

## The Statue Industry of Beauty



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5 February to 15 April 2026  
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in the Cast Collection of Schloss Hohentübingen

EBERHARD KARLS  
UNIVERSITÄT  
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UNIVERSITÀ  
di **VERONA**

Dipartimento  
di **CULTURE E CIVILTÀ**

# THE STATUE INDUSTRY OF BEAUTY

Creating a Roman Princess  
Then and Now

Edited by  
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with DARIO CALOMINO  
and PATRICK LENAGHAN



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## FOREWORD

This volume accompanies the exhibition «*The Statue Industry of Beauty: Creating a Roman Princess, Then and Now*», hosted by the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen, and on display from 5 February to 15 April 2026 at the Museum of the University of Tübingen (MUT) – in the Cast Collection of Schloss Hohentübingen.

The exhibition and this publication are the result of a collaborative effort among four partners: the Institute of Classical Archaeology (Cristina Murer, Martin Dorka Moreno, and Martin Kovacs), the Department of Cultures and Civilizations at the University of Verona (Dario Calomino, Julia Lenaghan, and Daniele Bursich), the Hispanic Society of America in New York (Patrick Lenaghan), and the Emerging EdTech Department at Fordham University (Nicola Terzulli).

The exhibition project lies within the broader framework of the RESP Project «*The Roman Emperor Seen from the Provinces*», based at the University of Verona and funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme.<sup>1</sup> RESP investigates the genesis, spread and diversification of the images, and portraits of Roman emperors and their family members across the provincial territories of the Empire, especially to understand the dependencies of local works from metropolitan models and the roles played by local elites and

workshops in this process. The story of how the public image of a Julio-Claudian princess was forged and became an icon of beauty for noblewomen in every corner of the Mediterranean, from Rome to Sicily and from the Vesuvian region to Spain, shows beautifully what the large-scale Roman statuary industry was capable of producing at the outset of the Empire.

This is also a compelling case study for the current research strategies of the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen on sculpture, as well as for the Collaborative Research Centre 1391 «*Andere Ästhetik*» at the University of Tübingen, which examines texts and objects from pre-modern Europe and explores the ways in which their aesthetic status was constructed and expressed.<sup>2</sup> Both research programs in Verona and Tübingen find an ideal common ground in the investigation of the various facets of the Roman statuary industry – from the rationale behind the different iconographic choices of buyers and producers, to the practicalities of model reproduction, and to the changing cultural and aesthetic perspectives of the final consumers. The exhibition and the accompanying volume presented here are the fruits of this synergy, which combines the University of Tübingen’s long-standing experience in display, research, and teaching with the RESP team’s methodology, based on the use of three-dimensional imaging and modelling to achieve an enhanced perception and understanding of this complex reality.

This project would not have been possible without the generous collaboration of all the museums that allowed the research teams in Verona, Tübingen, and Fordham to examine, study, photograph, and 3D-scan the objects that helped shape this story.

Foremost thanks are due to the Hispanic Society of America and Patrick Lenaghan, who deserve the highest recognition for providing the centerpiece of the research on which the concept of this exhibition is founded.

The same heartfelt thanks go to the Glyptothek in Munich, represented by Christian Gliwitzky, which played an equally crucial role in making this possible – not only by lending us the beautiful portrait head of Livia by Francesco Antonio Franzoni for our exhibition, but also by producing, for the first time, a cast of the statue of Livia preserved in the Glyptothek, the other key focal point of this exhibition. The mold and the first cast were produced by the Glyptothek’s out-

standing restoration team, Flavio Bertolin and Olaf Herzog, with the assistance of Inga Vollmer-Bardelli. The subsequent cast made from that mold for the University of Tübingen was created by Inga Vollmer-Bardelli (Institute of Classical Archaeology, University of Tübingen), and Lea Radau (Institute of Classical Archaeology, University of Freiburg). Our thanks also go to Jens-Arne Dickmann (Freiburg) and Alexander Heinemann (Tübingen) for their support in organizing this joint casting project.

Beyond the generous funding provided by the RESP Project («The Roman Emperor Seen from the Provinces»), which supported all digital reproductions and the publication of this volume, many other sponsors played an important role in making this exhibition possible.

We are especially grateful to the «Stiftung Karl Ruß», which financed the exhibition, and the «Verein der Freunde des Museums Schloss Hohentübingen e. V.», whose generous support made the casting of the Munich statue possible.

Further institutions generously permitted 3D scanning and printing of their respective copies of the statue's original model: the Museo dei Campi Flegrei, Castello Aragonese in Baia (Fabio Pagano), the Glyptothek in Munich (Christian Gliwitzky) and the Department of Greece and Rome of the British Museum (Thorsten Opper).

Warm thanks also go to all researchers and collaborators who contributed in various ways to the realization of the exhibition and this volume: Allyson Super (John Cabot University in Rome), who, as part of her internship at the University of Verona for the RESP project, simulated the restoration of the reduced-scale model of the HSA statue; and 3D Italy Milan, for the post-processing and printing of the 3D models for the RESP project.

The exhibition in Tübingen would not have been possible without the inspiring help and guidance of Alexander Heinemann, Inga Vollmer-Bardelli and Michael Rogosch. Furthermore, we would like to thank, above all, Felix Kohler, who so skillfully crafted all the installations for the exhibition, as well as the many dedicated students from the Institute of Classical Archaeology in Tübingen for their invaluable help.

