musei Reali Torino, Museo di Antichità  
MRT DC = Musei Reali Torino, Royal Collection  
NAC = Numismatica Ars Classica  
Via Po = Via Po Hoard, S. L. Cesano. 1929. "Ripostiglio di aurei imperiali rinvenuto a Roma" *BullCom* 57: 1-119.  
Wien KhM = Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum Münzkabinett.

##### *Obverse Die Designations*

###### First Letter:

a = SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG  
b = SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG PP  
c = SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP  
d = SABINA AVGVSTA  
e = DIVA AVG SABINA  
f = DIVA AVGVSTA SABINA

###### Second Letter:

a = basket-style braided up-do  
b = wavy ponytail fastened at the end with a fillet or wreath and a crest of hair  
c = looped, braided bun with wreath and diadem  
d = basket-style waved up-do with a single diadem

e = veiled with bun and a diadem or wreath

*Coins*

\* = Reverse used as image in the die-link chart

^ = Obverse used as image in the die-link chart

**C – (No inscription), Ceres seated left on basket with wheat in right hand and torch in left**

- C1    ba1    a. ANS 1967.153.145\*^  
              b. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2016 Jun 22, Lot 739  
              c. BMC 893  
              d. Hess-Divo, 2008 Apr 28, Lot 151 = LHS Numismatik, 2007 Apr 23, Lot 484  
              e. Hunter, Sabina 1  
              f. HWCA, 2015 Aug 13, Lot 32074  
              g. Numismatik Lanz München, 1984 May 7, Lot 521
- ba2    a. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch, 2016 Nov 7, Lot 70^

**CA – CONCORDIA AVG, Concordia seated left on throne with a patera in her right hand**

- CA1    cb1    a. Asta Internazionale, 1993 Nov 27, Lot 204 = Christie's, 1992 Oct 13, Lot 559 = NAC, 1993 Mar 11, Lot 1818 = Nomisma S.p.a., 2013 Apr 13, Lot 176  
              b. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch, 1982 Jun 21-23, Lot 280  
              c. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch 56, 1996 Feb 5, Lot 3255  
              d. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch, 2011 Dec 5, Lot 1568 = NAC, 2016 May 23, Lot 19  
              e. Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, 2014 Jan 8, Lot 20 = NAC, 2011 Apr 4, Lot 1981 = The New York Sale, 2014 Jan 8, Lot 20 = Roma Numismatics Ltd, 2014 Sep 28, Lot 1009 = Roma Numismatics Ltd, 2016 Apr 7, Lot 810 = Roma Numismatics, 2019 Mar 28, Lot 752  
              f. Berlin 18200611  
              g. BMC 894\*  
              h. BnF 10437604^  
              i. CNG, 2019 Jan 8, Lot 1082 = CNG, 2015 Oct 7, Lot 1872  
              j. FRK, 2005 Sep 27, Lot 519  
              k. FRK, 2016 Mar 14, Lot 747  
              l. Münzen und Medaillen XV, 1955 Jul 1, Lot 777  
              m. NAC, 2008 Oct 21, Lot 231 = NAC, 2019 May 6, Lot 691  
              n. Numismatik Lanz München, 1999 Nov 22, Lot 522 = Numismatik

Lanz München, 2001 May 28, Lot 575 = Numismatik Lanz München,  
2003 May 26, Lot 386

- cb2 a. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch, 2003 Apr 28, Lot 671 = CNG, 2006 Jan 10,  
Lot 1468 = FRK, 2005 Jun 21, Lot 59 = Gorny & Mosch, 2003 Oct 13,  
Lot 489 = NAC, 2015 May 20, Lot 1001 = UBS Gold & Numismatics,  
2004 Sep 14, Lot 4553
- cb4 a. Auctions AG Basel, 1992 Jun 16, Lot 543 = Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch,  
2011 Dec 5, Lot 1569 = Auktionshaus Meister & Sonntag, 2011 May 25,  
Lot 94  
b. Bank Leu, 1991 May 15, Lot 196  
c. Trier 2172  
d. Glendining, 1953 Nov 25, Lot 169  
e. Hess, 1935 May 24, Lot 1380  
f. Wien KhM 9928^
- cb5 a. BnF 10427610  
b. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2016 Nov 2, Lot 300  
c. MAF Adr. 94  
d. Wien KhM 9936^
- CA2 cb1 a. CNG, 2015 May 13, Lot 634^
- cb2 a. Bank Leu, 1980 Apr 23, Lot 306 = NAC, 2002 Dec 5, Lot 84 = NAC,  
2008 Apr 2, Lot 572  
b. BMC 901\*^
- CA3 db1 a. Ars Classica II, 1922 Jun 12, Lot 761  
b. BMC 935\*  
c. Capitoline Med 06022  
d. Sotheby, 1936 Mar 9, Lot 225
- CA4 dd2 a. Egger, 1905 Nov 28, Lot 135  
b. FRK, 2005 Mar 7, Lot 1430  
c. FRK, 2010 Mar 12, Lot 7757 = NAC, 2009 Oct 7, Lot 434  
d. FRK, 2011 Sep 26, Lot 706 = NAC, 2018 Sep 24, Lot 369  
e. Musée Saint-Raymond 2000.14.122\*^  
f. NAC, 1996 Apr 16, Lot 869  
g. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica 1896, p. 171, pl. II.10  
h. Trier 2162
- CA5 cb5 a. FRK, 2005 Mar 7, Lot 1431 = Hess Divo AG, 2019 May 27, Lot 127  
b. Glendining, 1936 May 27, Lot 153 = Hess, 1935 May 24, Lot 1381\* =

Münzhandlung Basel 8, 1937 Mar 22, Lot 726  
c. MRT 14150

CA6 cb4 a. The Du Chastel Collection 530\*^

**CO – CONSECRATIO, Sabina on the back of an eagle facing right with fabric flowing above her head**

CO1 ee1 a. BMC 955\*

- ee2 a. Asta Ceresio, 1992 Oct 3, Lot 324 = Hess, 1935 May 24, Lot 1382 = Yale 2013.17.96  
b. Bank Leu-Adolph Hess, 1956 Mar 27 Lot 385 = Heritage Auctions, 2019 Jan 6, Lot 32109 = NAC, 2008 Oct 21, Lot 232  
c. BMC 956^  
d. BnF 10427540  
e. CNG, 2018 Jan 9, Lot 758  
f. Wien KhM 9967

CO2 ee1 a. ANS 1955.191.14\*^  
b. Bank Leu, 1979 May 8, Lot 261 = Hirsch XXX, 1911 May 11, Lot 983 = Stack's Bowers and Ponterio, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5384  
c. Hunter, S.D. 1

**IR – IVNONI REGINAE, Juno standing left draped, holding patera in right and sceptre in left, peacock at feet**

IR1 db2 a. BMC 936^  
b. Ciani, 1955 May 7, Lot 342  
c. MAF Adr. 91  
d. NAC, 1992 Feb 25, Lot 476  
e. Num. Fine Arts, XI, 1982 Dec 8, Lot 436  
f. Ratto, 1925 May 12, Lot 1196

db6 a. BnF 104276059\*^  
b. Wien KhM 9940

IR2 db3 a. Aiello FPL, 1973 Mar 7, Lot 150  
b. Ars Classica XII, 1926 Oct 18, Lot 106  
c. Augsburg 34  
d. Bank Leu-Adolph Hess, 1960 Apr 7, Lot 330 = GHN, 1997 Feb 19, Lot 59  
e. Berlin 18247387\*^  
f. BMC 937

- g. BMC 938
- h. Bourgey, 1928 Dec 2, Lot 287
- i. Ciani, 1921 Dec 12, Lot 96
- j. FRK, 2012 Oct 8, Lot 983
- k. Glendining, 1950 Nov 16, Lot 1408
- l. Helbing, 1928 Mar 20, Lot 531
- m. Hunter, Sabina 14
- n. HWCA, 2004 Jan 10, Lot 12190
- o. HWCA, 2015 Aug 13, Lot 32075
- p. NAC, 1991 Feb 27, Lot 366 = NAC, 2007 Nov 20, Lot 82
- q. Trier 2163

IR3 db4 a. BMC 939\*<sup>^</sup>  
b. Trier 2164

IR4 db4 a. 51 Gallery, 2015 Apr 29, Lot 84\* = Maison Palombo, 2014 Dec 13, Lot 63 = Adolf Hess, 1951 May 9, Lot 136

IR5 db1 a. Via Po 343\*

IR6 dd1 a. MRT 14155\*

**V – (No inscription), Vesta seated left on a throne with a palladium in her right hand and sceptre in her left**

V1 ca1 a. ANS 1960.175.30\*<sup>^</sup>  
b. Ars Classica XVII, 1934 Oct 3, Lot 796  
c. BMC 922  
d. Freeman & Sear, 2007 Jun 21, Lot 420  
e. Glendining, 1951 Feb 20, Lot 1782 = Heidelberger Münzhandlung Herbert Grun E.K., 2019 May 14, Lot 205 = NAC, 1997 Apr 10, Lot 1676  
f. Glendining, 1957 Mar 7, Lot 387  
g. Hess, 1935 May 24, Lot 1384  
h. Ira & Larry Goldberg, 2011 Feb 1, Lot 3192  
i. Münzhandlung Basel 6, 1936 Mar 18, Lot 1703  
j. Rauch Auction 56, 1996 Feb 5, Lot 3254

ca2 a. FRK, 1993 Mar 12, Lot 352  
b. Rosenberg, 1914 Mar 9, Lot 363

V2 ca2 a. A Tkalec AG, 2007 Apr 22, Lot 226 = NAC, 2005 Oct 26, Lot 46 = Maison Palombo, 2008 Jun 7, Lot 81 = Berk, 1999 Oct 28, Lot 34  
b. BMC 927\*<sup>^</sup>  
c. FRK, 2008 Oct 6, Lot 566

- V3 ca3 a. FRK, 2013 Oct 7, Lot 1063  
b. Münzen & Medallien AG Basel, 2003 Dec 16, Lot 161  
c. NAC, 2018 May 9, Lot 947  
d. Sangiorgi, 1907 Apr 15, Lot 1899\*<sup>^</sup>  
e. Stack's Bowers and Ponterio, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5383
- V4 ba1 a. BnF 104275444\*  
b. Egger, 1905 Nov 28, Lot 138  
c. Gerhard Hirsch, 1956 Sep 20, Lot 56  
d. Trier 2173  
e. Trier 2174
- ba2 a. NAC, 2004 May 12, Lot 398 = NAC, 2006 Nov 24, Lot 22
- ca4 a. Christie's, 1968 Jul 2, Lot 112<sup>^</sup>
- V5 ca1 a. Bank Leu, 1979 May 8, Lot 260 = NAC, 2007 Mar 21, Lot 61  
b. Bourgey, 1913 Dec 16, Lot 256\*  
c. Museo Nazionale Romano, Collezione Francesco Gnechi
- V6 ca2 a. Feuardent, 1914 Apr 2, Lot 312  
b. NAC, 2013 May 16, Lot 654
- ca4 a. Ars Classica XVIII, 1938 Oct 10, Lot 224\* = Collection du Vicomte de Sartiges Series Greque et Romaine, 1910, Lot 171 = Hirsch XVIII, 1907 May 27, Lot 879<sup>^</sup>

**VE – VESTA, Vesta seated left on a throne with a palladium in her right hand and a sceptre in her left**

- VE1 db2 a. Adolph Hess, 1986 Nov 12, Lot 300  
b. Ars Classica XVII, 1934 Oct 3, Lot 795 = Sammlung Walter Niggeler, 1967 Nov 2, Lot 1282  
c. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch, 2015 Apr 14, Lot 514 = FRK, 2014 Oct 10, Lot 8984 = FRK, 2015 Oct 2, Lot 8757 = Noble Numismatics Pty Ltd, 2008 Nov 25, Lot 3758 = Noble Numismatics Pty Ltd, 2009 Jun 21, Lot 3372 = Noble Numismatics Pty Ltd, 2012 Nov 20, Lot 3331 = Noble Numismatics Pty Ltd, 2013 Apr 9, Lot 4075 = NAC, 2003 Jun 26, Lot 1986  
d. Bank Leu-Adolph Hess, 1965 May 5, Lot 419 = Glendining, 1929 Dec 3, Lot 256 = NAC, 2007 May 16, Lot 717\*  
e. Baranowsky, 1931 Feb 25, Lot 1893 = Hess Divo AG, 2019 May 27, Lot 126



- f. BM Card File, Lot 2881= Egger XXXIX, 1912 Jan 15, Lot 945
  - g. Bourgey, 1923 Dec 10, Lot 556
  - h. Cahn 68, 1930 Nov 26, Lot 411 = Hess, 1926 Jan 6, Lot 1218
  - i. Christie's, 1984 Oct 9, Lot 41
  - j. Florange et Ciani, 1924 Dec 18, Lot 376
  - k. Hamburger, 1929 May 29, Lot 607
  - l. Helbing, 1930 Jan 31, Lot 1081
  - m. Heritage Auctions, 2019 Jan 6, Lot 33277
  - n. Leu Numismatik, 2002 May 6, Lot 939
  - o. Leu Numismatik, 2003 May 5, Lot 842
  - p. Noble Numismatics, 2019 Jul 30, Lot 4593
  - q. Trier 2167
  - r. Trier 2168
  - s. Vinchon, 1992 Nov 20, Lot 112
  - t. Vinchon, 1996 Apr 24-26 (Sabina)
- db4
- a. Aureo & Calico, 2012 Mar 8, Lot 1034
  - b. BMC 950
  - c. CNG, 2002 Jan 15, Lot 1979 = NAC, 2005 Oct 26, Lot 45
  - d. Heritage Auctions, 2019 Jan 6, Lot 34091 = HWCA, 2016 Aug 11, Lot 32098 = Heritage Europe, 2015 Nov 24, Lot 252
  - e. Hirsch XXIX, 1910 Nov 9, Lot 1026 = Schulman, 1933 Oct 9, Lot 80
  - f. NAC, 2014 May 26, Lot 961 = Stack's Bowers and Ponterio, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5375 = Christie's, 1984 Oct 9, Lot 41= Canessa, 1923 Jun 28, Lot 319
  - g. Ratto, 1925 May 12, Lot 1198
  - h. Santamaria, 1920 Nov 29, Lot 659
  - i. Trier 2165
  - j. Trier 2166
  - k. UBS Gold & Numismatics, 2008 Sep 9, Lot 1645
  - l. Wien KhM 9953
- db6
- 1. MRT 14178
- VE2 db2
- a. ANS 1944.100.45592\*
  - b. Ball VI, 1932 Feb 9, Lot 699 = BM Card File, Lot 674
  - c. BMC 951
  - d. BMC 952
  - e. Bourgey, 1913 Dec 16, Lot 25 = Sotheby, 1914 Apr 3, Lot 25 = Santamaria, 1924 Jan 16, Lot 355
  - f. Glendining, 1957 Mar 7, Lot 386
  - g. Hess Leu, 1963 Apr 4, Lot 179
  - h. MFA 1957.789

- i. NAC, 1998 Apr 30, Lot 1974
  - j. Numismatik Lanz München, 1989 Nov 27, Lot 636
  - k. Spink, 2004 Apr 15, Lot 35
- dd1
- a. A Tkalec AG, 2007 Feb 28, Lot 38 = Astarte SA Bolla Collection, 2007 Feb 28, Lot 38 = Glendining, 1953 Jan 14, Lot 38 = Hirsch XVIII, 1907 May 27, Lot 877
  - b. Ars Classica XVII, 1934 Oct 3, Lot 1431
  - c. Aurea Numismatica, 2016 Dec 3, Lot 1281 = FRK, 2014 Oct 10, Lot 8985 = Reichmann XX, 1922 Sep 18, Lot 648 = Numismatics Naumann, 2017 Feb 5, Lot 558
  - d. Aureo & Calico, 2017 Mar 16, Lot 1062
  - e. Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, 2016 May 4, Lot 19 = Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, 2007 Jan 10, Lot 293 = The New York Sale, 2007 Jan 10, Lot 293
  - f. Berk, 2010 Jun 1, Lot 64
  - g. BM Card File, Lot 532
  - h. BM Card File, Lot 550 = Glendining, 1936 May 27, Lot 154
  - i. BM Card File, Lot 774 = NAC, 2010 Mar 24, Lot 434^ = Sotheby, 1911 Jun 13, Lot 517 = Sotheby, 1914 Jun 20, Lot 153
  - j. BMC 953
  - k. BMC 954
  - l. BnF 10427617
  - m. Bolaffi, 2018 May 31, Lot 269
  - n. Capitoline Med 03740
  - o. Editions V. Gadoury, 2014 Dec 6, Lot 152
  - p. Egger, 1905 Nov 28, Lot 137
  - q. Egger XXXIX, 1912 Jan 15, Lot 946 = Gerhard Hirsch, 1954 Apr 26, Lot 446
  - r. Feuardent, 1924 Jun 16, Lot 199
  - s. FRK, 2013 Oct 7, Lot 1062 = Hess-Divo, 2014 May 28, Lot 106 = NAC, 2018 May 9, Lot 1511 = Nomisma S.p.a., 2014 Oct 15, Lot 29 = Stack's Bowers and Ponterio, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5377
  - t. FRK, 2014 Mar 14, Lot 7518
  - u. FRK, 2015 Oct 2, Lot 8758
  - v. FRK, 2018 Mar 19, Lot 1162 = Gorny & Mosch, 2003 Mar 10, Lot 447
  - w. Gerhard Hirsch, 1960 Sep 28, Lot 1986 = Numismatik Lanz München, 1996 May 18, Lot 534
  - x. Gorny & Mosch, 2004 Mar 8, Lot 2173
  - y. Gorny & Mosch, 2012 Oct 15, Lot 632 = Heritage Auction, 2019 Jan 6, Lot 34092 = Hess Leu, 1963 Apr 4, Lot 180
  - z. Hess Nachf 194, 1929 Mar 25, Lot 821
  - aa. Hirsch XX, 1907 Nov 13, Lot 596
  - ab. Hunter, Sabina 20
  - ac. Leu Auction 38, 1986 May 13, Lot 272

- ad. MRT 14179
- ae. NAC, 1994 Nov 16, Lot 418 = Noble Numismatics, 1995 Mar 29, Lot 1950
- af. NAC, 2012 Oct 17, Lot 323
- ag. Ratto, 1925 May 12, Lot 1199
- ah. Santamaria, 1926 May 25, Lot 411
- ai. Santamaria XVI, 1938 Jan 24, Lot 524
- aj. Schulman, 1923 Mar 5, Lot 1403
- ak. Trier 2169
- al. Trier 2170
- am. Trier 2171
  
- dd3 a. Superior Galleries, 1987 Dec 12-14, Lot 1095^
  
- VE3 cb3 a. 51 Gallery, 2017 Feb 10, Lot 47
- b. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch, 2010 May 12, Lot 805 = NAC, 2006 Nov 24, Lot 161
- c. Diarbekir 200
- d. Münzhandlung Basel 10, 1938 Mar 15, Lot 622\*
- e. Via Po 342
  
- VE4 db1 a. Bank Leu, 1974 May 29, Lot 154 = Rosenberg 55, 1933 Sep 8, Lot 115
- b. BnF 10427611\*^
- c. Christie's, 1987 Dec 8, Lot 43
- d. CNG, 2015 Oct 7, Lot 1871 = CNG, 2016 Sep 14, Lot 837
- e. FRK, 2013 Oct 7, Lot 1061 = Hess-Divo, 2014 May 28, Lot 105 = Stack's Bowers and Pontiero, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5376
- f. Hirsch XX, 1907 Nov 13, Lot 595
  
- VE5 dd1 a. BnF 10427615
- b. MAF Adr. 92
- c. NAC, 2010 Mar 24, Lot 1126 = UBS Gold & Numismatics, 2008 Sep 9, Lot 1646 = Münzen und Medaillen, Vente Publique XI, 1953 Jan 13, Lot 114
- d. NAC, 2015 May 20, Lot 1877
- e. Wien KhM 9956\*^
  
- VE6 cb3 a. ANS 1960.175.29\*^
- b. BnF 10427543
  
- VE7 cb6 a. Hess-Leu, 1945 Apr 14, Lot 280
- b. Hirsch XIV, 1905 Nov 25, Lot 1099^ = Hirsch XX, 1907 Nov 13, Lot 597

- db5 a. BnF 104275427\*^
- VE8 cb3 a. Asta Ceresio, 1987 Sep 26, Lot 225 = Bank Leu & Num. Fine Arts  
Garrett I, 1984 May 16-8, Lot 784  
b. BM Card File, Lot 1383  
c. cgb.fr, 2018 Mar 6, Lot 466687  
d. Münzen und Medallien XIII, 1954 Jun 17, Lot 690\*

**Possible Fakes (Not included in diagram or counts)**

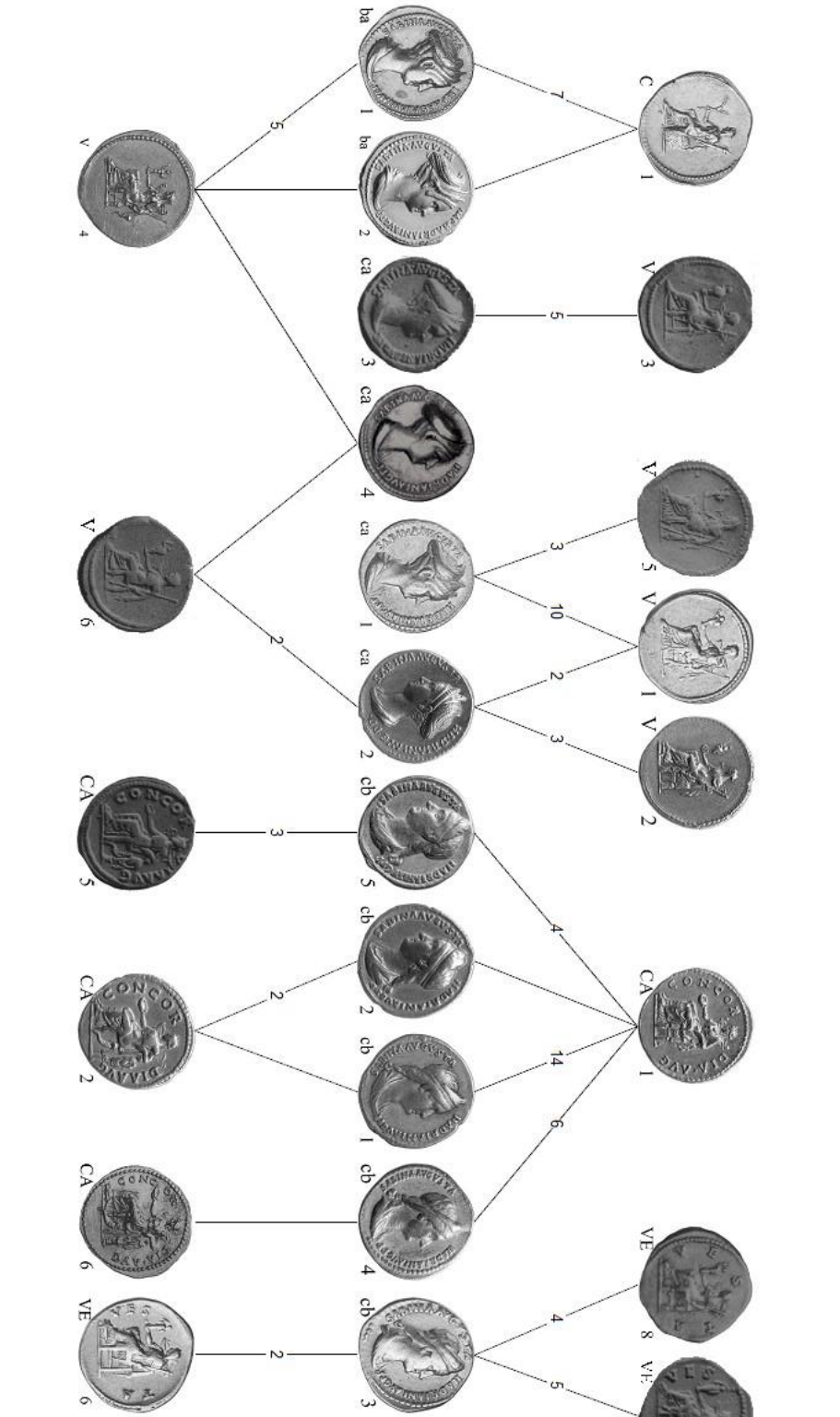
**VE – VESTA, Vesta seated left on a throne with a palladium in her right hand and a sceptre in her left**

