THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE: ROMAN CONCEPTIONS OF TWINS IN THE
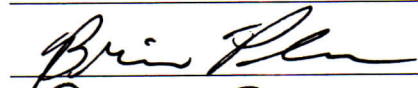AUGUSTAN SUCCESSION

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Saúl Omar Cardona Luciano
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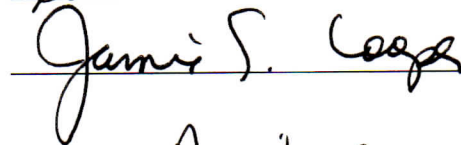Master of Arts
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There Can Be Only One: Roman Conceptions of Twins in the Augustan Succession

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at George Mason University

by

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of those who have gone before:

Private First Class Tim Vimoto

Corporal Eric Thompson

"Doc" Price

and

Atticus

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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aedile .... aed.

Cassius Dio/Dio Cassius, *Roman History* .... Cass. Dio

consul .... cos.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum .... *CIL*

Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* .... Diod. Sic.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* .... Dion. Hal.

Florus, *Epitome of the Histories of Livy* .... Flor.

Homeric Hymns .... *Hom. Hymn*

Horace, *Epistles* .... Hor. *Epist.*

imperator .... imp.

Livy, *History of Rome from its Foundation* .... Livy

Martial, *Epigrams* .... Mart.

Ornametna triumphalia .... *ornamenta trium.*

Ovid, *Fasti* .... Ov. *Fast.*

Ovid, *The Art of Love* .... Ov. *Ars am.*

pater patriae .... *p.p.*

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* .... Plin. *HN*

Plutarch, *Coriolanus* .... Plut. *Cor.*

Plutarch, *Moralia* .... Plut. *Mor.*

Plutarch, *Romulus* .... Plut. *Rom.*

pontifex .... pont.

praetor .... prae.

princeps iuventutis .... *p. iuventutis*

Res gestae divi Augusti/Monumentum Ancyranum .... *RG*

Suetonius*, Caligula* .... Suet. *Calig.*

Suetonius, *Divine Augustus* .... Suet. *Aug.*

Suetonius, *Tiberius* .... Suet. *Tib.*

tribunicia potestas .... *t.p.*

Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* .... Val. Max.

Varro, *On the Latin Language* .... Varro, *Ling.*

Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History* .... Vell. Pat.

Vergil, *Aeneid* .... Verg. *Aen.*

ABSTRACT

THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE: ROMAN CONCEPTIONS OF TWINS IN THE AUGUSTAN SUCCESSION

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This thesis describes the way in which Augustus appropriated the imagery of twins for the creation of an ideology that would make dynastic succession acceptable to the traditional nobility and populace of Rome. In the presentation of his grandsons Gaius and Lucius as twins, Augustus manipulated ideas and concepts resonant with archaic Roman culture which allowed him to add the two boys to the pantheon of other twin pairs already present in the Roman psyche, including Castor and Pollux, Romulus and Remus, the Lares, and the Penates. In the process, however, Augustus was beholden to the tension which existed in the display of twins, namely the preeminence of one twin over the other. Because of this, the portraiture of Gaius is visually connected to the portraiture of Augustus, a reflection of his preeminent status as the favored heir and successor. Although the untimely deaths of both Gaius and Lucius meant neither would be emperor, Augustus reused the formula to present future twin pairs, thus perpetuating his regime.

INTRODUCTION

In 17 BCE, Rome celebrated the beginning of a new era. After years of political infighting and bloody civil war, the Roman state at last seemed stable, and its new leader, Augustus, could at last declare the beginning of a new *saeculum aureum*,[1] a new golden era, the bounty and magnanimity of which could be attributed to Augustus and his regime. To mark the occasion, Augustus commissioned the first *ludi Saeculares* ("Secular Games") in more than a century. Its theme was that of renewal, one which sought to frame the new autocratic regime in terms of republic.[2] This fiction was accomplished through the deft use of political rhetoric and imagery reminiscent of the traditional forms of the Roman state. The authority Augustus wielded consisted of a diffuse collection of powers concentrated in his person and that of his select inner circle, all the while lacking title or official standing within the state.[3] In legal terms, Augustus officially resigned his control of the state magistracies in 23 BCE and was now merely *princeps*, an honorific traditionally bestowed upon the most senior members of the senate

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[1] A term coined by Zanker (1988), 192, which combines both the formal "Golden Age" (*aurea aetas*) and the new era (*saeculum*).

[2] On the theme of renewal and the new *saeculum*/Golden Age, see Zanker (1988), 167-93.

[3] These powers notably included extraordinary military command over the provinces and the armies stationed therein (*imperium maius*) and the status and powers of a tribune of the plebs (*tribunicia potestas*). As the autocratic nature of the Roman state gradually codified, these powers became the essence of Imperial control and, over time, many emperors would, for example, mark the beginning of their reigns from the time they were first granted the *tribunicia potestas*. On this, see Gruen (2005), 33-39. Other titles and powers that eventually became synonymous with the emperor included *pater patriae*, *imperator*, and *pontifex maximus*, not to mention "Augustus" and "Caesar."

which carried no formal weight.[4] In reality power remained invested in the regime, the entire charade carefully engineered to disguise its autocratic nature beneath a façade of traditional republicanism.[5] But if the senate and people saw through the fantasy, they seemed readily willing to accept it.

It was at this moment that Augustus chose to adopt his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, the biological sons of his daughter Julia and his confidant Agrippa, as his sons and heirs. This seemingly innocuous decision appears to have been the most determined attempt at the creation of a dynasty yet undertaken by the princeps. And like before, if the traditionally monarch-averse senate or populace noticed, no account of a reaction has come down to us.[6] The adoption did not spark the same controversy that had marred the rise of Augustus' nephew Marcellus. In 23 BCE, amid accusations that the princeps had appointed a *political* successor,[7] Augustus went to great lengths to dispel such concerns, going so far as to present his will before the senate.[8] In the case of Gaius and Lucius, their adoption may not have been unexpected—Augustus, after all, had no male heir.[9] The intervening six years accustomed Rome to the princeps' authority,[10] particularly now that he was officially no more than a private, albeit influential, citizen. Despite their new

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[4] On the origins of the honorific *princeps*, see Galinsky (1996), 73-74 with Syme (1939), 10.
[5] Cf. Levick (1999), 23.
[6] Ronald Syme summarized the situation best: "If despotism was the price, it was not too high: to a patriotic Roman of Republican sentiments even submission to absolute rule was a lesser evil than war between citizens." Syme (1939), 2.
[7] See Gruen (2005), 37-39, and Osgood (2013), 20-35.
[8] Cass. Dio 53.31.1.
[9] The adoption of Gaius and Lucius notably brought Augustus in line with his own legislation regarding childbearing, giving him the "required" minimum number of children. See Severy (2003), 70-71.
[10] See above n6.

status as his sons, Gaius and Lucius were notably not successors; the powers of the principate were not yet a part of the estate passed from emperor to heir.[11]

Although the preponderance of evidence indicates that Augustus lacked a "plan" for succession, it does not mean that Augustus was unwilling to accelerate the careers of the young men in his household. It had happened with Marcellus and Tiberius,[12] and it would be repeated with Gaius and Lucius. Their careers were accelerated in ways that accentuated their high status within the regime while still following the traditional *cursus honorum*, the sequence of offices required for upward mobility among the Roman aristocracy.[13] The most important facet of this accelerated progression was their simultaneous adoptions in 17 BCE, when Gaius would have been three and Lucius still a newborn. In a legal and metaphorical sense, this simultaneous adoption made them "twins"; we might consider their adoption as the year of their *Imperial* birth.

While scholars have noted the deeply resonant symbolism this event had on crafting Augustan dynastic mythology,[14] few studies have looked at its broader implications and how it affected the ultimate course of the Augustan succession. Twins were central to the founding and re-founding of the Roman people and their city; any depiction of twins, whether symbolic or real, would have resonated with these past instances of myth and history. Twins were, in a very literal sense, central to the Roman

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[11] Severy (2003), 71, and Gruen (2005), 44. See also Osgood (2013), 37-38.

[12] Severy (2003), 69-70, and Rowe (2002), 44-45. On the career of these Imperial "princes," see below Appendix I: Careers of Imperial Princes.

[13] The sequence, in ascending order, was generally quaestor (quaes.), aedile (aed.), praetor (prae.), and consul (cos.) with the minimum ages of 30, 36, 39, and 42, respectively. Other magistracies such as censor, dictator, proconsul, and tribune of the plebs were not a part of the regular career ladder. On the codification of the *cursus honorum* leading to this period, see Keaveney (2005), 143-44. See also below Appendix I: Careers of Imperial Princes.

[14] Zanker (1988), 193, and Pollini (2012), 428-434.

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cultural psyche. In the same way Augustus promulgated the idea of republic through the use and reuse of its terminology and structures, he similarly appropriated the imagery of twins for the development of his own dynastic agenda. In doing so, he could more easily align his own ideological concerns with those of traditional Roman culture, in the process making them more acceptable. This appropriation ultimately affected the manner in which Gaius and Lucius were depicted in art, advancing the agenda of dynastic succession behind a veneer of Roman traditionalism.

In order to adequately explore these ideas, we must first understand the manner in which Romans conceived of and depicted twin pairs. To this end, the first chapter of this work explains the archaeological and literary origins of Roman twin pairs and their significance to Roman culture. The Dioscuri,[15] Lares, Penates, and Romuli are each considered in turn. This evidence reveals that the manner in which Romans conceived of their earliest twin pair, the Dioscuri, affected the manner in which all other twin pairs were considered. One twin would ultimately eclipse or otherwise dominate the memory of the other, a concept I have termed the "principle of twinly preeminence."

The subsequent chapter examines the manner in which Gaius and Lucius' peculiar status as Augustan "twins" affected the development of their portraiture. Although past studies have done much to inform the way in which we identify and "read" these portraits, problems of identity remain. A satisfactory answer can only be reached when we reconsider their images in light of the principle of twinly preeminence. This principle

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[15] A Latin noun derived from the Greek Διόσκουροι (*dioskouroi*) referring to Castor and Pollux. Other terms used herein include Gemini, which refers directly to the Dioscuri's astral form; *Castores* or Castors, which is their traditional Roman name; and Divine Twins, which is a modern name referring to their divine parentage by Zeus.

is the decisive manner by which we may identify images of Gaius, which carries implications for the reevaluation of existing scholarship.

The third and final chapter is focused on addressing concerns I and other scholars have identified in John Pollini's *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar*, the authoritative study regarding the depiction of these two boys in art.[16] Because the principle of twinly preeminence relates most directly to Gaius, the chapter centers almost exclusively on his portraiture and its typological reorganization. The implications of this reorganization, however, directly impact the study of Lucius' portrait typology, making a separate study for the moment unnecessary.[17]

Finally, the conclusion explains that the untimely deaths of Gaius and Lucius in 4 CE and 2 CE, respectively, did not alter the calculus of dynastic succession. If anything, their deaths pushed Augustus to codify what had before been an experiment in ideological myth-making, affecting not only his final chosen successor, Tiberius, but subsequent Imperial successions. The codification of a succession ideology based on Roman cultural conceptions of twins helped form the basis upon which subsequent emperors would base the selection of heirs, the appointment of successors, and the transition of powers. Through the example Augustus crafted in his own "Dioscuri," Gaius and Lucius, the legacy of Castor and Pollux continued into subsequent centuries.

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[16] Pollini (1987).

[17] On the reorganization of Lucius' typology, see below Appendix III: Implications for Further Research.

CHAPTER I: CULTURAL ORIGINS

When Augustus presented his heirs-presumptive to the Roman public, political "succession" within the Roman state was still an alien concept. Political capital could certainly be amassed by a single family, and a son might curry favor through the memory of his forefather's actions—much the same way Octavian exploited the image of Caesar early in his career[18]—but this did not guarantee political success or inheritance. Dynastic succession was certainly unknown; even among the legendary kings of Rome, the practice had been to elect a successor, and it is little coincidence that the "bad kings," Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Superbus, are noted for having seized rather than earned the throne.[19]

Like any good Roman, Augustus would have been well aware of the Roman attitude towards dynastic monarchy. He had no intention of presenting his heirs—much less himself—as inherently entitled to power; Caesar's fate would have weighed heavily on his mind. It is for that reason the numerous young men of the Imperial household, like any other member of the nobility, were made to undertake the traditional *cursus*

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[18] For example, coins of Octavian on the obverse (called CAESAR DIVI F[ilius]) and the image of Caesar on the reverse (see Figure 51).

[19] Livy makes it clear that although Servius Tullius' selection was officially sanctioned by the senate, it was done only after Servius illicitly seized power from the deceased Tarquinius Priscus (1.41, 47). Tarquinius Superbus violently seized power after presumptuously assuming Servius Tullius' place before the senate and subsequently having Servius assassinated (1.47-48). The attentive reader will note the way Livy makes women—Priscus' wife Tanaquil and Superbus' wife Tullia—the central villains in both of these plots.

honorum, albeit modified and accelerated.[20] Much like Augustus' own powers and *auctoritas*, they would be required, at least notionally, to earn their places in the state; they would not simply have power handed to them.

Nevertheless, there was still the issue of presenting an heir as a political successor. How does one go about creating a political culture of dynasty autocracy? It would certainly not be in Augustus' best interests to follow the example of Rome's kings in allowing the senate to choose his successor. Even asking them to choose from a group of potential candidates would tie his hands to a choice that was not entirely his own. The senate could certainly be permitted to ratify Augustus' choice, but Augustus had to ensure that *his* choice was understood to be the right choice, the *only* choice. Augustus would have appreciated, by the example of the civil wars and his own rise to power, how easily an uncertain political situation could lead to another round of conflict. Such was perhaps his fear when he became severely ill in 23 BCE. In that instance, Augustus did not simply hand over power to Marcellus, his nephew who many regarded as his heir. Instead he divided the powers of the state among his compatriots Agrippa and Piso.[21] This decision reflects the diffuse nature of power in the early principate and the way in which "succession" had not yet become a part of Roman political culture.[22]

If Augustus were to present his heirs as potential successors, he would need to devise a vocabulary by which their rise to power would be both acceptable to traditional

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[20] See Appendix I: Careers of Imperial Princes.

[21] Although greatly separated from our time, the remarks of Dio are nevertheless relevant. On the situation in 23 BCE, Dio writes: "although all were expecting that Marcellus would be preferred for this position, … he gave Piso the list of the forces and of the public revenues written in a book, and handed his ring to Agrippa." (53.30.1; Rolfe, trans.) See also Suet. *Aug*. 66.3.

[22] For a succinct account of the situation in 23 BCE, see Gruen (2005), 39-42.

Roman *mores* and comprehensible to a people unfamiliar with and potentially hostile to

dynastic autocracy. He found such a model in the form of Rome's many cultural twin

pairs. Twins were not only a potent symbol of early Rome and its founding, but also of its

values and traditions. By appropriating the image of twins in the portrayal of his

successors, Augustus could make the idea of dynasty more palatable to Rome's populace

and aristocracy. In the present day, any talk of twins in Roman culture immediately

brings to mind the image of Romulus and Remus. Although this image certainly carried

great weight for the Roman psyche, it was not the only image that would have come to

mind and may not have been the most potent one.

Before the canonical tale of Romulus and Remus made its debut in the second

century BCE writings of Ennius,[23] another twin pair had already taken root in Rome.

These were the *Dioscuri* or *Gemini*, Castor and Pollux, divine twin sons of Zeus and

Leda. Through their timely intervention at the Battle of Lake Regillus,[24] the Dioscuri had

saved the infant Republic from certain destruction at the hands of its deposed king.[25]

These brothers were an ideal archetype for use by Augustus. Their guardian role in the

earliest days of the Republic guaranteed their prominent association with the beginnings

of a new era, not unlike the "golden era" Augustus sought to evoke in his own reign.[26]

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[23] Wiseman (2004), 140.

[24] There is no certainty on the date of the battle. As Livy states succinctly, "There are so many chronological uncertainties in the history of these years…that the great antiquity of the events and of the sources does not permit one to make out…what events happened in what year." (2.21) Livy's account suggests a date of either 499 or 496 BCE, while Dionysius of Halicarnassus suggests 495 BCE (6.1.1). For the purposes of this paper, a precise date is irrelevant.