For their work on this exhibition volume, heartfelt thanks go to Patrick Lenaghan for his editorial guidance and to Martina Astolfi and Philip Harrison for their assistance in the editing process.

Finally, our gratitude goes to Julia Lenaghan, whose inspiring vision brought together so many institutions and individuals for this exhibition project. She was, in every sense, the driving force who set this project in motion and kept it moving through her extraordinary knowledge, energy and dedication.

*Dario Calomino & Cristina Murer  
Verona & Tübingen, October 2025*

## References

- 1 grant agreement n° 101002763: <https://resp.dcuci.univr.it/>.
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# V

## THE IMAGE OF DRUSILLA THROUGH THE LENS OF COINAGE

DARIO CALOMINO

Sculpture was the most accurate and spectacular medium through which the images of Roman emperors were displayed and propagated, but coinage was its closest counterpart and the one produced on the largest scale. As serially minted portable and almost imperishable objects, travelling from hand to hand across the Mediterranean and beyond, coins were, in effect, mass-media, for the way they spread messages of political and cultural relevance through their designs and inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> It was especially through them that the imperial image became universally known and recognizable as part of the incredibly efficient state machine designed to replicate and disseminate the official portraits of emperors and their relatives in every format and size.<sup>2</sup> Julia Drusilla, Caligula's sister, is among the ones whose memory lives in sculpture and coinage alike: even though she died only a year after Caligula's accession and not much has survived,<sup>3</sup> the few coins that celebrated her either in life or posthumously give us unique insights into how her public imagery took shape.

The rise of Augustus from the ashes of the civil war against Mark Antony as the sole, undisputed ruler of Rome, saw the birth of the first international monetary system unifying the Western and the Eastern Mediterranean under the same currencies, all equally marked by his image as the ultimate symbol of imperial power. Even the coins that

were not produced in Rome and other state mints, but in hundreds of provincial cities across the Empire, carried his image to pay homage to the new authority that he embodied. Further to that, both state coins and Roman provincial coins carried images of the emperor's wife and of many of his relatives: they not only display an incredibly rich gallery of portraits of members of the imperial family, but also allow us to compare how imperial images varied and were interpreted in different contexts and from different perspectives, both reflecting how state propaganda wanted them to be perceived and how they were actually seen outside Rome and the Italian peninsula.

Issues featuring the Augustae and the other women of the imperial family, albeit much less common than those of their male peers, often provide the main if not the only available references for recognizing their portraits on sculpture, which came with inscriptions that are mostly irremediably lost, while coin legends mentioning their names can always be retrieved. Imperial women were sometimes depicted also on the reverses in full figure, possibly intended as reduced and highly simplified versions of life-size or bigger statues, wearing costumes that marked their public status. They were often portrayed with attributes that presented them in the guise of deities, such as Ceres, Iuno or Venus, or divine personifications and living incarnations of moral qualities, such as *Salus*, *Fecunditas* and *Pietas*.<sup>4</sup> In the provincial communities, especially the ones accustomed to tributing divine honors to their living monarchs in the Hellenistic East, women of the imperial family were assimilated to goddesses of local *panthea* in dedications and on provincial coins.<sup>5</sup>

In this respect the Julio-Claudian dynasty marked an era of unparallel change and experimentation, when for the first time the Roman people, along with hundreds of provincial communities, were exposed to the images of an entire ruling family on coins, forming the largest gallery of members of the imperial court to ever feature on public media. This holds true especially for the short reign of Caligula, whose state coinage went well beyond the commemoration of the dynasty's forefather, Divus Augustus: it included Caligula's own father Germanicus<sup>6</sup> – who incidentally had not been his predecessor on the imperial seat, his mother Agrippina Maior,<sup>7</sup> his maternal grandfather Agrippa<sup>8</sup> – who had been dead for nearly fifty years, his deceased brothers Nero and Drusus<sup>9</sup> and his sisters Agrippina Minor, Drusilla

and Livilla.<sup>10</sup> This is a clear example of how coin designs could be used to convey a political message engineered to shape the public opinion: by omitting to commemorate Tiberius and his paternal grandmother Livia, who had prompted Tiberius' rise in the first place, the young emperor gave prominence to his own bloodline in discontinuity with his predecessor, who had not formally adopted him.<sup>11</sup>

All the members of the family portrayed on Caligula's coins were already deceased at the time of their release, except his sisters: after the unprecedented commemoration of the emperor's mother on coinage,<sup>12</sup> this choice was even more groundbreaking and destined to remain unparalleled in the production of the Roman mint. They were honored only once during Caligula's reign, but in truly exceptional terms: it was the first sestertius to ever show the portrait of the emperor on the obverse and the first and last Roman coin on which three women of the imperial family featured all together.<sup>13</sup> They are portrayed on the reverse in full-figure, standing one next to the other, probably all wearing a diadem and the same costume, a Greek-style *chiton* under a *himation* wrapped around their shoulders and under their waists.<sup>14</sup> Each one holds a cornucopia and a different attribute that characterizes them as three distinct divine personifications: to the left stands *Securitas*, leaning on a column; to the right *Fortuna*, pointing a rudder to the ground; in the middle *Concordia*, who holds a *patera* to pour libations in ritual ceremonies (Fig. 5.1). However, instead of the deities to whom they were assimilated, the sisters of Caligula are named individually in the reverse legend, to make sure that their actual identity could not be mistaken. The legend breaks in three parts to place each name next to the corresponding one, from left to right, arguably ordered by age from the eldest to the youngest: AGRIPPINA, DRVSILLA and IVLIA. As the embodiment of safety, harmony and good fortune, respectively, together they form the pillars on which the state rests and builds its strength.<sup>15</sup> Such an honor reflected the extraordinary privileges that were bestowed upon the three of them in the first year of Caligula's reign.<sup>16</sup>