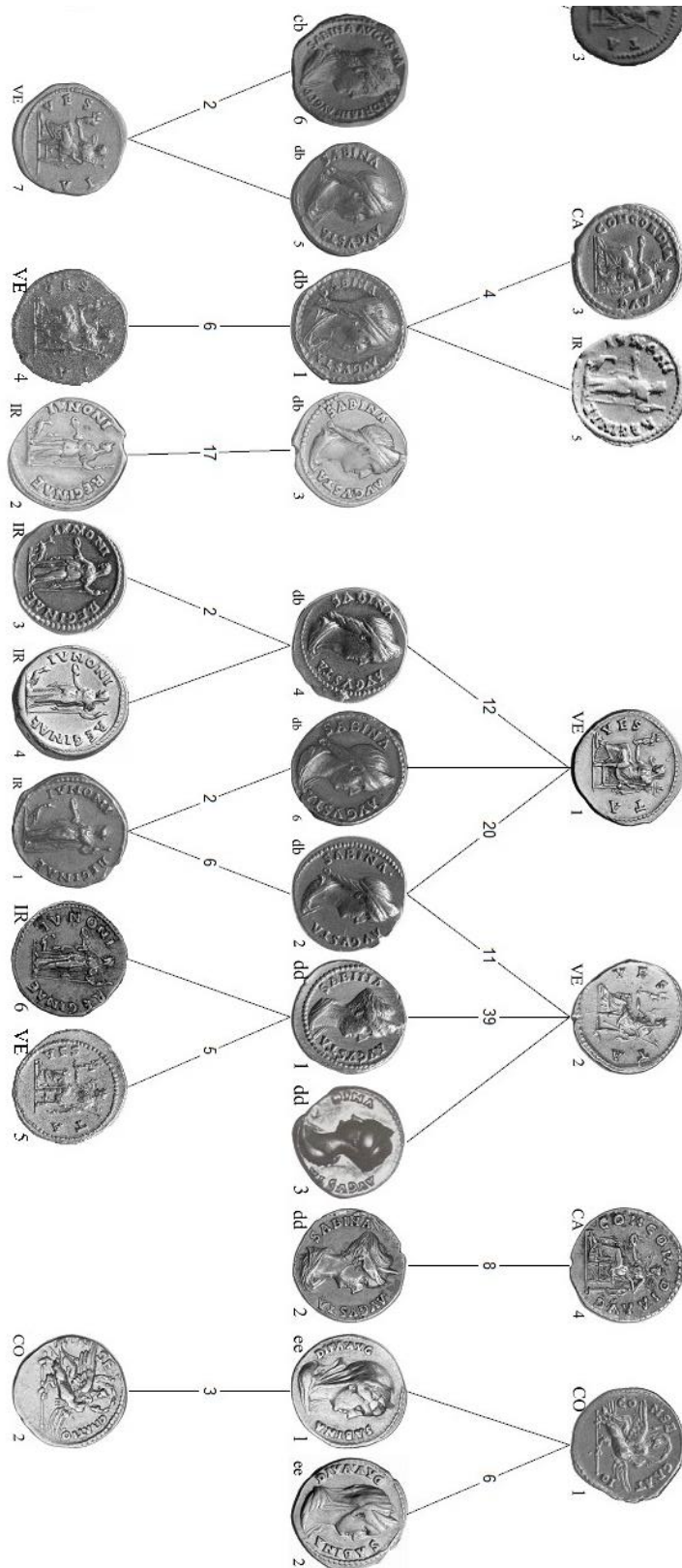
- VE9 db7 a. MRT DC 10379

**VG – VENERI GENETRICI, Venus Genetrix standing right, holding drapery in left hand, patera in right.**

- VG1 db8 a. MAF Adr. 93

*1b: Diagram of Aureus Dies from the Roman Imperial Mint*





*Ic: Counts of Aurei from the Roman Imperial Mint*

Die	N of Coins	Percentage	Obverse Types	N of Coins	Percentage
ba1	12	5.1%	ba	14	6.0%
ba2	2	0.9%			
ca1	13	5.6%	ca	27	11.5%
ca2	7	3.0%			
ca3	5	2.1%			
ca4	2	0.9%			
cb1	15	6.4%	cb	45	19.2%
cb2	3	1.3%			
cb3	11	4.7%			
cb4	7	3.0%			
cb5	7	3.0%			
cb6	2	0.9%			
db1	11	4.7%	db	84	35.9%
db2	37	15.8%			
db3	17	7.3%			
db4	15	6.4%			
db5	1	0.4%			
db6	3	1.3%			
dd1	45	19.2%	dd	54	23.1%
dd2	8	3.4%			
dd3	1	0.4%			
ee1	4	1.7%	ee	10	4.3%
ee2	6	2.6%			
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>234</b>		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>234</b>	

i. Coins per obverse die

Type	N of Coins	Percentage
b	14	6.0%
c	72	30.8%
d	138	59.0%
e	10	4.3%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>234</b>	

ii. Coins per obverse legend

Type	N of Coins	Percentage
a	41	17.52%
b	129	55.13%
d	54	23.08%
e	10	4.27%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>234</b>	

iii. Coins per portrait type

Die	N of Coins	Percentage	Reverse Type	Number	Percentage
C1	8	3.4%	C	8	3.4%
CA1	25	10.7%	CA	44	18.8%
CA2	3	1.3%			
CA3	4	1.7%			
CA4	8	3.4%			
CA5	3	1.3%			
CA6	1	0.4%			
CO1	7	3.0%	CO	10	4.3%
CO2	3	1.3%			
IR1	8	3.4%	IR	30	12.8%
IR2	17	7.3%			
IR3	2	0.9%			
IR4	1	0.4%			
IR5	1	0.4%			
IR6	1	0.4%			
V1	12	5.1%	V	33	14.1%
V2	3	1.3%			
V3	5	2.1%			
V4	7	3.0%			
V5	3	1.3%			
V6	3	1.3%			
VE1	33	14.1%	VE	109	46.6%
VE2	51	21.8%			
VE3	5	2.1%			
VE4	6	2.6%			
VE5	5	2.1%			
VE6	2	0.9%			
VE7	3	1.3%			
VE8	4	1.7%			
TOTAL:	234			234	

iii. Coins per reverse die



Type	Number	Percentage	Type	Number	Percentage
ba	2	8.7%	C	1	3.4%
ca	4	17.4%	CA	6	20.7%
cb	6	26.1%	CO	2	6.9%
db	6	26.1%	IR	6	20.7%
dd	3	13.0%	V	6	20.7%
ee	2	8.7%	VE	8	27.6%
TOTAL:	23		TOTAL:	29	

v. Dies per obverse type

vi. Dies per reverse type

Type	Number	Percentage	Type	Number	Percentage
a	6	26.1%	b	2	8.7%
b	12	52.2%	c	10	43.5%
d	3	13.0%	d	9	39.1%
e	2	8.7%	e	2	8.7%
TOTAL:	23		TOTAL:	23	

vii. Dies per portrait type

viii. Dies per inscription type

Appendix 2: The *Dupondii/Asses* of Sabina from the Roman Imperial Mint

*2a: Catalogue*

*Abbreviations*

ANS = American Numismatic Society  
BMC = British Museum Collection  
BnF = Bibliotheque Nationale du France  
CNG = Classical Numismatic Group  
FRK = Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co KG  
GHN = Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger  
Gorny & Mosch = Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung  
Hunter = Robertson, A. 1971. *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, v. II: Trajan to Commodus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press  
HWCA = Heritage World Coin Auctions  
MAF = Museo Archaeologico di Firenze (numbers are provisional, not real inventory)  
MRT = Musei Reali Torino, Museo di Antichità  
MRT DC = Musei Reali Torino, Royal Collection  
NAC = Numismatica Ars Classica  
NMAH = National Museum of American History  
Rouen = Musée des Antiquités de Rouen  
Wien KhM = Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum Münzkabinett.

*Obverse Die Designations*

First Letter:

a = SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG  
b = SABINA AVGVSTA IMP HADRIANI AVG PP  
c = SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP  
d = SABINA AVGVSTA  
e = DIVA AVG SABINA  
f = DIVA AVGVSTA SABINA

Second Letter:

a = basket-style braided up-do  
b = wavy ponytail fastened at the end with a fillet or wreath and a crest of hair  
c = looped, braided bun with wreath and diadem  
d = basket-style waved up-do with a single diadem  
e = veiled with bun and a diadem or wreath

*Coins*

\* = Reverse used as image in the die-link chart

^ = Obverse used as image in the die-link chart

**C – SC, Ceres seated left on basket with wheat in right hand and torch  
in left**

- C1    aa1    a. ANS 1944.100.47481\*^  
      ca12    a. Münz Zentrum, 1990 Dec, Lot 1231
- C2    aa2    a. BNF 41984103  
      b. Editions V Gadourey, 2014 Dec 6, Lot 156  
      c. Münz Zentrum Rheinland, 2018 Oct 17, Lot 334  
      d. Noble Numismatics, 1996 Nov 13, Lot 2282  
      e. Wien KhM 10018  
      f. Wien KhM 41787\*^
- C3    ca1    a. ANS 1944.100.47482\*^
- C4    ca2    a. ANS 1944.100.47483\*^  
      b. Baldwin's Auctions, 2006 May 2, Lot 217
- ca46    a. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2017 Mar 22, Lot 498^ = FRK, 2007 Oct 11, Lot  
              8836
- C5    aa1    a. Glendining 13, 1963 Jan 13, Lot 1262 = Hirsch XXII, 1908 Nov 25, Lot  
              99 =  
              NAC, 2000 Mar 29 Lot 529 = Schulman, 1923 Mar 5, Lot 1400
- ca3    a. ANS 1995.11.562\*^
- C6    ca5    a. Auktionshaus Felzmann, 2013 Feb 26, Lot 212\*^
- C7    ca7    a. Auktionshaus HD Rauch, 2007 Sep 11, Lot 536^  
      b. CNG, 2007 Sep 5, Lot 220
- ca37    a. MAF Adr. 344\*^  
              b. Wien KhM 10015
- C8    ca8    a. Aureo & Calico, 2016 Feb 3, Lot 1105\* = Bertolami Fine Arts, 2015  
              Jun 17, Lot 549 = CNG, 2005 Sep 21, Lot 774

- b. FRK, 2016 Oct 18, Lot 182
- C9 ca9 a. Baldwin's Auctions, 2010 Jan 6, Lot 170\* = Glendining 1959 May 26, Lot 133 = NAC, 2011 Apr 4, Lot 1004^  
b. Marti Hervera & Soler y Llach, 2018 Sep 18, Lot 499  
c. Roma Numismatics, 2019 Jun 20, Lot 1117
- C10 ca11 a. BMC 1900\*^  
b. Asta Internazionale, 1991 Nov 30, Lot 273 = Emporium Hamburg, 2019 May 8, Lot 371 = NAC 1991 Feb 27, Lot 1818 = NAC, 1995 Oct 26, Lot 597  
c. Wien KhM 10016
- ca21 a. Stack's, 2009 Jan 12, Lot 2301
- C11 ca14 a. cgb.fr, 2017 Oct 31, Lot 456364\*^
- ca23 a. Gorny and Mosch, 2004 Mar 8, Lot 2176^
- C12 ca15 a. CNG, 2003 Jan 29, Lot 110\* = CNG, 2007 Jan 17, Lot 186  
b. FRK, 2016 Sep 26, Lot 613
- C13 ca10 a. Leipziger Münzhandlung und Auktion, 2013 Dec 6, Lot 899
- ca16 a. CNG, 2006 Jan 4, Lot 358  
b. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2017 Nov 18, Lot 5260  
c. Wien KhM 10017\*^
- C14 ca17 a. CNG, 2008 Dec 17, Lot 387^ = Numismatik Lanz München, 2006 May 22, Lot 431  
b. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2014 Apr 24, Lot 241  
c. GHN, 1995 Sep 19, Lot 1279 = GHN, 2018 May 9, Lot 626
- ca21 a. Ball VI, 1932 Feb 9, Lot 1420\*^  
b. FRK, 2007 Mar 16, Lot 9139 = Lanz Graz, 1974 Nov 23, Lot 293 Münz Zentrum, 1976 May 12, Lot 408 = Stack's Bowers and Ponterio, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5391  
c. NAC, 1990 Feb 21, Lot 651
- ca33 a. NAC, 2018 May 9, Lot 948
- C15 ca6 a. CNG, 2010 Aug 11, Lot 416\* = Gorny and Mosch, 2005 Oct 10, Lot 2582  
b. CNG, 2014 Jan 15, Lot 681

- ca23 a. Stack's Bowers Galleries, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5393
- C16 ca18 a. CNG, 2012 Aug 8, Lot 337\*^
- C17 ca17 a. CNG, 2013 Mar 13, Lot 260 = NAC, 2013 Mar 13, Lot 260  
b. Pecunem, 2013 Nov 3, Lot 517 = Numismatik Naumann, 2013 Nov 3,  
Lot 517
- ca24 a. MRT 14173\*
- ca33 a. Münz Zentrum Rheinland, 2016 Jan 13, Lot 584
- ca48 a. Hunter, Sabina 43^
- C18 ca8 a. CNG, 2013 Mar 13, Lot 261\*
- C19 ca19 a. CNG, 2017 Feb 1, Lot 495\*  
b. Jose A Herrero S.A., 2013 Dec 12, Lot 364
- C20 ca20 a. BnF 41984210\*  
b. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2008 May 7, Lot 301  
c. GHN, 2015 Sep 23, Lot 2804  
d. Pegasi Numismatics, 2013 May 29, Lot 495
- C21 ca18 a. FRK, 2009 Sep 28, Lot 608
- ca25 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 1995 May 29, Lot 608 = Numismatik Lanz  
München, 1999 Nov 22, Lot 530^
- ca38 a. MRT 14172\*^
- ca45 a. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2013 Apr 25, Lot 429  
b. Nomos, 2018 Dec 8, Lot 514^
- C22 ca22 a. Cahn 61, 1928 Dec 3, Lot 872 = FRK, 2012 Mar 12, Lot 653\*^  
b. Hauck und Aufhauser, 2004 Oct 5, Lot 469 = Numismatik Lanz  
München, 2003 Nov 24, Lot 738  
c. Hess-Lucerne, 1933 Dec 18, Lot 548
- C23 ca2 a. iNumis, 2016 Jun 7, Lot 69\*
- C24 ca24 a. ANS 0000.999.20161

- b. BM Card File, Lot 456 = BM Card File, Lot 697 = Helbing, 1929 Jun 20, Lot 4208 = Numismatik Lanz München, 2012 Dec 10, Lot 529\*<sup>^</sup>  
c. Christie's, 1982 May 7, Lot 121 = Numismatica Varesi, 2014 Oct 30, Lot 196 = Numismatica Varesi, 2018 Apr 7, Lot 638
- ca42 a. NAC, 1996 Apr 16, Lot 873
- C25 ca3 a. Roma Numismatics, 2017 Oct 28, Lot 616\*
- C26 ca30 a. FRK, 2017 Mar 13, Lot 570\*<sup>^</sup>
- C27 ca31 a. Gorny and Mosch, 2003 Oct 14, Lot 2466\*<sup>^</sup>  
b. Bertolami Fine Art, 2019 Sep 14, Lot 936
- ca32 a. Ira and Larry Goldbery, 2007 Sep 23, Lot 145<sup>^</sup>
- C28 ca1 a. CNG, 2007 Sep 12, Lot 1466\*
- ca33 a. Cahn 71, 1931 Oct 14, Lot 1604
- C29 ca34 a. Cahn 47, 1922 May 17, Lot 466\* = Hamburger 92, 1930 Jun 10, Lot 985 = Ratto, 1925 May 12, Lot 1197 = Sammlung Walter Niggeler, 1967 Nov 2, Lot 1285<sup>^</sup>  
b. Pegasi Numsmatics, 2012 Feb 22, Lot 349
- C30 ca19 a. cgb.fr, Web Shop, brm\_180820
- ca39 a. MRT DC 10408\*<sup>^</sup>
- C31 ca39 a. Bank Leu-Adolph Hess, 1965 May 5, Lot 418 = NAC, 1995 Apr 4, Lot 2959  
b. BnF 41984099\*  
c. Florange and Ciani, 1924 May 28, Lot 60 = Rosenberg 55, 1933 Sep 8, Lot 74
- C32 ca29 a. BnF 41984101\*<sup>^</sup>
- C33 aa4 a. BnF 41984104\*<sup>^</sup>
- C34 ca19 a. BnF 41984230\*
- C35 ca29 a. BnF 41984777\*
- C36 ca23 a. cgb.fr, Web Shop, brm\_195438\*<sup>^</sup>

- C37 ca12 a. Ars Classica II, 1922 Jun 12, Lot 771\*
- C38 aa1 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 1984 May 7, Lot 524\*
- C39 ca47 a. cgb.fr, 2018 Jul 31, Lot 493606\*^  
b. Hunter, Sabina 40
- C40 ca19 a. Gorny and Mosch, 2019 Oct 17, Lot 3648\*
- C41 ca3 a. Münz Zentrum, 1998 May 13, Lot 297\*
- C42 ca33 a. Münz Zentrum, 1998 Sep 10, Lot 397\*
- C43 ca33 a. Ars Classica VIII, 1924 Jun 25, Lot 929\* = Hess-Lucerne, 1933 Aug 2,  
Lot 371^
- C44 ca15 a. Cahn 54, 1925 Sep 9, Lot 366\*

**CA – CONCORDIA AVG SC, Concordia seated left on throne with a patera in her right hand**

- CA1 cc1 a. Baldwin's Auctions/The New York Sale, 2003 Jan 16, Lot 304  
b. BMC 1890  
c. Wien KhM 9977\*^
- CA2 cc1 a. Baldwin's Auctions, 2010 May 4, Lot 1180  
b. Stack's Bowers Galleries, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5397
- cc7 a. NAC, 2017 May 29, Lot 1888
- cc13 a. BnF 41984087\*
- CA3 cb6 a. Emporium Hamburg, 2015 Nov 12, Lot 210
- cc2 a. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2014 Oct 29, Lot 777  
b. BMC 1889 = BMCRE PI 99 Lot 6  
c. CNG, 2005 Aug 10, Lot 168 = Numismatik Naumann, 2017 Aug 6, Lot 591  
d. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2017 Nov 1, Lot 301  
e. Hunter, Sabina 26  
f. UBS Gold and Numismatics, 2005 Sep 6, Lot 338  
g. Wien KhM 9985\*^

- CA4 cc3 a. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2017 Apr 26, Lot 465  
b. BnF 41984086\*  
c. Münz Zentrum Rheinland, 2016 Jan 13, Lot 585  
d. NMAH BMC III.539.1893
- CA5 cc4 a. CNG, 2004 May 19, Lot 1494\*^ = Glendining 1959 May 26, Lot 132  
b. Nomos AG, 2016 Nov 20, Lot 797 = Numismatik Naumann, 2016 Jan 3, Lot 919 = Obolos, 2016 Nov 20, Lot 797 = Pecunem, 2016 Jan 3, Lot 919
- CA6 cc1 a. Asta Ceresio, 1988 Sep 26, Lot 202\*  
b. FRK, 2012 Mar 12, Lot 654
- CA7 cc5 a. FRK, 1998 Sep 29, Lot 309  
b. Gorny & Mosch, 2002 Oct 15, Lot 2199\*^
- CA8 cc2 a. Gorny & Mosch, 2008 Mar 17, Lot 2003  
b. Hess, 1935 May 24, Lot 1403  
c. Köln Münzkabinett, 2015 Jun 30, Lot 402  
d. Wien KhM 9978
- cc6 a. Wien KhM 41800\*
- CA9 cc3 a. Bank Leu-Adolph Hess, 1969 Apr 24, Lot 205 = Hellmuth Kricheldorf Verlag, 2017 Feb 20, Lot 314\*^  
b. Numismatik Lanz München, 1986 Apr 21, Lot 677
- CA10 cc6 a. NAC, 2013 May 16, Lot 656\*
- CA11 cc5 a. Naville Numismatics, 2014 Feb 23, Lot 128\* = Naville Numismatics, 2014 Sep 14, Lot 230  
b. Numismatik Naumann, 2014 Apr 6, Lot 617 = Pecunem, 2014 Apr 6, Lot 617
- CA12 cc8 a. Baranowsky Milan, 1931 Feb 25, Lot 1880 = Naville Numismatics, 2016 Jul 17, Lot 567\*^
- CA13 cc1 a. Numismatik Lanz Munchen, 1999 Nov 22, Lot 528\*
- CA14 cc3 a. Roma Numismatics, 2017 Jun 24, Lot 427  
b. Sammlung Walter Niggeler, 1967 Nov 2, Lot 1284\*
- cc9 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 2008 May 26, Lot 436^



- CA15 cc10 a. NMAH Nu 65488\*  
b. Stack's Bowers Galleries, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5396
- CA16 cc11 a. BM Card File, Lot 852  
b. BMC 1893\*^  
c. MAF Adr. 352  
d. Wien KhM 9979
- CA17 cb1 a. ANS 1944.100.47477\*^  
cb7 a. FRK, 2014 Oct 10, Lot 8986^
- CA18 cb2 a. ANS 1944.100.47478\*^  
cb3 a. Lanz Graz, 1974 Nov 23, Lot 295
- CA19 cb2 a. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2017 Sep 10, Lot 537\*
- CA20 cb2 a. Cayón Subastas, 2014 May 20, Lot 140\*  
b. FRK, 2016 Oct 18, Lot 181
- CA21 cb3 a. BMC 1892  
b. CNG, 2006 Sep 13, Lot 911\*^ = Santamaria, 1953 Mar 13, Lot 242
- CA22 cb4 a. CNG, 2011 Oct 19, Lot 380\*
- CA23 cb2 a. BMC 1888  
b. Wien KhM 9986\*  
cb5 a. Aufhauser Bankhaus, 1989 Oct 5, Lot 386 = CNG, 2013 Mar 13, Lot 265  
b. GHN, 1985 Sep 25, Lot 287
- CA24 cb6 a. BnF 41984090\*^  
b. CNG, 2013 Mar 13, Lot 266  
c. MRT DC 10400
- CA25 cb3 a. Editions V. Gadourey, 2014 Dec 6, Lot 155 = Leu Numismatik, 1997 Oct 24, Lot 380 = Leu Numismatik, 2002 May 6, Lot 762 = NAC, 2015 May 20, Lot 1002  
b. FRK, 2017 Sep 25, Lot 845\* = Merzbacher 15, 1910 Nov 15, Lot 1669  
c. Wien KhM 37639
- CA26 cb8 a. Gorny & Mosch, 2006 Mar 6, Lot 457

- b. Wien KhM 41798
- cb10 a. Baranowsky Milan, 1931 Feb 25, Lot 1882^  
b. BnF 41984088\*  
c. BnF 41984779  
d. cgb.fr, Web Shop, brm\_174033  
e. Pegasi Numismatics, 2012 May 15, Lot 483
- CA27 cb9 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 1999 Nov 22, Lot 529\*^ = Numismatik Lanz München 2001 Nov 27 Lot 433
- CA28 cd1 a. ANS 1944.100.47476\*^  
b. BnF 41984085  
c. MAF Adr. 800
- cd2 a. CNG, 2016 Aug 24, Lot 423^
- CA29 cd2 a. NAC, 2010 Mar 24, Lot 1127\* = Numismatik Naumann, 2018 Oct 7, Lot 517
- CA30 cc12 a. BMC 1891\*^
- CA31 cc13 a. Leu Numismatik, 2018 Feb 25, Lot 867\*^
- CA32 cc1 a. MAF Adr. 793\*  
b. Leu Numismatik, 2019 Feb 23, Lot 1114
- CA33 cc8 a. MRT Fab 2152\*
- CA34 cb2 a. BnF 41984084\*
- CA35 cb4 a. BnF 41984089\*^
- CA36 cb43 a. Wien KhM 41799\*^
- CA37 cd1 a. Wien KhM 41786\*
- CA38 cc9 a. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2018 Oct 21, Lot 411\* = Bertolami Fine Arts, 2019 Jun 16, Lot 841
- CA39 cc14 a. Status International, 2019 May 17, Lot 9239\*^
- CA40 cc14 a. Gerhard Hirsch, 1983 Nov 28, Lot 195\*

CA41 cc3 a. Asta Internazionale, 1987 Jun 20, Lot 196\*

CA42 cb2 a. Münz Zentrum, 1983 Apr 27, Lot 402

cb54 a. Münz Zentrum, 1980 Apr 16, Lot 271\*^

CA43 cd3 a. Asta Internazionale, 1979 Jun 23, Lot 171\*

CA44 cb5 a. Universität Freiburg 01756\*^

**CR – CONCORDIA AVG SC, Concordia standing left with a patera in her right hand and two cornucopias in left**

CR1 db1 a. ANS 1944.100.47475\*^

CR2 db2 a. ANS 1954.203.200\*^ = Münzhandlung Basel 3, 1935 Mar 4, Lot 441 = Münzhandlung Basel 8, 1937 Mar 22, Lot 725

db5 a. CNG, 2012 Feb 8, Lot 429^

CR3 db3 a. BMC 1887\*^  
b. Monnaies d'Antan, 2010 May 21, Lot 240

CR4 db4 a. cgb.fr, 2004 Jun 24, Lot 357\*^ = cgb.fr, 2006 Jun 22, Lot 251  
b. Noble Numismatics, 2015 Jul 28, Lot 3801 = cgb.fr, Web Shop, brm\_148824  
c. Pegasi Numismatics, 2016 Aug 16, Lot 360

CR5 db6 a. Berliner Münz Kabinett 8, Lot 171 = FRK, 2004 Mar 8, Lot 2249  
b. Cayón Subastas, 2017 Jul 26, Lot 2270  
c. Wien KhM 9976\*^