[25] The story is preserved in a number of ancient sources, chief among which are Dion. Hal. 6.13.1, Plut. *Cor*. 3.5, and Livy 2.20. Livy's version of the story only mentions the Dioscuri in the context of a vow made by the dictator A. Postumius Albus. The vow was notably made to Castor alone.

[26] On the golden era imagery and the "re-founding" of Rome under Augustus, see Zanker (1988), 167-238, and Scott (1925), 90-98, with Rehak (2001).

The Twin Castors

The Dioscuri were not just some story from the distant past.[27] To commemorate

the victory at Regillus—which was due entirely to the twin's timely intervention—every

July a body of horsemen staged a *transvectio equitum*. This procession of cavalry began

at the Temple of Mars on the Via Appia, progressed throughout the city, and concluded at

the Temple of Castor (*aedes Castoris*) in the Roman Forum.[28] By Augustus' day, this

custom had long since lapsed into disuse, so as part of his program of traditionalist

revival, the emperor reinstituted the practice.[29] It is probably not coincidental that its

revival coincided with the *equites'* proclamation of Gaius and Lucius as *principes*

iuventutis.[30] This title, traditionally assigned to the youths who led the *transvectio*

equitum, quickly became synonymous with the emperor's presumptive heirs, in part for

its resonance with his own title of *princeps senatus*, but also for its associations with the

Dioscuri in whose guise some scholars have suggested the princes may have led the

procession.[31]

In the Roman conception of the Dioscuri, it is their role as horseman that lends

them historical and cultural significance. This particular attribute was specifically

associated with Castor, while in the Western tradition of their myth, Pollux was more

widely known for his attributes as a boxer. Although it is certainly true that the brothers

shared elements of iconography in narrative and in art, the boxer did not carry the same

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[27] On the origins of the Dioscuric cult in Rome, see Orlin (2010), 36.
[28] Dion. Hal. 6.13.4. Mentioned as a "festival" by Plut. *Cor.* 3.5. See also Sumi (2009), 179-180. The *aedis Castoris* it he temple vowed by A. Postumius Albus in his vow; see above n25.
[29] Suet. *Aug.* 38.3.
[30] *Ibid.* and Cass. Dio 55.9.9-10.
[31] Poulsen (1991), 122-3; Pollini (2012), 423; and Scott 1930a, 158; cf. Champlin (2011), 98.

political and cultural significance as the horseman.[32] This is because the cavalry—

celeres—were the ones who carried the day at Regillus, so it should come as no surprise

that when the Romans remembered the Dioscuri, they remembered Castor the horseman,

not Pollux the boxer. For that reason, it seems, the Forum temple constructed in their

honor was dedicated solely to Castor—*aedes Castoris*.[33] This in turn explains the

seemingly odd manner by which Romans referred to both twins, namely as *Castores*;[34]

thus we see a tendency to double one twin, Castor, rather than pair two, Castor and

Pollux. The Romans themselves recognized this oddity. In 59 BCE, Bibulus, Caesar's

inept consular colleague, compared his political situation with that of Pollux, quipping,

"For…just as the temple erected in the Forum to the twin brethren, bears only the name

of Castor, so the joint liberality of Caesar and myself is credited to Caesar alone."[35]

In the present, we might imagine that Castor's preeminence would undermine the

dynastic intentions of the Augustan regime; in fact, the opposite is true. What Castor's

fate established was a pattern which would be followed by subsequent twin pairs: one

twin would inevitably eclipse or dominate his other, and thus in the Augustan translation,

only one heir could succeed to the principate. To this pattern I have assigned the term the

"principle of twinly preeminence." To what extent this was understood consciously is

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[32] It is worth noting that the genesis of the Dioscuri in Rome may trace their origins to Lavinium and its proximate connection with the city of Amyklai (Amunclae). This city is featured in the Western version of the *Argo* and her crew, among whom were the Divine Twins. Amyklai is in turn associated with Pollux besting King Amyklos in a boxing match. See Wiseman (2004), 22-23 with 92-93.

[33] This explains why Livy's version of the Battle of Lake Regillus has Postumius vow a temple only to Castor (Liv. 2.20). Champlin (2011), 87-88, reading from Hadzits (1931), believes the *aedes Castoris* was originally dedicated solely to Castor and that any association with Pollux was made only after the influx of Greek literati, who would have naturally associated one brother with the other. See also "Castor, Aedes" in Richardson (1992), 74-75. Cf. Strong and Ward Perkins (1962), 1.

[34] On the Roman name of the Dioscuri, see Champlin (2011), 88. Harris (1906), 58-62, points out that "collective naming" was not a feature unique to Romans in the ancient world.

[35] Suet. *Caes.* 10.1 (Rolfe trans.).

certainly unknowable. In everyday Roman society, twins were viewed with benign curiosity "because they seemed to embody a dual identity, as if one person were divided between two bodies."[36] They were thought to be simultaneously part of a pair and a doubling.[37] In the Roman mind, one twin could represent his other and therefore one twin stand in for two; rather than a pairing of two, Roman twins were a doubling of one. But whereas in the present this might imply a form of interchangeable equality, the example the Dioscuri set led the Romans to view only one twin as significant. Although inheritance might be divided equally among siblings, authority was not conceived in the same manner;[38] in the Roman mind, being equals did not equate to being the same.[39] Thus was the case with Castor who eclipsed Pollux and later would be the case with Romulus eclipsing Remus. Even the Lares and Penates, as we will see, show this same penchant for shared iconography, and thus one twin can stand for two. This inescapable facet of Roman twinship meant that Augustus could simultaneously present a comfortable pairing of presumptive heirs, while still designating a sole successor.[40]

The Twin Founders
        Although the Dioscuri were certainly the ideal models for Augustus' heirs, the use of twinning imagery carried more than just associations of Castor and Pollux. Perhaps the best-known twins were the city's founders, Romulus and Remus. Because the story developed well after that of the Castors, we see the same principle of preeminence at

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[36] Bannon (1997a), 290.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] Bannon (1997b), 12-61.
[39] *Ibid.*, 14.
[40] Traditionally the pairing of Gaius and Lucius was viewed as a succession meant to conclude in joint rule. See Kornemann (1930) and Levick (1966), 228-229, who follows Kornemann. There is, however, no primary source evidence to indicate that this was ever the intended outcome.

work: Romulus *decisively* eclipsed his brother. Unlike the case of Castor, however, the story here carries a much more dramatic and darker implication, for Remus is not simply pushed aside, he is entirely removed, murdered by his own brother. The fratricide that founded the city was variously viewed as both necessary and awkward. For many of Augustus' contemporaries, Remus was an uncomfortable reminder of the civil wars.[41] Even the bombastic Cicero was careful to avoid the topic; in his jurist's view, the act of fratricide was little more than a crime,[42] an uncomfortable reminder of the proscriptions of Sulla and perhaps even his own response to the Catilinarian conspiracy. It is little wonder that Vergil attempted a rehabilitation of Remus in the *Aeneid*,[43] while other versions of the myth place the blame for his death on an angry mob[44] or on one of Romulus' compatriots, Celer.[45]

Without the shadow of the civil wars, the story carried a different meaning. It appears to have been an allegorical reference to the conflict between the patricians and the plebeians of the early to middle Republic, a combination of legends regarding the city's founding and the machinations of the ruling elite. The names of the primary personae appear to reflect their origins: "Romulus" was derived from *rhome*, meaning "forceful" or "strength" and referred directly to the patricians' strength or right to rule, while "Remus" derived from the word *remorari*, "hold back," a veiled command that the

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[41] This is also noted by Bannon (1997), 11, 138, and Wiseman (1995), 11-13.
[42] Wiseman (1995), 11-13.
[43] Verg. *Aen.* 1.291-295 with Bannon (1997b), 168.
[44] Liv. 1.7.2 with Bannon (1997b), 164-65.
[45] Plut. *Rom.* 10.1; Diod. Sic. 8.6.3; and Ov. *Fast.* 4.837-44, 5.467-70. See also Wiseman (1995), 9-10, and Wiseman (2004), 141.

plebeians hold back their demands on the state.[46] If the patricians believed the plebeians should refrain from making demands on the state, we might interpret the connection with Remus as a threat. Rather than a threat, Remus' fate was a moralizing allegory, one which equated his sacrilegious violation of the city's boundaries with the fate of those who defied the *status quo* in contemporary—second century BCE—Roman society.

For the Romans, violations of tradition and order were equated with betrayal and treason. L. Junius Brutus and T. Manlius Torquatus both demonstrated the gravity of such violations when they each ordered the execution of their sons for breach of order and discipline.[47] To the Roman mind, these stories, like that of Remus, were not mere fables; these were the very foundation of their society. In this sense, Remus' death was not a crime of petty jealousy, it was *required*. Were he allowed to undermine the rule of discipline and order, then anarchy could well reign. By implication, Romulus—and the patricians of Rome in the second century BCE, whom he symbolized—would not be suited to his role as ruler and guardian of Rome. Remus' death was no mere murder; it was a *sacrifice*, a *necessary* sacrifice for the security of the state.[48]

For Augustus' dynastic intentions, therefore, the Remus story was not necessarily a topic he felt needed to be addressed. He may certainly have avoided depictions of adult versions of Romulus and Remus as a way of evading the issue of fratricide, but he did not

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[46] Wiseman (2004), 140. If the connection between Remus and the plebeians was not clear enough, *Remoria* appears to have been the original name of the Aventine, the hill upon which Remus took his augury and which was associated with plebeian politics. See also Wiseman (2004), 7.

[47] Brutus had both of his sons executed for their betrayal of the state to the deposed king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus (Livy 2.5). Manlius executed his son after the younger Manlius broke with discipline, leaving the Roman formation to accept a challenge from a Latin champion. Despite being victorious, his breach of discipline was ultimately fatal (Livy 8.7).

[48] This finds further resonance with the story of P. Decius Mus who rides out ahead of the Roman lines, finds himself trapped, and then dedicates himself as a sacrifice to the security of the state (Livy 8.9).

need to avoid it entirely. The story was moralizing, and an Augustan version of the story, preserved in Ovid, depicts Remus' shade as understanding and forgiving of his brother: "My brother did not want this. In him there is matching devotion; he gave what he could, tears for my fate."[49] It was this iteration of Remus—and by extension Romulus—which Augustus sought to evoke in his appropriation of the Romuli and their imagery.

Was Ovid's rehabilitation of Remus, like that in Vergil, a reflection of Augustan propaganda?[50] It is tempting to think so since, in Augustan art and literature, Romulus and Remus are almost universally depicted as infants. In such works, the act of fratricide is implicitly neutralized by its temporal distance. It is further worth noting that any association between the Romuli—fratricidal or otherwise—and Gaius and Lucius would only have been implicit. Nowhere in the historical record are Gaius and Lucius—or any of Augustus' heirs, for that matter—ever referred to as "Romulus and Remus" in the same manner they are called "Castor" or "Gemini."[51]

The Iconic Twins

There were at least two other twin pairs that Augustus' propaganda would have gladly evoked, the Penates and the Lares. Whereas the Dioscuri and the Romuli were heroic in nature—that is to say capable of meaningful, human interaction in the world of mortals—the Penates and the Lares were iconic; they were static images lacking

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[49] Ov. *Fast.* 5.471-72 (Wiseman trans.).

[50] Florus notably believed that Octavian desired to be called "Romulus," but ultimately decided against it, finally settling on Augustus (*Epit.* 2.34.66). See also Cass. Dio 46.46.2-3; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 7.2.

[51] Gaius and Lucius are explicitly called *Caesares Gemin[i]* on a coin from Spain. See Figure 27. Often the northeast panel of the Ara Pacis has been cited as an example of the resonant imagery between the infant Romulus and Remus and Augustus' adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius. Although the imagery is certainly resonant, it is only *generically* resonant and did not necessarily refer to Romulus and Remus in particular. In this example, the association with the founding twins in the present can be attributed to a greater familiarity with the Romuli than with the stories of other twin pairs, such as the Dioscuri. For the name "Castor," see, e.g., Scott (1930a).

personality and symbolic of particular concepts or ideas.[52] In the case of the Penates, they were the embodiment of Rome's mythical past, said to have been brought to Italy by the Trojan prince Aeneas in his flight from Ilium (see Figure 3). Through the Penates, the Romans traced their ethnic origins to Lavinium and thence to Troy. By contrast, though no less significant, the Lares were distinctly domestic icons, native to the city of Rome, who were primarily the guardians of the family and household. Although not nearly as dynamic as the Dioscuri or the Romuli, both pairs would have played an equal role in the presentation of Augustus' heirs to the wider Roman public.

Despite their iconic nature, the Penates and Lares provide us with an example of twin pairs acting in multiple guises. The Penates, for example, were known by many names based on their role or function; Dionysius of Halicarnassus recognized no fewer than five appellations.[53] One particularly important role they filled was that of civic guardians; called *Penates Publici*, they appear on coinage and are iconographically indistinguishable from the Dioscuri but for the identifying legend (see Figure 4).[54] Like the Penates, the Lares had multiple guises. Although best known for their role as

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[52] A diagrammatic visualization of the distinctions among the twin pairs can be seen in Table 1.

[53] Dion. Hal. 1.67.3: "As for these gods, the Romans call them Penates. Some who translate the name into the Greek language render it *Patrôoi* ["of the race"], others *Genethlioi* ["of the family"], some *Ktêsiori* ["of the house and propety"], others *Mychioi* ["of the inner house"], and still others *Herkeioi* ["of the front court"]. Each of these seems to be giving them their name from some one [*sic*] of their attributes, and it is probable that they are all expressing more or less the same idea." (Cary, trans.)

[54] Archaeological evidence appears to indicate that the Penates were originally an iconic version or guise of the Dioscuri which eventually spun off from their heroic predecessors to form a separate pair of deities. On the archaeological evidence, see Weinstock (1960), 112-114. For a full discussion on the existence of the cult alongside or in conjunction with a cult of the Penate, see Masquelier (1966). See also Rebeggiani (2013), 62. For the arrival of the Penates in Rome, see Richardson (1992), "Penates Dei, Aedes," 289. On the date of the iconographic synthesis between Dioscuri and Penates, see Crawford (1971), 154, esp. n20. See also Richardson (1992), "Lares Praetites," 233; Rebeggiani (2013), 55; and Summi (2009), 177-178. The association between Dioscuri and Penates explains the otherwise unusual pairing of Aeneas and the Dioscuri in a painting by Parrhasius described in Plin. *HN* 36.35.

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domestic household guardians, the civic guardian *Lares Compitales* would have been especially well known from their prevalent imagery at major crossroads and fountains throughout the city. They, too, shared the Dioscuric iconography of spears and youthful nudity (see Figure 5) which would have made their civic role discernible to all. These Lares in particular later became associated with Augustus through assimilation to the *Lares Augusti*, whose civic role now extended to the guardianship of the emperor and his household. Both Penates and Lares were associated with the revival of traditional Roman values and the protection of the state.[55]

The visual and iconographic affinity between the Dioscuri and the civic guises of the Penates and Lares may have implied certain associations with Gaius and Lucius.[56] Taken a step further, Augustus' role as *pater patriae* would have associated with the *paterfamilias* of a Roman family. In a civic setting, this would have implied that Augustus was the *paterfamilias* of the Roman people and state. Since the Lares were regularly depicted in flanking attendance of the *paterfamilias* in domestic lararia, as evidenced by an example from Pompeii (Figure 6), it is not outside the realm of possibility that the Lares as a whole would have carried connotations of the Augustan "twins" Gaius and Lucius, whose role as Augustus' attendants would have been implicit.[57] Since the Penates and Lares were connected through their shared roles and

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[55] On renewal of traditional customs and practices under Augustus, see Zanker (1988), 101-166 with Scheid (2005), 175-193.

[56] On the connection between Gaius and Lucius and the *Lares Compitales*, see Poulsen (1991), 126. See Small (2007), 187 with 198, for possible connections between Gaius and Lucius and the Lares/Dioscuri embellishments made to the Capitolium at Pompeii. My thanks to Prof. John Dobbins at the University of Virginia for pointing out Prof. Small's chapter.