The choice of costumes conforms to the visual dress-code designed for identifying a goddess or a divine personification rather than a Roman *matrona*.<sup>17</sup> (see Chs. 3 and 4) This ties in well also with the iconography adopted in the statues attributed to the Julio-Claudian princesses, whose posture is resembled by that of *Concordia* on the



**Figure 5.1**

Brass *sestertius* of Caligula, Rome AD 37–38; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 36. ANS.1944.100.39337 (<https://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.39337>): 35 mm, 26.08 g.

coin – including the inclination and orientation of the arms, but one cannot tell whether they too were holding divine attributes. In fact, the coin probably gives an allegorical interpretation of what was the mainstream Julio-Claudian princess' public image and perhaps the iconography of the three sisters on Caligula's coins was modelled after a statuary group in which they featured together in the same fashion.

This imagery would never be used on Roman coins again and it is so unique that parallels can hardly be found. The only similar iconography is that of the three *Monetae*, divine personifications of state coinage itself (one for each coined metal), who similarly hold a cornucopia and scales, though it appeared on coins only later, towards the end of the second century (Fig. 5.2).<sup>18</sup>

The image of Caligula's sisters can also be likened to that of the three mythical Graces, who embodied beauty and joyfulness: even though they are mostly nude and the one in the middle is often seen from the back, they place one hand over the other's shoulder just like *Securitas* does with *Concordia* on the *sestertii* (Fig. 5.3).<sup>19</sup> This was probably closer to the ideal of charm and femininity that the image of the emperor's divine sisters might have been meant to convey, especially for the way they engage with and gaze at each other.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the Graces' imagery recalls how the central figure stands out among them: despite the apparent lack of hierarchy between the three

sisters, the most prominent position is held by Drusilla, towards whom the viewer's attention is naturally drawn, also because both Agrippina and Livilla are looking at her. Among the surviving dedications to Drusilla, the one from the Heraion of Samos that addressed her as “New Charis” (νέαν Χάριτα) fits perfectly into this scenario: it documents that, at least in the Greek East, where many inscriptions address her as “New Aphrodite”, she was actually assimilated to one of the Graces as an emblem of beauty, and surely this aspect of her public image must have been prominent in Rome too, where Cassius Dio recounts that she was worshipped in the temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar.<sup>21</sup>

The *sestertii* date to AD 37–38, before Drusilla's premature death and deification (June AD 38), so there is no reason to assume that her centrality in this image was due to anything but Caligula's special devotion: from this perspective, coinage supports the common belief that Drusilla was Caligula's favorite among his sisters.<sup>22</sup>

Nothing ever came close to the audacity of this image, possibly the most compelling evidence from visual culture of the ancient authors' narrative of Caligula's extravagant behavior. It is generally believed that the three sisters were never celebrat-



**Figure 5.2**  
Brass *sestertius* of Commodus, Rome AD 186–187; *RIC* III, no. 500. BM.1872.0709.740 ([https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1872-0709-740](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-740)), reverse: 33 mm, 22.68g.



**Figure 5.3**  
AE of Septimius Severus (Stilabus Barbarus, hegemon), Traianopolis (Thrace), AD 196–198; Schönert-Geiss 1991, no. 27.2, pl. 35. Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Auction 102, 2 May 2021, lot 418, reverse: 32 mm, 13.23 g.

ed again on coins because Agrippina and Livilla fell from grace after their alleged involvement in the conspiracy against their brother in AD 39, which led to their exile to the Pontian islands.<sup>23</sup> This does not explain, though, why Drusilla never appeared on coins either, after her death the year before: perhaps, despite all the excesses for which Caligula's reign is remembered, there was a limit to what could be advertised on state coinage, which might have ruled out commemorating the emperor's deified sister with whom he was rumored to have committed incest.<sup>24</sup>

While it was never used again in metropolitan art, this memorable iconography certainly did not fail to make an impression on the contemporary audience, as can be inferred from its reception in the provinces. The examples known from Roman provincial coinage are meaningful for three reasons: in the first place, because they come from different regions of the empire, both in the West and in the East, offering a sample of how she was honored by communities with different cultural backgrounds and artistic traditions; secondly, because some of them featured her portrait, which is otherwise only documented in sculpture and gems;<sup>25</sup> lastly, because one of them was issued posthumously, documenting her commemoration as *Diva*. Civic administrations and local elites decided what coins their mints would issue and what messages they were meant to convey through their designs and legends, including the ones honoring the imperial House.<sup>26</sup> The celebration of members of the imperial family was not an obligation that they were supposed to meet, but fell within the broader process of incorporation of the new rulers into the changed political order of the Roman world, a vital part of which was the acknowledgment of their roles and even the worship of their personas.<sup>27</sup>

Five cities in the provinces minted coins that commemorated Drusilla: Ercavica in Hispania Tarraconensis, Apamea in Bithynia and Pontus, Smyrna and Miletus in Asia and Caesarea Paneas in Judaea. Sometimes they clearly embraced the metropolitan model, copying the Roman coin type closely, on other occasions they took only inspiration from similar examples or created brand new ones.