CR6 db6 a. Aureo and Calico, 2018 May 30, Lot 1069  
b. Ars Classica II, 1922 Jun 12, Lot 758 = Gorny and Mosch, 2011 Oct 10, Lot 695\*  
c. Wien KhM 9975

CR7 db6 a. Numismatica Varesi, 2015 Apr 29, Lot 186\*

CR8 db7 a. Agora Auctions, 2015 Jan 13, Lot 190\*^

CR9 db6 a. BnF 41984082\*  
b. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2003 Apr 23, Lot 737 = Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2004 Apr 28, Lot 614

- CR10 db1 a. MRT 14145\*
- CR11 db14 a. MRT 14146\*^
- CR12 da2 a. BnF 41984083\*^  
b. BnF 41984773  
c. GHN, 1988 Nov 23, Lot 469 = GHN, 1990 Feb 14, Lot 786
- CR13 da1 a. Wien KhM 9971\*^
- CR14 da1 a. Wien KhM 9972\*
- CR15 da2 a. cgb.fr, Web Shop, brm\_130868\*
- CR16 db1 a. Bank Leu-Adolph Hess, 1969 Apr 24, Lot 204 = Peus 227, 1971 Oct 25, Lot 226\* = Peus FPL 10, 1969 Sep, Lot 122
- CR17 da1 a. Aufhauser Bankhaus, 1989 Oct 5, Lot 387\*
- CR18 db19 a. Auctiones AG Basel, 1980 Sep 30, Lot 458\*^  
b. Teutoburger Münzauktion GmbH, 2011 Dec 9, Lot 2833
- CR19 db14 a. GHN, 1991 Feb 20, Lot 882\* = GHN, 1992 May 13, Lot 713 = GHN, 1993 Sep 21, Lot 929
- CR20 db16 a. Lanz Graz, 1974 Nov 23, Lot 301\*
- CR21 db3 a. BM Card File, Lot 2840\*

**ha – HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP, bust of Hadrian\***

- ha1 cb30 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 1990 May 14, Lot 475 = Numismatik Lanz München, 1999 Nov 22, Lot 532\* = Numismatik Lanz München, 2001 Nov 27, Lot 429
- ha2 db13 a. cgb.fr, 2007 Feb 8, Lot 194\*
- ha3 db13 a. CNG, 2018 Mar 14, Lot 432 = FRK, 2016 Oct 18, Lot 180\*
- ha4 db13 a. BMC 1845\*^  
b. BnF 41984769
- ha5 cb49 a. BMC 1846\*^

ha6    cb49    a. BnF 41984112\*  
                  b. Heritage Auctions, 2019 May 26, Lot 40183

ha7    cb50    b. Wien KhM 9919\*^

**hb – HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS, bust of Hadrian\***

hb1    db18    a. Auktionshaus HD Rauch, 2005 Oct 17, Lot 525 = Gorny and Mosch,  
                  2007 Oct 10, Lot 2182 = Numismatik Lanz München, 2005 May 30, Lot  
                  588  
                  b. Wien KhM 9921\*

hb2    db12    a. Baldwin's Auctions, 2007 Sep 25, Lot 191\* = CNG, 2015 Mar 25, Lot  
                  511 = Spink, 2011 Jun 22, Lot 421 = Spink 2011 Mar 23 Lot 848

hb3    db12    a. BMC 1842\*

hb4    db12    a. BMC 1844\*  
                  b. Yale 2008.83.136^

hb5    db12    a. BMC 1843\*

hb6    db12    a. Stack's Bowers Galleries, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5300\*

hb7    ca22    a. BnF 41984114\*  
                  b. Wien KhM 9923

hb8    db18    a. BnF 41984111\*^

hb9    cc6     a. Wien KhM 9922

          cc10    a. BnF 41984113\*^

hb10   db12    a. CNG, 2004 Sep 22, Lot 1462\* = Yale 2008.83.38 = Yale 2013.17.112

hb11   db12    a. Numismatik Naumann, 2014 Aug 3, Lot 640\*

hb12   db12    a. Hunter, H.S. 1\*

**IR – IVNONI REGINAE SC, Juno standing left draped, holding patera in right and  
          sceptre in left, peacock at feet**

IR1    cb11    a. ANS 1909.78.50\*^

- b. BMC 1894
  - c. Cahn 80, 1933 Feb 27, Lot 716
  - d. GHN, 1984 Jun 25, Lot 388
- IR2    cb12    a. ANS 1944.100.47480\*^ = Ball VI, 1932 Feb 9 Lot 1421
- IR3    cb13    a. Auctiones AG, 2003 Jun 12, Lot 904 = Baldwins Auctions, 2004 Jan 15, Lot  
Lot  
252 = FRK, 2004 Sep 27, Lot 1910 = Gorny and Mosch, 2012 Mar 5, Lot 2230 = The New York Sale, 2003 Jan 16, Lot 303
- b. Aureo and Calico, 2018 Apr 25, Lot 2100\*^ = FRK, 2009 Mar 14, Lot 8738 = Hess-Lucerne 1933 Dec 18, Lot 545 = NAC, 1996 Apr 17, Lot 1620
- c. Emporium Hamburg, 1999 Nov 25, Lot 267 = Münz Zentrum, 1994 Nov 28, Lot 305
- IR4    cb13    a. Auktionshaus HD Rauch, 2009 Nov 26, Lot 532\*
- IR5    cb14    a. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2012 Dec 10, Lot 918\*^ = Nomos AG, 2017 Oct 22, Lot 246
- IR6    cb8    a. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2014 Oct 29, Lot 778
- b. BnF 41984783\*
- IR7    cb8    a. BMC 1895\* = BMCRE P1 99 Lot 7
- b. BnF 41984092
- cb17    a. Gorny and Mosch, 2007 Oct 9, Lot 2340
- IR8    cb14    a. Ibercoin, 2014 Feb 11, Lot 249 = Marti Hervera – Soler and Llach, 2011 Dec 20, Lot 2535
- cb15    a. Cayón Subastas, 2004 Nov 29, Lot 623
- b. MRT DC 10401\*^
- c. Savoca Numismatics London, 2019 Jun 8, Lot 915
- IR9    cb6    a. Lanz Graz, 1977 Dec 3, Lot 530
- cb16    a. Asta Ceresio, 1992 Oct 3, Lot 323 = Asta Internazionale, 1991 Nov 30, Lot 272 = CNG, 2007 Sep 26, Lot 416\*^
- b. iNumis, 2013 Jun 4, Lot 161
- IR10    cb12    a. CNG, 2013 May 29 Lot 318\* = Lanz Graz, 1974 Nov 23, Lot 297

- cb37 a. Münz Zentrum, 1985 Nov 6, Lot 789^
- IR11 cb13 a. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2003 Apr 32, Lot 735\*  
b. Münz Zentrum, 1994 Nov 28, Lot 306
- IR12 cb18 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 2003 Nov 24, Lot 740\*
- IR13 cb12 a. Stack's Bowers Galleries, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5398\*
- IR14 cb19 a. Hess-Lucerne 207, 1931 Dec 1, Lot 1099 = Münzhandlung Basel 10,  
1938 Mar 15, Lot 620\*  
b. Roma Numismatics, 2018 Aug 30, Lot 638 = UBS Gold and  
Numismatics, 2008 Sep 9, Lot 1650
- IR15 cb20 a. VAuctions, 2010 Apr 1, Lot 99\*^
- IR16 cb17 a. GHN, 2016 Feb 18, Lot 2121  
b. MAF Adr. 789\*^
- IR17 cb13 a. MRT 14153\*
- IR18 cb12 a. MAF Adr. 801\*
- IR19 cb4 a. BnF 41984091\*
- IR20 cb21 a. Wien KhM 9988\*
- IR21 cb44 a. Wien KhM 9989\*^
- IR22 cb8 a. Wien KhM 9990\*^
- IR23 cb16 a. GHN, 1984 Jun 25, Lot 387\*

**PC – PIETAS AVG SC, Pietas standing left with hands over heads of two children**

- PC1 cb21 a. Auktionshaus HD Rauch, 2005 Sep 23, Lot 824\*
- PC2 cb21 a. BMC 1898\*
- cb22 a. Münz Zentrum Köln, 1977 Nov 21, Lot 789 = Numismatik Naumann,  
2014 Sep 7, Lot 602 = Pecunem, 2014 Sep 7, Lot 602
- PC3 cb21 a. BMC 1899\*

- cb22 a. CNG, 2005 Jul 27, Lot 254  
b. GHN, 1999 Feb 24, Lot 573 = Gorny and Mosch, 2001 Apr 3, Lot 1841  
= Münz Zentrum, 1998 May 13, Lot 398  
c. Wien KhM 41802
- cb52 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 1981 Apr 13, Lot 557^
- PC4 cb21 a. ANS 1955.18.8  
b. cgb.fr, 2009 Apr 30, Lot 582\*  
c. GHN, 2017 May 10, Lot 478 = Lanz Graz, 1977 Dec 3, Lot 529
- PC5 cb23 a. CNG, 2007 Feb 14, Lot 239\*
- PC6 cb24 a. Dr Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2003 Apr 23, Lot 736\* = Dr Busso Peus  
Nachfolger, 2004 Apr 28 Lot 613 = Gorny and Mosch, 2008 Mar 17, Lot  
2004
- db10 a. CNG, 2005 Nov 9, Lot 319^
- PC7 cb21 a. Emporium Hamburg, 2000 May 18, Lot 197
- cb22 a. BMC 1959,0305.26\*  
b. Jean Elsen, 1996 Sep 21, Lot 471 = Numismatik Lanz München, 1995  
May 29, Lot 613  
c. Kölner Münzkabinett, 2017 Jan 1, Lot 192  
d. Numismatica Varesi, 2013 Apr 30, Lot 101
- cb52 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 1996 May 18, Lot 536
- PC8 cb24 a. Emporium Hamburg, 2013 Nov 14, Lot 192  
b. FRK, 2019 Mar 11, Lot 1251 = Numismatik Lanz München, 2008 Nov  
24, Lot 500\*
- PC9 cb23 a. MRT 14158\*^
- PC10 db1 a. MAF Adr. 346\*
- PC11 cb23 a. BnF 41984093\*  
b. GHN, 1988 Feb 24, Lot 401
- PC12 cb21 a. Wien KhM 9997\*
- db16 a. BnF 41984094^



- PC13 cb23 a. Wien KhM 9998\*
- PC14 db5 a. Lanz Graz, 1974 Nov 23, Lot 300\*
- PC15 cb24 a. BM Card File, Lot 873\* = Hess-Lucerne, 1934 Feb 15, Lot 676 = Hess-Lucerne 211, 1932 May 9, Lot 2140 = Hirsch XXXIII, 1913 Nov 17, Lot 1265^

**PI – PIETAS SC, Pietas seated left with a patera in her right hand and a sceptre in her left.**

- PI1 cb11 a. Pegasi Numismatics, 2018 Nov 13, Lot 493
- cb25 a. BMC 1896\*^  
b. BnF 41984208  
c. Universität Freiburg 01758  
d. Rouen 405.78
- PI2 cb25 a. Pegasi Numismatics, 2009 Nov 24, Lot 473  
b. Roma Numismatics, 2017 Aug 26, Lot 665
- cb26 a. BMC 1897\* = BMCRE PI 99 Lot 8^
- PI3 cb27 a. Asta Internazionale, 1985 Jun 22, Lot 213  
b. Cayón Numismatica, 2012 May 16, Lot 4527  
c. Universität Mannheim n. 15  
d. Münzen und Medaillen, 2017 Jun 9, Lot 707  
e. MRT DC 10403\*^
- PI4 cb25 a. BnF 41984096\*  
b. Cayón Numismatica, 2012 May 16, Lot 4528
- PI5 cb25 a. Ars Classica II, 1922 Jun 12, Lot 766  
b. CNG, 2002 Dec 4, Lot 141 = CNG, 2007 Jan 17, Lot 187  
c. Wien KhM 9994\*
- PI6 cb25 a. CNG, 2015 Jan 28, Lot 473
- cb26 a. CNG, 2012 Jan 11, Lot 453\*
- PI7 cb28 a. Argenor Numismatique, 2000 Apr 14, Lot 87 = FRK, 2017 Jul 25, Lot 103\*
- cb31 a. MAF Adr. 799

- cb45 a. Lanz Graz, 1974 Nov 23, Lot 298
- PI8 cb11 a. Jean Elsen et ses Fils, 2006 Mar 11, Lot 1537\* = Jean Elsen et ses Fils, 2006 Sep 9, Lot 960 = Jean Elsen et ses Fils, 2011 Sep 10, Lot 341
- PI9 cb29 a. London Ancient Coins, 2014 Jan 8, Lot 132  
b. MAF Adr. 791\*^
- PI10 cb30 a. NAC, 2005 May 12, Lot 2049  
b. MAF Adr. 347\*^
- PI11 cb19 a. NAC, 2006 Apr 6, Lot 1847 = Naville Numismatics, 2015 Nov 1, Lot 454  
b. MRT 14157\*
- PI12 cb19 a. Ars Classica VIII, 1924 Jun 25, Lot 926 = Hamburger, 1929 May 29, Lot 606 = Hess-Divo, 1997 Jun 4, Lot 42 = Rosenberg 79, 1932 Jun 6, Lot 1125 = Rosenberg 72, 1932 Jul 11, Lot 1149  
b. BnF 41984095\*  
c. Riechmann XX, 1922 Sep 18, Lot 652
- PI13 cb18 a. Wien KhM 41801
- cb45 a. Wien KhM 9995\*^
- PI14 cb29 a. Emporium Hamburg, 1990 May 7, Lot 151 = GHN, 1990 Nov 22, Lot 600\*

**PS – PVDICITIA SC, Pudicita seated left, heavily draped.**

- PS1 cb19 a. ANS 1944.100.47485\*^  
b. CNG, 2012 Jun 6, Lot 186
- cb46 a. BMC 1899A  
b. BnF 41984097^  
c. Münz Zentrum, 1994 Apr 13, Lot 647
- PS2 cb27 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 2012 Dec 10, Lot 531\*
- PS3 cb28 a. BnF 41984098\*^  
b. Hunter, Sabina 33  
c. Wien KhM 10002

- cb45 a. Lanz Graz, 1974 Nov 23, Lot 299
- PS4 cb26 a. Wien KhM 10001\*
- PS5 cb18 a. Wien KhM 41803\*^
- V – SC, Vesta seated left on a throne with a palladium in her right hand and sceptre in her left**
- V1 aa1 a. Cayón Subastas, 2007 Dec 13, Lot 6252\*  
b. Gorny & Mosch, 2013 Oct 15, Lot 3049 = Gorny & Mosch, 2014 Oct 14, Lot 2150 = Gorny & Mosch, 2015 Mar 10, Lot 1713
- V2 aa2 a. Universität Freiburg 01751
- aa3 a. GHN, 2009 May 7, Lot 667 = GHN, 2012 May 2, Lot 814  
b. Glendining-Seaby 2, 1929 Jul 15, Lot 793\*^
- ca27 a. CNG, 2013 Mar 13, Lot 264^ = CNG, 2018 Jan 17, Lot 535
- V3 ca4 a. Auctiones GmbH, 2017 Jun 18, Lot 169^
- ca28 a. CNG, 2015 Mar 25, Lot 512^ = NAC, 2009 Oct 7, Lot 1094  
b. Lanz Graz, 1974 Nov 23, Lot 294
- ca40 a. MAF Adr. 353\*^
- V4 ca3 a. CNG, 2006 Aug 6, Lot 318  
b. FRK, 2006 Mar 18, Lot 6737
- ca6 a. Auktionshaus HD Rauch, 2005 May 6, Lot 485  
b. NAC, 2006 Apr 6, Lot 492
- ca44 a. Wien KhM 10022\*^
- V5 ca10 a. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2017 Dec 10, Lot 176\*^  
b. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, 2017 Nov 18, Lot 5259
- V6 ca8 a. Santamaria XVI, 1938 Jan 24, Lot 522^
- ca12 a. BMC 1902\*^  
b. Cahn 68, 1930 Nov 26, Lot 1889 = CNG, 2013 Mar 13, Lot 262
- V7 ca13 a. cgb.fr, 2006 Jan 26, Lot 275^

- ca42 a. MRT 14168\*^
- V8 ca26 a. CNG, 2013 Mar 13, Lot 263  
b. Tauler and Fau, 2017 Nov 29, Lot 210  
c. MRT DC 10409\*
- V9 ca29 a. Gorny and Mosch, 2010 Oct 11, Lot 2154\*  
b. GHN, 2009 Sep 24, Lot 2760
- V10 ca35 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 2002 May 27, Lot 451\*
- V11 ca36 a. BM Card File, Lot 1308 = Stack's Bowers Galleries, 2013 Jan 11, Lot 5392\*^
- V12 ca41 a. MRT 14167\*^
- V13 ca43 a. BnF 41984100\*^  
b. BnF 41984102
- V14 ca35 a. Wien KhM 41788\*^
- V15 ca18 a. GHN, 1991 Nov 27, Lot 665\*
- V16 ca1 a. BNF 41984778  
b. NAC, 1989 Mar 29, Lot 864\*
- V17 aa1 a. Universität Graz 699\*
- aa4 a. Numismatik Lanz München, 1990 May 14, Lot 476
- V18 ca3 a. Bertolami Fine Arts, 2018 Nov 8, Lot 293\*

**VE – VESTA SC, Vesta seated left on a throne with a palladium in her right hand and a sceptre in her left**

- VE1 cb31 a. ANS 1944.100.47484\*^
- cb39 a. CNG, 2007 Apr 11, Lot 311^
- VE2 cb32 a. Baranowsky Milan, 1931 Feb 25, Lot 1896 = CNG, 2005 Feb 16, Lot 147\*^
- VE3 cb33 a. CNG, 2012 May 16, Lot 495\*

- VE4   cb34   a. GHN, 2015 Sep 23, Lot 2805 = Triskeles Auctions, 2016 Sep 16, Lot 494  
              b. MAF Adr. 348\*^
- VE5   cb35   a. Gorny and Mosch, 2007 Mar 5, Lot 2121\*^
- cb51   a. NAC, 1993 Mar 11, Lot 1820^
- VE6   cb36   a. Gorny and Mosch, 2012 Mar 5, Lot 2231\*^
- cb38   a. BMC 1904
- VE7   cb52   a. Emporium Hamburg, 1988 Dec 5, Lot 256\*
- VE8   cb38   a. Jesus Vico SA, 2014 Nov 6, Lot 310\*^
- VE9   cb40   a. MRT 14183\*
- cb42   a. BMC 1938,0207,141^
- VE10   cb41   a. BMC 1936,0815,36\*^
- VE11   cb33   a. BnF 41984108\*
- cb53   a. Asta Internazionale, 1991 Nov 30, Lot 274^
- VE12   cb33   a. BnF 41984109\*^
- VE13   cb41   a. BnF 41984110\*
- VE14   cb42   a. Wien KhM 10009\*
- VE15   cb48   a. Numismatik Naumann, 2018 Oct 7, Lot 518  
              b. Wien KhM 41804\*^
- VE16   cb32   a. Wien KhM 41805\*
- VE17   cb35   a. NAC, 1997 Apr 10, Lot 1681\*
- VE18   cb25   a. Auctiones AG Basel, 1975 Dec 2, Lot 639\*

**VG - VENERI GENTRICI SC, Venus Genetrix standing draped with an apple in right hand, holding fold of garment in left**

- VG1 db8 a. Agora Auctions, 2016 Aug 9, Lot 218 = Agora Auctions, 2016 May 10, Lot 169  
b. BMC 1903\*^  
c. GHN, 1989 Feb 22, Lot 704  
d. Ibercoin, 2014 Dec 3, Lot 3140 = Marti Hervera – Soler and Llach, 2014 May 2493
- VG2 db9 a. ANS 1978.8.5\*^  
b. Wien KhM 10006
- VG3 db15 a. MRT DC 10411\*^
- VG4 db11 a. MAF Adr. 790\*
- VG5 cb47 a. BnF 41984107\*^
- VG6 db17 a. BnF 41984106\*^
- VG7 db11 a. Bank Leu, 1974 May 29, Lot 155  
b. Glendining, 1925 Nov 24, Lot 198 = Glendining, 1950 Nov 16, Lot 1415\* = Sotheby, 1909 Jul 5, Lot 198

**Mint Errors**

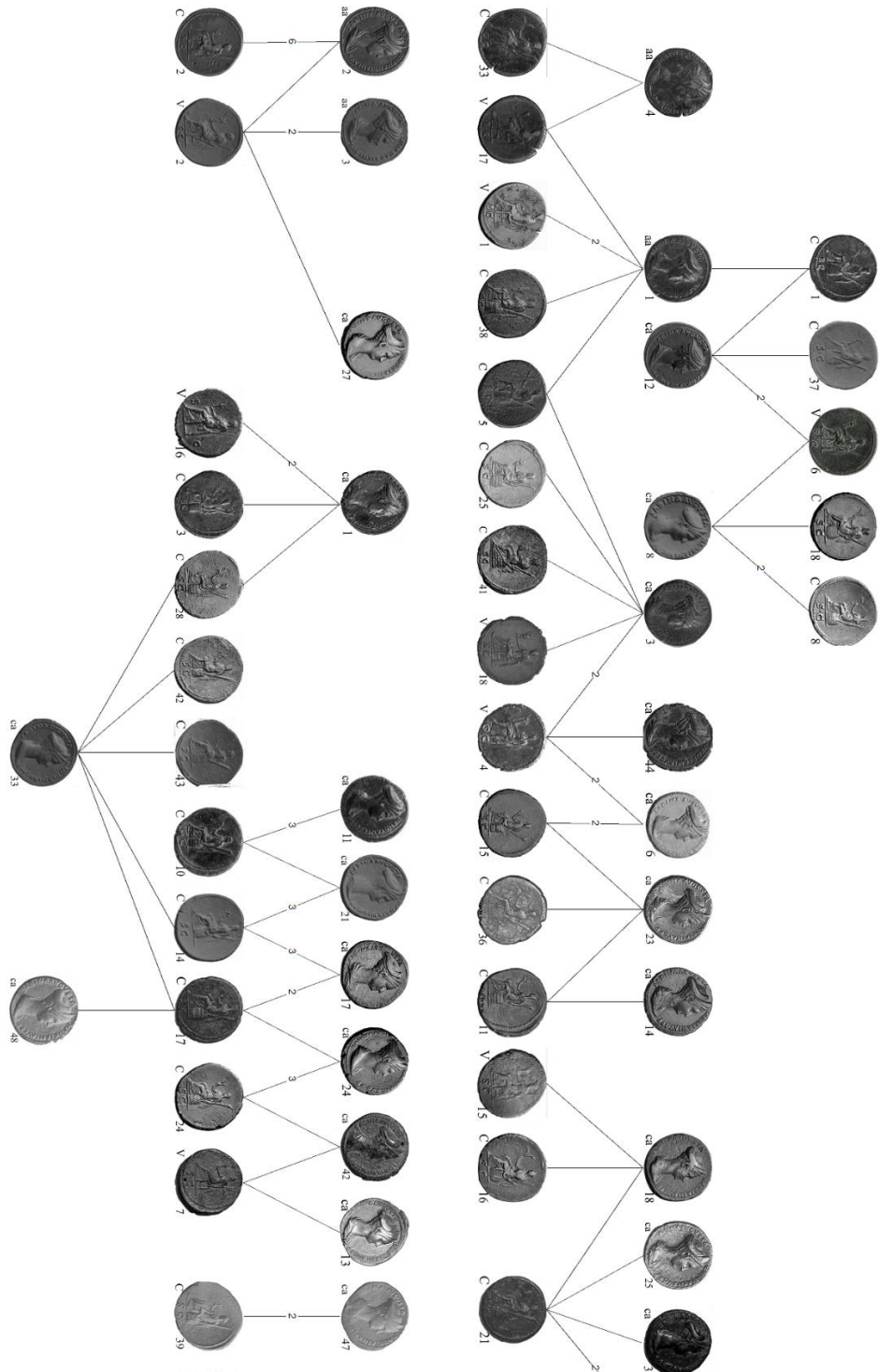
- cb3 cb3 a. CNG, 2013 Feb 13, Lot 292 (not included in die chart)