[57] Although the Penates and Lares do not easily demonstrate the penchant for twinly preeminence, the anonymous nature of an individual lar or penatis means that one lar/penatis was identical to its other and

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personages,[58] it would not be a stretch to conclude that the Penates and Lares may just as easily have evoked the image of Gaius and Lucius in the same manner as the Dioscuri.[59]

The Lares had a final guise that would have made the association between the Roman origin story and Augustus' heirs complete. A bronze mirror dated to the fourth century BCE (Figure 7) shows a startlingly familiar image of infants being suckled by a she-wolf. Surely these must be Romulus and Remus in the Lupercal grotto? But a closer examination reveals that these are, in fact, the infant Lares given by their mother, Lara—who stands in the background—to the care of *ferae*, here represented by a she-wolf and a lion, an event that was commemorated every February in the festival of the *Feralia*.[60] Given what we know about the late development of the Romuli myth[61] and the obvious visual affinity between this representation of the Lares and those of the Romuli,[62] this

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required no individual identification. As such, two lares/penates were fundamentally the same as a single lar/penatis, not unlike the collective identity of the *Castores* based on a single archetype.

[58] Philologically the Penates may be related to the household cupboard (*penus*), and thus the very core of the family's survival, a role that is similar to that fulfilled by the Lares. The Dioscuri were in turn associated with the guardianship of portals, which, as in the example from the House of the Dioscuri in Pompeii, could include the doorways of private households. On philological associations between Penates and *penus*, see Sumi (2009), 177 with Taylor (1925), 304. For the Dioscuri as guardians of portals generally, see de Grummond (1991), 22-26; as guardians of the household, see Trimble (2002), 228, and Waites (1920), 252-254.

[59] Any association between the Penates and Gaius and Lucius would have added a cosmological angle to the Augustan household and succession. Here the reference to cosmology is specifically to origins and not necessarily to astrological qualities. That said, the inextricable connection among all of the twin pairs under consideration would have inevitably linked them with the Gemini, per the example in the *Homeric Hymns* 33. It would not be too much of a stretch to associate the star that regularly accompanies the Gemini (e.g. Figure 2) with the *sidus Iulius* and its multiplicity of connections within the Imperial household. For the connections between Gemini and the *sidus Iulius*, see also Poulsen (1991), 119, 143; Pollini (2012), 415-18; and Rebeggiani (2013), 63. Later connections included an astral relationship between the Dioscuri and Drusus' death; see Scott (1930a), 158; Scott (1930b), 380; and Champlin (2011), 76.

[60] For this interpretation see Wiseman (2004), 79-80, 117; cf. Mazzoni (2010), 174-8. On the *Feralia* and its origins relating to the Lares, the full account can be found in Ov. *Fast.* 2.583-616.

[61] See above "The Twin Founders."

[62] Compare, for example, Figure 7 of the Lares and Figure 8 of the Romuli.

particular depiction of the infant Lares was evidently simplified and reused for later representations of the Romuli in the founding myth.[63]

In this manner, depictions of the Romuli could and did represent depictions of the Lares. This connection explains Plutarch's confusion over a depiction of the Lares clad in "dog-skins,"[64] an obvious allusion to the festival of the *Lupercalia*,[65] but more importantly an indication of the feedback loop that characterized the portrayal of these twin pairs. We see these intricate connections in narrative form as well, such as the connection between the character of Celer—and his descendant *celeres*[66]—with the horsemen Castors along with their associated iconography, an iconography which was shared with the Lares and Penates. The *lacus Juturnae*, where the Dioscuri were said to have been seen watering their horses after Regillus,[67] provides another connection. It is named for Lara's nymph sister, Juturna, who unsuccessfully tried to warn her sister of Jupiter's lustful intentions, ultimately resulting in her rape by Mercury and the subsequent birth of the Lares.[68] Finally, it is hardly coincidental that Vesta, who watched over the civic and domestic hearth with her associates the Penates and Lares, was often

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[63] The details of this simplification and reuse are incredibly intricate, but not inexplicable. In representations of the Lupercal scene, the Romuli and she-wolf are rarely depicted with attendant figures beyond Faustulus (e.g. Figure 8); the lone exception appears to have been the northeast panel of the Ara Pacis in its inclusion of both Faustulus and Mars. Note the numerous missing figures between these representations and that of the Lares mirror (Figure 7). The mirror has a total of four adult figures which represent Mercury (reclining), Lara (background), Faustulus/Pan (left), and Quirinus (right). The inclusion of the lion also seems odd for a Lupercal reading, though a topographical reference might interpret this as a representation of the nearby Ara Maxima. Given the totality of figures, their associations with the Lares story, and the mirror's early date, however, I am inclined to dismiss a Lupercal reading.

[64] Plut. *Mor.* 20.51.

[65] On the connection between the Lares and the *Lupercalia*, see Wiseman (2004), 322 n79.

[66] Mounted bodyguards of the king which seem to be the predecessors of the *equites* cavalry. See Wiseman (1995), 9-10 and Wiseman (2004), 141.

[67] V. Max. 1.8.1 identified the pool explicitly as the *lacus Juturna*. Dion. Hal. 6.13.2 describes it as a "the fountain which rises near the temple of Vesta and forms a small but deep pool," while Plut. *Cor.* 3.5 has it as "the fountain where their temple now stands."

[68] For a connection between Mercury in the Lares story and the Dioscuri, see Murgatroyd (2005), 56-57.

conflated with both Lara and Juturna.[69] Here it was her proximity to the *aedies Castoris* and the *lacus Juturnae* which influenced the goddess' conception in the Roman mind.

From this accumulated body of evidence, it seems clear that in the Roman psyche one pair of twins would have brought to mind another pair; depictions of the Romuli would have brought to mind the infant Lares, which may have brought to mind the *Penates Publici*, whose iconography would have recalled the Dioscuri. By this logic, Augustus seems to have reasoned that he could present his own heirs within the same visual and narrative vocabulary and expect a similar outcome.[70] Thus when a Roman saw depictions of the Lares at a local fountain, recalled Aeneas' preservation of the Penates, passed the temple of Castor, or saw depictions of the Lupercal, he or she would recall Gaius and Lucius and the *ludi Saeculares* of 17 BCE, the moment in which they were simultaneous adopted and "twinned."[71] And so, at the start of the new era, just as at the start of past ones, Rome was once more given a pair of twins in whom they could entrust their future, the *Caesares Gemini*.

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[69] Taylor (1925), 304. On the connection with Vesta, see also Sumi (2009), 177.
[70] Note, for example, the interesting parallels associating Romulus, Castor and Pollux, and Augustus ("Caesar") in Hor. *Ep*. 2.1.
[71] Cass. Dio 54.18; cf. Pollini (1987), 1 n2.

CHAPTER II: CAESARES GEMINI

In visual portrayals of Gaius and Lucius, Augustus consciously appropriated attributes specifically associated with the heroic, youthful twin pairs of Roman culture discussed in the previous chapter. Twins evoked positive connotations of the city's founding, the protection of the state, and the preservation of civic and moral order. Imagery which made use of twinly pairing would inevitably associate its subjects with these virtues. Augustus unmistakably understood these implications. By presenting Gaius and Lucius in such a manner, he could more easily advance his dynastic program of succession and ensure that the principate would persist after his death. Besides the depiction of his heirs, Augustan works such as the Ara Pacis and Forum Augustum show a certain penchant for twinning and pairing imagery.[72] Although such pairings may not have been explicitly "twinning" in nature, they were certainly evocative of the exemplary virtues associated with twins. In both instances, their context as part of the regime's

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[72] On the Ara Pacis, the allegorical panels from the west and east perimeter walls each show a certain pairing of figures evocative of twins. Moving clockwise from the northeast corner, Roma would have been flanked by paired images of Honos and Virtus; Pax was flanked by attendant Horae and holds in her lap twin infants; Numa is paired with a foreign king and is assisted in his sacrifice by a pair of youths, all the while observed by a pair of enthroned deities housed in the distant hilltop temple; and the infant twins Romulus and Remus are discovered in the Lupercal grotto by paired images of Mars and Faustulus. For Honos and Virtus with Roma, see Torelli (1992), 37-38; for Horae with Pax, see de Grummond (1990); for Numa see Rehak (2001). See also Fullerton (1985), 476 n22, 481.

In the Forum Augustum, the *summi viri* were divided into paired groupings which faced each other across the forum plaza. The exedrae nearest the Temple of Mars Ultor, for example, appear to have housed images of Aeneas and Romulus. This seems to be the basis for the paired paintings of Aeneas and Romulus on the exterior of the house of Fabius Ululutremulus in Pompeii (Figure 3 and Figure 9, respectively). On this configuration, see Zanker (1988), 193-95; on the Forum Augustum and the *summi viri*, see Shaya (2013) with Galinsky (1996), 204-08.

primary forms of visual propaganda leant the imagery of twins a very present and

relevant political dimension not seen in many traditional examples.[73] It is little wonder

that the *aedes Castoris* and the portico it faced in the Forum Romanum were both

eventually dedicated to Augustan "twins."[74]

This "political twinning" was given enhanced form in the portraiture of Gaius and

Lucius. Born three years apart in 20 and 17 BCE, respectively, their simultaneous

adoption just after Lucius' birth made them "twins" in the eyes of the regime. Their

portraits, in turn, came to reflect this particularly resonant pairing. But rather than being

presented as a purely political pair, like the images of Romulus and Aeneas in the Forum

Augustum,[75] who could not sensibly be mistaken for biological twins, the images of

Gaius and Lucius ignored their difference in age entirely, thus making them seem like

actual twins in the vein of the Castors or Romuli. This synchronizing of their age

characterized their imagery from their earliest childhood portraits through the ethereal

portraits dedicated after their deaths.[76]

Numismatic Pairings

Paired sculptural images of Gaius and Lucius in the preserved archaeological

record are, however, elusive. So rather than starting with sculptural likenesses, we begin

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[73] For example, the twin pairings found on the reverse of coins from the Republic (e.g. Figure 2, Figure 4, and Figure 5) only associated their sponsor with the twin pairs; it did not attempt to cast those twin pairs as direct forbearers and exemplars of a regime whose hold on power was very nearly absolute.

[74] The *aedes Castoris* was rededicated by Tiberius in his and brother Drusus' name (Cass. Dio 55.27.4), and it may have been originally reserved for a dedication to Gaius and Lucius. The portico facing the *aedes Castoris* was ultimately dedicated by Augustus in Gaius' and Lucius' name. On Tiberius' dedication, see Poulsen (1991), 121-22, 126; Bannon (1997b), 178-79; Summi (2009), 173; Champlin (2011), 86; and Pollini (2012), 425, with Richardson (1992), 74-75. On the portico of Gaius and Lucius, see Richardson (1992), 52-53 with van Deman (1913).

[75] See above n72.

[76] On the synchronizing of age between Gaius and Lucius in portraiture, see Pollini (1987), 15, 20, and Rose (1990), 464; cf. Swift (1921b), 353.

with numismatic images. These are among the few instances where inscriptional

testimonia differentiates between the two Caesars. Such depictions in numismatics were

struck as early as 13 BCE, when Gaius would have been seven and Lucius four years old.

A series of coins struck in Rome that year show on their reverse the image of Julia

flanked by her two sons (Figure 10).[77] Although their collective identity as Gaius and

Lucius seems secure, their individual identities are not; is Gaius the one on the left or the

one on the right? And, in this context, does it even matter? As discussed in the first

chapter, the principle of twinly preeminence could make individual identity irrelevant;

this is to say, under certain circumstances, the attributes which characterize the

preeminent twin could be present in depictions of both. The vast majority of coins from

the period under consideration appear to follow this pattern. They symbolically depict

Gaius and Lucius in their role as Augustan heirs rather than as individuals. A series

struck in Lugdunum (Figure 11) provides another such example of this role-based

representation. Once again, the emphasis is on the relationship between the boys and the

regime, not their individuality.

For the purposes of portrait identification, the question of individual identity

remains pertinent. In instances where an attempt *has* been made to differentiate between

the two boys, their images are often either too abstracted (Figure 12)[78] or too badly

preserved (Figure 14) to allow for firm individual identification. But even if the images

could be easily distinguished, their symbolic representation as heirs receives the

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[77] Zanker (1988), 216; cf. Rose (1997), 15, Pl. 8.
[78] Cf. Reverse of a sestertius from Hadrumetum depicting Lucius and Gaius is more finely preserved, though still abstracted in its detail (Figure 13).

emphasis. Therefore, in this particular context, their status as the paired heirs of the regime—depicted as twins without regard for age or distinctiveness—outweighs their individuality.

When depicted without a referent to the regime—such as the image of Augustus or Julia—individual likeness is emphasized. Numismatic images are, however, often too limited in their size, and thus their ability to render detail, to allow for firm individual identifications. We can see this problem in a pair of coins from the Greek East that explicitly identify the young men individually (Figure 15, Figure 16). In both examples there appears to be greater interest in depicting Gaius and Lucius as individuals than in aforementioned Western examples. The modeling of the coiffure and the depiction of the nose are telling attempts at individualization. But just like their depiction in role-based numismatic images (e.g. Figure 12), their individual age has been subordinated to their twinly pairing; indeed, in both instances the viewer is given no visual reference to determine whether the subjects are children or adults, much less which is Gaius and which is Lucius. From this we can deduce that even without a referent to the regime, the very act of image pairing became symbolic of their role.

Despite these apparent drawbacks in the use of numismatic evidence,[79] the two authoritative studies on the sculptural portrait identities of Gaius and Lucius have relied heavily, if not exclusively on this kind of evidence. E.H. Swift[80] and John Pollini[81] both utilized contemporary coinage as their ultimate source for establishing individual

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[79] A problem R.R.R. Smith identified in his review of Pollini's 1987 publication; Smith (1989), 214.
[80] Swift (1921b).
[81] Pollini (1987).

identity. Although they each cite numerous, different coins, a bronze coin from Pergamon

features in both studies (Figure 17). The coin provides the viewer with an identifying

legend for each young man, but taken by themselves the size and detail of the profile

likenesses provide only the most rudimentary basis for individual portrait identification.[82]

A sard intaglio presently in the Museo Archeologico in Florence which depicts Gaius and

Lucius in profile is of far greater use (Figure 18). Regrettably its uncertain date[83] and lack

of identifying inscription make it problematic.[84] Taken alone, the intaglio profile are

similarly unusable for individual identification; however, Pollini astutely points out

visual similarities between the labeled images on the Pergamene coin and the intaglio.[85]

If we accept the antiquity of the intaglio—as Pollini does—then we may be convinced

that the combined evidence provides a sufficient basis for accurate identification of

individual portraits.

This comparative approach can only work, however, in instances where we have

paired sculptural likenesses. This is because we are entirely reliant on the *differences* we

perceive visually between the two images and not necessarily on individual features.

Unfortunately such paired likenesses are uncommon, and they are frequently plagued by

questions of identity and archaeological context. A pair of sculptural images in the round,

for example, might be associated with one another archaeologically, but the inability to

pinpoint precise details of chronology make it unclear whether the images were

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[82] Swift (1921b), 351, recognized this problem. Of the Pergamene coin, "upon which appear the busts of
Gaius and Lucius face to face," he states, "little information bearing upon our subject, save only, perhaps,
that a certain 'family resemblance' may be expected between the portrait of the youths wherever found."
[83] See Pollini (1987), 36 n96.
[84] The anomalous facial hair present on both images of Gaius and Lucius further problematizes these
images. See below n266.
[85] Pollini (1987), 35-36.

commissioned concurrently or at different times. Adding to the problem, the greater

number of Gaius' portraits has led to the theoretical identification of a large number of

Lucius' portraits.[86] Despite evidence to the contrary,[87] it is generally assumed that a

portrait of Gaius would have been accompanied by a portrait of Lucius.[88] If we also

accept the arrangement argued by C.B. Rose regarding the location of Gaius' portrait on

the Ara Pacis,[89] then we are led to conclude that Lucius could just as easily be spatially

separated from his brother and, in this case, relegated to a secondary, "background" role

among the dignitaries of the regime.[90]

Sculptural Pairings: Velia

In the case of Gaius and Lucius, there are only two instances of dual discovery: a

pair of childhood portrait heads from Southern Italy and a pair of early adult statues from

Corinth in Greece. The former were discovered in 1960 in a cryptoporticus at the site of

ancient Velia (Elea). For the sake of clarity and consistency, I have elected to follow

Pollini's labeling by calling them "Velia A" (Figure 20) and "Velia B" (Figure 19).