Ercavica's issue is an exact reproduction of the reverse type celebrating the three sisters on Caligula's *sestertii* (Fig. 5.4). The habit of copying Roman iconographies on civic coins was popular among the Spanish mints as a way of embracing Roman customs and fulfilling



**Figure 5.4**

AE of Caligula, Ercavica (Tarracoensis), AD 37–38; *RPC I*, no. 467A. MNS.93/1/1352 (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coin/314458>): 36 mm, 31.04 g.

the ambition of the civic elites to become fully integrated into Roman society.<sup>28</sup> The coin of Drusilla and her sisters fits well into this paradigm perhaps also because it gave unusual prominence to potential role models of feminine virtues. The only difference from the Roman prototype is the reference to the city's name in the legend *MVN ERCAVI* (*Municipium Ercavicae*). At Ercavica this is the only occasion of a coin that adopted a metropolitan iconography and omitted the names of the municipal magistrates from a legend at the same time,<sup>29</sup> so it was probably intended as a special celebratory design, deliberately echoing imperial propaganda. It is also remarkable how close to the original this issue looks from a stylistic point of view: even the shape and the size of the letters in the reverse legend are almost identical to those of the *sestertii*, as if the aim of the local engraver was to produce an exact replica of the dies employed in Rome.

In the Greek East too, Roman iconography was occasionally copied by local engravers, even though coinage was seen as an expression of local identity rather than of alignment to Roman customs, so the choice of reverse designs was driven primarily by the communities' will to retrieve and revive their cultural traditions and to boast their achievements and rank. Celebrating members of the imperial family was the main reason for breaking the mint's routine, especially of

women who could be assimilated to divine personifications or deities and were usually addressed as *sebastai*.<sup>30</sup>

A good example is the issue celebrating Drusilla at Smyrna,<sup>31</sup> the only instance in which she was depicted alone in full-figure on the reverse.<sup>32</sup> She sits on a throne, wearing the same crescent diadem worn by the divine personifications on the Roman *sestertii*, and a long *chiton*: she is holding a long scepter and poppy with corn-ears, probably in the guise of Persephone (Fig. 5.5). Her identification with the goddess is stressed by the inclusion of her name in the legend (ΔΡΟΥΣΙΑΛΛΑΝ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΜΗΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ), which arguably predates her death, otherwise it would hardly have omitted to mention her deification.<sup>33</sup> The assimilation to Persephone confirms that, even though Drusilla was worshipped primarily as Aphrodite,<sup>34</sup> each community had their own ways of interpreting their relationship with the ruling family and of choosing under which divine auspices it could be shaped. In fact, this choice could have been made to connect the worship of Drusilla with that of her deceased mother Agrippina, who had been occasionally assimilated to Kore's own mother, Demeter.<sup>35</sup>

The legend also includes the name of Menophanes, probably the city's *strategos*,<sup>36</sup> while the obverse legend names Gaius Calpurnius Aviola, who served as proconsul of Asia in AD 37–38.<sup>37</sup> This issue was



**Figure 5.5**

AE of Caligula (G. Calpurnius Avola proconsul, Menophanes), Smyrna (Asia), AD 37–38; RPC I, no. 2472. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 193, 26 September 2011, lot. 556 (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coin/345306>): 21 mm, 5.06g.

part of a group carrying both men's names that celebrated Caligula and his parental unit on the reverse. The depiction of Caligula shows him wearing a radiate crown next to a star, which was normally used only to commemorate deified emperors *post mortem*, while in this case it would have signified his status as a divine ruler.<sup>38</sup> The aim of Menophanes may have been to connect with the new rulers by echoing the dynastic propaganda conveyed on contemporary coins struck in Rome, albeit at Smyrna they were openly addressed as divine rulers. Furthermore, the civic mint took the liberty to single out Drusilla as Caligula's favorite sister.

Drusilla was granted the same privilege by another mint in Asia Minor, Miletus,<sup>39</sup> which introduced her portrait on the reverse of coins featuring Caligula's bust on the other side,<sup>40</sup> a format that was normally used to associate on the same coin the emperor and either his wife or his mother; in this case she was the only member of the family honored on civic coinage. The legend ΜΙΑΗΣΙΩΝ ΘΕΑ ΔΡΟΥΣΙΛΛΑ can either refer to her posthumous deification or simply address her as a goddess; the latter interpretation seems more likely,<sup>41</sup> because worshipping a living member of the imperial family was a much more natural form of personal homage than celebrating their apotheosis. The portrait comes in two versions: one has no headdress, the hair falls in two parallel waves tied in a tress over the neck (Fig. 5.6); the other wears a crescent diadem and the hair is tied in a shorter bun (Fig. 5.7). The treatment of Drusilla's facial features also differs from one to the other: the first one shows more realistic features, gentler lineaments which were possibly intended to resemble her actual physiognomy, whereas the other looks more depersonalized, almost masculine, so much so that it could even be assimilated to the bust of the Senate's personification featured on another Milesian issue of Caligula.<sup>42</sup> Even the first one, though, due to the scarcity of specimens and their poor condition, does not provide useful indications to assess its possible relationship with the sculptures assigned to Drusilla; the overall impression is that, as it was often the case with Roman provincial coins, the engravers who created these portraits simply released a generic representation of an ideal female figure of the *Domus Augusta* rather than making the effort to reproduce her physical features with accuracy.<sup>43</sup>



**Figure 5.6**  
AE of Caligula, Miletus (Ionia),  
AD 37–41; *RPC I*, no. 2704A.  
Classical Numismatic Group, Auction  
Triton XXI, 9 January 2018, lot. 710  
(<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coin/319845>),  
reverse: 19 mm, 6.18 g.