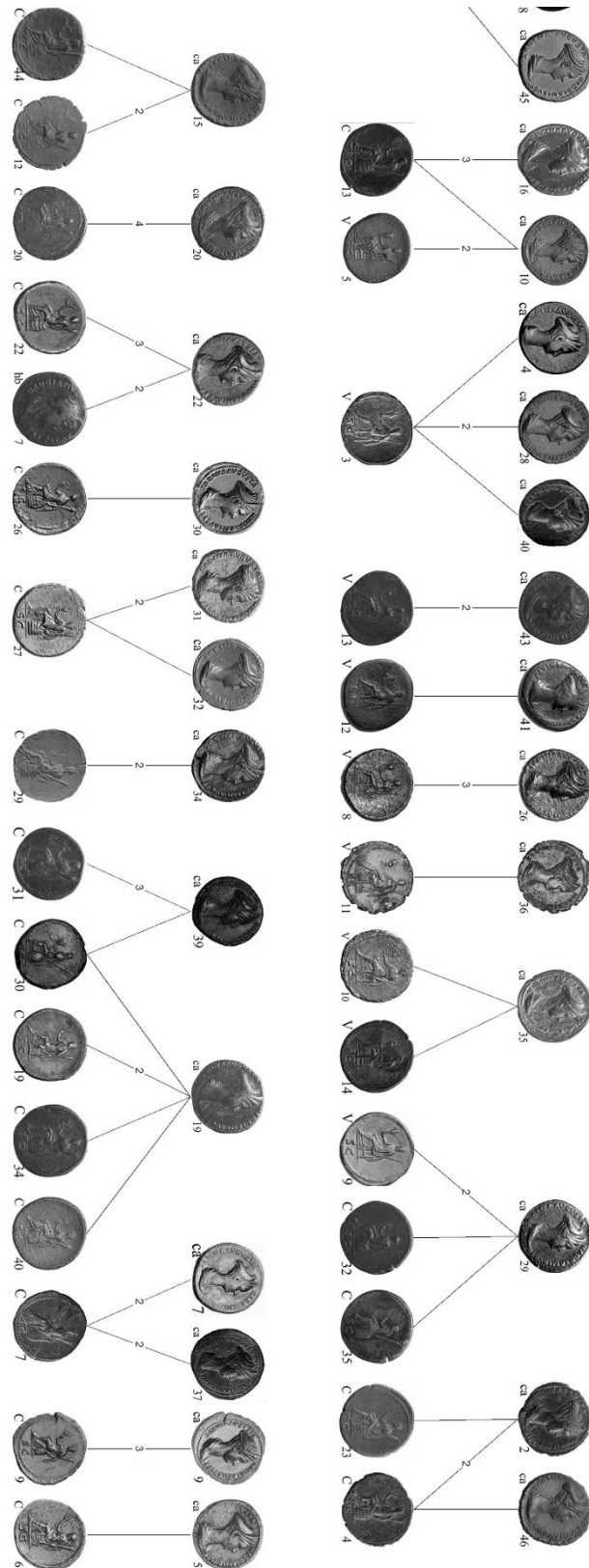
**Hadrian Reverse:**

**LP – LIBERTAS PUBLICA SC, Libertas standing left, draped, patera in right, rod in left**

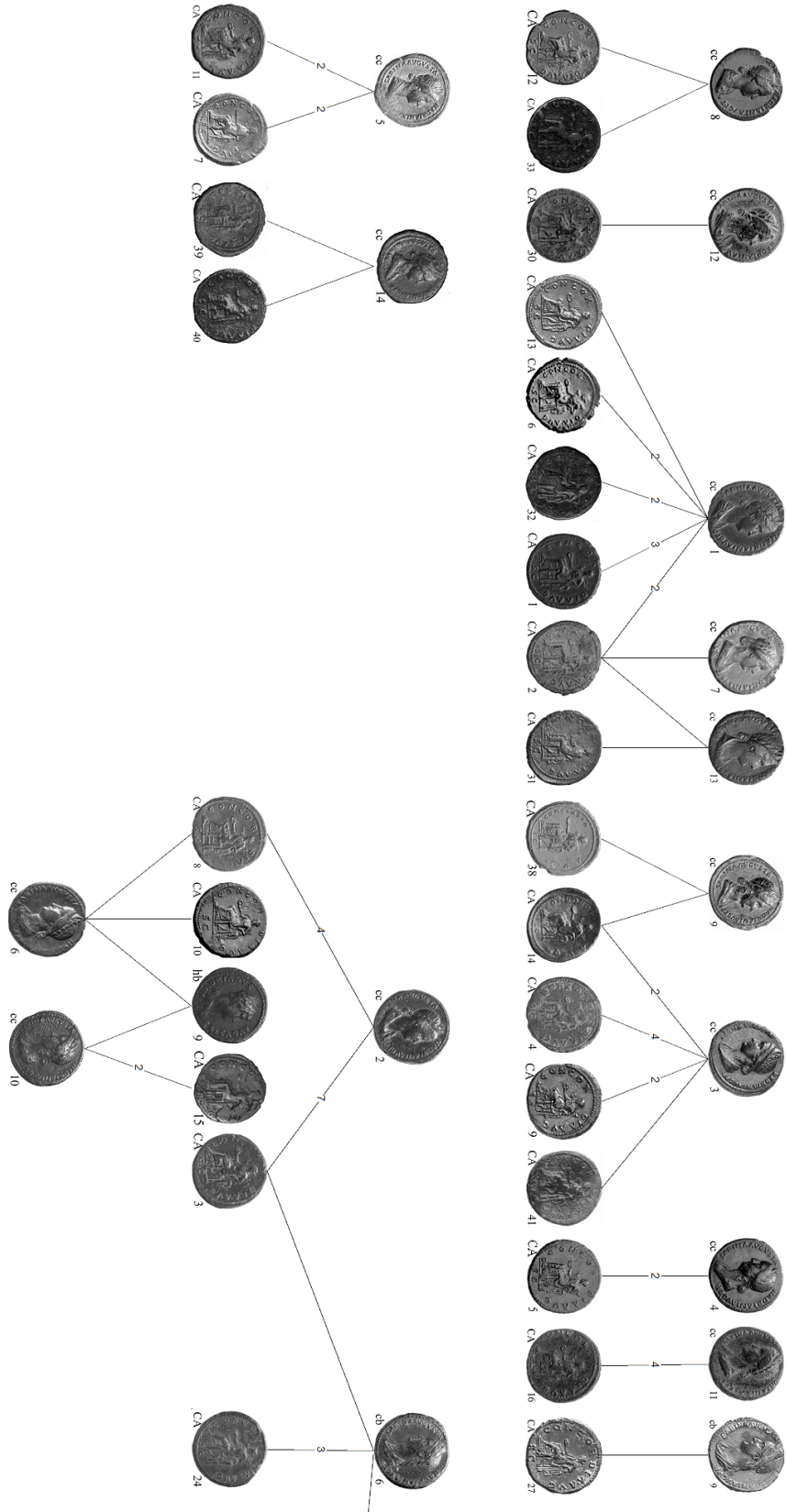
- LP1 db11 a. ANS 1953.151.2\*^

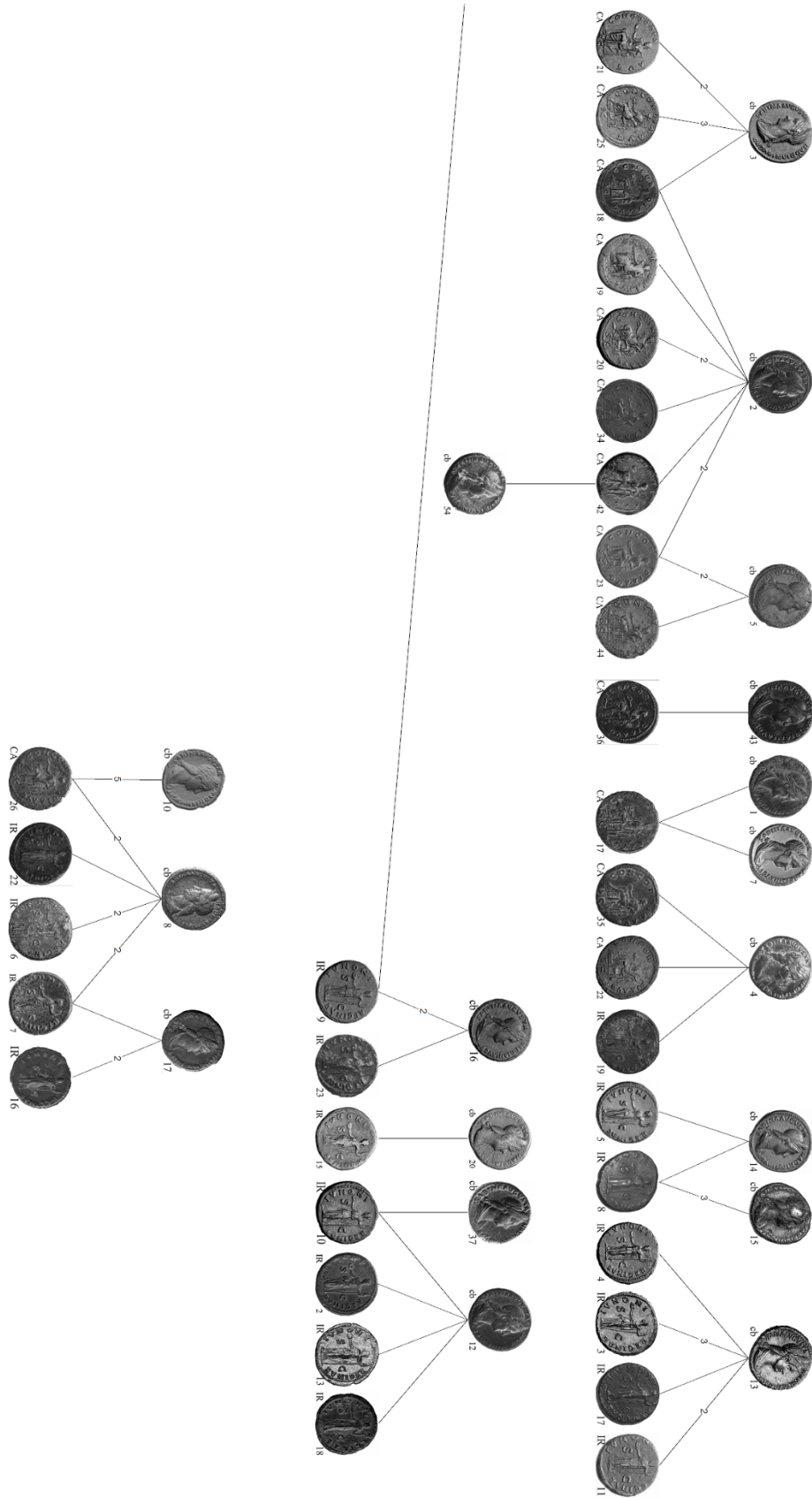
*2b: Diagram of Dupondius/As Dies from the Roman Imperial Mint*

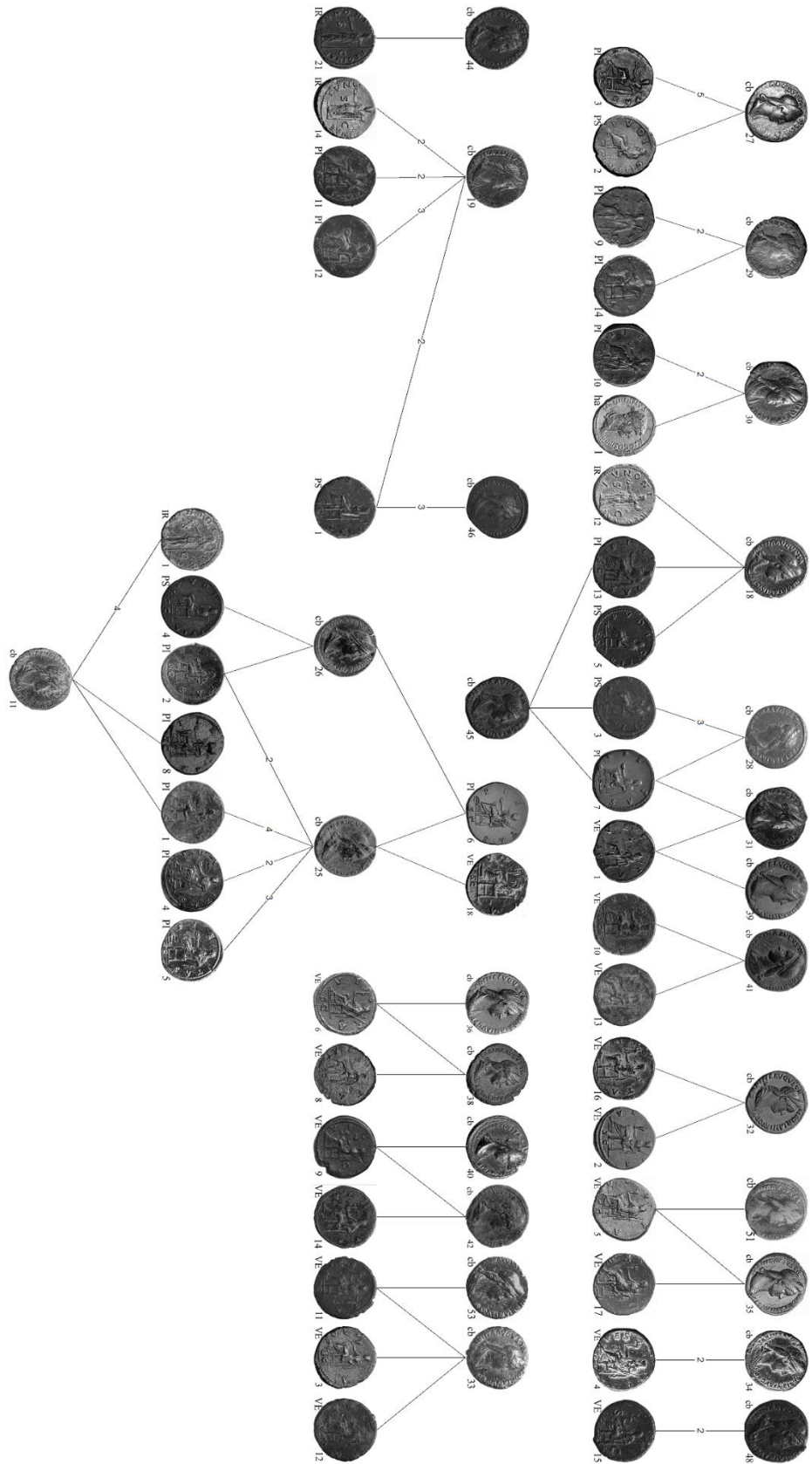


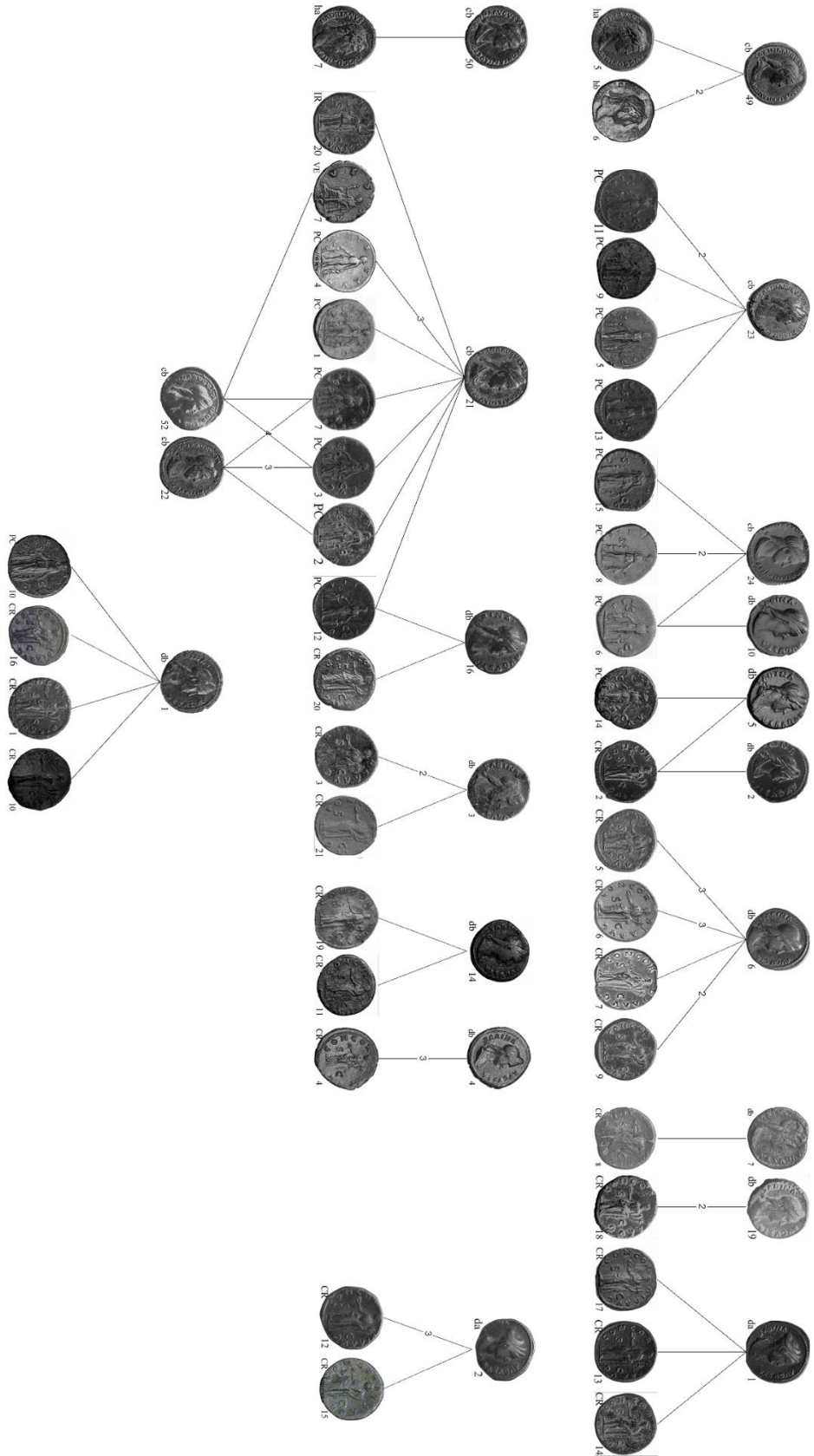


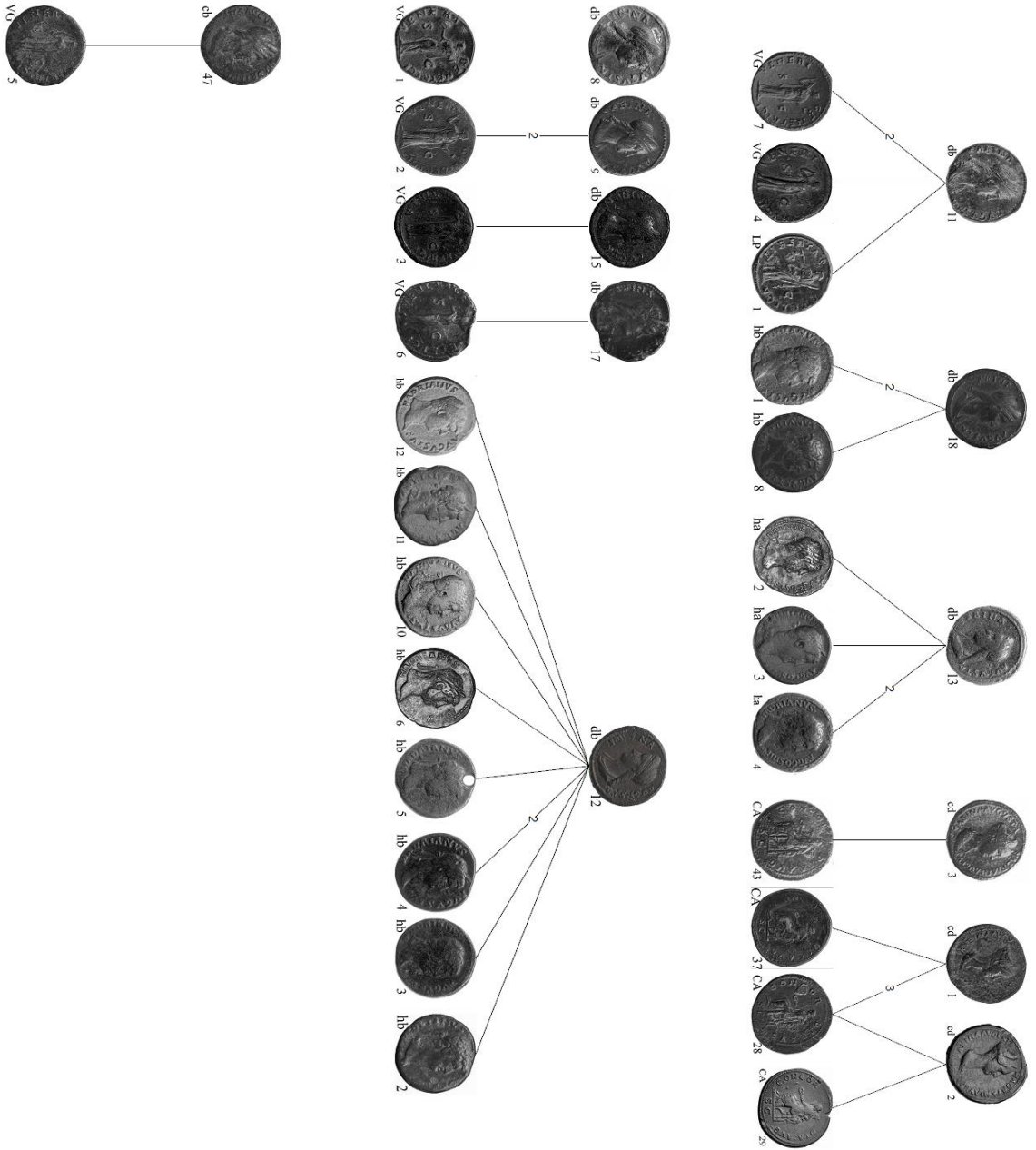












*2c: Counts of Dupondii and Asses from the Roman Imperial Mint*

These numbers correspond to the weight study, not the die study.

Type	N of Coins	Percentage
aa	13	2.9%
ca	125	27.4%
cb	191	41.9%
cc	55	12.1%
cd	6	1.3%
da	6	1.3%
db	60	13.2%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>456</b>	<b>100%</b>

i. Coins per obverse type

Type	N of Coins	Percentage
a	144	31.6%
b	251	55.0%
c	55	12.1%
d	6	1.3%
e	0	0.0%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>456</b>	<b>100%</b>

iii. Coins per portrait type

Type	N of Coins	Percentage
a	13	2.9%
b	0	0.0%
c	377	82.7%
d	66	14.5%
e	0	0.0%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>456</b>	<b>100%</b>

iv. Coins per inscription type

Type	N of Dies	Percentage
aa	4	2.8%
ca	48	33.3%
cb	54	37.5%
cc	14	9.7%
cd	3	2.1%
da	2	1.4%
db	19	13.2%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100%</b>

Type	N of Coins	Percentage
C	102	22.6%
CA	95	21.1%
CR	30	6.7%
ha	9	2.0%
hb	18	4.0%
IR	38	8.4%
LP	1	0.2%
PC	36	8.0%
PI	34	7.5%
PS	13	2.9%
V	35	7.8%
VE	28	6.2%
VG	11	2.4%
Brockage	1	0.2%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>100%</b>

ii. Coins per reverse type

Type	N of Dies	Percentage
C	44	19.1%
CA	44	19.1%
CR	21	9.1%
ha	7	3.0%
hb	12	5.2%
IR	23	10.0%
LP	1	0.4%
PC	15	6.5%
PI	14	6.1%
PS	5	2.2%
V	18	7.8%
VE	18	7.8%
VG	7	3.0%
Brockage	1	0.4%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>100%</b>

v. (Left) Dies per obverse type

vi. (Above) Dies per reverse type

Appendix 3: The Sestertii of the Roman Imperial Mint

*3a: Counts of Sestertii from the Roman Imperial Mint*

These numbers are calculated from the collections of the American Numismatic Society, British Museum, Museo archeologico nazionale di Firenze, and Musei Reali di Torino.

Obverse	Reverse	N of Coins
ca	C	12
ca	CR	3
ca	V	6
cb	CA	12
cb	CR	8
cb	IR	2
cb	PC	4
cb	PI	12
cb	PS	4
cb	VE	6
cb	VG	9
cd	CR	2
db	VE	1
db	CR	1
ef	CN (Eagle consecratio)	1
ef	CO	1
<b>TOTAL:</b>		<b>84</b>

i. Sestertius type combinations

Obverse	N of Coins	Percentage
ca	21	25%
cb	57	68%
cd	2	2%
db	2	2%
ef	2	2%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>84</b>	

ii. (Above) Sestertius obverse types  
 iii. (Right) Sestertius reverse types

Obverse	N of Coins	Percentage
C	12	14%
CA	12	14%
CN	1	1%
CO	1	1%
CR	14	17%
IR	2	2%
PC	4	5%
PI	12	14%
PS	4	5%
V	6	7%
VE	7	8%
VG	9	11%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>84</b>	

Appendix 4: The *Denarii* of the Roman Imperial Mint

*4a: Counts of Denarii from the Roman Imperial Mint*

These numbers are calculated from the collections of the American Numismatic Society, British Museum, Museo archeologico nazionale di Firenze, and Musei Reali di Torino. Hadrian portrait reverse coins and mules are not included.