Discovered alongside eight other Imperial portraits of the late Augustan period,[91] the two

heads have traditionally been identified as childhood images of Gaius and Lucius, and

based on the subjects' ages have been tentatively dated to or after 5 BCE, the year in

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[86] For example, a theoretical statue of Lucius meant to accompany the *capite velato* statue of Gaius from Ocriculum cited by Rose (1997), 98. See also Pollini (1987), 92, for perceived associations between the portraits of Pollini's Lucius Type III and his Gaius Type IV.
[87] For example, a statuary group from Pisa. Inscriptional evidence indicates that the group consisted of a pair of equestrian statues depicting Gaius and Lucius, while a solitary pedestrian statue depicting Gaius accompanied the paired equestrian images. F. Kleiner (1985), 159-162, and Rose (1997), 99-100.
[88] See above n86.
[89] Rose (1990) and Rose (1997), 15-17; cf. D. Kleiner and Buxton (2008), 72-76.
[90] Rose (1990), 464.
[91] Rose (1997), 120-21, Cat. 49.

which Gaius donned the *toga virilis* and was acclaimed *princeps iuventutis*.[92] The two

heads show no discernible difference in the age of their subjects, and although they bear a

striking resemblance to one another, the resemblance is no more than a generic "family

resemblance" common among Julio-Claudian portraiture (e.g. Figure 28).[93] Although the

broader effect in both the intaglio (Figure 18) and the Velia heads is one of generalized

twinning, comparisons between the intaglio and Velia heads show certain portrait

similarities.[94]

 The discovery of these two heads as a pair may lead us to attempt individual

identification of portraits representing Gaius and Lucius. The badly damaged state of

Velia B, however, makes this nearly impossible and has led to questions regarding which

head represents which youth. For example, Pollini identifies Velia A as Gaius and Velia

B as Lucius,[95] assigning each to the Type II he develops for each boy's typology; Rose,

by contrast, assigns the opposite identification.[96] Part of the reason these scholars reached

separate conclusions lies in the dating of the heads. Visually, the portraits clearly depict

their subjects as adolescents, and therefore they must predate the development of Gaius

and Lucius' adult portrait types. Gaius' early adult portrait type began to circulate around

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[92] *Ibid*. with Pollini (1987), 47-48, 52-53, 97 (cat. 7), 106 (cat. 36).

[93] Pollini (1987), 81, is certainly correct in attributing "a strong family resemblance to each other, comparable to that of [Corinth 135 and Corinth 136]," but he fails to note the equally strong stylistic resemblance to other statues from Velia, such as the portrait head of Agrippa Postumus or Nero Caesar, son of Germanicus (Figure 28), which is of a later date. See Rose (1997), 120-21, Cat. 49.

[94] Compare, for example, the descriptions in Pollini (1987) between the images on the intaglio (p36) and his descriptions of Velia A (p48) and Velia B (p81).

[95] Pollini (1987), 47-48 and 81-82, respectively.

[96] Rose (1997), 120-21, does not undertake his own formal analysis of the works, but is instead following the work of M. Fabbri and A. Trotta (1989), *Una scuola-collegio di età augustea: l'insula II di Velia* (Rome: G. Bretschneider), 79-95.

2 BCE, at the same time he departed on his Eastern military campaign.[97] This provides us with a *terminus ante quem* from which we can work backwards in time to find a sound solution regarding dating.

As discussed, the Velia heads have generally been assigned to the year 5 BCE, the year in which Gaius donned the *toga virilis* and received the title *princeps iuventutis*. The assignment of this date, however, points to a major problem in portrait methodology. Put succinctly, portraits are generally dated on the assumption that new portrait types are inherently developed in response to important events in the subject's life or career. In order to tease out just which event is being commemorated, we would ideally look for an inscription or some other form of relative dating. These heads, however, provide no such dating. Their archaeological context is vague; given the numerous other heads found at the same site, we can only generalize that they may date anywhere from the Augustan to the Claudian period, a range of over half a century.[98] In such situations, we are often reliant on stylistic or iconographic clues, but their state of preservation and the lack of accompanying inscriptions makes this approach untenable.

The final resort is to examine the relative ages of the subjects in order to place them within a relative chronology. For Pollini, the assumption is that Velia A—along with the other portraits of his Gaius Type II—resembles a young man at the age of fourteen or fifteen, which conveniently corresponds with the same age at which Gaius donned the *toga virilis* and was acclaimed *princeps iuventutis*.[99] This particular claim is

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[97] On this, see below Chapter III: Aemulatio Augusti.
[98] On the dating and various phases of the Velia finds, see Rose (1997), 120-121.
[99] Pollini (1987), 52.

not supported by other corroborating evidence, such as an inscription or archaeological context. It is certainly possible that Gaius' adolescent portraits were commissioned to commemorate the aforementioned events, as Pollini believes, but the lack of corroborating evidence makes this particular assumption and its implied dating little more than conjecture.

If we assume that portraits were developed chronologically with respect to the age and career of their subjects, then the only conclusion we can reach is that the heads from Velia represent Gaius and Lucius at some point in their adolescence. Although they may indeed have been commissioned to mark Gaius' acclimation and the donning of the *toga virilis*, there is nothing to prevent it from marking the same events in the life of Lucius some three years later. But even the respective years in which Gaius and Lucius donned the *toga virilis* and were acclaimed *principes iuventutius* is open to debate. Although our sources agree that these honors were bestowed upon Gaius during Augustus' twelfth consulship in 5 BCE,[100] they provide a confusing narrative for when Lucius received these same honors.[101] In Dio's narrative, Lucius received these honors the very next year afdter Gaius,[102] while Suetonius implies that he received them in 2 BCE, during Augustus' thirteenth consulship.[103]

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[100] Cass Dio 55.9.9 and Suet. *Aug.* 26.2.

[101] Part of the problem here is that the coming of age ceremony in which a young man donned the *toga virilis* did not necessarily take place at a particular age. Although tradition had it occur during the fifteenth or sixteenth year of a boy's life, when the ceremony actually took place was entirely at the father's individual discretion. See Harrill (2002), 255 n13, with Dolansky (1999).

[102] Cass. Dio 55.9.10: "And after the lapse of a year Lucius also obtained all the honors that had been granted to his brother Gaius." (Cary, trans.) I am in agreement with Scott-Kilvert (trans., 1987), 290 n28, in the belief that this represents a "large gap" in the text, and that the line must refer to 2 BCE. See also Swan (2004), 91.

[103] Suet. *Aug.* 26.2: "…after declining a number of terms that were offered him, he asked of his own accord for a twelfth after a long interval, no less than seventeen years, and two years later for a thirteenth, wishing

If we suppose that concerns regarding twinly pairing outweighed the traditions of age, then it is not impossible that Augustus disregarded convention and synchronized their coming of age ceremonies, much in the same way he adopted the two boys simultaneously in 17 BCE. This is not, however, in keeping with Augustus' concerns for traditions,[104] and the evidence seems to indicate that Augustus, although willing to elevate his sons more quickly than conventional standards, desired to have them reach those honors at the same age rather than in the same year.[105] This points to a certain trend in the careers of Gaius and Lucius in which each was elevated to certain positions and honors at the same age, a trend which staggered their respective careers by their difference in biological age, three years. The exception appears to have been some minor differences which set Gaius' career apart from Lucius' in terms of preeminence.[106] In these differences, we see the principle of twinly preeminence at work. The same principle that resulted in the preeminence of Castor over Pollux and Romulus over Remus led to Gaius' political preeminence over his brother. This was a pattern that was presaged in the preeminent position Marcellus held with respect to Tiberius in 23 BCE[107] and repeated in

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to hold the highest magistracy at the time when he introduced each of his sons Gaius and Lucius to public life upon their coming of age." (Rolfe, trans.)

[104] On Augustan cultural traditionalism, see Zanker (1988), 101-66, with Galinsky (1996), 80-140.

[105] For example, Gaius departed on his first military expedition to the East at the age eighteen (2 BCE), while Lucius appears to have stayed in Rome. Three years later, when Lucius was eighteen (2 CE), he similarly departed on his own debut military expedition to the West. Earlier in 6 BCE, Augustus disallowed their election to the consulship until they had each reached the age of twenty (Cass. Dio 55.9.2.). This ultimately resulted in Gaius' election to the consulship *in absentia* in 1 CE. Presumably Lucius' election would have followed in 4 CE, also *in absentia*, had he not died in 2 CE. See Romer (1979), 204.

[106] At the age of fourteen, for example, Gaius was made a *pontifex*, while Lucius was subsequently made an augur, a lower priesthood. Lucius appears to have been made an augur in 2 BCE at the age of fifteen, one year older than when Gaius was made *pontifex*. This detail is insignificant insofar as it does not keep a perfect staggered synchronization of honors; nevertheless, the earlier and greater elevation for Gaius should be understood as another sign of the greater favor shown Gaius as the preeminent heir. For the dates of Gaius' honors, see Pollini (1987), 52; for Lucius, see *Ibid*., 83. Cf. Sumner (1967), 418 n1.

[107] See the Introduction.

the preeminent positions of Tiberius and Germanicus in 4 CE with respect to Agrippa

Postumus and Drusus Minor, respectively.[108] Although each individual was paired as a

twin, there was a marked political preeminence of one over the other.

This brings us back to the question of identity. If their careers were staggered in

time, we should presumably expect that their sculptural likenesses would likewise reflect

differences in time and honors. As we have seen, however, even portraits in the round

appear to follow the twinning convention of Augustan dynastic art.[109] Alone, the heads

from Velia can provide us with no clear answers regarding the event which occasioned

their creation and exhibition. What we can say is that their visual resemblance and their

archaeological proximity indicates that they were meant to be viewed in tandem, not

separately. There are two reasons for this conclusion. First, the depiction of Gaius and

Lucius in numismatic images seems to indicate that their paired imagery was as much a

part of their identifying attributes as inscriptions or their individual portrait features.

Second, corresponding *comparanda* is indicative of twinly pairing. Here we refer directly

to the only other pair of images identified as Gaius and Lucius and discovered together,

namely a pair of heroically nude statues discovered in the ruins of the Julian basilica at

Corinth.

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[108] For the careers of Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus Minor, see Levick (1966), Sumner (1967), and Rowe (2002), 45. One may even argue that the same principle can be applied to the relationship between Augustus and Agrippa in their leadership of the state. Compare the seated images of Augustus and Agrippa on the reverse of a denarius from 13 BCE (Figure 30) with the numismatic image of the Lares (Figure 5) and Penates (Figure 4) and the description of the Dioscuri in Dion. Hal. 1.68.2. Compositionally, the images are nearly identical; iconographically they are both seated and one of the Augustus/Agrippa figures appears to hold a spear. Nudity is necessarily excluded from the Augustus/Agrippa coin as this would have been inappropriate for the heads of the Roman state in the early Imperial period. For the pairing of Augustus and Agrippa with respect to succession, see Levick (1999), 29-30.

[109] "Twinning" here refers not only to the synchronism of age, but also the differentiation by preeminence; these two aspects of twinning would have been inseparable in the Roman psyche.

Sculptural Pairings: Corinth

Discovered in the course of the 1914-1915 excavations at Corinth,[110] the two

statues are generally referred to by their catalogue titles "Corinth 135" (Figure 22) and

"Corinth 136" (Figure 23) and have been traditionally identified as adult images of Gaius

and Lucius, respectively. Besides the heads from Velia, these statues represent the only

other instance in which portraits thought to depict the two Caesars have been found

together. Their initial identification was undertaken by E.H. Swift in 1921, who identified

Corinth 135 with Gaius and Corinth 136 with Lucius.[111] In addition to utilizing

numismatic imagery, Swift inferred from his own visual analysis that the statues

appeared to depict Gaius and Lucius in the ages at which they died.[112] If this is true, then

it assumes an accuracy in the portrayal of age, which we have already seen can be rather

problematic, but more importantly it requires that we accept Swift's subjective

perceptions of age. More troubling still, Swift regarded his perceptions of age as more

substantial evidence for identification than the features he cites in numismatic imagery.[113]

This habit of identifying portraits based on subjective visual inference ultimately led

Franklin Johnson to reverse the identities of these two statues. He concluded that the

subject depicted in Corinth 135 appears younger than its partner and must therefore

represent Lucius,[114] while Corinth 136, he believed, bears a closer resemblance to the

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[110] Swift (1921a), 142.
[111] *Ibid* (1921b), 350-3.
[112] *Ibid.*, 353.
[113] *Ibid.*, 353: "This [the perceived differences in age], though less direct, is far more conclusive."
[114] Johnson (1926), 169.

boys' biological father, Agrippa (e.g. Figure 29), and should therefore be identified with Gaius.[115]

This brief summary alone makes it evident that subjective visual analysis presents as many, if not more pitfalls than it does benefits, particularly when it is used as the primary basis for portrait identification. The best method is therefore to put aside concerns of identity until groupings of portraits can be made based on their visual similarities. This is not the same thing as establishing identity based on visual inference; rather, this is a method by which we group together those images which appear to depict the same subject. This allows us to at least divide the pool of potential candidates into manageable quantities of similar looking portraits. In this case, we consider four pieces in the round, the heads from Velia and the statues from Corinth.

Once we have divided the candidate pool, we can then compare the groupings with the only firmly identifiable images of Gaius and Lucius, namely the Pergamene coin and its kin, the Florentine intaglio. Although four pieces is in most instances quantitatively insufficient data to establish a reasonable sample, it is worth noting that we are working with paired images; that is to say, only those images that have been discovered together. Images found alone have no basis for contextual comparison unless they are matched with images from separate archaeological contexts, in which case we negate our primary source, the numismatic and intaglio images, and thus have no means by which to continue our study. Finally, as we have seen, paired images are among the

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[115] *Ibid.*, 169-71.

best candidates for identification with Gaius and Lucius because of the symbolic importance of pairing in their collective visual identity.

By examining the four sculptural pieces in question (Figure 26), we can discern certain patterns. First, the position of the forelocks on Velia A clearly conforms with the forelocks on Corinth 136, while the rounder treatment of the forelocks of Corinth 135 seems to conform with the rounder modeling of the same on Velia B. The other portrait features Pollini utilizes to define the two typologies, however, are difficult to detect. This includes the deeply set "narrowed eyes" and the fuller cheeks he identifies with Lucius, which he sees on the Pergamene coin and Florentine intaglio,[116] neither of which can be readily identified in either of the Velia heads. The state of preservation in Velia B alone makes one-to-one comparisons of such features impossible. All of this forces us to rely on the specific modeling of the hair as a means of establishing individual identity.

The narrowed eyes he ascribes to Lucius, however, are discernible in the modeling of Corinth 136. If we examine the profile images on the intaglio and the Pergamene coin, we do indeed see visual similarities in that feature between the two images on the left, which the legend on the coin identifies as Lucius. By contrast, the figure on the right of the intaglio and coin—which the legend identifies as Gaius—has far wider eyes, which compares well with the modeling of the eyes in Corinth 135. This seems to indicate that the combined visual evidence is sufficient to establish the identities of Corinth 135 and Corinth 136 as Gaius and Lucius, respectively.[117] This seems to

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[116] Pollini (1987), 35.

[117] Based on this, we may proceed to identify other visual markers in the intaglio and coin that may assist in further identification of portraits, such as Gaius' somewhat pointed chin, his slightly hooked nose, and

indicate that Rose's identification of the Velia heads is correct, making Velia B Gaius and Velia A Lucius, while Pollini's opposing opinion is evidently untenable. This is partly because of the conflict between particular aforementioned features, but it is primarily because his identification is based on the typology he develops. By using his own typology as a basis for identification, he has created a problematic self-referential system for portrait identification. Although his typology follows many standard methodologies, it nevertheless requires the reader to first accept the identification he provides for other, chronologically earlier portraits before being able to proceed to the identification of later ones. As we have seen, however, the only sure basis for identity lies in the comparison of paired images—images discovered together—and not in those discovered separately.