**Figure 5.7**  
AE of Caligula, Miletus (Ionia),  
AD 37–41; *RPC I*, no. 2704.  
BM (BMC Ionia 144, <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coin/306936>),  
reverse: 20 mm, 5.37 g.

The only other city that chose to display a bust of Drusilla on its coins was Apamea in Bithynia,<sup>44</sup> though this time the iconography was most unconventional. Her image featured on the obverse of an issue commemorating Agrippina Maior in full figure on the reverse in the usual goddess-like imagery, seated on a throne and holding a scepter and a *patera*. Drusilla's portrait is seen from a fully frontal perspective between the draped busts of her two sisters seen from profile (**Fig. 5.8**).<sup>45</sup> This was an entirely original creation, perhaps conceived as an upgrade of the Roman iconography in which the three women are standing together as divine personifications – which was also adopted by the mint on another issue (see below), almost as a close-up of that picture. As on Caligula's *sestertii*, Drusilla appears in the middle, exceptionally facing the viewer while the gazes of Agrippina and Livilla converge towards her. The use of imperial portraits seen from a three-quarter view or frontally was a rare occurrence on Roman coins and this is possibly the only example known from Roman provincial coinage;<sup>46</sup> to find a parallel to this iconography one must look at the *aurei* depicting the frontal bust of Julia Domna between the profiles of Caracalla and Geta at the beginning of the third century (**Fig. 5.9**).<sup>47</sup>



**Figure 5.8**

AE of Caligula, Apamea (Bithynia et Pontus), AD 38–41;

RPC I, no. 2012. BM.1846,0910.112 ([https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1846-0910-112](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1846-0910-112)): 33 mm, 12.31 g.



**Figure 5.9**

Gold aureus of Septimius Severus, Rome AD 201;

RIC IV.1, no. 175. ANS.1959.228.33 (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1959.228.33>): 20 mm, 7.29 g.

The busts of Caligula's sisters are probably wearing also the same costumes as their full-figure versions, with Drusilla showing the *chiton* closed symmetrically on her breast. Like her sisters, she is wearing long eye-catching earrings, but the hairstyle looks slightly different



**Figure 5.10**  
AE of Caligula, Apamea  
(Bithynia et Pontus), AD 38–41;  
*RPC I*, no. 2014. BNF.217  
(<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bt-v1b85617102>), reverse: 22 mm, 7.90 g.



**Figure 5.11**  
AE of Caligula, Casearea Paneas  
(Judaea), AD 37/38;  
*RPC I*, no. 4973. BNF.Y28473.1  
(<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bt-v1b8498516m>), reverse: 23 mm, 15.09 g.

from the sculptures that are believed to portray her, since the hair parting in the middle appears to fall longer under the ears.

There is also no trace of the diadem, which appears to be replaced by an eight-rayed star right above her head. This is of course the most meaningful addition to the imagery because it signifies Drusilla's god-head, following a visual code that goes back to the apotheosis of Julius Caesar in 44 BC, which was advertised by the image of the *Sidus Iulium* on Roman denarii.<sup>48</sup> The symbol designed to commemorate the death and consecration of Octavian's adoptive father was now used to single out the deified sister of the emperor. Accordingly, the dedication to *DIVAE DRVSILLAE* in the Latin legend placed right above the star confirms that this issue dated after June AD 38 and was later than all the other ones.<sup>49</sup> This detail gives even greater prominence to Drusilla's status among her sisters, whose names *IVLIAE* and *AGRIPPINAE* follow in a hierarchically lower position, under the respective busts.

Apamea also copied the image of Caligula's three sisters on another issue, adopting the same format with the legend spelling out their names, keeping Drusilla at the center of the scene and having

the divine attributes of *Homonoia*, the Greek Concordia (**Fig. 5.10**).<sup>50</sup> Compared to the exact replica made at Erçavica, the much lower quality of this version betrays the inferior skills of the local engraver, or perhaps the fact that, unlike his colleague in Spain, he did not have a Roman *sestertius* to copy and so gave his own interpretation of an iconographic model received through other media.

One last example of the popularity of this imagery is documented by its use in the coinage of another mint in the eastern Mediterranean, this time much further south: Caesarea Paneas in Judaea. Yet, despite the greater distance from metropolitan Rome, the design featured on these coins appears to be a much closer replica of the original model than the one from Apamea, even though the poor conservation of the surviving specimens does not allow for the complete reading of the details of the three figures on the reverse (**Fig. 5.11**).<sup>51</sup> King Agrippa I of Judaea, a client of Rome by imperial appointment, who had been educated in Roman culture from his childhood spent in the capital with young Claudius and Drusus, Tiberius' son, commissioned this issue in the second regnal year of Caligula (AD 37/38). Here the decision to adopt a Roman prototype exalting the divine qualities of Caligula's sisters was clearly intended as a direct homage to the family



**Figure 5.12**

AE of Caligula, Caesarea Paneas (Judaea), AD 40/41; *RPC I*, no. 4977.