Obverse	Reverse	Number
ca	C	2
ca	V	8
ca	VV	4
ca	CD	1
ca	PD (anepigraphic Pudicitia)	3
cb	CA	42
cb	IR	6
cb	PA (altar)	1
cb	PS (Pudicitia standing)	1
cb	PV	12
cb	VE	15
cc	C	1
db	CA	20
db	CR	4
db	IR	15
db	VG	16
dd	IR	2
dd	PA (altar)	1
ee	CE	4
ee	PA (altar)	5
<b>TOTAL:</b>		<b>163</b>

i. Denarius type combinations

Type	Number	Percentage
ca	18	11%
cb	77	47%
cc	1	1%
db	55	34%
dd	3	2%
ee	9	6%
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>163</b>	

ii. Denarius obverse types



Type	Number	Percentage
C	3	1.84%
V	8	4.91%
VV	4	2.45%
CD	1	0.61%
PD	3	1.84%
CA	62	38.04%
IR	23	14.11%
PA	7	4.29%
PS	1	0.61%
PV	12	7.36%
VE	15	9.20%
VG	16	9.82%
CE	4	2.45%
CR	4	2.45%
TOTAL:	163	

iii. Denarius reverse types

Appendix 5: Sabina's Coins from Provincial Mints

This table represents the Sabina's coinage from provincial mints as recorded in the *RPC* with my alterations. Bold and underlined type numbers indicate that I have removed at least one type from the mint. Mint B and Dionysopolis have been removed entirely because there are no coins that can be attributed to these mints. All of the changes are discussed in the respective sections of Chapter Two.

<b>Province/Region</b>	<b>Mint</b>	<b>RPC Catalogue Numbers</b>	<b>Number of Types</b>
ACHAEA	Corinth	240-243	4
	Patras	288-292	5
	Argos	388, 389	2
	Tenos	402	1
MACEDONIA	Amphipolis	655, 656	2
	Cassandra	640A	1
THRACE	Perinthus	715-719	5
	Bizya	734, 735	2
BITHYNIA ET PONTUS	Koinon of Bithynia	962, 988, 990, 1001, 1008, 1011, 1012, 1022-1024	10
	Caesarea Germanica	1028	1
	Apamea	1034	1
	Cius	1053	1
	Calchedon	1064	1
	Byzantium	1087	1
	Sinope	1227	1
	Amisus	1270-1274, 1276, 1277, 1282-1284, 1291, 1294	12
ASIA: Cistophori	Smyrna	1363	1
	Hierapolis	1394	1
	Mint A	1405, 1405A	2
Conventus of Cyzicus	Cyzicus	1522-1527, 1527A	7
	Parium	1544-1546, 6574	4
	Lampsacus	1552	1
	Ilium	1574	1
	Assus	1581	1
Conventus of Adramyteum	Hadriani ad Olympum	1611, 1618A	2
	Hadrianeia	1622	1
	Hadrianotherae	1630	1

	Eresus	1679	1
Conventus of Pergamum	Mytilene	1691, 1692	2
	Pergamum	1737	1
	Attaea	1760	1
	Germe	1769	1
	Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis	1782, 1783	2
	Came	1843	1
	Hierocaesarea	1850A	1
	Hermocapelia	1876	1
	Elaea	1889	<b>1</b>
Conventus of Smyrna	Myrina	1919	1
	Aegae	1923, 1925, 1926	3
	Cyme	1932-1935	4
	Phocaea	1943	1
	Temnus	1944	1
	Magnesia ad Sipylum	1947, 1948	2
	Hyrchanis	1959	1
	Mostene	1962, 1963	2
	Smyrna	1973, 1974	2
	Clazomenae	1988	1
	Erythrae	1996	1
	Teos	1999, 2000	2
Conventus of Ephesus	Lebedus	2002	1
	Hypaepa	2031	1
	Nicaea Cilbianorum	2033	1
	Ephesus	2078-2081	4
	Tralles	2087-2089	3
	Nysa	2091	1
Conventus of Miletus	Magnesia ad Maeandrum	2129	<b>1</b>
	Miletus	2146, 2146A	2
Conventus of Alabanda	Harpasa	2227	1
	Attuda	2258, 2259	2
	Trapezopolis	2262A	1
	Heraclea Salbace	2272, 2273, 2274	3

Conventus of Cibyra	Cibyra	2301, 2302, 2303, 2304	4
	Colossae	2310, 2311	2
	Laodicea	2332-2336	5
	Hydrela	2361	1
Conventus of Sardis	Tmolus	2388, 2388A	2
	Sardis (Caesarea)	2403-2405	<b>3</b>
	Daldis	2415A	1
	Sala	2445	1
	Blaundus	2450	1
	Bagis	2460A	1
	Grimenothyrae	2491, 2492	2
	Cadi	2500, 2501	2
	Aezani	2508, 2509	2
	Tiberiopolis	2519	1
	Ancyra	2541	1
	Saitta	2544	1
	Iulia Gordus	2554, 2555	2
Conventus of Apamea	Eumeneia	2584	1
	Eucarpia	2589	1
Conventus of Synnada	Dorylaeum	2641, 2642	2
CILICIA: Cilicia Tracheia	Cestrus	3188	1
	Seleucia ad Calycadnum	3235	<b>1</b>
	Corycus	3243A	1
Cilicia Pedias	Pompeiopolis	3245	1
	Zephyrion	3251, 3252, 3253	3
	Tarsus	3275, 3277, 3284	<b>3</b>
	Mallus	3326	1
	Aegeae	3350, 3351, 3352, 3354	4
	Mopsus	3360, 3361	2
	Epiphanea	3394	1
JUDAEA: Trachonitis	Gaba	3950, 3951, 3952	3
Judaea	Aelia Capitolina	3968	1
EGYPT	Alexandria	5729, 5769, 5770-5775, 5787, 5788, 5804-5810, 5821, 5824, 5870, 5926, 5942, 6069-6072, 6091, 6105, 6124, 6130, 6274	31
Uncertain	Uncertain	6578	<b>1</b>

<b>Total</b>	<b>216</b>
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Appendix 6: Dating Sabina's Provincial Coinage

The table below contains my proposed dating for Sabina's provincial coinage. Dates in bold are written on the coin itself. The remaining dates are my own but are, of course, often based on the work of other scholars. For the rationale behind the dates, see the relevant portion of Chapter Two.

Province/Region	City	Date	Portrait Type
ACHAEA	Corinth	128-137	Nest
	Patras	128-137	Nest
	Argos	131/2-134	Nest
	Tenos	128-137	Nest
MACEDONIA	Amphipolis	129/30 (chignon), 130/1-137 (queue)	Chignon, queue
	Cassandra	128-137	Nest
THRACE	Perinthus	ca. 117, 128-137	Non-canonical, Nest
	Bizya	128-137	Nest
BITHYNIA ET PONTUS	Koinon of Bithynia	128-137	Queue, Nest
	Caesarea Germanica	128-137	Nest
	Apamea	130/1-137	Queue
	Cius	129-137	Nest
	Calchedon	128-137	Nest
	Byzantium	ca. 117	Plotina
	Sinope	128/9-133/4	Nest
	Amisus	<b>134/5-136/7 (both), 137/7 (queue)</b>	Queue, Nest
ASIA:	Mint A	128/9	Full body
Conventus of Cyzicus	Cyzicus	128-137	Nest
	Parium	pre-128, 136/7	Non-canonical, Nest
	Lampsacus	128-137	Nest
	Ilium	128-137	Full body
	Assus	128-137	Nest
Conventus of Adramyteum	Hadriani ad Olympum	131-137	Nest
	Hadrianeia	131-137	Nest

	Hadrianotherae	128-137	Nest
	Eresus	136/7	Queue
Conventus of Pergamum	Mytilene	128-137	Nest
	Pergamum	131-134	Nest
	Attaea	128-137	Nest
	Germe	128-137	Nest
	Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis	128-135	Nest
	Came	130/1-136/7	Queue
	Hierocaesarea	128-137	Nest
	Hermocapelia	128-137	Nest
	Elaea	128-137	Nest
Conventus of Smyrna	Myrina	128-137	Nest
	Aegae	128-137	Nest
	Cyme	128-137	Nest
	Phocaea	128-137	Nest
	Temnus	128-137	Nest
	Magnesia ad Sipylum	128-133/4	Nest
	Hyrchanis	128-137	Nest
	Mostene	128-133/4 (Alexandria), 128-137 (imperial)	Nest
	Smyrna	128-130 ( <i>cistophori</i> ), 128-133/4 (Alexandria), 134/5 (imperial)	Nest
	Clazomenae	128-133/4	Nest
	Erythrae	128-133/4	Nest
	Teos	128-137	Nest
Conventus of Ephesus	Lebedus	128-137	Nest
	Hypaepa	128-137	Nest
	Nicaea Cilbiantorum	130/1-137	Queue
	Ephesus	129 (provincial), 128-137 (nest)	Non-canonical, Nest
	Tralles	128-137	Nest
	Nysa	128-137	Nest
Conventus of Miletus	Magnesia ad Maeandrum	128-137	Nest
	Miletus	130/1-137	Queue
Conventus of Alabanda	Harpasa	128-137	Nest

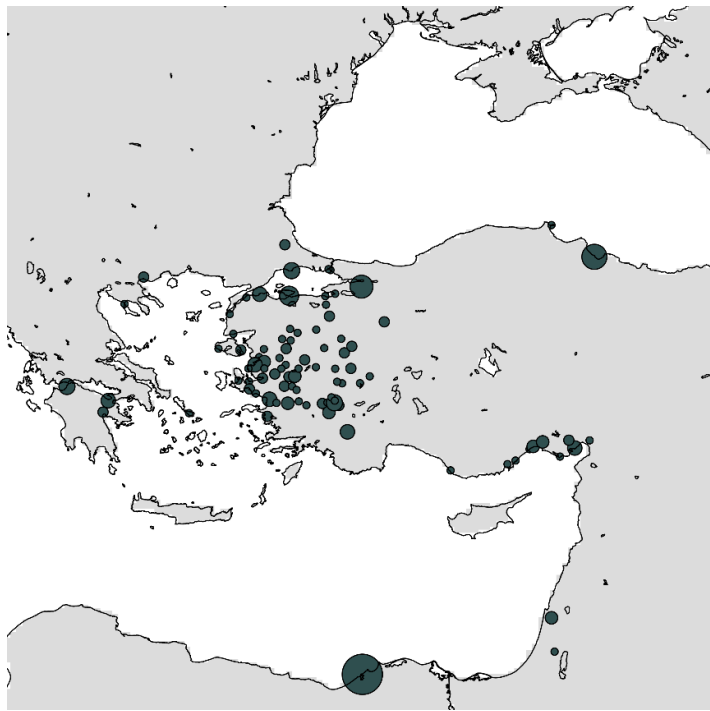
	Attuda	131/2-137	Nest
	Trapezopolis	131/2-137	Nest
	Heraclea Salbace	128-137	Nest
Conventus of Cibyra	Cibyra	128-136 (low-quality), 136/7 (high-quality)	Nest
	Colossae	128-136/7 (unsigned), 136/7 (signed)	Queue
	Laodicea	ca. 117 (low quality), 129 (high-quality)	Nest
	Hydrela	129-137	Nest
	Hierapolis	128-130	Nest
Conventus of Sardis	Tmolus	136/7	Queue
	Sardis (Caesarea)	134-137 (queue); 128-137 (nest)	Nest, Queue
	Daldis	128-137	Nest
	Sala	134-137	Queue
	Blaundus	128-137	Nest
	Bagis	128-137	Nest
	Grimenothyrae	128-137 (two issues of distinct dates)	Nest
	Cadi	128-137	Nest
	Aezani	128-137	Nest
	Tiberiopolis	128-137	Nest
	Ancyra	128-137	Nest
	Saitta	128-137	Nest
	Iulia Gordus	128-137	Nest
Conventus of Apamea	Eumeneia	131/2	Nest
	Eucarpia	129	Chignon
Conventus of Synnada	Dorylaeum	128-137	Nest
CILICIA: Cilicia Tracheia	Cestrus	136/7	Nest
	Seleucia ad Calycadnum	135/6	Nest
	Corycus	128-137	Nest
Cilicia Pedias	Pompeiopolis	<b>131/2</b>	Nest
	Zephyrion	ca. 131/2	Nest
	Tarsus	ca. 129-131 (Selene), ca. 134 (cornucopia)	Nest
	Mallus	134-137	Nest

		<b>128/9 (bronze), 129/30, 130/1,</b>	
	Aegeae	<b>133/4 (silver)</b>	Nest
	Mopsus	ca. 129	Nest
	Epiphanea	<b>137/8</b>	Nest
JUDAEA:			Non-canonical,
Trachonitis	Gaba	<b>117/118, 129/130, 134/135</b>	Nest
Judaea	Aelia Capitolina	136-138	Nest
EGYPT	Alexandria	<b>128/9, 130/1-136/7</b>	Nest, Queue
Uncertain	Uncertain	128-137	Nest

Appendix 7: Maps

The maps below represent the provincial coin production for the given people in the eastern half of the Roman Empire. The size of the markers are proportionate to the number of types that the mint produced for the person. The sites of some mints are uncertain. Coins without a known mint location are not included.

*7a: Sabina at Provincial Mints*

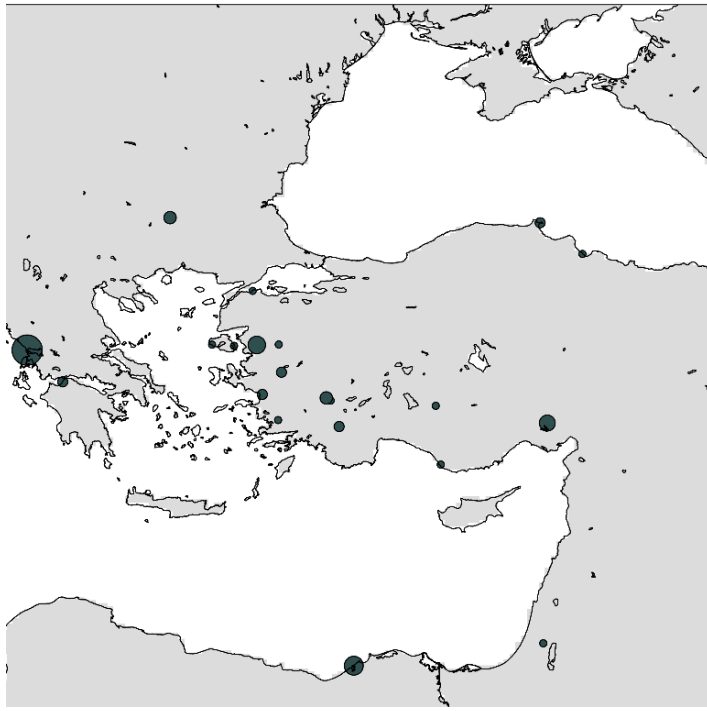




*7b: Hadrian at Provincial Mints*



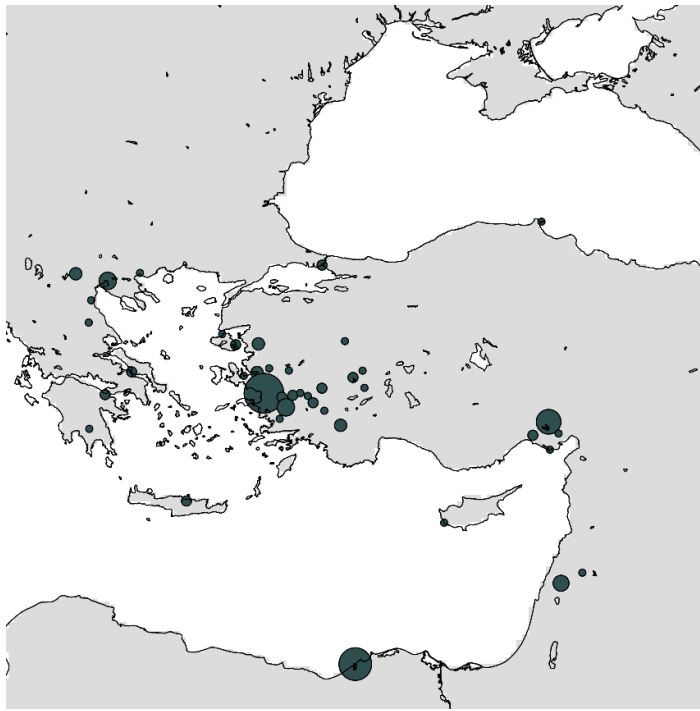
*7c: Aelius at Provincial Mints*



*7d: Antinous at Provincial Mints*



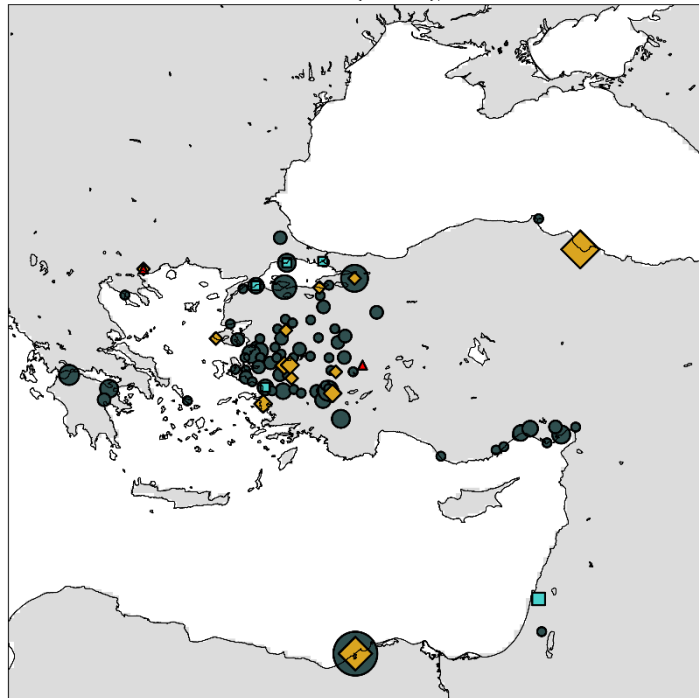
*7e: Livia at Eastern Provincial Mints*



*7f: Domitia at Eastern Provincial Mints*



*7g: Sabina's Portrait types at Provincial Mints*



*circle = nest; diamond = queue; triangle = chignon; square = non-canonical*

Appendix 8: The Absence of Minting

The following table presents the evidence for the possible contributing factors in the absence of minting coinage for Sabina.

Province	Tradition of minting images of women	Visit by Hadrian during or after 128	Hadrianic benefactions
Arabia	-	✓	✓
Cyprus	-	-	-
Cyrenaica et Crete	✓	-	✓
Galatia-Cappadocia	✓	✓	✓
Moesia	-	✓	✓
Lycia-Pamphylia	-	✓	✓
Syria	✓	✓	✓

Appendix 9: Sabina’s Coins from the Alexandrian Mint

Year	Portrait Type	Metal	Obverse or reverse
13=128/9	Nest	AR	reverse only
14=129/30	none	none	none
15=130/1	Nest, Queue	AR	obverse and reverse
16=131/2	Nest, Queue	AR, AE	obverse and reverse
17=132/3	Nest	AR	reverse only
18=133/4	Nest	AR, AE	obverse bronze, reverse silver
19=134/5	Nest	AR, AE	obverse bronze, reverse silver
20=135/6	Nest	AR, AE	obverse and reverse bronze, reverse silver
21=136/7	Nest	AR	reverse only

Appendix 10: The Use of Statue Bases in Portrait Studies

Højte, in his 2005 book on Roman imperial statue bases, presents new methods for studying portraits through the extant bases. I have, however, identified several problems with this methodology as it applies to the portraits of Sabina and Hadrian, and in some cases more broadly. While there are still many useful aspects of this work, I

have substantial objections with the application of the statue base evidence to the extant portraits, as well as some of the methods which are exclusively reliant on datable bases.

I catalogued forty statue bases that presumably once held a portrait of Sabina. Only fourteen of these are dated within a range of three years or less, due in large part to the uniformity in her and Hadrian's titulature over long periods of time.<sup>766</sup> Some of these narrower dates have been given due to an assumed connection between the statue's dedication and imperial travels, which is not provable.<sup>767</sup> Normally, only full-body portraits would be accompanied with the type of inscriptions in Højte's catalogue.<sup>768</sup> I have eliminated three portraits from my catalogue, the two relief portraits and one gem, since these would not have had accompanying inscriptions. Although portraits on their original busts should probably be eliminated for the same reason, it appears that Højte includes these in his calculations.<sup>769</sup> I have therefore done the same and included 36 portraits in the following calculations.

Højte argues that the chronological distribution of statue bases can be used to determine the chronology of the different portrait types. According to this theory, if the chronology of portrait types does not have a correlation with the chronological

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<sup>766</sup> The statue bases were assembled from many sources, but I relied most heavily on the catalogues assembled in Carandini 1969, Eck 1982, and Hahn 1994. Some more recently discovered bases were added from Brennan 2018.

<sup>767</sup> Højte (2000: 231-232) argues that there is a slight uptick in statue production in the year of a visit by Hadrian in the eastern provinces, but that there does not appear to have been a huge impact of travels on statue production. The four identical inscriptions from *AE* 1968 no. 456 = *SEG* 37 522-525 = *SEG* 27 230 are dated based on assumptions about an imperial visit (see Brennan 2018: 145; Cabanes 1987: 157).

<sup>768</sup> Højte 2005: 43, 82. Højte does not provide a catalogue of portraits for each emperor and instead relies on numbers from previous studies. Presumably, he has eliminated portraits found on their original bust, as I have done here, although this is not stated explicitly.

<sup>769</sup> Højte 2000: 222 n. 7.

distribution of the statue bases, then some of the portrait types are likely incorrectly dated.<sup>770</sup> He acknowledges that this only applies to portrait types that have been dated too late in the reign, since there is evidence for the use of older portrait types returning or continuing to be used late in the reign.<sup>771</sup>

One issue with conducting statistical analyses based on the number of extant portraits is that the number of portrait statues attributed to a given subject changes significantly depending on which catalogue is used. Carandini's catalogue includes 69 portraits identified as Sabina, while Wegner's has 30. Calculations relying on the number of extant portraits would differ greatly depending on the choice of catalogue. I am using my own catalogue here, but it is difficult to know how applicable this is to the numbers provided by Højte for Hadrian and other emperors, since they are all derived from different catalogues which used different standards for attributions. While there are enough statue bases for each emperor that a few misattributions do not matter, the same is not the case for the portraits, as can be seen in the wide range of possible numbers given by the various Sabina catalogues.

In order to study the chronological distribution of portrait statue production using the number of extant bases, it must be the case that a base from any date within a reign has an equal likelihood of being datable. This is not the case for Hadrian or Sabina.<sup>772</sup>

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<sup>770</sup> Højte 2005: 83.

<sup>771</sup> Højte 2005: 83, with examples of this cited from Boschung 1993: 70, Gross 1940: 43-53.

<sup>772</sup> In his 2000 article, Højte acknowledges this potential issue for consular dating of inscriptions (Højte 2000: 223 n. 9) but appears to assume that this same problem would not occur with tribunician or other dating.

The vast majority of Sabina's 40 statue bases include either just the name Sabina Augusta, which could date anywhere from 117-138, or Hadrian's titlature as it was current in the second decade of his reign, or in an even more ambiguous form. Of the fourteen narrowly dated Sabina bases, two are dated to the period following her death due to the use of the title *diva*, with a third dating posthumously with its date of dedication written on it.<sup>773</sup> *Divia* is the only datable title that appears on Sabina's inscriptions, and therefore posthumous bases are likely over-represented in the datable sample. The proportion of around four in forty of the total bases being posthumous corresponds somewhat well with the data from the sculpture as well as the numbers Højte calculates for Hadrian. Were we only to consider datable bases, however, the proportion becomes four in fourteen, which is significantly higher than anticipated.<sup>774</sup> Similarly, given the lack of change in Hadrian's titles starting in 128, pre-128 inscriptions are also likely over-represented, making up another three of the fourteen datable statue bases. The data about pre-128 portraits is not useful for comparison with identified portraits since these portraits are not able to be identified in the round. The problem becomes more pronounced when considering portrait types introduced at times which are not easily datable. For example, as discussed in Chapter Three, when attempting to study the dating of portraits to the

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<sup>773</sup> *CIL* VIII 2 8929, *CIL* VIII Suppl 2 17847, and *NSc* 133 p. 433, pl. IX = *AE* 1934 39 no. 146 = *CIL* VI 40528 = *AE* 2010, 177. The third has its date of dedication written on it (December 13 138). As Brennan (2018: 191) points out, these are interestingly all from North Africa.

<sup>774</sup> Hadrian has 18 known posthumous dedications, only 4.3% of all known bases for the Emperor (Højte 2005: 136). This is a much smaller proportion than Sabina's, even considering the Sabina bases without dates. This does correspond fairly well with the overall proportion of 8.2% of emperor bases being posthumous. The small sample size of Sabina bases allows for a high degree of variability in these numbers so this discrepancy should not be viewed as significant.

*decennalia* or *vicennalia*, nearly all of the undated statue bases could plausibly date to either year. In spite of this, there are no bases actually dated to either year, aside from posthumous ones from later in 138, because there were no datable titles used in either year. This same problem occurs with Hadrian's statue bases.