Pollini's identification may also be motivated by the poor states of preservation apparent in Corinth 136 and Velia B, particularly when compared with the much finer preservation of Corinth 135 and Velia A. This is characteristic of the manner in which Pollini's typology unduly favors better-preserved portraits, believing they resemble more closely the theoretical prototype or "original" model. This is true with the Pesaro head (Type I; Figure 31) and the Vatican bust (Type II; Figure 21), as well as the Ocriculum statue (Type IV; Figure 40) and the Uffizi portrait (Type V; Figure 44). In every instance, the most well-preserved—and, inherently, the *best looking*—is described as being "good,"[118] "high"[119] or "superior"[120] in quality and thus, to Pollini's eye, representative of

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slightly receding lower lip. For Lucius, we can identify higher cheekbones that may cause some of the narrowing of the eyes in visual representations, a rounded chin, and a rather flat columella.
[118] Pollini (1987), 44.
[119] *Ibid.*,52, 58.

the original model. The lone exceptions are the Gaius Type III and Lucius Type II. For the former, Pollini disparagingly describes it as lacking "any sculptural replica of superior or even particularly good quality," making it "difficult to recapture the artistic impression created by the original model…."[121] In the case of the latter, Pollini simply states that "the original model of this portrait type cannot be reconstructed with the same measure of certainty as the [Gaius Type II]" because only two replicas of the type exist, one of which—Velia B—is "badly damaged."[122] This is obviously flawed logic since not a single one of these portraits in any way can be definitively attached to an original model, much less numerous theoretical models that were dispersed across the empire. In both instances, there is no textual, inscriptional, or archaeological evidence to point to the model that contemporaries considered the "original." More to the point, Pollini's conclusions underscore the high level of subjectivity involved in the development of typologies. The same trap that ensnared Swift and Johnson here ensnares Pollini.

In both our sculptural and numismatic examples, we see how the influence of twinly imagery came to supersede biological realities in favor of a synchronized, homogeneous age. Velia A and Velia B are visibly meant to represent two different individuals, but in no way is a distinction made in their respective ages. We see this repeated in the statues from Corinth, as well as the images of Gaius and Lucius on coins and the Florentine intaglio—age is simply not a concern. The influence of the twin pairs discussed in the first chapter is nowhere more apparent than in the statues from Corinth.

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120 *Ibid.*, 59.
121 *Ibid.*, 55.
122 *Ibid*., 82.

Although Corinth 136 is damaged, Corinth 135 provides us an image of what they both would have looked like (Figure 24).[123] The heroic nudity and the drapery is a clear reference to the Dioscuri (see Figure 1 and Figure 25),[124] a potent political decision on the part of the nobility who erected the statues in Corinth.[125] More importantly, however, it demonstrates the way in which Gaius and Lucius were thought of during their lifetime, as a coin from Tarraco (Figure 27) testifies in calling them *Caesares Gemini*—the "twin" Caesars—a name which associated them directly with the Dioscuri.[126] This particular association continued well after their deaths. As late as the second century CE, Gaius and Lucius were worshipped at Ephesus as the Dioscuri, an indication of the effectiveness of Augustan propaganda.[127]

But the question of individual identity continues to plague our study. How can we determine which portraits represent Gaius and which represent Lucius? Although the aforementioned attributes derived from comparative studies are certainly an option, they remain problematic. The disagreement over the identities of Velia A and Velia B demonstrates how problematic such examinations can become. To which features should we assign greater weight, the narrowed eyes or the modeling of hair? The solution I would like to propose is not one that seeks to decipher partial *minutiae* of portraiture, but one that embraces a more generalized approach to appearance and semblance. Such is the approach taken by Caroline Vout in her article regarding Antinous.[128] Modes of viewing

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[123] See below n271.
[124] Vanderpool (2003), 376.
[125] *Ibid.*, 377.
[126] Poulsen (1991), 125, with Étienne (1974), 398.
[127] Poulsen (1991), 125.
[128] Vout (2005).

in the ancient world would not have been nearly as exacting as present day typologies

might lead us to believe; in fact, an approach that embraces a more generalized view of a

particular portrait series or typology is certainly more faithful to the way in which the

ancient viewer identified the subjects of sculpture.[129] This was certainly the case with

Gaius and Lucius, whose biological realities of age were subsumed by concerns for

homogeneous age and whose individual portrait identities were secondary to their

symbolic pairing.

This does not negate the fact that each had his own individual portraiture. For a

chiefly illiterate society consisting of individuals who were never likely to see the two

Caesars in person, minute details of hair or facial features would have remained

secondary to the broader visual program which differentiated the two young men. If this

were not so, then there would be less or no discernible difference between Corinth 135

and Corinth 136 or Velia A and Velia B, much less between the images on the

Pergamene coin and the intaglio. Following the principle of twinly preemience, although

they were made to reflect a twinly appearance, they were not intended to be the same.

As the historiography of identification regarding these two portrait pairs

demonstrates, strict adherence to minute details of sculptural representation can result in

the exclusion or confusion of identity.[130] Therefore, we suggest an alternative avenue for

identity, the all-important principle of twinly preeminence. In the case of the Castors, this

meant that both brothers were depicted as horsemen because of their role at the Battle of

Lake Regillus. It was, therefore, Castor's guise which lent them significant in the cultural

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[129] Vout (2005) must be read in its entirety in order to appreciate the nuances of her argument.
[130] *Ibid*, 81 with Riccardi (2000), 112-15.

narrative. For the Caesars, the representation of preeminence was based on what made them significant in contemporary Roman society, namely their relationship to Augustus. As will be discussed in further detail below, the principle of preeminence resulted in the alignment of Gaius' portraits with those of Augustus, a concept referred to herein as *aemulatio Augusti*.[131] In this guise, Gaius was cast as a new and future Augustus. In presenting this argument, we are forced to address the typology developed by Pollini, one which we have identified as both self-referential and methodologically flawed. In the following chapter, we will explore the concept of *aemulatio Augusti* and see how it changes the way we approach these portraits in their original context and in scholarship.

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[131] I am indebted to Prof. Christopher Gregg of George Mason University for suggesting this term. For similar terms, see *imitatio Augusti* in Pollini (1987), 39, 59, 81, 93, and "synchronized semblance" in D. Kleiner (2005), 212.

CHAPTER III: AEMULATIO AUGUSTI

Despite John Pollini's use of such standard scholarly methods as lock-counting and comparative analysis,[132] his typologies have not gone without criticism. Reviews of *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar* expressed concerns over identification and the creation of too many types,[133] as well as a lack of critical analysis regarding the dissemination of image prototypes.[134] Pollini's concern with creating types based on perceived differences in age and assigning them to particular chronological markers leads him to often overlook critical archaeological evidence that contradicts his conclusions.[135] Despite these criticisms, to date no concerted effort has been made to address these issues at length.[136] Yet the impact of these two typologies has been far-reaching, cited in nearly every subsequent publication involving Gaius and Lucius, and has even been used

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[132] These methods have recently come into question, particularly where provincial portraits are concerned. Often the aggregate of evidence may point to a particular identity, but a rigid adherence to lock-counting, for example, blinds the scholar. Riccardi (2000) provides a succinct evaluation of the pitfalls of such rigid adherence to lock-counting and provides solutions for getting around it.

[133] Smith (1989), 215.

[134] Hannah (1989), 119.

[135] For example, at the time of his publication in 1987, Corinth 135 and Corinth 136 were found in the ruins of a basilica thought to date to the Claudian period, seemingly providing us with a *terimnus post quem* of at least 41 CE and thus making the statues post-Augustan. Pollini's response is to dismiss this evidence as offering "no sure evidence for dating" since the statues "may have been moved to the Basilica from another, earlier structure," a structure for which no evidence exists (p56). In most other instances his publication is simply silent on the issue of archaeological context. For the Ocriculum statue—which Pollini believes "best conveys the impression created by the original model of this type [IV]" (p59)—Pollini provides no commentary on its archaeological context; the context, in fact, tells us that the statue dates to the Tiberian period. On the Ocriculum statue's archaeological context, see Rose (1997), 97-98.

[136] The majority of criticism comes in passing without an accompanying detailed study, e.g. D. Kleiner (1992), 67, 72-75, and Galinsky (1996), 166-167. The lone exception, it may be argued, is R.R.R. Smith's 1989 review in which he proposed an alternative typology for the two boys in the space of a single paragraph (p215).

outside of academia for identifying portraits held in private collections.[137] When we

consider its broad impact alongside the apparent shortcomings of his study, it is evident

that the time has come to reevaluate John Pollini's typologies.

Pollini's Gaius Typology

Of the five types Pollini assigns to the portraits of Gaius, two depict him as a

child (I, II) and three as an adult (III, IV, V). Each type is assigned a particular historical

marker in his life and career for which the portrait type is thought to have been

commissioned. Type I is assigned the *lusus Troiae* of 13 BCE[138] (Figure 31) with an

"updated variant" (Figure 32) created on the occasion of Gaius' introduction to the

legions in 8 BCE and his probable participation in Tiberius' German triumph the

following year.[139] This type is affiliated with four examples: three in the round and one in

relief. The second child type, Type II (Figure 21, Figure 34), is associated with the next

major events in Gaius' life, his selection for the consulship five years hence and his

pontificate in 6 BCE, followed the next year by his assumption of the *toga virilis* and the

title *princeps iuventutis*. As we have discussed in the second chapter, the association

between these events and the Type II portraits hinges on the belief that the seven

examples of this type represent an adolescent of the corresponding age of fourteen or

fifteen.[140] This type is affiliated with seven examples in the round. In all, Types I and II

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[137] In October of 2013 a privately-owned portrait of Gaius (Figure 48) was auctioned by Bonhams London.
[138] Pollini (1987), 44. I have notably excluded a "Type 0" Pollini posits for the dolphin-riding cupid of the Augustus of Prima Porta. On the cupid's resemblance to Gaius, see Pollini (1987), 41; cf. D. Kleiner (1992), 67.
[139] Pollini (1987), 44-45.
[140] *Ibid.*, 52.

span a range of eight years, from the *lusus Troiae* in 13 BCE to Gaius' designation as

princeps iuventutis in 5 BCE.

The adult types span a period of five years and are divided into three types. Type III is positively associated with Gaius' departure to the East in 2 BCE through an inscription on an altar relief, now housed in the Uffizi Gallery (Figure 35).[141] In terms of relative dating, Gaius is visibly older (Figure 36) than the portraits of Type I and II, while the date of the relief makes his age eighteen. To this third type, Pollini assigns two examples, the aforementioned portrait in relief and one in the round (Figure 37). The following type, Type IV (Figure 38-Figure 42), Pollini associates with Gaius' consulship in 1 CE, at which point Gaius would have been twenty.[142] Although Pollini admits that there is little difference in age between the portraits belonging to Types III and IV,[143] he judges the stylistic rendering of the hair and facial features of the Type IV portraits as more closely matching certain contemporary portraits of Augustus.[144] When combined with the importance of the consulship, Pollini believes this merits the existence of a distinct type—his Type IV—to which he assigns five examples in the round.

The fifth and final type is Pollini's most controversial (Figure 43-Figure 48). It is associated with the beginning of Gaius' military operations in the East. Pollini identifies

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[141] *CIL* IV.448: AUGUSTO XIII M PLAUTIO SILVAN COS. The inscription dedicates the altar in the thirteenth consulship of Augustus with Marcus Plautius Silvanus as his colleague (2 BCE).
[142] Dio has Augustus designate the age of twenty as the earliest he was willing to allow Gaius or Lucius to take the consulship (55.9.2). It is possible that Augustus' concern over his sons' haughty behavior—as expressed by Dio—may have manifested itself in their timely departures abroad. If Gaius' example is anything to go by, the fact they were both sent abroad two years before their consulships may not be a coincidence. Lucius was similarly deployed to the West at the age of eighteen and may not have been meant to return for his own consulship of 4 CE. This would make them consuls in name only, giving them the honor of the office without the potentially corrupting influence that would have come with it.
[143] Pollini (1987), 59.
[144] *Ibid.*, 56.

the campaign in Arabia of 1 CE as the likeliest occasion for the type's commissioning;[145]

for this campaign, Augustus was awarded the title of *imperator* a fifteenth time.[146] The

considerably more important operations in Armenia of 2-3 CE,[147] for which Gaius and

Augustus were both saluted *imperator*, Pollini regards as an unlikely *raison d'être* for the

Type V because "[r]elatively few inscriptions give Gaius the title *imperator*" and "in no

[numismatic] issue…is Gaius given the title *imperator*."[148] This logic, however well

reasoned, places the typology's development and dissemination in the same year as the

Type IV, supposing a span of mere months for Type V's development and

dissemination.[149]

Despite Gaius' premature death in 4 CE and his obvious importance as the

successor-apparent,[150] Pollini makes no provisions for the existence of posthumous

portrait types. This includes Corinth 135 (Figure 22) and Corinth 136 (Figure 23; see also

Figure 24), to which many scholars have assigned a posthumous date based on the

statues' heroic nudity.[151] Pollini's belief that portraits of both Gaius and Lucius stopped

being produced following their deaths implies a sudden and deliberate termination on the

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[145] *Ibid.*, 73.

[146] On the Arabian campaign, see Romer (1979), 204-208.

[147] On the Armenian campaign, see Romer (1979), 208-214.

[148] Pollini (1987), 74.

[149] On the creation and dissemination of models, see Rose (1997), 57-72 with Fejfer (2008), 418-429.

[150] Much has been written on this topic. Romer (1978) succinctly spells out the apparent imbalance of honors and prestige between Gaius and Lucius.

[151] Scholars have been divided on the significance of the heroic nudity in the Corinthian statues. Swift (1921b), 353, believes the statues are visually the same age as Gaius and Lucius at the time of their deaths. Johnson (1931), 76, modifies this slightly to just before their deaths. Ridgway (1981), 432, regards the statues as not especially significant to portraiture studies because of their flat, "almost mask-like" faces, but believes that a posthumous date makes the most sense. Vanderpool (2003), 379, dismisses the heroic nudity as a sign of posthumous dating on the belief that such a depiction was more acceptable "in the Greek East than it was in Rome." Rose (1997), 139, points out that in Roman colonies, such heroic nudity would have been as inappropriate as in Rome itself, and would only have been suitable in instances of posthumous depictions.

creation of their images across the empire. This seems unlikely, given both the idiosyncrasies of art production and their prominence as members of the Imperial household.[152] This prominence manifested itself in numerous posthumous dedications across the empire, to include the renaming of the ten voting *centuriae* in Rome.[153] As late as the 2nd Century CE, the two Caesars continued to be commemorated at Ephesus through their worship as the Dioscuri.[154]

Defining the Problems

The preceding survey makes it apparent that Pollini's typology places certain artificial limitations on the Gaius portrait types. In working with portrait typologies, the foremost point to remember is their inherently artificial nature. Although it is very likely that certain portrait types derive from centrally-distributed models, typologies are not in themselves historical. Rather, typologies are developed by modern scholars through the study of certain visual stylistic details, such as the modeling of facial features or hair, to *infer* the existence of prototypes in retrospect.[155] This process of inference is a scholarly

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[152] For example, the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias contains a pair of images that very likely depict Gaius and Lucius, an identification suggested by Smith (1987), 123-125, Pl. XX and XXI. Comparing the figures with Corinth 135 and Corinth 136, we see a clear affinity between "Prince B" and Corinth 136 in the modeling of the lips, the deeply recessed eyes, and the undulating brow ridge. Similarly "Prince A" shows the idealizing features of Gaius in the smooth rendering of the face, the straight bridge of the nose ending in a slight hook, and a flat brow ridge. Although the hair is not a precise match for any of the statues identified as Gaius or Lucius, the general visual affinity the images share with Corinth 135 and Corinth 136 warrants their identification with the two Imperial *iuventutes*. Further, any lack of precise portrait identification should not be surprising in light of the Claudian or Neronian date of the images. Cf. Pollini (1987), 5 n20, who briefly entertains the idea that images of Gaius and Lucius may have been erected within the Sebasteion, but dismisses the notion as "inconclusive."

[153] Rose (1997), 18-20.

[154] Poulsen (1991), 125.

[155] This is not unlike the process of topic modeling wherein documents are assessed for underlying patterns reflective of scholarly themes. The thinking is not that authors have set out to define certain topics in their work, but rather that certain topics can be inferred from their work after the fact. See Scott Weingart (2012), "Topic Modeling for Humanists: A Guided Tour," *The Scottbot Irregular*, last modified 25 July, http://www.scottbot.net/HIAL/?p=19113.

practice of the modern world, and although it may reflect trends from the past, there is no archaeological evidence for the explicit creation of types in the same way we think of them today. Put more simply, an ancient viewer would not have looked at the Pesaro head (Figure 31) and thought, "That's a Gaius Type I."