Classical Numismatic Group 531, 25 January 2023, lot. 634

(<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coin/445086>): 19 mm, 7.11 g.

to whom he owed both his power and lifestyle.<sup>52</sup> In the same context the mint also struck a unique issue that portrayed Caesonia, Caligula's fourth wife, on the obverse, and a standing image of their daughter Drusilla – named after the emperor's deceased sister,<sup>53</sup> who is holding a Nike and a branch, on the reverse: neither of whom ever featured on Caligula's coins struck by the state mints (Fig. 5.12).<sup>54</sup>

The issues of Caesarea confirm how important it was for the provincial elites to show their alignment with Rome, not quite as a demonstration of loyalty to the central administration, but especially to legitimize their role in the eyes of their supporters within the new political order established by Augustus. The example of Drusilla is emblematic of the key role played in visual culture by images of members of the imperial family as shared values upon which the relationship between Rome and its subjects was built and cemented. Furthermore, it shows the specific place occupied by coins as media in a system of mutual communication based on visual codes that spread from Rome and were received, assimilated and, on some occasions, revisited for local needs. The public image of a Julio-Claudian princess was an interchangeable element of this system, which could be adapted in accordance to the message that was meant to be conveyed (political, moral, religious), but it could also be tailored to outline the characteristics that made her stand out among the others and recognizable by the audience.

## References

- 1 On the role of coins as media in the Roman world. See in particular Cheung 1999; Noreña 2011.
- 2 On the role played by coinage within the system of image-making under the Empire, see especially King 1999. On the replication of images of women and female members of the imperial family, see Alexandridis 2004, 7–12 and 39–46; Fejfer 2008, 331–369; Trimble 2011, 64–149.
- 3 Even though sanctions were passed on Drusilla's memory after the fall of her brother, her images in group dedications seem to have been largely spared. See Varner 2004, 43–44.
- 4 For an overview, see Alexandridis 2004, 54–55. The first example of this kind was the use of Livia's portrait in the guise of Salus Augusta on Tiberian coins, *Cf.* Rose 1997, 33.
- 5 *RPC* I, 46–48.
- 6 *RIC* P, nos. 11–12, 17–18, 25–26, 35, 43, 50 and 57.
- 7 *RIC* P, nos. 7–8, 13–14, 21–22, 30 and 55.
- 8 *RIC* P, no. 58.
- 9 *RIC* P, nos. 34, 42, and 49.
- 10 *Cf.* Barrett 2015, 137–138.
- 11 Trillmich 1978, 181–184; *RPC* I, 50–51; Rose 1997, 34–35; Hekster 2015, 47–49 and 108–109. The same choices affected the production of dynastic images in sculpture. The increase in family statuary groups in the provincial cities of this period might result from directives originating in the imperial court. See Rose 1997, 34–38; Wood 1997, 125–127. Hekster suggests that this affected the adoption of portraits of Caligula's relatives on Roman provincial coins too (Hekster 2015, 124–126), although this interpretation may not apply to the Spanish mints, where this pattern is already attested under Tiberius (see further below). See an overview of the provincial mints issuing coins during Caligula's reign in Diasono 2018, 68–71.
- 12 Hekster 2015, 122–23 and 112, table 2.
- 13 *RIC* P, no. 33. *Cf.* Barrett 2015, 141.
- 14 Wood 1995, 480.
- 15 We do not know why each one of them was associated to a certain personification, including why in particular Drusilla was chosen to embody the ideal of concord between the imperial family and the Roman people. *Cf.* Mikocki 1995, 42 no. 220.
- 16 See, Suet. *Gaius* 15.4 and Cass. Dio 59.3.4 on the inclusion of their names in oaths, consular propositions and even in the annual vows of allegiance to the emperor; see also Dio on them being accorded the privileges of the Vestal Virgins and allowed to watch the games in the Circus with Caligula from the imperial seats. Besides all these honours, which rested within the ceremonial sphere, it seems that they never played any political role in the public life of the imperial House; Wood 1995, 458.
- 17 *Cf.* Alexandridis 2004, 51–54.
- 18 This reverse type was used for the first time under Commodus, *RIC* III, no. 500.
- 19 While this iconography (known from statuary and mosaics) was never used on Roman coins, it was quite common in the provinces, where the three female personifications can also be presented as nymphs worshipped in local religion—especially in Thrace and Moesia Inferior, at Plotinopolis, Philippopolis, Traianopolis, Marcianopolis, Deultum and Anchialus (see for instance a reverse design used on coins of Maximinus Thrax: *BMC Thrace* no. 16).
- 20 *Cf.* Wood 1995, 461.
- 21 Cass. Dio. 59.11.2. Dedications to Drusilla as New Aphrodite are attested in Asia Minor at Mitylene, Cos, Cyzicus, Magnesia and Miletus; *Cf.* Mikocki 1995, 43.