There is also the issue of the compatibility of the two bodies of evidence. As Højte notes, portrait sculpture is more likely to come from Italy, whereas statue bases are more commonly found in the provinces.<sup>775</sup> Some portrait types were more common in Rome than the provinces and vice versa, as is demonstrated by the numismatic evidence. Consider the following: there are twenty portraits of a particular type which numismatic evidence suggests rarely appeared outside of Italy, but only one statue base for the same period. This is not evidence that the type is misdated. It is, in fact, expected that a majority provincial body of evidence, like the statue bases, would under-report the prevalence of a type that was rarely produced there. Højte's method only works if the proportion of types is equal between Italy and the provinces, which it was not. Additionally, as Højte acknowledges, there was a preference for marble and busts in Italy, as opposed to the bronze free-standing statues in the east, furthering the disparity between the two bodies of evidence, since busts did not usually have bases.<sup>776</sup>

Højte argues that the fairly consistent proportions of bases to portraits in the round is evidence for the applicability of the extant portraits to the bases, but this consistency is

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<sup>775</sup> Højte 2005: 85, 87. Up to two-thirds of Hadrian's extant portraits were produced in Italy according to Højte, despite his extensive travels.

<sup>776</sup> Højte 2005: 88.



overstated.<sup>777</sup> Even with the previously discussed issue of the portrait evidence used, there is a range from 1.5:1 to 2.8:1 of the emperors catalogued, the ratio almost doubling across this range.<sup>778</sup> The ratio for the Sabina material is 1.1:1, lower than all of the other calculated ratios. Given how low the numbers of portraits are for many emperors, the use of a different catalogue or a few altered portrait attributions would significantly skew these numbers. This discrepancy is illustrated by Højte himself, who cites Stuart's numbers for Claudius providing a ratio of 2.7:1, with this being lowered to 1.8:1 if Massner's catalogue is used.<sup>779</sup>

The statue bases can still cautiously be used for geographical analysis. There are problems with deriving too much significance from this since factors such as the amount of excavation carried out in a particular area can significantly change these. However, comparison between the Hadrian and Sabina evidence can at least show whether or not there was a geographical difference between the production of Sabina and Hadrian statues.<sup>780</sup> In order to be consistent, I have used Højte's geographical division of the provinces into the following groups: Italy, Northern provinces, Gaul, Spain, Western North Africa, Greece, Asia Minor, and Eastern provinces.<sup>781</sup> Only three of the 40 statue bases were found in Italy, or 7.5%. This is lower than the proportion for Hadrian, around 20%. One was found in the Northern provinces, namely Dacia (2.5%), which is slightly lower than the proportion for Hadrian (ca. 6%). No statue bases came from Gaul, which

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<sup>777</sup> Højte 2000: 222 n. 7; 2005: 81-82.

<sup>778</sup> Højte 2005: 82.

<sup>779</sup> Højte 2005: 82.

<sup>780</sup> For the Hadrian numbers, see Højte 2005: 92-101.

<sup>781</sup> Højte 2005: 89.

is comparable to the quantity for Hadrian, which is less than one percent. Two were found in Spain (5%), very similar to the numbers for Hadrian, ca. 4%. A similar number of bases come from Western North Africa for Hadrian (ca. 13%) and Sabina (10%). Sixteen (40%) are from Greece. Around 30% of Hadrian's bases are from the region, the highest proportion of any emperor in the first two centuries. Thirteen (32.5%) are from Asia Minor, including the province proper and Lycia-Pamphylia. A slightly smaller proportion of statue bases for Hadrian come from the province (ca. 27%). Only one inscription (2.5%) is known from the Eastern provinces, which comes from Egypt, comparable to the small number recorded for not only Hadrian but also others from the second century.

The proportions instead appear to show a fairly even proportion of dedications between Hadrian and Sabina across the Empire. This is unsurprising given the prevalence of joint dedications among the Sabina statue bases. Larger discrepancies can be explained by the small body of evidence for Sabina. With each base representing 2.5% of all known bases, just a few additional finds would bring any one province in line with the Hadrian data.

Statue bases are a useful tool for the study of portraiture in several ways. They can be instructive about the spread of the imperial image in the provinces and can also be used for other statistical analysis of titulature and dedicators, as is done by Højte. Individual bases can also be useful for the specific information they can provide about the context of the portrait dedication. For emperors who consistently included tribunician power in their titulature, and therefore have consistently datable bases, further

chronological analysis is possible. This is unfortunately not the case for either Hadrian or Sabina. I do not believe the problems with the comparison with extant portrait sculpture to be solvable. Even if a catalogue of portraits were compiled with a consistent standard of attribution, this would still not solve the problem that these are mostly not the portraits that were displayed on provincial statue bases and therefore any correlation between the two bodies of evidence is likely coincidental.

**Figures**

**Chapter One Figures**



Figure 1: Aureus, V ca. (ANS 1960.175.30)



Figure 2: Aureus, C ba (ANS 1967.153.145)



Figure 3: Dup./as, C aa (ANS 1944.100.4748)



Figure 4: Denarius, PD ca (ANS 1962.83.22)



Figure 5: Denarius, VV ca (ANS 1956.127.313)



Figure 6: Sestertius, CR ca (ANS 1984.176.22)



Figure 7: Denarius, CD ca. (BMC 928)



Figure 8: Aureus of Matidia (ANS 1958.214.20)



Figure 9: Denarius, CA cc (*BMC* 1889)



Figure 10: Denarius, C cc (*BMC* 919)



Figure 11: Aureus, CA cb (Berlin 18200611)



Figure 12: Aureus, VE db (ANS 1944.100.45592)



Figure 13: Aureus, IR db (Berlin 18247387)



Figure 14: Dup./as, PI cb (*BMC* 1897)



Figure 15: Dup./as, PS cb (ANS 1944.100.47485)



Figure 16: Dup./as, CR db (ANS 1954.203.200)



Figure 17: Denarius, PS cb. (ANS 1985.140.114)



Figure 18: Denarius, PT cb (ANS 1956.127.310)



Figure 19: Plotina aureus (ANS 1967.153.139)



Figure 20: Aureus, VE dd (*BMC* 953)



Figure 21: Dup./as, CA cd (ANS 1944.100.47476)



Figure 22: Aureus, CO ee. (ANS 1955.191.14)



Figure 23: Denarius, CN ee (ANS 1995.11.3)



Figure 24: Denarius, PA ee (ANS 1944.100.45593)

Chapter Two Figures



Figure 25: Coin of unknown origin (*RPC III*: cat. 6578)



Figure 26: Coin from Corinth (*RPC III*: cat. 240)



Figure 27: Coin from Patras (*RPC III*: cat. 290)



Figure 28: Coin from Patras (*RPC III*: cat. 291)



Figure 29: Coin from Tenos (*RPC III*: cat. 402)



Figure 30: Coin from Argos (*RPC III*: cat. 388)



Figure 31: Coin from Argos (*RPC III*: cat. 389)



Figure 32: Coin from Athens (*RPC IV.1*: cat. 8212 (temp))



Figure 33: Coin from Amphipolis (*RPC III*: cat. 655)



Figure 34: Coin from Amphipolis (*RPC III*: cat. 656)



Figure 35: Coin from Cassandrea (*RPC III*: cat. 640A)



Figure 36: Coin from Perinthus (*RPC III*: cat. 715)



Figure 37: Coin from Perinthus (*RPC III*: cat. 717)



Figure 38: Coin from Bizya (*RPC III*: cat. 735)



Figure 39: Coin from Bizya (*RPC III*: cat. 734)



Figure 40: Coin from Perinthus (*RPC III*: cat. 708)



Figure 41: Coin from Byzantium (*RPC III*: cat. 1087)



Figure 42: Coin from Amisus (*RPC III*: cat. 1274)



Figure 43: Coin from Amisus (*RPC III*: cat. 1277)



Figure 44: Coin from Amisus (*RPC III*: cat. 1284)





Figure 45: Coin from Amisus (*RPC III*: cat. 1291)



Figure 46: Coin from Apamea (*RPC III*: cat. 1034)



Figure 47: Coin from Caesarea Germanica (*RPC III*: cat. 1028)



Figure 48: Coin from Calchedon (*RPC III*: cat. 1064)



Figure 49: Coin from Cius (*RPC III*: cat. 1053)



Figure 50: Coin from the Bithynian Koinon (*RPC III*: cat. 998)



Figure 51 (left): Coin from the Bithynian Koinon (*RPC III*: cat. 1022)



Figure 52 (right): Coin from Sinope (*RPC III*: cat. 1227)



Figure 53: Coin from the Bithynian Koinon (*RPC III*: cat. 1023)



Figure 54: Coin from Byzantium (*RPC III*: cat. 1070)

Figure 55: Coin from Mint A (*RPC III*: cat. 1405)



Figure 56: Coin from Mint A (*RPC III*: cat. 1405A)



Figure 57: Coin from Assus (*RPC III*: cat. 1581)



Figure 58: Coin from Ilium (*RPC III*: cat. 1574)



Figure 59: Coin from Parium (?) (*RPC III*: cat. 1544)



Figure 60: Coin from Parium (?) (*RPC III*: cat. 1546)



Figure 61: Coin from Parium (?) (*RPC III*: cat. 6574)



Figure 62: Coin from Lampsacus (*RPC III*: cat. 1552)



Figure 63: Coin from Cyzicus (*RPC III*: cat. 1523)



Figure 64: Coin from Cyzicus (*RPC III*: cat. 1527A)



Figure 65: Coin from Cyzicus (*RPC III*: cat. 1522)



Figure 66: Coin from Assus (*RPC VI*: cat. 4098)



Figure 67: Coin from Ilium (*RPC I*: cat. 2315)



Figure 68: Coin from Ilium (*RPC III*: cat. 1572A)



Figure 69: Coin from Parium (?) (*RPC III*: cat. 1543)



Figure 70: Coin from Hadrianeia (*RPC III*: cat. 1622)



Figure 71: Coin from Hadriani ad Olympum (*RPC III*: cat. 1611)



Figure 72: Coin from Hadrianothrae (*RPC III*: cat. 1630)



Figure 73: Coin from Eresus (*RPC III*: cat. 1679)



Figure 74 (left): Coin from Hierocaesarea (*RPC III*: cat. 1850A)



Figure 75 (right): Coin from Mytilene (*RPC III*: cat. 1691)



Figure 76: Coin from Attaea (*RPC III*: cat. 1760)



Figure 77: Coin from Pergamum (*RPC III*: cat. 1737)



Figure 78: Coin from Germe (*RPC III*: cat. 1769)



Figure 79: Coin from Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 1782)



Figure 80 (left): Coin from Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 1783)



Figure 81 (right): Coin from Hermocapelia (*RPC III*: cat. 1876)



Figure 82: Coin from Came (*RPC III*: cat. 1843)



Figure 83: Coin from Elaea (*RPC III*: cat. 1889)



Figure 84: Coin from Elaea (*RPC III*: cat. 1888)



Figure 85: Coin from Elaea (*RPC II*: cat. 957A)



Figure 86: Coin from Myrina (*RPC III*: cat. 1919)



Figure 87: Coin from Aegae (*RPC III*: cat. 1926)



Figure 88: Coin from Cyme (*RPC III*: cat. 1932)



Figure 89: Coin from Cyme (*RPC III*: cat. 1934)



Figure 90: Coin from Phocaea (*RPC III*: cat. 1943)



Figure 91: Coin from Temnus (*RPC III*: cat. 1944)



Figure 92 (left): Coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum (*RPC III*: cat. 1947)



Figure 93 (right): Coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum (*RPC III*: cat. 1948)



Figure 94: Coin from Hyrcanis (*RPC III*: cat. 1959)

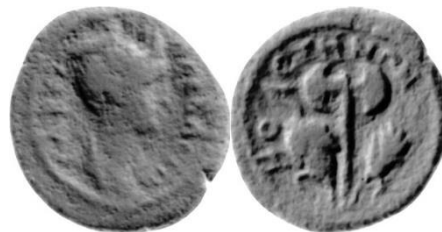


Figure 95: Coin from Mostene (*RPC III*: cat. 1962)



Figure 96: Coin from Mostene (*RPC III*: cat. 1963)



Figure 97: Coin from Smyrna (*RPC III*: cat. 1363)



Figure 98: Coin from Smyrna (*RPC III*: cat. 1973)



Figure 99: Coin from Smyrna (*RPC III*: cat. 1974)



Figure 100: Coin from Clazomenae (*RPC III*: cat. 1988)



Figure 101: Coin from Erythrae (*RPC III*: cat. 1996)



Figure 102: Coin from Teos (*RPC III*: cat. 1999)



Figure 103: Coin from Teos (*RPC III*: cat. 2000)



Figure 104: Coin from Hypaepa (*RPC III*: cat. 2031)



Figure 105: Coin from Lebedus (*RPC III*: cat. 2002)



Figure 106: Coin from Ephesus (*RPC III*: cat. 2079)



Figure 107: Coin from Ephesus (*RPC III*: cat. 2080)



Figure 108: Coin from Ephesus (*RPC III*: cat. 2081)



Figure 109: Coin from Nicaea Cilbianorum (*RPC III*: cat. 2033)



Figure 110: Coin from Nysa (*RPC III*: cat. 2091)

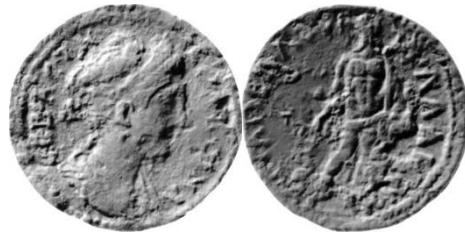


Figure 111: Coin from Tralles (*RPC III*: cat. 2087)



Figure 112: Coin from Tralles (*RPC III*: cat. 2089)



Figure 113: Coin from Miletus (*RPC III*: cat. 2146)



Figure 114 (left): Coin from Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*RPC III*: cat. 2129)



Figure 115 (right): Coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum (*RPC III*: cat. 2128)



Figure 116: Coin from Harpasa (*RPC III*: cat. 2227)



Figure 117: Coin from Attuda (*RPC III*: cat. 2258)



Figure 118: Coin from Attuda (*RPC III*: cat. 2259)



Figure 119: Coin from Trapezopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 2262A)



Figure 120 (left): Coin from Heraclea Salbace (*RPC III*: cat. 2273)



Figure 121 (right): Coin from Heraclea Salbace (*RPC III*: cat. 2274)



Figure 122: Coin from Attuda (*RPC III*: cat. 2260)



Figure 123: Coin from Hierapolis (*RPC III*: cat. 1394)



Figure 124: Coin from Cibyra (*RPC III*: cat. 2302)



Figure 125: Coin from Cibyra (*RPC III*: cat. 2304)





Figure 126: Coin from Colossae (*RPC III*: cat. 2310)



Figure 127: Coin from Laodicea (*RPC III*: cat. 2333)



Figure 128: Coin from Laodicea (*RPC III*: cat. 2335)



Figure 129: Coin from Hydreia (*RPC III*: cat. 2361)



Figure 130: Coin from Laodicea (*RPC III*: cat. 2323)



Figure 131: Coin from Tmolus (*RPC III*: cat. 2388A)



Figure 132: Coin from Sardis (*RPC III*: cat. 2405)



Figure 133: Coin from Sardis (*RPC III*: cat. 2406)



Figure 134: Coin from Sardis (*RPC III*: cat. 2404)



Figure 135: Coin from Daldis (*RPC III*: cat. 2415A)



Figure 136: Coin from Sala (*RPC III*: cat. 2445)



Figure 137: Coin from Blandus (*RPC III*: cat. 2450)



Figure 138: Coin from Bagis (*RPC III*: cat. 2460A)



Figure 139: Coin from Grimenothyrae (*RPC III*: cat. 2491)



Figure 140: Coin from Grimenothyrae (*RPC III*: cat. 2492)



Figure 141: Coin from Aezani (*RPC III*: cat. 2508)



Figure 142: Coin from Cadi (*RPC III*: cat. 2501)



Figure 143: Coin from Ancyra (*RPC III*: cat. 2541)



Figure 144: Coin from Tiberiopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 2519)



Figure 145: Coin from Iulia Gordus (*RPC III*: cat. 2554)



Figure 146: Coin from Saitta (*RPC III*: cat. 2544)



Figure 147: Coin from Sardis (*RPC III*: cat. 2398)



Figure 148: Coin from Eucarpia (*RPC III*: cat. 2589)



Figure 149: Coin from Eumenea (*RPC III*: cat. 2584)



Figure 150: Coin from Nysa (*RPC III*: cat. 2575)



Figure 151: Coin from Dorylaeum (*RPC III*: cat. 2642)



Figure 152: Coin from Cestrus (*RPC III*: cat. 3188)



Figure 153: Coin from Corycus (*RPC III*: cat. 3243)



Figure 154 (left): Coin from Seleucia ad Calycadnum (*RPC III*: cat. 3235)



Figure 155 (right): Coin from Mallus (*RPC III*: cat. 3326)



Figure 156: Coin from Pompeiopolis (*RPC III*: cat. 3245)



Figure 157: Coin from Zephyrion (*RPC III*: cat. 3252)



Figure 158: Coin from Tarsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3275)



Figure 159: Coin from Tarsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3277)



Figure 160: Coin from Tarsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3284)



Figure 161: Coin from Aegeae (*RPC III*: cat. 3350)



Figure 162: Coin from Mopsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3360)



Figure 163: Coin from Mopsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3361)



Figure 164 (left): Coin from Epiphanea (*RPC III*: cat. 3394)



Figure 165 (right): Coin from Seleucia ad Calycadnum (*RPC III*: cat. 3234)



Figure 166: Coin from Mopsus (*RPC III*: cat. 3376)



Figure 167: Coin from Aelia Capitolina (*RPC III*: cat. 3968)



Figure 168: Coin from Gaba (*RPC III*: cat. 3950)



Figure 169: Coin from Gaba (*RPC III*: cat. 3951)



Figure 170: Coin from Gaba (*RPC III*: cat. 3952)



Figure 171: Coin from Gaba (*RPC III*: cat. 3944)



Figure 172: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5772)



Figure 173: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5775)



Figure 174: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5729)



Figure 175: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5773)



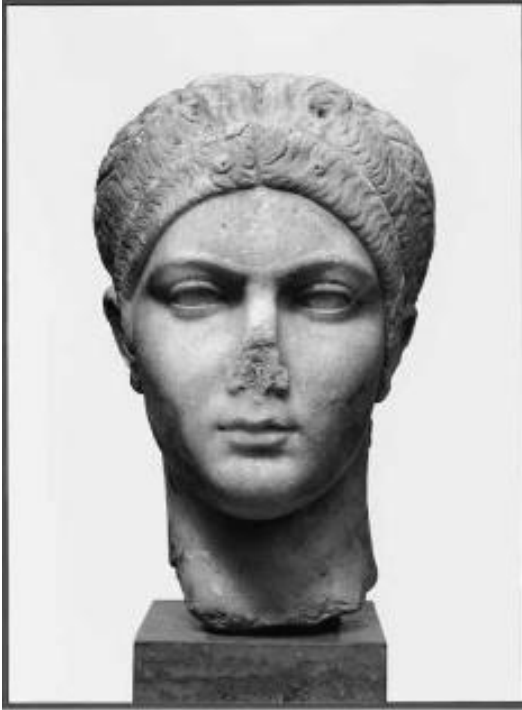
Figure 176: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5788)



Figure 177: Coin from Alexandria (*RPC III*: cat. 5821)



Catalogue Figures

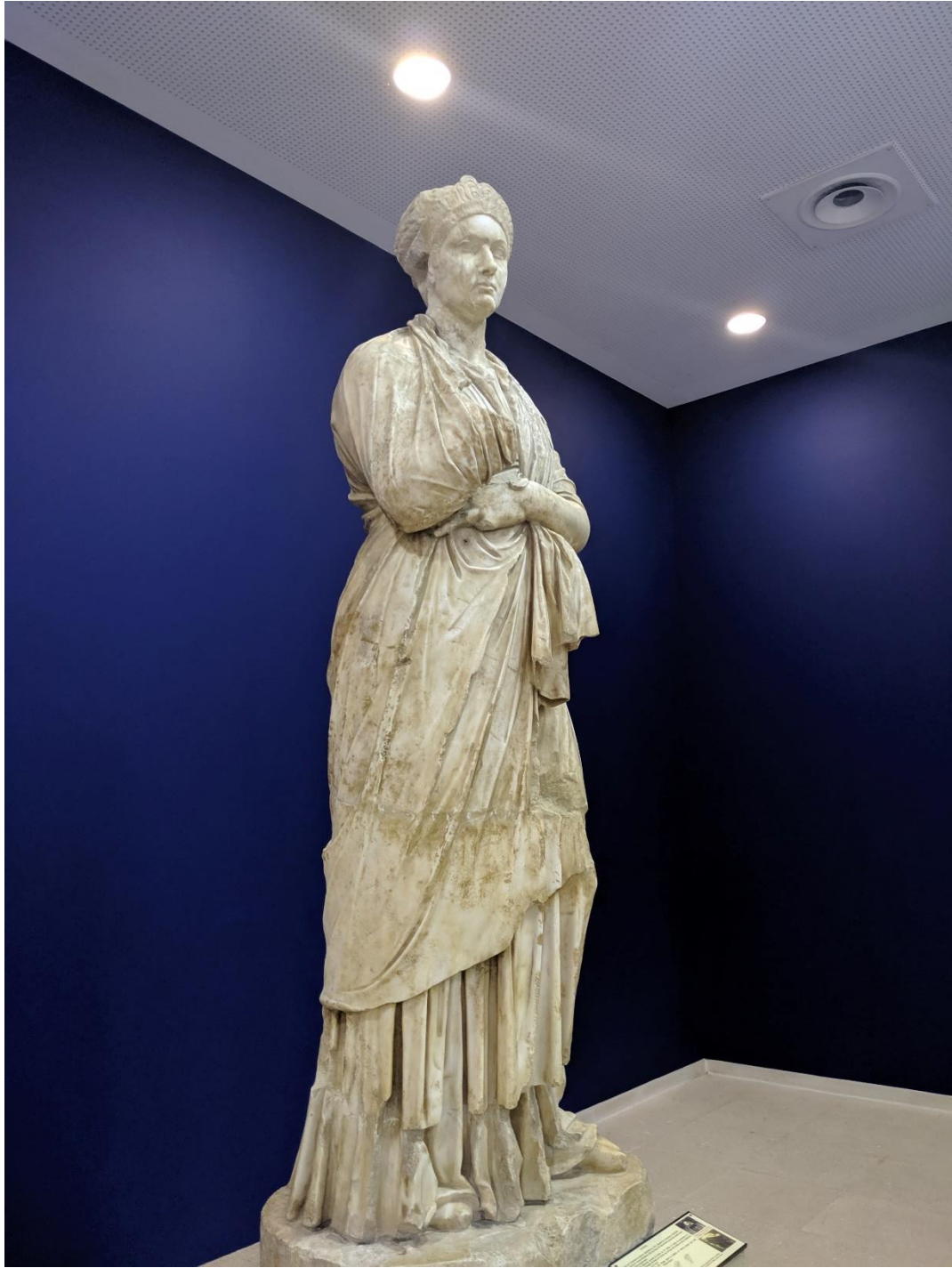


*1. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 774 (cat. 675) (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek online database: kulturarv.dk)*



*2. Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, France, inv. 2008.1.102 (photos by author)*

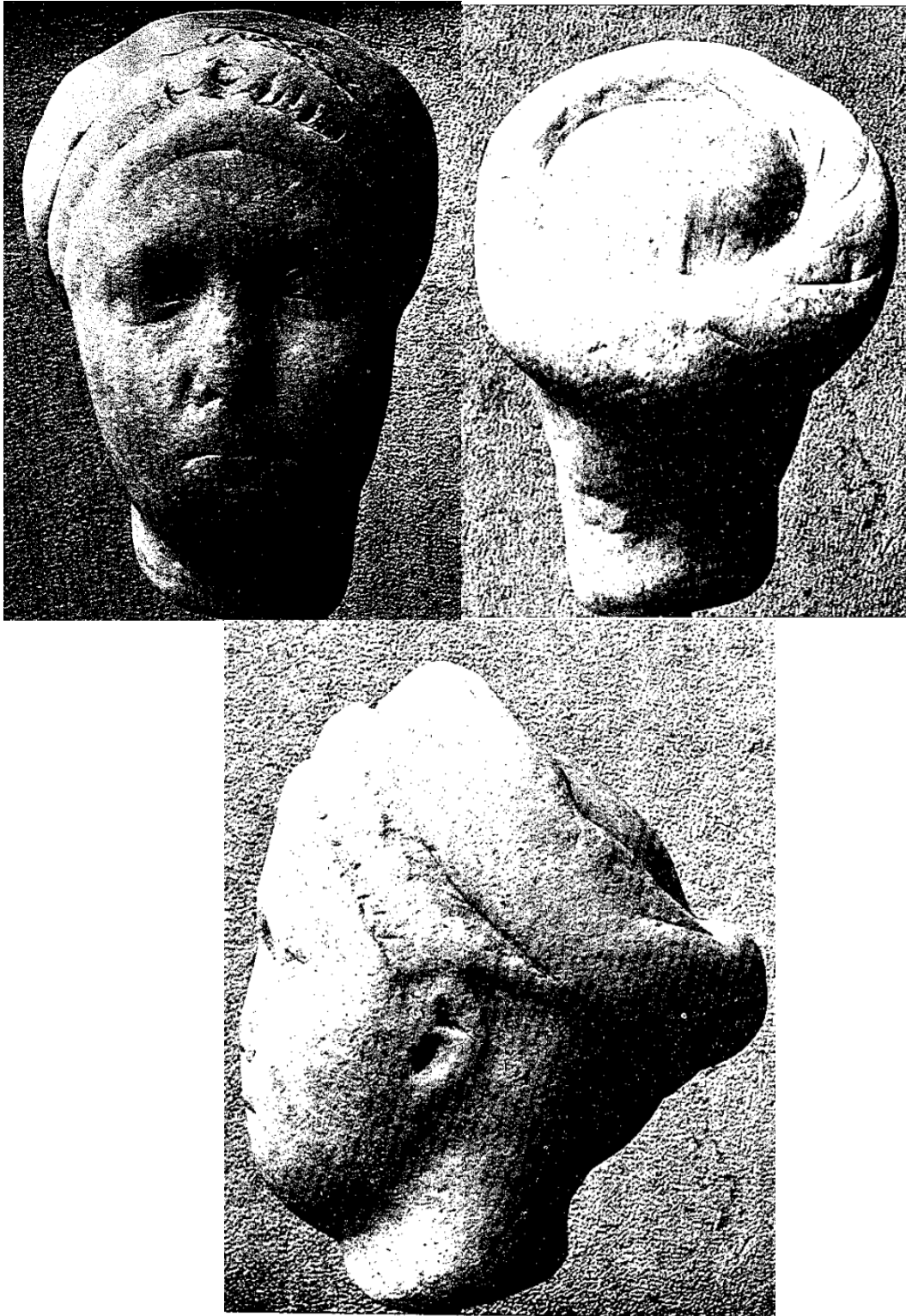




*3. Musée archéologique, Vaison-la-Romaine, France, inv. 990.54.004 (photos by author)*