Although different portraits for different periods of time were certainly developed—for example, the subject's childhood, adolescence, etc.—the development of types within a very short period of time, like Pollini's Gaius Type III and IV, may not necessarily be reflective of conscious changes to the model. The reason for this is that our process of inference is based on what is visually observable and thus does not explicitly elucidate the development of changes. Succinctly stated, typologies imply intentionality, and intent is not something we can clearly understand without explicit documentation in literary or material evidence. What this means is that typological differences identified by scholars are inherently subjective in nature; one scholar might identify the orientation of a tuft of hair as stylistically significant and rate it worthy of a separate type. Another scholar might regard it as simple free variance, and so not worthy of a distinct type, while yet a third scholar might regard the portrait as representative of an entirely different individual.[156] This is certainly the case with many of the portraits assigned to the Gaius Type V. Portrait typologies are so inherently subjective that while the vast majority of scholars have seen these as reflective of the "Type-B" bearded Octavian, Pollini insists that they be identified with Gaius.[157]

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[156] For examples of this, see Riccardi (2000) and Vout (2005) with Fejfer (2008), 418-429.
[157] For remarks on this, see below Appendix II: Distinguishing Between Gaius Type V and Octavian Type-B.

For that reason, anything that we perceive visually should, ideally, be corroborated by archaeological or historical evidence, and thus any typological conclusions we reach should be founded on the same basis. What this means is that the more conservative approach is favored over the approach that identifies numerous types or subtypes; if there is no clear archaeological evidence for its existence, and it cannot be visually differentiated from prior or subsequent works, then it seems highly unlikely that what we are seeing merits a distinct type. In no way is this meant to imply that the traditional approach to portraiture is irrelevant; rather, it stipulates that its use requires a great deal of contextualization to remove or at least minimize the effect of individual subjectivity.[158]

The preceding cognitive framework, though not specific to Pollini in particular, should guide us in our thinking as we consider his typology. We can divide the difficulties in Pollini's Gaius typology into two general categories based on chronology and identity. As mentioned before, both issues have been noted by scholars in passing, but have never been properly addressed. In order to suggest a revised portrait typology of Gaius, we must first explore each of these categories in turn.

The first chronological issue is that Pollini attempts to place too many types within too short a span of time. This does not allow for the realistic development or distribution of portrait models across the empire.[159] We see this in Pollini's chronology

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[158] "Subjectivity" should not be confused with "interpretation." The process of interpreting evidence is in itself subjective. The difference, however, is that interpretation should be derived from objective information—or as near to objective information as possible, a process whereby the subjective character of interpretation can be minimized.

[159] Stuart (1939), 602, points out that the distribution of portraits under the Julio-Claudians was executed "neither speedily nor widely." See also Rose (1997), 57-72, and Fejfer (2008), 418-429.

for Types IV and V; Pollini places the introduction of the two types within the same year

(1 CE), a mere three years after the introduction of Type III. He does so despite the fact

that more copies exist of the Type IV (7 copies) than of the Type III (2 copies). The

problem here is one of logic. If Type III existed "alone"[160] from 2 BCE to 1 CE, then it

stands to reason that we would have more preserved copies of Type III than of Type IV.

It is certainly possible that the random circumstances of preservation have left us with

fewer Type III portraits than were produced, but the large number of portraits Pollini

assigns to the other Gaius types—particular Type V—argues against this.[161] It also worth

pointing out that Pollini assigns twelve examples to his Type V despite the fact it existed

for the same number of years—three—as his Type III, for which, again, he identifies only

two copies. This leads us to question the veracity of the Type IV as a separate and distinct

type. Whereas the event associated with the Type III—Gaius' *profectio* to the East in 2

BCE—was highly celebrated and coincided with the dedications of the Temple of Mars

Ultor and the Forum Augustum,[162] as well as Augustus receiving the title *pater*

patriae,[163] the event associated with the Type IV portraits—Gaius' consulship in 1 CE—

was considerably less celebrated. This is probably due to the fact that Gaius was away

from the city at the time, campaigning in the East.[164] When we compare the two

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[160] Not in a vacuum, but of the three adult types, it existed "alone" before the development of Type IV. It certainly existed alongside the preceding childhood types.

[161] Alternatively, this evidence may argue against the existence of the Type V and its reassignment to the Octavian Type-B.

[162] On the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum in 2 BCE, see Rose (2005), 45-46 with Romer (1978), 193-194. On the significance of these events viz. Gaius' *profectio*, see Romer (1978), 195-199. Note also Ovid's poem celebrating Gaius' departure (*Ars am.* 1.184-194).

[163] On the connection between the title *pater patriae* and the Forum Augustum, see Favro (2005), 245-248, and Shaya (2013), 86-87.

[164] There is a problem with this event in that Gaius' travels are poorly recorded. It appears that after his departure from Rome in 2 BCE, he never returned, but remained in the East. See Romer (1979), 204.

examples of Pollini's Type III (Figure 36, Figure 37) with the examples of his Type IV

(Figure 22, Figure 38-Figure 42), there is little to no discernible difference in age among

the portraits. From these, we may exclude the statue from Ocriculum (Figure 40) and

Corinth 135 (Figure 22), for reasons to be detailed below. Suffice it to say that since

differences in age are an inherent part of the way these portraits are positioned

chronologically, the fact that portraits from Types III and IV show no discernible

difference in age problematizes their separation into distinct types.

The second chronological problem in Pollini's typology is that it makes no

provisions for the existence of posthumous portraits. He supposes that production of

Gaius' portraiture would have ceased at his death in 4 CE, and any honors or images

produced thereafter would have been "extremely rare and therefore rather unlikely to

have come down to us."[165] He does, however, acknowledge the aforementioned Trajanic

cult at Ephesus, as well as the possibility that their portraits were erected in the

Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, but dismisses the former as a mere carryover from the

Augustan period[166] and the latter as inconclusive.[167] This also ignores archaeological

evidence indicative of a Tiberian date for the Ocriculum statue.[168] Corinth 135, the basis

of nearly all identification of Gaius' portraiture,[169] is also associated with a Tiberian date

and appears to have remained standing into the Claudian period, at which point the Julian

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Augustus may have designed the situation to ensure his grandsons were away from Rome at the time of
their consulships, see above n142.
[165] Pollini (1987), 3-5.
[166] *Ibid*., 4 n18.
[167] *Ibid*., 5 n20.
[168] Rose (1997), 97-98.
[169] On this see Ridgway (1981), 432, and Pollini (1987), 19-39.

basilica, in which the statue was found, was rebuilt.[170] The production and erection of

Gaius' portraits would have been politically advantageous for Tiberius as a means of

associating himself with the *Julian* Imperial household, of which he was a member only

by virtue of adoption, not blood-kinship.[171] This leads us to conclude that while

specifically posthumous portraits of Gaius may not have been the norm, they *would* have

been both warranted and appropriate.[172]

    The next major difficulty with Pollini's typology is one of identification—or,

more precisely, *over*-identification. We have already detailed concerns regarding the

division of portraits between Types III and IV. The same may be said for his Type I and

II childhood portraits. Although the events Pollini specifies for each are certainly

significant, they are nevertheless arbitrary. His decision to divide the portraits is based

purely on his own subjective perceptions of age and not on archaeological evidence. Type

I, he believes, represents Gaius at seven to nine years of age,[173] and since this

corresponds nicely with the events of 13 BCE, it is to that date that he assigns the Pesaro

head (Figure 31), the only example of this earliest subtype. This is problematic since it

implies that *apparent* age can suffice as a *terminus post quem*, but this is clearly flawed

logic since visual cues with regard to age can only provide us with the most superficial of

relative dates. Specifically, the Type I and II portraits are visually younger than the

portrait of Gaius on the *Vicus Sandaliarius* altar relief (Figure 35, Figure 36). Since we

know the altar relief dates to 2 BCE, then we can date the Type I and II portraits to some

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[170] Rose (1997), 138-139 with Scotton (2005).
[171] Rose (1997), 97.
[172] Gaius continued to be honored after his death outside sculptural commissions in coin issues and in the name of the voting centuries of Rome. See Rose (1997), 18-20.
[173] Pollini (1987), 42

point before 2 BCE. What this does *not* do, however, is give us a firm date for the earlier portraits. His decision to differentiate the "updated variant" of Type I (e.g. Figure 21) is similarly based on subjective perceptions of advancing age;[174] Pollini vaguely states, "both portraits show [Gaius] with somewhat more mature facial features…"[175] Based on this, Pollini either (A) imposes an arbitrary age on the images or (B) seeks out a suitable date in Gaius' childhood to which he may assign the portraits; either way, he concludes that the portraits must belong to commissions meant to commemorate his introduction to the military in 8 BCE and Tiberius' triumph of 7 BCE.[176]

To the Type II, Pollini assigns the age fourteen or fifteen, which conveniently corresponds with the year in which Gaius donned the *toga virilis* and his acclimation as *princeps iuventutis*, among other important titles.[177] Once more, the designation of events is based on an arbitrary perception of age combined with the convenience of important events; no tangible, explicit evidence distinguishes these seven portraits in time from the four of Type I. And it is very difficult to see what, if any, differences in age exist between the Type I and Type II portraits, especially if one compares, for example, the modeling of the Pesaro head (Figure 31) with a portrait *capite velato* from Carthage (Figure 34), or the Type I in Athens (Figure 32) with the Type II in the Vatican (Figure 21). As we discussed with regard to the Velia portraits, part of the problem is that Pollini's typology unduly

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[174] This is the same issue that plagues the identification of the Augustus Forbes type. It is generally identified as being a later or the last of Augustus' portrait types due to subjectively perceived signs of aging represented by "slight creases at the corners of the emperor's eyes and mouth." D. Kleiner (1992), 68-69.
[175] Pollini (1987), 44. See also *Ibid*. 43: "Because the cheeks are less full, both the Vatican Depot [Pollini (1987), Cat. 2, Pl. 4] and Athens [Figure 32] portraits seem to represent Gaius at a somewhat older age than the Pesaro head."
[176] Pollini (1987), 44-45.
[177] *Ibid*., 52.

favors better-preserved portraits, since he regards them as more closely resembling the theoretical "original."[178]

In light of these facts, we are led to question not only the differentiation of the two subtypes Pollini assigns to his Type I, but even the differentiation between Types I and II, just as we questioned the differentiation between Types III and IV. All that can be said with certainty is that Type I and II represent Gaius in childhood at some point prior to—*terminus ante quem*—the dedication of the *Vicus Sandaliarius* altar in 2 BCE. Similarly Types III and IV are visually indistinguishable, if not identical in age, and therefore should be considered as a single type. Based on the aforementioned inscription,[179] the portraits are datable to or about 2 BCE. Thus we have a "childhood type" consisting of Pollini's Types I and II and an "early adult type" consisting of Types III and IV, excluding the Ocriculum statue and Corinth 135. In this manner, we arrive at a simplified sequence for the development of Gaius' earliest portraits wherein only two primary types existed, with variations according to the skill of the artist, a desire to follow the theoretical model, or any number of other factors.[180] This leaves us to consider Pollini's final and most controversial portrait type, his Gaius Type V.

Type V is characterized by wispy facial hair that manifests as either long sideburns that sometimes run along the jaw line (see Figure 44-Figure 46) or a full beard (see Figure 43 and Figure 47; see also Figure 48). The nature of this facial hair is enigmatic. Interpreted by most scholars as a "beard of mourning," many, if not all, of the

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[178] See above Chapter II: Caesares Gemini.
[179] See above n141.
[180] See below Appendix III: Implications for Further Research.

Type V portraits have been categorized by a majority of scholars as part of the Octavian Type-B.[181] Pollini's novel interpretation recasts the presence of facial hair in early Julio-Claudian portraiture as a sign of vengeance and military virtue in the vein of a youthful Mars Ultor. Inspired by an inscription from Athens that calls Gaius a "new Ares," Pollini recasts *all* images from this period containing facial hair as imitating a youthful Ares.[182] As such, Gaius' beard is believed to be reflective of his mission to the East in vengeance of Crassus's defeat at Carrhae in 52 BCE.[183] This might, in turn, also call to mind Octavian's youthful beard, which Pollini in turn regards as reflecting Octavian's own vengeance for the assassination of Julius Caesar.[184]

As intriguing as this theory might be, the logic here is circular. Pollini creates an interpretation of the beard to explain its existence in Gaius' portraiture. In order to justify this existence, he casts hiss interpretation into the past in order to account for bearded portraits of Octavian (e.g. Figure 49-Figure 51) and other members of the Imperial household (e.g. Figure 56, Figure 57), thus showing that such a beard would have been appropriate for Gaius.[185] The problems are two-fold. First, the explicit designation of "new Ares" is associated solely with Gaius, and is *nowhere* associated with Octavian or any of the other bearded members of the Imperial household.[186] Second, Pollini's

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[181] On the Type-B, see D. Kleiner (1992), 61-62, 74, and Galinsky (1996), 166-169.
[182] Pollini (1987), 72-3. He cites the "Ares Borghese" type (Figure 54) as comparanda, along with images of Alexander the Great with facial hair (see Figure 52 and Figure 53) and Diomedes (Figure 55).
[183] Ov. *Ars am* 1.177-228 with Bowersock (1984), 171-174, Rose (1997), 17-18, and Rose (2005), 45-46.
[184] Pollini (1987), 72-3. The beard is generally regarded as a "beard of mourning" commemorating the assassination of Julius Caesar, which Octavian appears to have worn until 39 BCE (Cass. Dio 48.34.3). See below n189.
[185] Pollini (1987), 72-3.
[186] The exception is Drusus Minor, who was called a "new Ares" in Athens. This is notably *after* Gaius' death in 4 CE, during the early years of Tiberius' reign, and is most likely influenced by the earlier, similar acclamation of Gaius under Augustus. See Bowersock (1984), 184 and 188 n76.

argument against the existence of bearded Octavian portraits in the round[187] undermines

the argument that they would have served as a visual *exempla* for Gaius and other

Imperial *iuventutes*. If all of the Type-B Octavian portraits represent Gaius (Type V),

then this leaves no portraits of Octavian in his twenties outside of numismatic images.[188]

This being the case, then the examples Pollini expects Gaius' portraits to follow were

nearly four decades old when they were employed in 1 CE.[189] Simply put, Pollini presents

no compelling evidence for a reinterpretation of Octavian's beard as anything other than

a beard of mourning. This leaves us to question the origins and character of the beard

among the young men of the Imperial household since a beard of mourning is clearly not

the appropriate explanation for each instance of facial hair. We must then endeavor to

find an explanation for this idiosyncrasy that does not superimpose future events on the

past—namely, Gaius being called a "new Ares."

Suggested Solutions

Having outlined the difficulties in Pollini's typology, we might venture to suggest

certain solutions. These solutions are, of course, not meant to "prove" or "disprove" any

ideas; rather, they are meant to provide a reasoned reinterpretation of Pollini's typology

that takes into account the issues outlined above. As stated before, we should favor the

simplest solution over those with more complex interpretations. Any changes that we do

make should account for specific dynastic and ideological trends that apply not only to

Gaius' portraiture, but also to those of other members of the Imperial household.

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[187] See Pollini (1987), 63-65, 72.
[188] *Ibid.*, 63.
[189] Pollini (1987), 63 n108, notes that although "Octavian shaved off his beard in 39 B.C., Octavian is represented with facial hair on coins until 36 B.C."

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Solutions should also be flexible in their dating, giving ample time for the development of types and dissemination of models, to include posthumous depictions. Finally, archaeological evidence should be given primacy over visual perception. Where no archaeological evidence supports what we perceive visually, the more conservative approach is at all times preferable unless compelling evidence can be presented to the contrary.

Just as in the preceding section, our solutions are grouped by chronology and identity. We will recall that the first chronological difficulty was Pollini's desire to place the development of too many types into too small a period of time, namely Types IV and V into the year 1 CE. In order to address this issue, we must first establish a probable *terminus ante* or *post quem*. Since neither Types IV or V are directly associated with precise dates, we must base our relative chronology on the only certain date we have, namely 2 BCE. This is the same year as Gaius' *profectio* to the East and is explicitly associated with the *Vicus Sandaliarius* altar relief of Pollini's Type III.[190] The importance of this year and its events have been demonstrated, and we have established the lack of discernible difference in age between portraits assigned to Types III and IV. For these reasons, the evidence suggests that Type IV—with the exception of the Ocriculum statue and Corinth 135—be merged with Type III to form a single "early adult type" based around the year 2 BCE. This not only provides a more suitable explanation for the existence of so many Type IV portraits in comparison with the dearth of Type III, but it

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[190] See above n141.

also offers a period of three years between the creation of the "early adult type" and the creation of the next type, Pollini's Type V.