- 22 Barrett 2015, 49–50. Other than the well-known issue dated to AD 37/38 because it mentions Caligula's first *tribunicia potestas* in the obverse legend, there is another one (*RIC*<sup>2</sup>, 41) which combines the same reverse with an obverse struck later in the reign (AD 39), for the legend includes the third tribunician power of the emperor (TR P III) and the title of *pater patriae* (P P). This means that it was released after Drusilla's death in AD 38, though omitting to call her Diva after her deification. However, this issue is known only in a single specimen held in the civic collection of Castello Sforzesco in Milan (*SNR Milano* 85), so it can be explained either as an exceptional hybrid, perhaps stemming from the accidental pairing of an old die with a new one, or as the result of intentional tooling of the obverse legend to create a new variant. Both for it being unique and quite worn, which prevents from dispelling doubts on its authenticity, this variant has been generally disregarded. An image that follows the same iconography as the *sestertii*, most probably borrowed directly from them, is part of the design of a cameo in sardonyx and chalcedon held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, featuring the portrait of Caligula looking left; the inscription CALIGVLA runs behind his head while miniaturised figures of his sisters sit at the basis of his neck. Though it is likely to be modern, its authenticity has not been completely ruled out. See Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 2003, 98, with earlier references.
- 23 *RIC*<sup>2</sup>, 105. Cf. Barrett 2015, 217.
- 24 Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 24.1. The mockery of Drusilla's apotheosis in the incipit of the literary parody of emperor Claudius' deification seems symptomatic of the outrage it must have sparked in public opinion, *Apocolokyntosis* I.
- 25 See a recent overview of possible identifications of Drusilla's portrait on gems and cameos in Schmidt 2019.
- 26 The freedom accorded to the cities in many aspects of their administration also entailed that the timing, the pace and the volume of coin production were entirely controlled by them. Burnett 1987, 83; Burnett 2011, 29–30. Provincial coins were produced on a scale infinitely smaller than Roman ones and their range of circulation was primarily within the territory of their city of origin. Cf. *RPC* I, 16–17; Heuchert 2005, 31; Burnett 2024, 127. This means that both the agency of coin imagery and its audience were completely different from those of the coins produced by state mints, under central control and designed to circulate without limitations throughout the empire. Accordingly, the main public of those messages and their underlying meaning was the community itself, besides the foreigners visiting the city. Cf. Harl 1987, 13–14; Heuchert 2005, 40.
- 27 See, Price 1984, especially 234–248; Smith 2015, 475–478.
- 28 Ripollès 2005, 90–91. This attitude eventually led the cities, one after the other, between the reign of Tiberius and that of Claudius, to quit producing coins in order to let Roman ones serve as the only currency used in local transactions. This happened only in the western part of the Empire, that is, besides Spain, in North Africa and Gaul, while the cities of the Roman East continued to mint until the second half of the third century. Cf. Burnett 2005, 176–179.
- 29 Cf. García Villalba 2015, 55–56. This issue is known only in two specimens (see Rodríguez Morales 1995), none of which is preserved well enough to show a perfectly clear image of the reverse: in particular, the rudder in the depiction of Livilla as Fortuna is not visible, but it could possibly show up in new photos or new specimens.
- 30 For an overview, Cf. *RPC* I, 771, 774–776.
- 31 Trillmich 1978, 122–123.
- 32 *RPC* I, no. 2472.

- 33 *RPC* I, 47 and 418. Cf. Mikocki 1995, 42–43 no. 223, with a discussion on the interpretation of the Kore Albani as Drusilla.
- 34 Cf. Boatwright 2021, 303–304.
- 35 Wood 1995, 462. After all, Drusilla is famously remembered to have been addressed *ad Panthea* («Universal Goddess»), allowing for her to be identified with any other deity, and declared worthy of receiving divine honours in all the cities (Cass. Dio 59.11.3–4); Cf. Wood 1995, 460 and Mikocki 1995, 43.
- 36 Klose 1987, 73–74. Indeed, civic coins were sometimes signed by local magistrates or even private individuals who had been involved in some capacity in their production, possibly as sponsors. Cf. Weiss 2005.
- 37 The inclusion of the governor's name on coins (regularly attested in the legends at Smyrna), was possibly a default reference to the current representative of provincial authority; for a discussion, see Howgego 2005, 7–8.
- 38 *RPC* I, nos. 2471–2474.
- 39 Trillmich 1978, 124–125.
- 40 *RPC* I, nos. 2704–2704A.
- 41 Wood 1995, 462. Cf. Burnett 2011, 19–20.
- 42 Roch 2023, 71–72, 247–248, nos. 3a (diademed), 3b and 7. The issues featuring the Senate bust are: *RPC* I, nos. 2705–2706.
- 43 Cf. Bucolo 2023, with a broader discussion and case studies on the Flavian and Trajanic periods.
- 44 Trillmich 1978, 107–110.
- 45 *RPC* I, no. 2012.
- 46 See the silver *denarii* struck in 16 BC featuring the head of Augustus from the front, slightly turning left, within a round shield (*imago clipeata*): *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, nos. 536–537.
- 47 *RIC* IV.1, nos. 159, 175, 181.
- 48 Cf. *RRC* no. 540/2 and *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 415.
- 49 Latin was the official written language in Roman colonies like Apamea. While the Greek *theos* and *thea* referred to the divine nature of rulers regardless of whether they were still alive or deceased, the Latin *divus* and *diva* (as opposed to *deus* and *dea*) were used specifically to address the emperor and the female members of his family after their posthumous deification. Cf. Price 1984, 75–76.
- 50 *RPC* I, no. 2014.
- 51 *RPC* I, no. 4973. Cf. Burnett 2014, fig. 1.
- 52 See Burnett 2014, with a broader discussion on the whole coinage of Agrippa I and its dependencies from Roman models.
- 53 Suet. *Calig.* 24.4; Cass. Dio. 59.28.7.
- 54 *RPC* I, no. 4977. Cf. Burnett 2014, fig. 19.