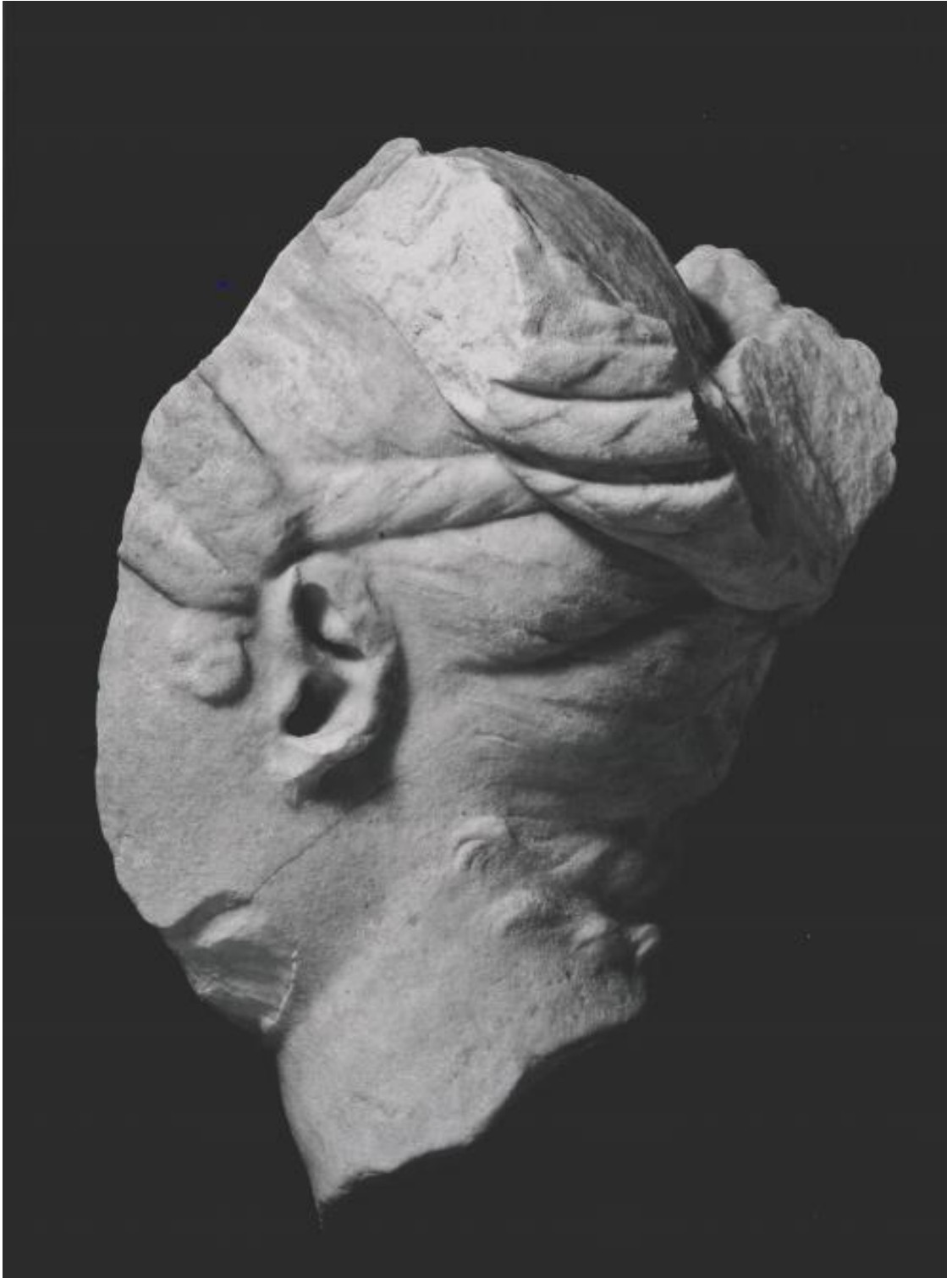
*3. Musée archéologique, Vaison-la-Romaine, France, inv. 990.54.004 (photos by author)*



*4. Museo del Sannio, Benevento, Italy, inv. 1950 (Carandini 1969: fig. 62, 64, 67)*



*5. Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence, Italy, Marble Gallery n. 19 (photos by author)*



6. *Villa Adriana, Tivoli, Italy, inv. 44438 (Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 175)*



*7. Museo Arqueologico Provincial, Seville, Spain, RE 148-2 (Museo Arqueologico Provincial online catalogue)*



*8. Malmström Collection, Malmö, Sweden (Carandini 1969: fig. 61, 63, 65)*



***9. Privately owned by the Dubroff Family, currently on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC, USA, inv. L. 1995.6.1 (photos by author)***



**10. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 848 (Sala dei Fasti Moderni II 7) (top right: Alexandridis 2004: pl. 39.2; remaining photos by author)**





*11. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria, inv. I 1660 (head) and I 1674 (upper body) (top photo: Alexandridis 2004: pl. 37.2; bottom photos: Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: pl. 46.1, 2, 4).*



*12. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 1489 (683) (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek online database: kulturarv.dk)*



*13. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse, France, inv. Ra 76 (formerly 30.133) (photos by author)*



*14. Louvre, Paris, France, MR 342 (MA 1190) (photos by author)*



*15. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany, inv. 496 (Carandini 1969: fig. 241)*



*16. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany, Charlottenburg Antikensammlung, inv. 1973.3 (Alexandridis 2004: pl. 37.3, 4)*



*17. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence, Italy, inv. 14547 (photos by author)*



*18. Quadreria G. Cesarini, Fossombrone, Italy, inv. 1392 (photos by author)*



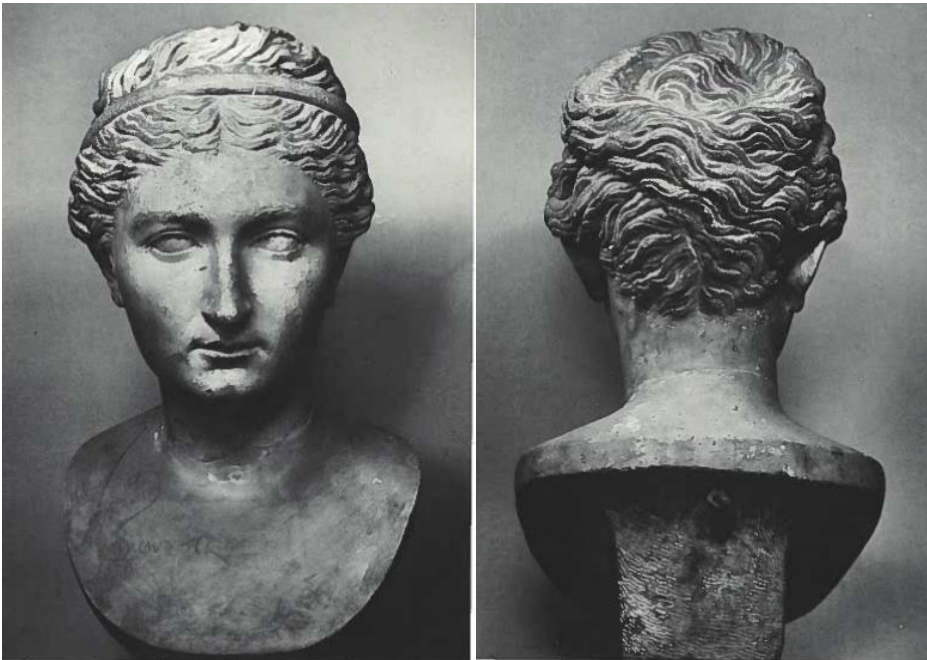
*19. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 457 (Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 145)*



*20. Palazzo Ducale di Mantova, Mantua, Italy, inv. b819 (photos by author)*



*20. Palazzo Ducale di Mantova, Mantua, Italy, inv. b819 (photos by author)*



*21. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, Salla delle Colombe inv. 338 (Fittschen and Zanker 1983: pl. 12)*





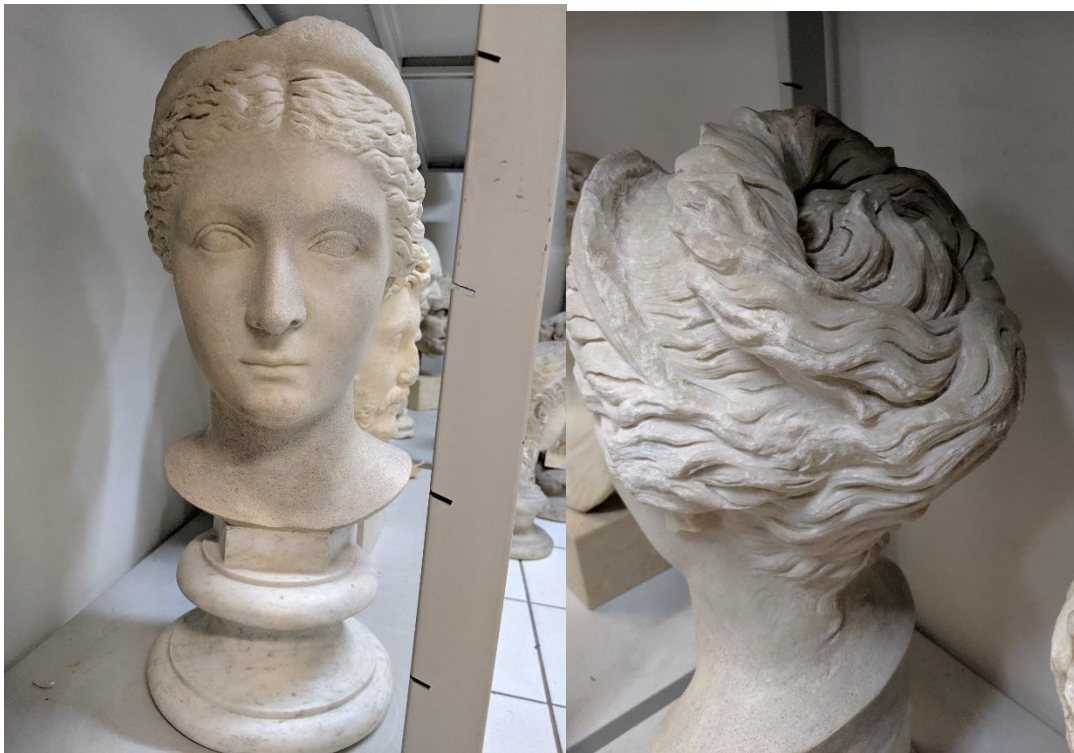
**21. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, Salla delle Colombe inv. 338 (Fittschen and Zanker 1983: pl. 12)**



**22. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 1433 (Fittschen and Zanker 1983: pl. 13)**



*22. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 1433 (Fittschen and Zanker 1983: pl. 13)*



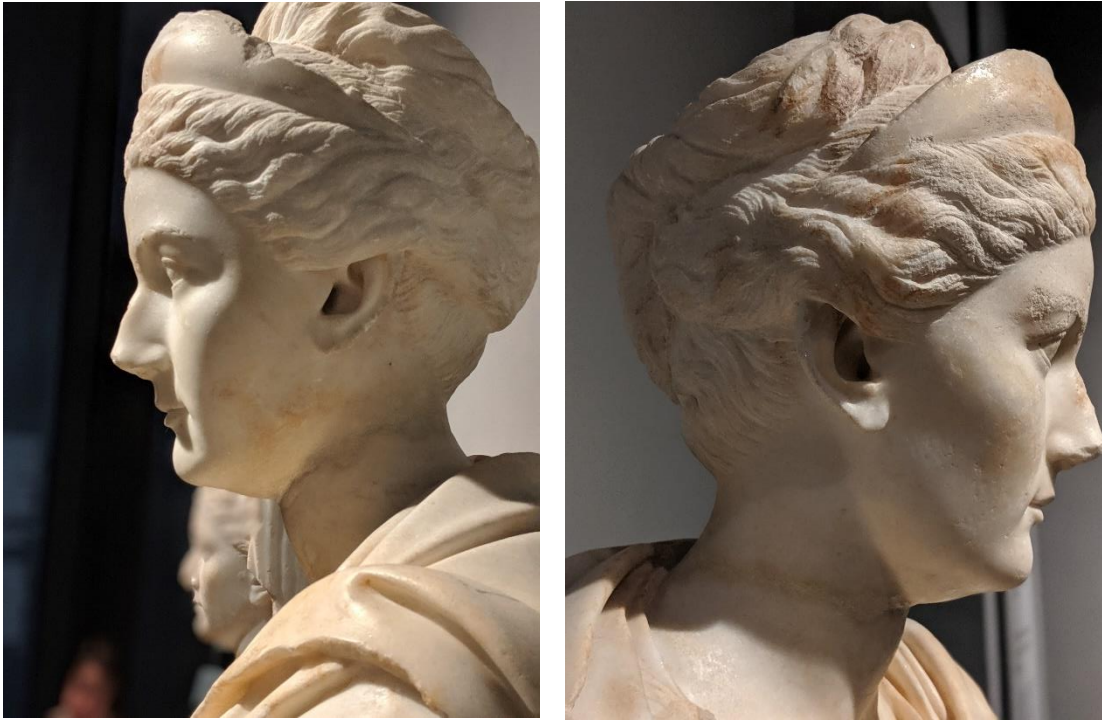
*23. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 577 (photos by author)*



*23. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 577 (photos by author)*



*24. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy inv. 1222 (photos by author)*



*24. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy inv. 1222 (photos by author)*



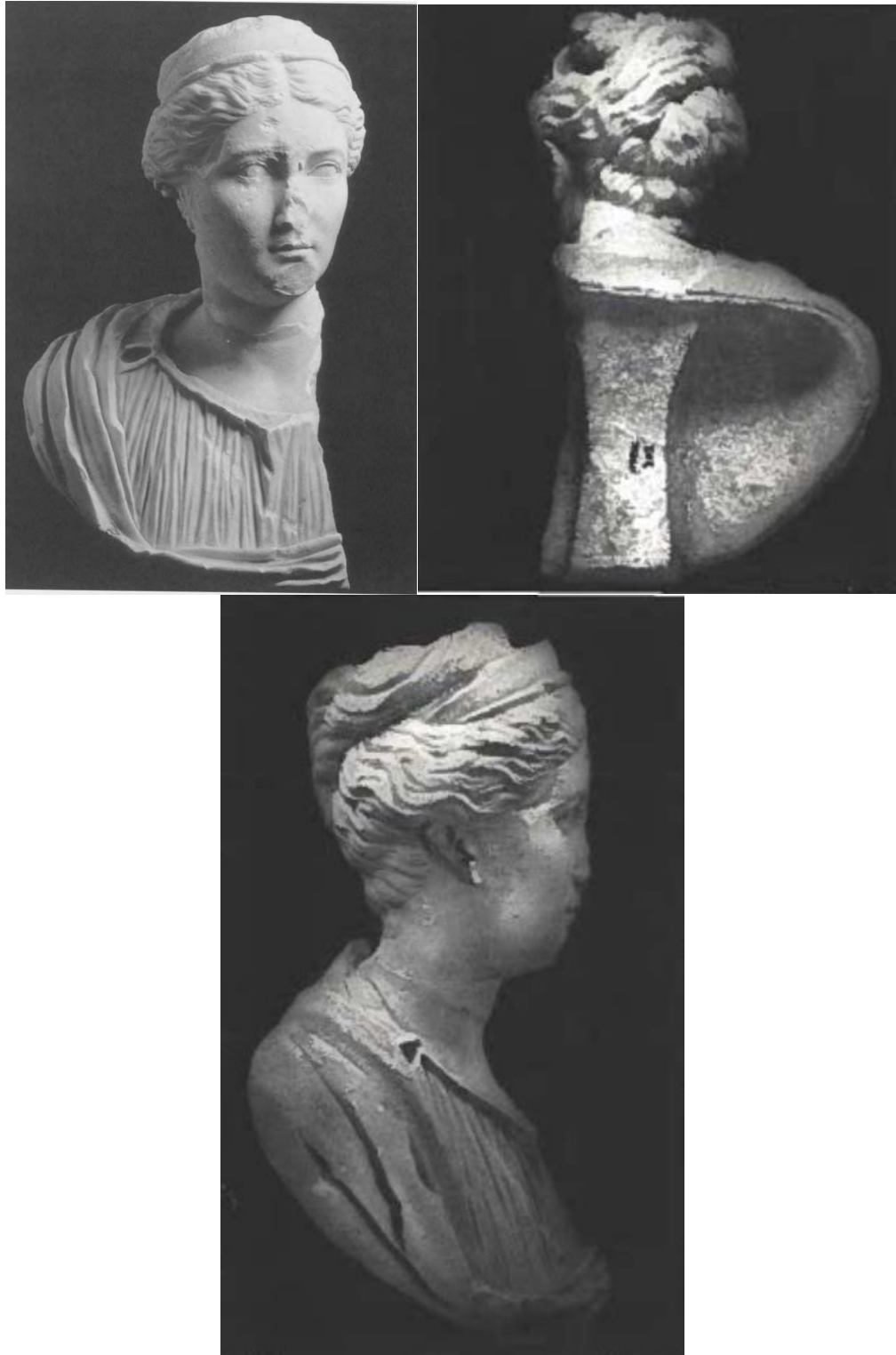
*25. Uffizi Gallery, Rome, Italy, inv. 1914.161*



*25. Uffizi Gallery, Rome, Italy, inv. 1914.161 (photos by author)*



*26. Castello Ducale, Sessa Aurunca, Italy, inv. 297043 (Wood 2015: fig. 8)*



*27. Syracuse Museum, Syracuse, Italy, inv. 72699 (top left: Alexandridis: pl. 38.2; rest: Anderson 1989: 121)*



**28. Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain, inv. 210-E (top left: Museo del Prado online; rest: Schröder 1993: 202)**



*29. Formerly Margam Park, UK (Poulsen 1923: cat. 62)*



*30. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 1350 (Chiaramonti 712) (photos by author)*





*31. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 121539 (photos by author)*



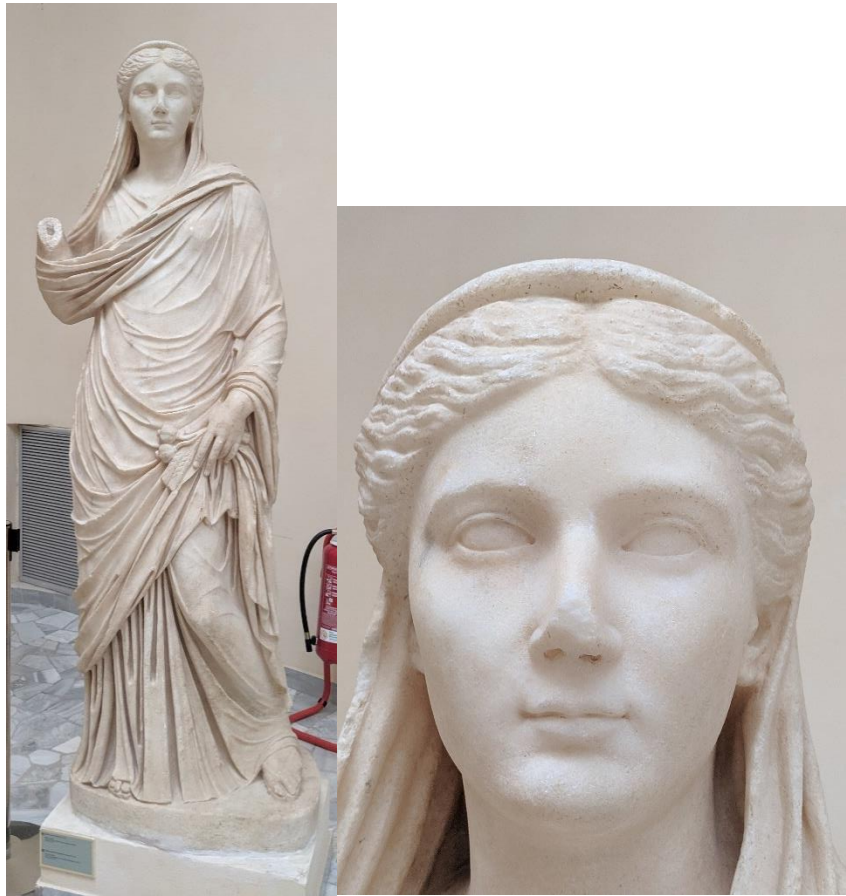
*32. Villa Adriana, Tivoli, Italy (Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 169-170)*



*33. Musei Reali di Torino, Turin, Italy (photos by author)*



**34. Formerly Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA, inv. 1979.556 (top left and bottom: Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 110, 112; top right: Vermeule 1981: 314)**



***35. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 25 (photos by author)***



*36. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 1242 and 1963 (left: Alexandridis 2004: pl. 36.3; right: Carandini 1969: fig. 261)*



*37. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 1213 (Scala IV II) (photos by author)*



*38. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 629 (photos by author)*

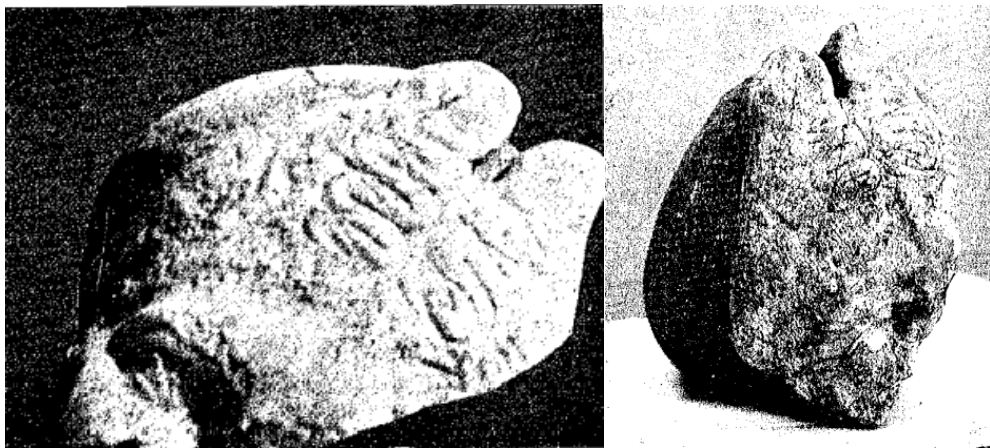


39. Izmit Museum, Izmit, Turkey, inv. 881 (*Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: pl. 44*)





*40. Musée National des Antiquités, Algiers, Algeria (Carandini 1969: fig. 37, 39)*



*41. Annaba Archaeological Museum, Annaba, Algeria (Carandini 1969: fig. 40, 41)*



*42. Musée Municipal, Lambaesis, Algeria, inv. 5 (left: Cagnat 1895: pl. 3; right: Carandini 1969: fig. 46)*



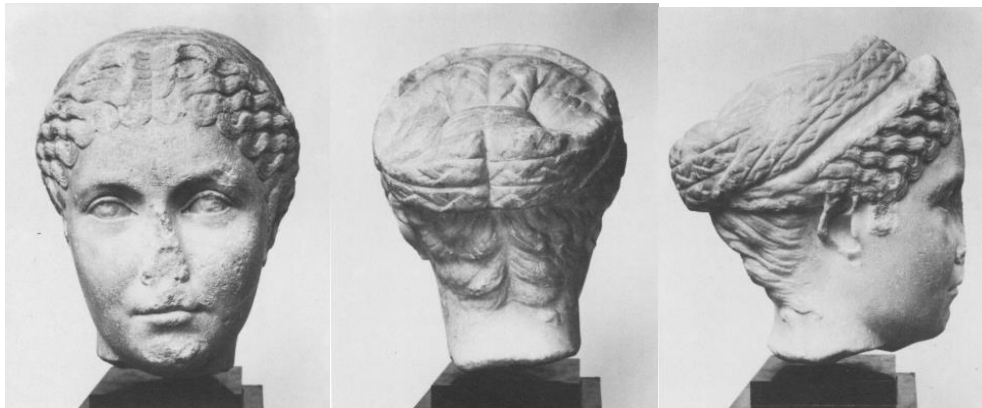
*43. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 1458 ((Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek online database: kulturarv.dk)*