With regard to the Ocriculum and Corinth 135 portraits, the issue is more complex, but their investigation allows us to suggest a solution to the second chronological difficulty in Pollini's typology, namely the lack of posthumous portraits. They are both clearly modeled after the same type, as is abundantly clear from a simple visual examination of the facial features and of the modeling of the hair (see Figure 41). The poor preservation of Corinth 135's nose can be deceptive, but they are otherwise nearly identical. This is important to note since the archaeological evidence for the prototypical Gaius—Corinth 135—is not very clear. It was discovered in the ruins of the Julian Basilica at Corinth, a building once thought to date to the Claudian period based on epigraphic and numismatic evidence.[191] Pollini and others who accepted an Augustan date for Corinth 135 all acknowledged this, but were convinced that it meant Corinth 135 was "transferred," along with Corinth 136 (Figure 23), "to the Julian Basilica after its erection in Claudian or later times" from a hypothetical earlier building.[192]

We are once again given an explanation that creates an overly complex situation. There is no evidence for this hypothetical earlier building. Nor is there evidence for the transfer of these figures aside from the suggestion that they stood flanking the portrait of Augustus called "Corinth 134" (see Figure 24),[193] positions they were notably *not* in

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[191] Weinberg (1960), 55-56.
[192] Pollini (1987), 84, with Weinberg (1960), 54. Curiously Pollini does not cite Weinberg. On the discovery of Corinth 135 and 136, see Swift (1921b), esp. 360-362 for dating.
[193] Johnson (1931), 76, and Weinberg (1960), 54, citing Johnson (1931).

when discovered.[194] For these reasons, we may dismiss this notion without further

discussion. Recent evidence that dates the basilica to the Tiberian period[195] provides us

with a plausible *terminus post quem* of 14 CE which avoids the overly complex situation

developed by Johnson in 1931[196] and perpetuated by Pollini. We should also note, as C.B.

Rose points out, that the depiction of members of the Imperial household in heroic nudity

was used almost exclusively "for posthumous depictions in Roman colonies" prior to the

Claudian period.[197] With this evidence in mind, we can establish a secure *terminus ante*

quem of 41 CE, while the archaeological evidence from the basilica provides us with a

certain *terminus post quem* of 14 CE.

Similarly the Ocriculum statue can be dated by its archaeological context to the

Tiberian period,[198] giving us an archaeological *terminus post quem* of 14 CE. Stylistically,

the depiction of Gaius *capite velato* points to a pre-Caligulan date; Rose observes that

"[p]rior to the Caligulan period, the use of a veil for statues of male members of the

Imperial family, aside from the emperor, seems to have been used only for posthumous

images…."[199] For this reason, we can assign to the Ocriculum statue a *terminus ante*

quem of 37 CE, placing its development between 14-37 CE. Considering the remarkable

visual similarity between the Ocriculum statue and Corinth 135, as well as their similar

archaeological and iconographic dating, we can conclude that both statues must be based

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[194] Weinberg (1960), 54, and Ridgway (1981), 432. For the location of Corinth 134, see Swift (1921a); for the locations of Corinth 135 and Corinth 136, see Swift (1921b), 338.
[195] Scotton (2005), 99, with Rose (1997), 139 and 139 n6.
[196] See above n192.
[197] Rose (1997), 139.
[198] *Ibid.*, 98.
[199] *Ibid.* This carries the added implication of reassigning the Gaius *capite velato* from Carthage (Figure 34) to a posthumous date. Without going into further detail, this shows the fluid manner in which types were developed and continued to be produced after their corresponding historical moment.

on a model dating to the Tiberian period and are therefore posthumous.[200] Thus this "Ocriculum/Corinth type" was most likely a posthumous portrait developed by the Tiberian regime as a way of connecting the new princeps more closely with his adoptive Julian family, of which he was not blood kin and, consequently, was interested in establishing familial ties. This is not a trend exclusive to these two statues. Similar statuary groups from the Tiberian period from the Basilica Aemilia in Rome and Aphrodisias in Asia Minor testify to these same concerns.[201] The fact that neither statue depicts facial hair, as is present on the portraits belonging to Gaius' final years (Type V), should not unduly concern us since, as we shall see shortly, its significance has been overstated.

The second category of difficulties in Pollini's typology is one of identification. We have already suggested that the Gaius Types I and II be merged into a single "childhood type," while Types III and IV should be merged as an "early adult type." We will now explore how we might rectify some of the numerous complexities inherent in the Gaius Type V. At its most basic level, the Gaius Type V is distinguished from the other types by the presence of facial hair, often manifested as long sideburns; if not for the facial hair, it might be impossible to distinguish the Type V from its predecessor Type

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[200] This assignment has the added benefit of assigning at least one posthumous image (Corinth 136) to the typology of Lucius, for which Pollini makes little to no provisions; Pollini (1987), 83-87. Pollini does acknowledge that Lucius Type III may date to after his death in 2 CE (p83), but the general tendency of his narrative is to assign all of the examples (four) to 1 CE. Curiously, despite the obvious visual similarities between the Oriculum statue and Corinth 135, and the fact Corinth 136 was very likely made simultaneously, he regards none of the extant examples as being "particularly high [in] quality" (p86). Since Corinth 135 and 136 were very likely created at the same time, and given the existence of the Ocriculum statue, it is not unreasonable to infer that a similar model existed for Corinth 136, and it is just as probable that a pendant Lucius was erected with the Ocriculum statuary group. See Rose (1997), 98. See also below Appendix III: Implications for Further Research.
[201] Rose (1997), 98.

IV. Such distinct similarities can best be seen between an early adult portrait of Gaius in the British Museum (Figure 42) and one in Arles Museum of Antiquity (Figure 43).[202] Without this otherwise arbitrary distinction, we might be tempted to merge the two types. For this reason we must define the meaning and importance of facial hair in these portraits.

As we have already discussed, the presence of facial hair on portraits has traditionally be ascribed to a "beard of mourning"[203]; this is certainly the case in numismatic portraits of Octavian, such as a coin from 40 BCE that depicts a bearded Octavian on one side and the deified Caesar on the other (Figure 51). For Pollini, however, the beard takes on a new meaning connected with heroic vengeance associated with such figures as Alexander (Figure 52, Figure 53), Ares (Figure 54), and Diomedes (Figure 55).[204] These, in turn, created a style that became popular among the young men of military age in the Augustan period. We see this in the portraits of two young men in military garb, tentatively identified with Tiberius' brother, Drusus (Figure 56), and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (Figure 57), on the Ara Pacis. Leaving aside the images of Gaius for the moment, we also see this trend continue after Augustus in the portraits of Germanicus (Figure 58-Figure 61) and Tiberius' son, Drusus Minor (Figure 62 and Figure 63). In every instance, the men are universally aged eighteen/nineteen through

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[202] See also Figure 64.
[203] On beards generally, see Kaufman (1932), 145-146. The beard of mourning seems to have been primarily a politically-concerned custom rather than a religious one, thus the accused in a trial—*reus*—would appear in court unshorn as a way of eliciting pity from the jury (Mart. 2.36.3). Similarly Augustus may have sought pity in order to avoid blame for the *clades Variana* in 9 CE by going unshaven. On Augustus remaining unshaven, Suet. *Aug.* 23.2. On the blame for the Varian disaster through his appointment of Varus, see Velleius Paterculus' assessment of Varus (2.117-119) with Seager (2005), 36.
[204] Pollini (1987), 72-3.

their late twenties. The tight chronological grouping is significant and may be interpreted as symbolic of the *depositio barbae*, "the official shaving of the beard and whiskers once they had grown in fully for the first time."[205] As we see, no distinction of age can be made in this regard since the *depositio barbae* could occur at any time in a young man's life; Augustus, for example, shaved his beard at twenty-four,[206] whereas Caligula shaved his at nineteen.[207] This is problematic since the beard as a popular style and the *depositio barbae* could overlap in time and age, meaning one cannot use the *depositio* specifically as a chronological marker.

Rather than attempting to define which images depict the *depositio* and which are merely a fashionable beard, we might more simply define any beard in this context as a marker of dynastic ideology. The benefits of this explanation are that they avoid the circular logic of Pollini's "new Ares" argument, as well as avoiding the confusion between the uncertain *depositio* and the demonstrable popularity of the beard among young men of military age. Its origins as a dynastic marker can easily be ascribed to the image of a bearded Octavian, who would likewise have been in his late teens/twenties when he was depicted with a beard.[208] Although its original meaning for Octavian would have been that of a beard of mourning, perhaps overlapping with his own *depositio*, the fact that Octavian once wore the beard lent it significance beyond its original meaning.

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[205] Rose (1997), 64. See also Kaufman (1932), 146.

[206] Cass. Dio 48.34.3. This late date is undoubtedly explained by the political significance of keeping his beard for so long in commemoration of Caesar' assassination. This is undoubtedly the meaning of the passage since Dio immediately follows with "He also kept his chin smooth afterwards, like the rest…."

[207] Suet. *Calig.* 10.1.

[208] This implicitly rejects the assertion that all of the portraits Pollini assigns to his Gaius Type V should be identified as Gaius. Rather, it seems more likely that some may be identified with a bearded Gaius and others with the bearded Octavian Type-B. The existence of the Type-B in the round is implied by the imitation of its facial hair which followed. A brief argument for a potential separation of portraits is detailed below. See also Appendix II: Distinguishing Between Gaius Type V and Octavian Type-B.

Through imitation—what Diana Kleiner terms synchronized semblance[209]—it was transformed from symbol of mourning to iconography of principate. Its prevalence among young men of military age is mere imitation; had Octavian, for example, worn such a beard in his early thirties, we might reasonably expect the facial hair to appear among the men of the Imperial household at about that same age.[210]

In the case of Gaius, the synchronized semblance with Augustus was particularly pronounced, not necessarily because of any physiognomic similarities, as Pollini suggests,[211] but as a marker of dynastic succession. Among the young men elevated to the status of successor-apparent, Gaius is the only one to have been born directly into the position. Augustus' nephew Marcellus, for example, may have been groomed for succession, but he was overshadowed by Agrippa, whose claim to power would have been manifestly more powerful in the early days of the principate.[212] Even so, Marcellus' portrait (Figure 66) clearly shows signs of a generalized Augustan semblance characteristic of Julio-Claudian portraiture. The fact that such enhanced imitation did not occur with other potential successors can be attributed either to preexisting portraits, as in the cases of Agrippa[213] and Tiberius, or the fact their subjects were still too young at the

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[209] D. Kleiner (2005), 212.

[210] This notably does not imply that a beard would *not* have been depicted in their teens/twenties, perhaps as the *depositio barbae*. That said, we cannot conclusively establish the meaning of the beard outside of the Imperial narrative. Thus we are left with a situation in which *any* beard would invariably evoke the image of Octavian, regardless of its original meaning.

[211] Pollini (1987), 39.

[212] On this and the problem of succession, see Gruen (2005).

[213] On Agrippa as a potential successor, see Gruen (2005) with Seager (2005), 14-23, 30.

time of Augustus' death to have had their portraiture fully undergo this imitative process, as we see in the cases of Germanicus and Drusus Minor.[214]

To characterize this enhanced form of synchronized semblance, I propose the term *aemulatio Augusti.* This term specifically refers to the manner in which portraits of Gaius were clearly manufactured to present him in total emulation of his adoptive father as the anticipated "new Augustus." It is for this same reason Pollini sees Gaius in the portraits belonging to his Type V where most scholars before him have seen Octavian.[215] This confusion may not be entirely modern, but may reflect intentional blending on the part of the regime;[216] what better way to present Gaius as the future Augustus than by blending his image with that of Octavian?

This may not be an entirely satisfactory answer to the controversy that plagues the Gaius Type V. Unfortunately, without proper provenance, ancient context, or explicit inscriptional *testimonia*, our conclusions are necessarily conservative. It may be possible to distinguish a particular "Gaius type" from an "Octavian type" in the portraits of the Type V by visually comparing them with earlier portraits of Gaius. The remarkable similarity between the early adult Gaius in the British Museum (Figure 42) and a portrait in Arles (Figure 43) merits comment. So long as we are secure in our belief that the British Museum head does indeed represent Gaius and not Octavian, then we may safely say that the Arles head does as well. If we take these conclusions a step further, we may

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[214] More the point, when Germanicus and Drusus Minor were elevated to the second tier of succession in 4 CE, it was understood that Tiberius would follow Augustus before either of them. This meant that any form of Augustan semblance would have been tempered by realistic concerns for imitation and semblance within the emerging regime to the images of the second princeps.
[215] Pollini uses the term *imitatio Augusti* and refers to Gaius' *imitatio Augusti* as "enhanced." See above n131.
[216] For more on intentional confusion in portraiture, see Vout (2005), esp. 93-96.

perceive a certain visual affinity between a bust in a private collection (Figure 48) with the Verona head (Figure 47) and, thus, two other portraits of Gaius. When their images are examined side-by-side, we see that the modeling of the lips, the eyes, the nose, and the brow ridges all bear striking similarities to the Arles and British Museum portraits (see Figure 64). Based purely on visual similarities, we are tempted to ascribe these to a shared model.

Similarly, portraits in the Uffizi (Figure 44), Berlin (Figure 45), and Modena (Figure 46) all share a visual similarity that may also point to a shared prototype. It is tempting to see in this latter group portraits of Octavian comparable with such images as the Augustus of Aesis in Jesi[217] and the Augustus of Prima Porta (see Figure 65). But both of these notions share the same problem regarding visual perception that we have identified in Pollini's study, because they are based entirely on subjective judgments. Perhaps the only conclusion we can make is that the Type V is ripe for future scholarship on portrait identity.[218] Though we need not agree with Pollini that no images of a bearded Octavian in the round (Type-B) exist,[219] we may venture to say that, like the beard, their original meaning may have been subsumed by their alignment with the images of Gaius. In that respect, the ideological meaning would have superseded any concerns regarding differentiation; the Gaius Type V and the Octavian Type-B were one in the same because, ideologically, Augustus and Gaius were meant to be seen as the same, one the princeps of the present, the other *futurus princeps*.[220]

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[217] Rose (1997), Cat. 1, Pl. 55.
[218] On this, see below Appendix II: Distinguishing Between Gaius Type V and Octavian Type-B.
[219] Pollini (1987), 63-66.
[220] *CIL* XI.1241.

CONCLUSIONS

In the same way Augustus carefully played the role of traditional republican, all the while maintaining his grasp on power in Rome, he crafted a dynastic ideology which was both visually and politically acceptable to a traditionally monarchy-averse populace. The choice of twins appears to have come to him as early as 29 BCE, the year in which he celebrated his famous triple triumph.[221] In that procession, he placed his nephew Marcellus and his stepson Tiberius in places of honor, each riding one of the trace horses of his chariot.[222] In so doing he appears to have appropriated the image of the Dioscuri escorting a triumphant Alexander from a painting by Apelles, a copy of which he later installed in the Forum Augustum.[223] Although this early form of his dynastic program did not yet have all the accoutrements it would later develop, it marked an early decision by the regime to veil its intentions behind a façade of traditional antiquarianism.

The choice of twins was a wise one. Whereas Augustus was forced to alleviate concerns of dynastic succession following his illness in 23 BCE,[224] by 17 BCE, his position was such that he could securely adopt his grandsons as heirs and present them publicly.

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[221] The triumph officially celebrated victories over foreign enemies in Dalmatia (35-33 BCE), at Actium (31 BCE), and in Alexandria (30 BCE).

[222] Suet. *Tib.* 6.4. Marcellus rode the left horse, while Tiberius rode the right.

[223] Plin. *HN* 35.93: *Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandro Magno, item Belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante* (Rackman, trans.: "a [painting of] Castor and Pollux, with figures of Victory and Alexander the Great, and an emblematical figure of War with her hands tied behind her, and Alexander seated in a triumphal chariot"). On the connections between Augustus and Alexander, see Suet. *Aug.* 50.1 and 94.5, and Galinsky (1996), 48, 163, 167-69, 346. Claudius later did away with the metaphor by replacing Alexander's face with that of Augustus (Plin. *HN* 35.94).