# X

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# XI

## CATALOGUE AND PLATES

### 1. Cast of portrait statue of Livia Augusta f. Drusi (Pls. 1–3)

**Cast:** Flavio Bertolin and Olaf Herzog (Munich Glyptothek), Lea Radau (Universität Freiburg), Inga Vollmer-Bardelli (Universität Tübingen)

**Material:** Plaster

**Measures:** H: 191 cm, W: 70 cm

**Location:** Abguss-Sammlung Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

**Made from:** Marble statue of Livia Augusta f. Drusi from Potentia, AD 14–29, marble, H: 191 cm: Munich, Glyptothek inv. 367; [arachne.dainst.org/entity/1072464](http://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1072464)

### 2. Restored portrait statue of a Julio-Claudian princess (Pls. 4–5, 11–12)

**Scan:** Nicola A. Terzulli (Fordham University)

**Model:** Daniele Bursich (Università di Verona)

**Print:** 3D Italy, Milan, 2025

**Material:** Plastic

**Measures:** H: 203 cm, W: 75 cm

**Location:** The Hispanic Society of America and Università di Verona

**Made from:** Five ancient Roman marble objects, AD 25–50:

1. Head from Baetica: New York, The Hispanic Society of America inv. D203.
2. Torso from Baetica: New York, The Hispanic Society of America inv. D204.
3. Legs from Baetica: New York, The Hispanic Society of America inv. D204.
4. Right upper arm and portion of hip from statue from Rione Terra: Baia, Museo dei Campi Flegrei inv. 292857, 292859.
5. Feet from statue from Potentia: Munich, Glyptothek inv. 367.

### 3. Reconstructed portrait statue of a Julio-Claudian princess – Scale 1:4 (Pls. 6–10)

**Scan:** Nicola A. Terzulli (Fordham University)

**Model:** Nicola A. Terzulli (Fordham University)

**Print:** Fordham University, 2024

**Material:** Plastic with terracotta restoration by Ally Super (John Cabot University, Rome)

**Measures:** Head H: 11.4 cm. Torso H: 24.5 cm. Legs H: 29 cm. Total H: ca. 56 cm

**Location:** The Hispanic Society of America

**Made from:** Three ancient marble objects, AD 25–50:

1. Head from Baetica: New York, The Hispanic Society of America inv. D203.
2. Torso from Baetica: New York, The Hispanic Society of America inv. D204.
3. Legs from Baetica: New York, The Hispanic Society of America inv. D204.

### 4. Composite portrait statue of Julio-Claudian princess – Scale 1:3 (Pls. 7–10)

**Scan:** Daniele Bursich (Università di Verona) and Nicola A. Terzulli (Fordham University),

**Model:** Daniele Bursich

**Print:** 3D Italy, Milan, 2025

**Material:** Plastic

**Measures:** Head H: 13.5 cm, W: 7.8 cm, D: 7.7 cm. Torso H: 24.7 cm, W: 23.1 cm, D: 9.5 cm; Legs H: 32.6 cm, W: 20.2 cm, D: 11.8 cm

**Location:** Verona, Università di Verona

**Made from:** Julio-Claudian princess, torso and legs from Rione Terra, AD 25–50, Marble, H: 70 cm × W: 63 cm × D: 30 cm (upper body); H: 96 cm × W: 62 cm × D: 38 cm (lower body); Baia, Museo dei Campi Flegrei inv. 292857, 292859 and head of Julio-Claudian princess: New York, The Hispanic Society of America inv. D203.

**5. Cast of portrait head of Julio-Claudian princess (Pls. 13–14)**

**Cast:** Sönmez Alemdar (Universität Tübingen)

**Material:** Plaster

**Measures:** H: 43 cm (H: chin to top of diadem 27.5 cm), W: 25.5 cm, D: 22.5 cm (added calotte fragment: H: 15 cm, W: 9cm, D: 6 cm)

**Location:** Tübingen, Abguss-Sammlung Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

**Made from:** Julio-Claudian princess from Cossyra (Pantelleria), AD 25–50, marble, H: 43 cm: Pantelleria, Castello di Pantelleria inv. 4644.

**6. Restored portrait head of Julio-Claudian princess (Pls. 15–16)**

**Scan:** Daniele Bursich (Università di Verona)

**Model:** Daniele Bursich (Università di Verona)

**Print:** 3D Italy, Milan 2025

**Material:** Plastic

**Measures:** H: 43 cm W: 25.5 cm D: 24 cm

**Location:** Università di Verona

**Made from:** Fragmentary marble portrait head of Julio-Claudian princess from Lanuvium, AD 25–50, marble, H: 19.5 cm: London, British Museum inv. BM 1928,0124.3 ([https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1928-0124-3](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1928-0124-3)); portrait head of Julio-Claudian princess from Cossyra, AD 25–50, marble, H: 43 cm: Pantelleria, Castello di Pantelleria inv. 4644; portrait head of Julio-Claudian princess from Baetica, AD 25–50, marble, H: 37.5 cm, New York, The Hispanic Society of America, inv. D203.

**7. Portrait head of Livia, made for insertion into the statue of Livia (Pls. 17–18)**

**Sculptor:** Francesco Antonio Franzoni(1734–1818)

**Material:** Marble, from Carrara

**Measures:** H: 38 cm W: 25 cm D: 28.5 cm

**Location:** Munich, Glyptothek

**Made from:** Late 18<sup>th</sup> century adaption of the head of the Livia Borghese statue, AD 20–40: Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Ma 1242 (MR 252). (<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010275396>).



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Fig. 2.5: Computer models: Nicola Terzulli and Daniele Bursich

Fig. 2.6: Computer models: Nicola Terzulli and Daniele Bursich

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Fig. 7.3: Glyptothek München, Photo: Julia Lenaghan

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Fig. 7.5: Glyptothek München, Repro (Glypt. Taf. 52)

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Fig. 7.8: 3D computer model: Daniele Bursich

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Fig. 9.4: 3D model Daniele Bursich

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Fig. 9.8: 3D models: Daniele Bursich

Fig. 9.9: 3D models: Daniele Bursich

## Plates

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