*44. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. 1742 (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek online database: kulturarv.dk)*



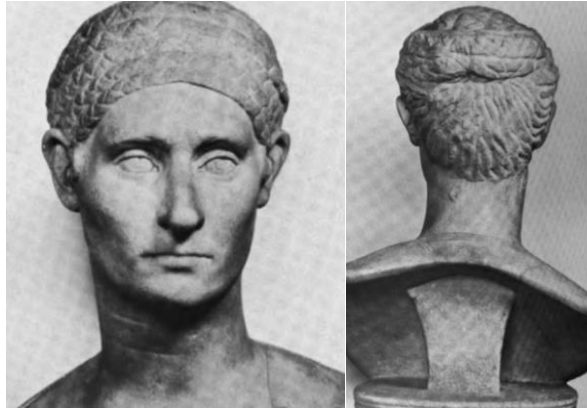
*45. Louvre, Paris, France, inv. MNE 1014 (hair Ma 1756, body Ma 1683) (photos by author)*



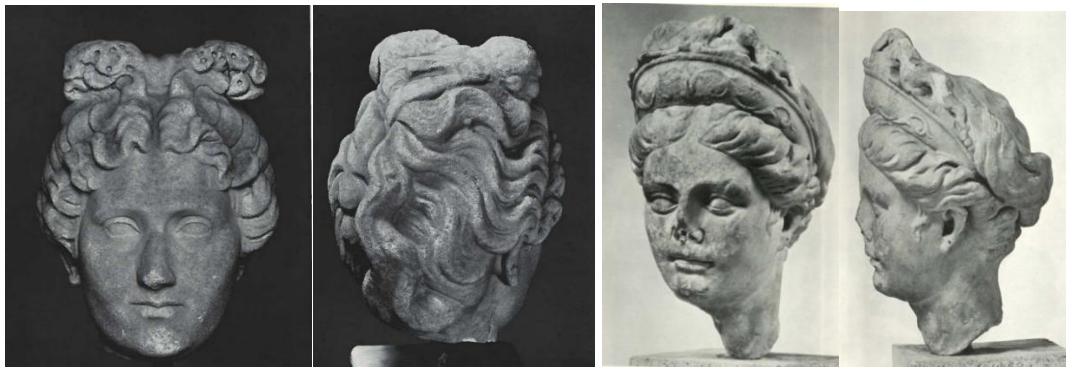
*46. Louvre, Paris, France, inv. Ma 4882 (MNE 794) (Baratte 1984: 302)*



*48. Private Collection, Paris, France (Chevalier 2011: 2, 3)*



**49. Graflich Erbach-Erbachische Sammlung, Erbach, Germany (Fittschen 1977: pl. 32.3, 4)**



**Left: 50. Fasanerie Castle, Fulda, Germany (von Heintze 1968: pl. 55, 56)**

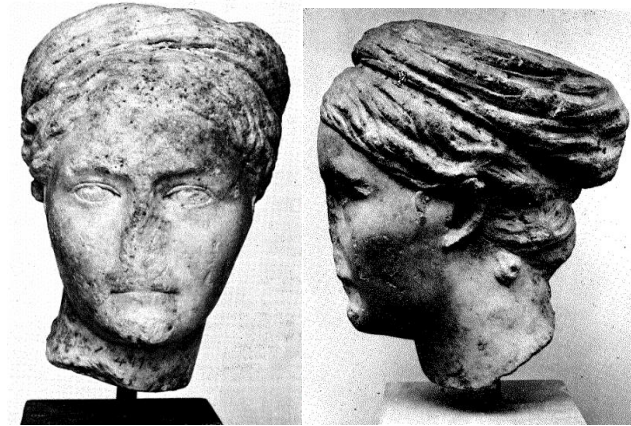
**Right: 51. Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart, Germany (Hausmann 1975: 92-93 fig. 35, 36)**



**52. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Germany (Carandini 1969: fig. 273-275)**



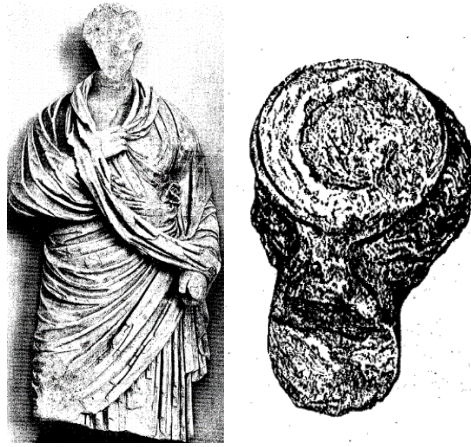
53. Athens National Museum, Athens, Greece, inv. 357 (Carandini 1969: fig. 165-166)



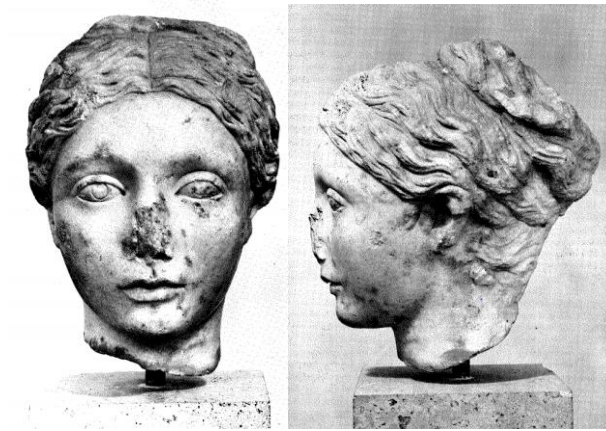
54. Athens National Museum, Athens, Greece, inv. 449 (Datsulis-Stravridis 1974: 262-263)



55. Chersoneses, Crete, Greece (Marinatos 1933-1935: fig. 28)



*56. Olympia Museum, Olympia, Greece (Carandini 1969: fig. 270, 272)*



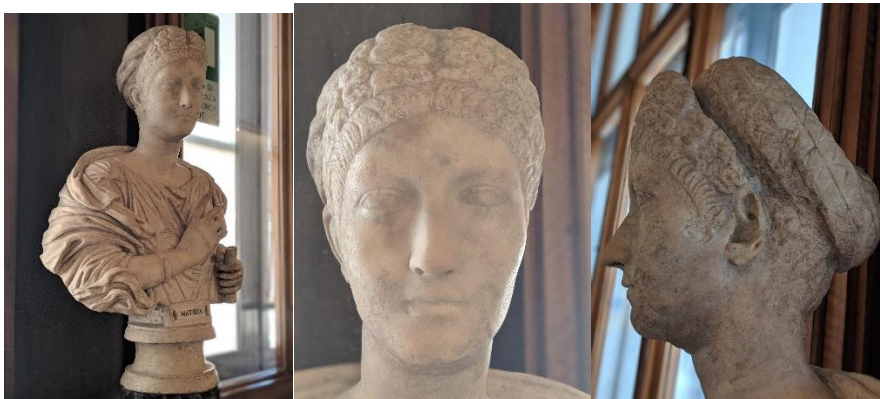
*58. Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki, Greece, inv. 3 (Datsulis-Stravridis 1974: 264-265)*



*59. Musei di Fiesole, Fiesole, Italy (photos by author)*



**60. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Florence, Italy, inv. 91230 (photos by author)**



**61. Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Italy inv. 1914.151 (photos by author)**



**62. Private collection of Baron M. Lazzaroni, Florence, Italy (Mingazzini 1932: 235-237)**



**64. Museo di Lucus Feroniae, Lucus Feroniae, Italy, inv. 848 (Adembri and Nicolai 2007: 163)**



**65. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 24 (photos by author)**

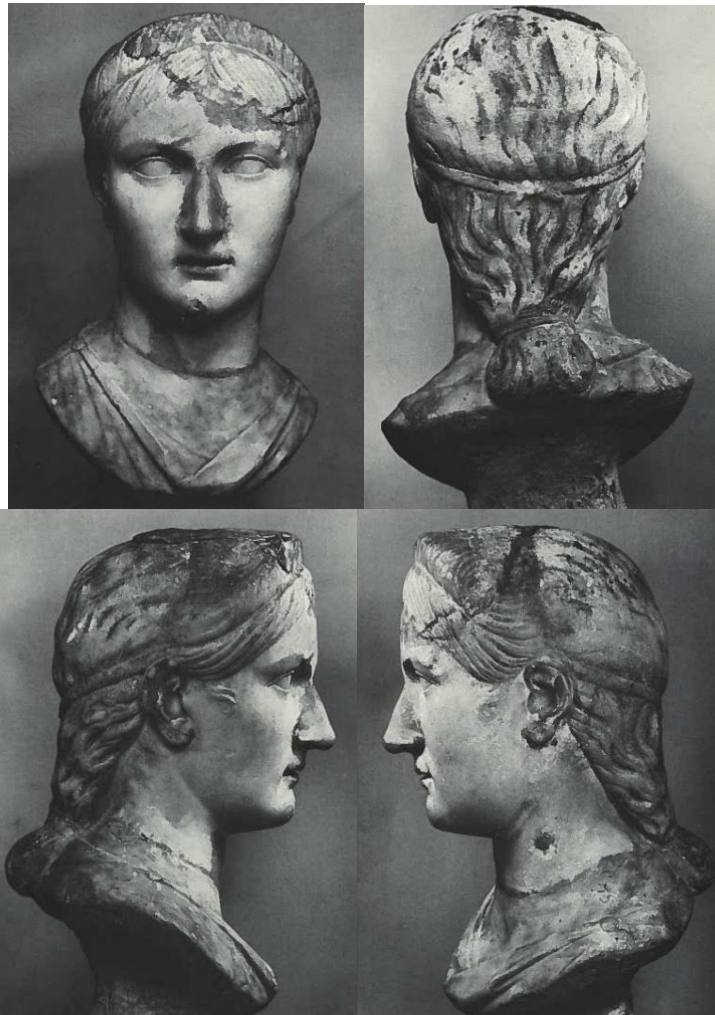


**66. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy, inv. 1244 (body), 1954 (head) (Carandini 1969: fig. 13-15)**

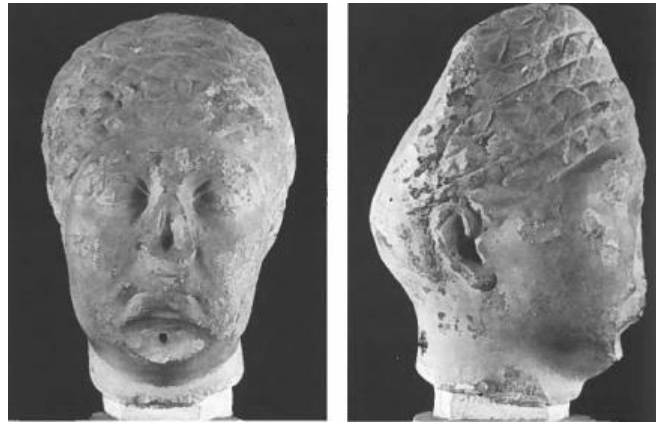




*67. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. MC 0444 (Imperatori 33) (Capitoline online catalogue)*



*68. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy, inv. 690 (formerly Albani B 99) (Fittschen and Zanker 1983: pl. 11)*



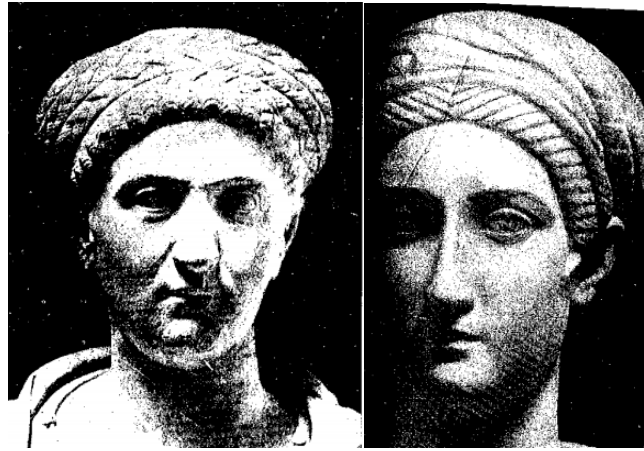
*69. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, inv. 52634 (Giuliano 1988: 246)*



*70. Villa Medici, Rome, Italy, east wing of the garden (photos by author)*



*71. Villa Medici, Rome, Italy (de Azevedo 1951: pl. 14)*

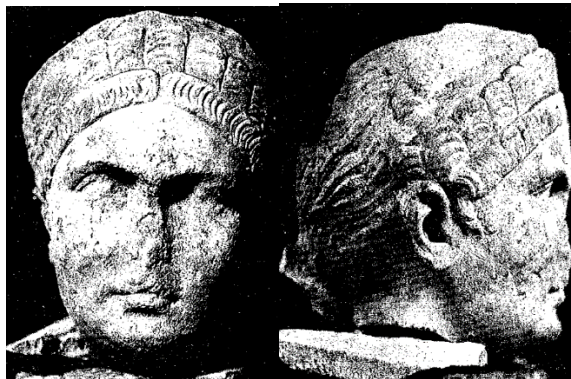


*Left: 72. Museo Torlonia, Rome, Italy, inv. 543 (Carandini 1969: fig. 54)*

*Right: 73. Museo Torlonia, Rome, Italy, inv. 547 (Carandini 1969: fig. 177)*



*76. Palazzo Odescalchi, Rome, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 100-102)*



*77. Catacombs of S. Sebastiano, Rome, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 56, 58)*



78. *Private collection, Rome, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 90, 91, 95, 96)*



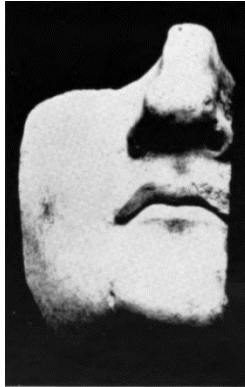
80. *Formerly on the Jandolo Art Market, Rome, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 197-198)*



81. *Lost from Villa Adriana, Tivoli, Italy (Carandini 1969: fig. 228)*



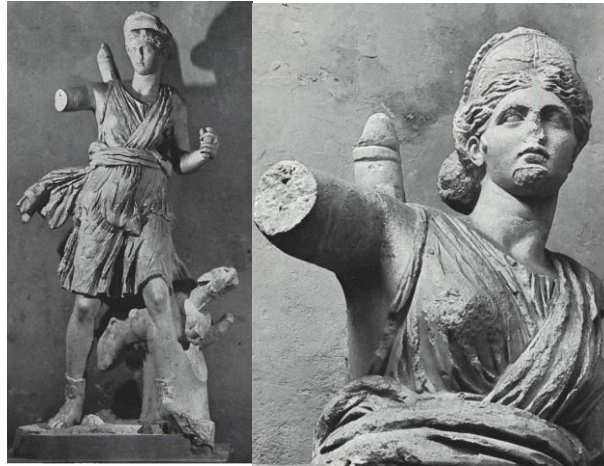
82. *Cyrene Museum, Cyrene, Libya, inv. C57002 (Rosenbaum 1960: pl. XXIV.3, XXV.1-3)*



83. *Lost from Cyrene, Libya (Rosenbaum 1960: pl. CIV.4)*



84. *Leptis Magna, Libya (Caputo and Traversari 1979: pl. 67, 70)*



**85. Tripoli Museum, Tripoli, Libya, inv. 56 (Caputo and Traversari 1979: pl. 65, 66)**



**Left: 86. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Netherlands, inv. Pb 108 (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden online catalogue)**

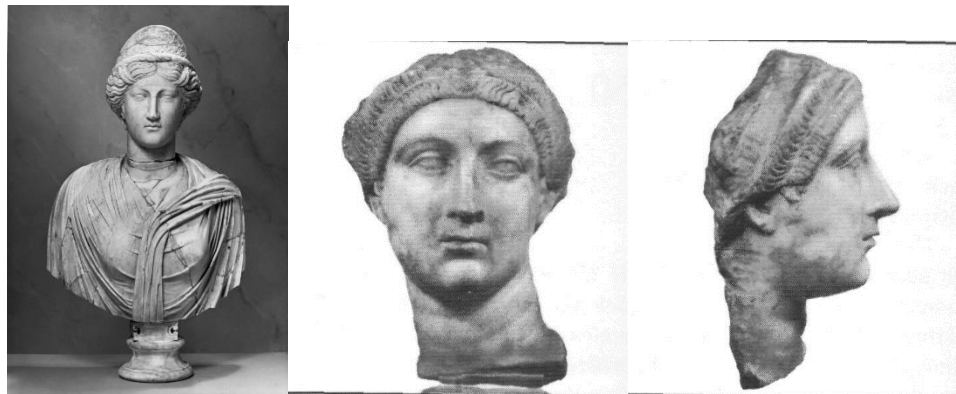
**Right: 87. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Netherlands, inv. Pb 140 (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden online catalogue)**



**88. The State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russia (Carandini 1969: fig. 103, 104)**



**89. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia, inv. 400a (middle: Votschinina 1974: 460; rest: Alexandridis 2004: pl. 39.3, 4)**



**Left: 90. National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, inv. 93 (National Museum online catalogue)**

**Right: 92. Private Collection, Zurich, Switzerland (Jucker and Willers 1983: 126)**

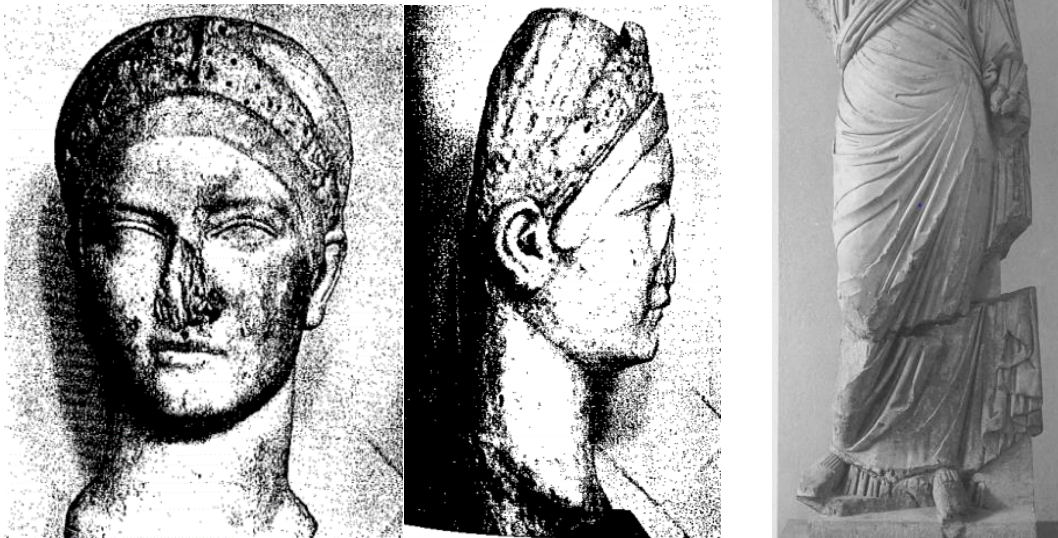


**93. Sousse Museum, Hadrumetum, Tunisia (Gauckler et al. 1902: pl. XI.1)**



*Left: 94. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C983 (Alexandridis 2004: pl. 36.1)*

*Right: 95. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C1015 (Gaucker et al. 1910: XXXIV.1)*



*Left: 96. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C1346 (Carandini 1969: fig. 23, 24)*

*Right: 97. Musée du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia, inv. C1363 (Alexandridis 2004: pl. 34.2)*





**98. Horrea of Hadrian, Andriace, Turkey (Wörrle 1975: pl. 38 A)**



**99. Antalya Museum, Antalya, Turkey, inv. 3045 (inv. 18 statue, inv. 18A head) (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966: pl. XXXI)**



**100. Antalya Museum, Antalya, Turkey, inv. 3066 (head) 3086 (body) (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966: pl. XXII)**



*102. Geyre Museum, Geyre, Turkey, inv. 68-341 (head), 70-496 (body) (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: pl. 43)*



*103. Mansia Museum, Mansia, Turkey, inv. 3 (Hanfmann and Ramage 1987: cat. 78)*



*104. Selçuk Museum, Selçuk, Turkey, inv. 963 (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979: pl. 108.1, 2)*



*105. Formerly Marbury Hall, Cheshire, UK (Carandini 1969: fig. 85)*



*107. British Museum, London, UK (Carandini 1969: fig. 50, 51)*



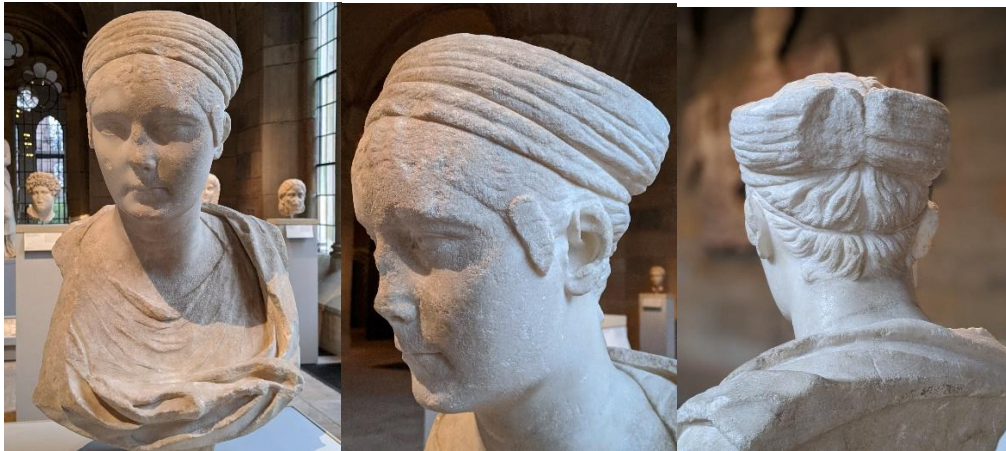
*108. Holkham Hall, Norfolk, UK (Carandini 1969: fig. 178)*



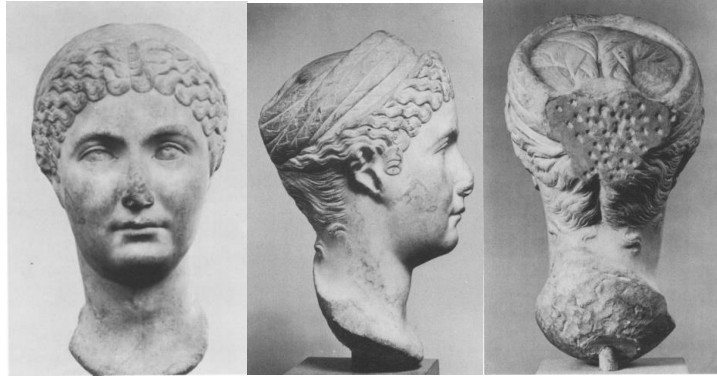
*109. The Getty Villa, Malibu, California, USA, inv. 70.AA.100 (photos by author)*



*110. The Getty Villa, Malibu, California, USA, inv. 70.AA.117 (photos by author)*



*111. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, USA, inv. 1992.2.1 (photos by author)*



***112. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, USA, inv. 21.88.35 (Baratte 1984: 304)***

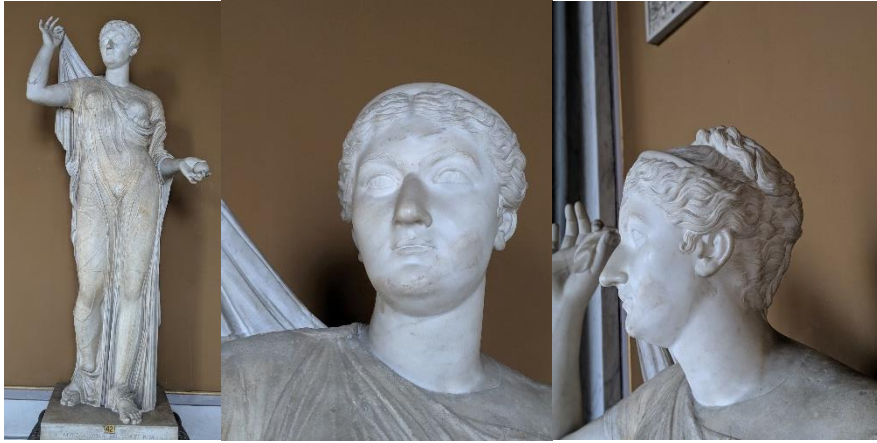


***Left: 113. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC, USA, inv. 22.139.2 (photos by author)***

***Right: 114. New York University, NYC, USA, inv. X.008 (Bonfante and Fowlkes 2006: 173)***



***115. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 634 (Sala dei Busti 359) (photos by author)***



*117. Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, inv. 816 (Gabinetto delle Maschere 429)*