[224] See above Introduction.

Although he never went so far as to allow the regime to designate explicitly either as his political successor, the message was clear to the people who called for the early election of Gaius and Lucius as consuls[225] and even declared Gaius *futurus princeps*.[226] Although the latter example dates to after Gaius' death, it nevertheless demonstrates the manner in which the public psyche had come to accept the status of the two Caesars with respect to Augustus and the principate.

In order to emphasize the connection between his sons and the twins of traditional Roman culture, Augustus ensured that their images showed no differences in age. Although portrait differences were certainly permissible, the fiction could only work if they were visually twins. But because of the unique way in which Romans perceived of twins, the cultural forces which made Gaius and Lucius acceptable heirs designated Gaius the preeminent heir and, therefore, the expected successor. To make this point clear, Augustus had Gaius' image assimilated to his own. This *aemulatio Augusti* merely confirmed the regime's mythologized narrative of the Imperial household, making Gaius preeminent among the other possible contenders to the principate. Because Gaius' imagery so closely follows that of Augustus, it provides us with the clearest way to identify his portraits regardless of their context.

This conclusion ultimately points to a necessary reorganization of Pollini's typology. By reorganizing his typology, we can account for generalized and synchronized semblance as markers of Augustan succession ideology, while simultaneously providing

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[225] Cass. Dio 55.9.2.
[226] *CIL* XI.1421.

a clearer and more logical chronology for the development and dissemination of portrait types.

> 1. **Child Type**: composed of portraits from Types I and II and dating to sometime before 2 BCE, perhaps as early as 13 BCE.
> 2. **Early Adult Type**: composed of portraits from Types III and IV with the exception of the Ocriculum statue and Corinth 135 and dating to 2 BCE.
> 3. **Bearded Type**: composed of Type V, but may also encompass portraits belonging to Octavian Type-B, and dating either to Gaius' first military campaigns in Arabia in 1 CE or to his acclimation as *imperator* in Armenia in 2 CE.
> 4. **Ocriculum/Corinth (Posthumous) Type**: composed of the Ocriculum statue and Corinth 135, assigned by Pollini to Type IV.

Table 1: Proposed reorganization of Pollini's Gaius typology.

Lucius' death in 2 CE and Gaius' subsequent death in 4 CE did little to stop the regime's dynastic program.[227] In the same year as Gaius' death, Augustus adopted his stepson Tiberius. The erstwhile "twin" of Marcellus was elevated to the position of preeminence, now paired with the ill-fated Agrippa Postumus, younger brother of Gaius and Lucius.[228] Just as in 17 BCE, Augustus adopted both simultaneously, implicitly making them his new Castors. To ensure the continuation of the dynasty, the preeminent twin was compelled to adopt his own pair of "twins," resulting in the pairing of Tiberius'

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[227] In his autobiographical *Res Gestae*, Augustus comments on the death of Gaius and Lucius (14): *Filios meos, quos iuvenes mihi eripuit fortuna, Gaium et Lucium Caesares* (Cooley, trans: "My sons, whom fortune snatched away from me in their youth, Gaius and Lucius Caesar…")

[228] On the oddity of Agrippa Postumus' life and career among the members of the Imperial household, see Levick (1972) and Jameson (1975) with Allen (1947). Regarding inheritance—as opposed to political succession—see Swan (2004), 376-378.

nephew Germanicus alongside his biological son, Drusus Minor.[229] In this way, Augustus created a two-tiered program of twinly succession, a simple expansion on the formula he had hit upon with Marcellus and Tiberius and perfected with Gaius and Lucius. In this way, the future *Caesares Gemini* would perpetuate the regime and lineage he had worked so hard to establish.

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[229] Germanicus being the preeminent "twin" in this pairing. See Sumner (1967), 431-433; cf. Bellemore (2013).

IMAGES

	Foreign (Lavinium)	Domestic (Rome)
Heroic	Dioscuri	Romuli
Iconic	Penates	Lares

Table 2: Diagrammatic visualization of twin pairs divided by origins and character.

Figure 1: Detail of a Praenestine bronze cista depicting the Dioscuri, ca. 3rd Century BCE. Musée de Beaux Arts, Lyon.

Figure 2: Reverse of quinarius depicting the astral Gemini Dioscuri, 211-210 BCE.

Figure 3: Painting from the house of M. Fabius Ululutremulus depicting Aeneas' (center) flight from Troy with his son Ascanius/Iulus (left) and his father Anchises (carried), who holds the Penates in his hands, 1st Century CE. Pompeii.

Figure 4: Denarius struck by C. Suplicius depicting standing Penates Publici (indicated by the inscription P.P. on the bottom of the obverse), 106 BCE.

Figure 5: Reverse of denarius of L. Caesius depicting seated Lares holding spears, 112-111 BCE.

Figure 6: Detail of a lararium painting from the House of Vetti, 1st Century CE. Pompeii.

Figure 7: Detail of a bronze mirror depicting the birth of the Lares in the care of ferae (she-wolf and lion) overseen by Mercury (reclining), Lara (background), Faunus/Pan (left), and Quirinus (right), 4th Century BCE.

Figure 8: Reverse of denarius of Sex. Pompeius Fostlus depicting Faustulus' discovery of the Romuli suckled by the she-wolf, 137 BCE.

Figure 9: Painting from the house of M. Fabius Ululutremulus depicting Romulus carrying the spolia opima, 1st Century CE. Pompeii.

Figure 10: Denarius of C. Marius depicting Augustus on the obverse. On the reverse the image of Julia (center) is flanked by male figures variously identified as Lucius and Gaius or Agrippa and Augustus, 13 ʙᴄᴇ.

Figure 11: Denarius from Lugdunum (France) depicting Augustus on the obverse and Gaius and Lucius ("C[aius] L[ucius] CAESARE[s]") on the reverse, 2 ʙᴄᴇ-4 ᴄᴇ.

Figure 12: *As* from Tarraco (Spain), depicting Augustus on the obverse and Gaius and Lucius ("C[aius] L[ucius] CAES[ar]") on the reverse, 2 BCE.

Figure 13: Sestertius from Hadrumetum (Tunisia) depicting Augustus on the obverse and Lucius (left; "L CAESAR AUGUSTI") and Gaius (right; "C CAESAR AUGUSTI") on the reverse, 6-5 BCE.

Figure 14: Obverse of dupondius from Achulla (Tunisia), depicting Augustus (center) flanked by inward-facing images of Gaius (left) and Lucius (right) who are identified by their initials, 7-6 BCE.

Figure 15: Coin of unknown provenance depicting Gaius (left; "GA-ION") and Lucius (right; "LEU-KION"), Augustan.

Figure 16: Obverse of a coin from Nicaea (Asia Minor) depicting Gaius (left) and Lucius (right), who are identified respectively by inscriptions "GAIOS" (left) and "LEUKIOS" (right), 5 BCE-2 CE.

Figure 17: Bronze coin from Pergamon depicting Gaius (right; "GAION") and Lucius (left; "LOUKIOS") used by both Swift (1921b) and Pollini (1987), Augustan.

Figure 18: Plaster impression of sard intaglio, Augustan(?). Images depict Gaius (left) and Lucius (right), identified by comparison with numismatic images. Florence, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 14914.

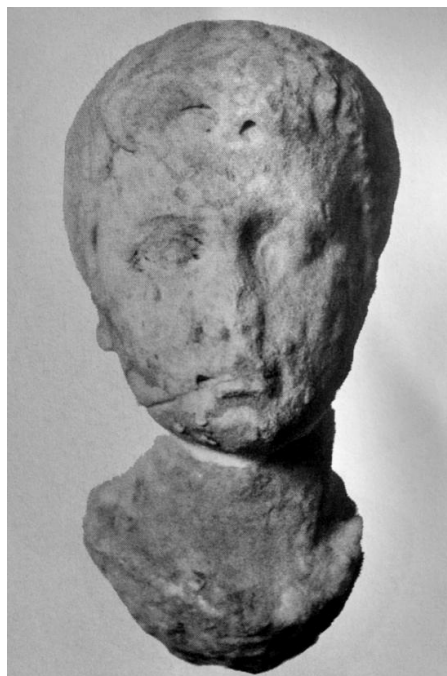**Figure 19: Two images of the same childhood portrait of Lucius (Pollini, 1987) or Gaius (Rose, 1997), "Velia B" (Pollini Lucius Type II, cat. 36). Ascea, inv. 45650.**
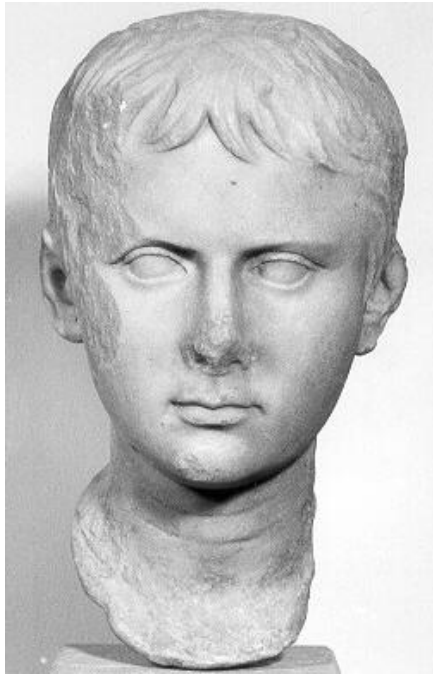
Figure 20: Childhood portrait of Gaius (Pollini, 1987) or Lucius (Rose, 1997), "Velia A" (Pollini Gaius Type II, cat. 7). Ascea, inv. 17454.

Figure 21: Childhood portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type II, cat. 5). Vatican, inv. 714.

Figure 22: Portrait of Gaius from Corinth, "Corinth 135" (Pollini Type IV, cat.14), detail of head. Corinth, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1065.
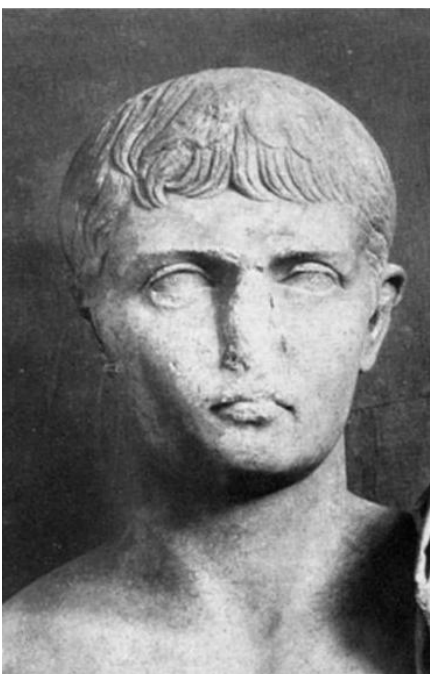
Figure 23: Portrait of Lucius, "Corinth 136" (Pollini Type III, cat. 38), detail of head. Corinth, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1080.
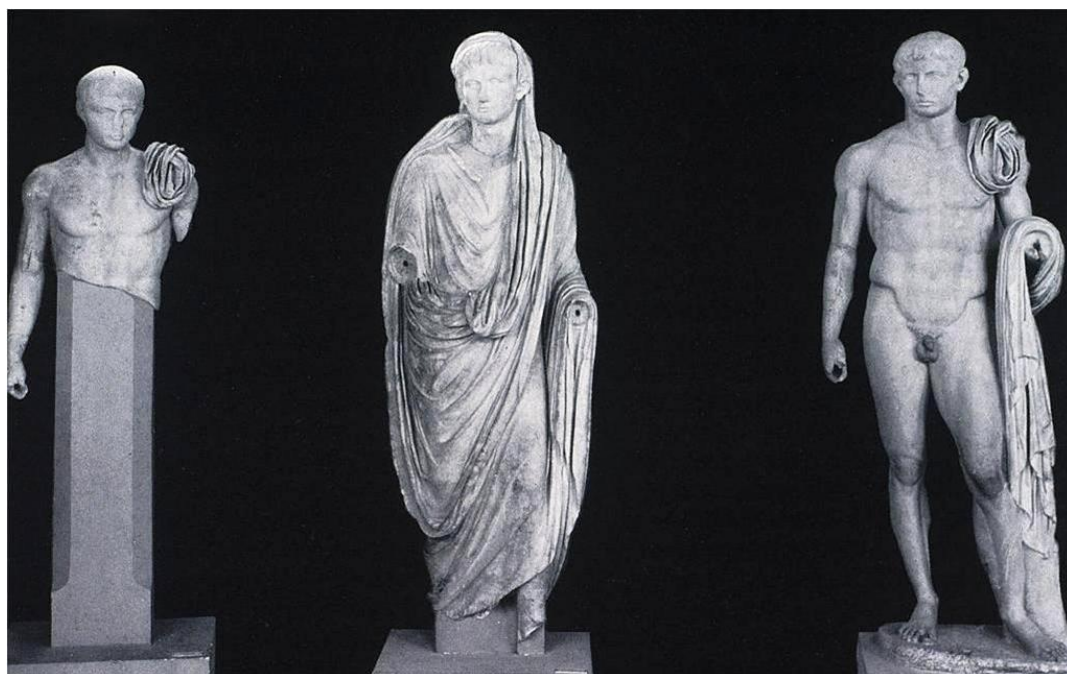
Figure 24: Corinthian statuary group found in Julian Basilica, Tiberian. Statues identified (left to right) as Lucius (Corinth 136), Augustus (Corinth 134), and Gaius (Corinth 135). Corinth, Archaeological Museum.

Figure 25a-b: Statues of the Dioscuri from the theater at Leptis Magana (Libya), Severan. Tripoli Archaeological Museum
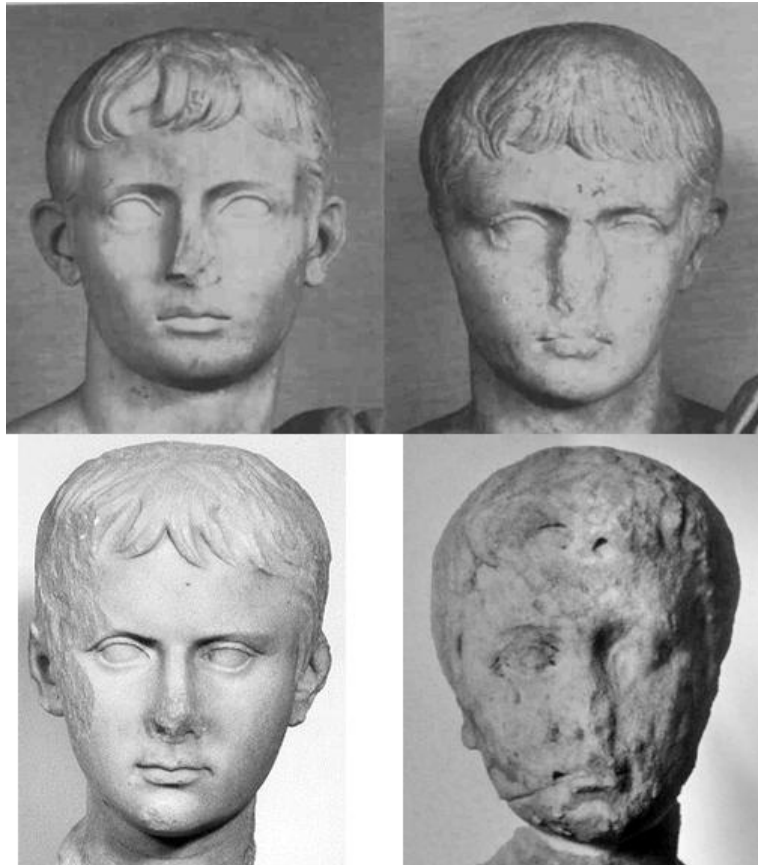
Figure 26: Comparison image consisting of (clockwise from top left corner) Corinth 135, Corinth 136, Velia B, and Velia A.

Figure 27: Obverse of bronze semis struck in Tarraco (Spain) depicting Gaius and Lucius identified by the appellation CAESARES (above figures) GEMI[NI] (below figures), 27 BCE-14 CE. See also Étienne (1974), Pl. XII, 2.
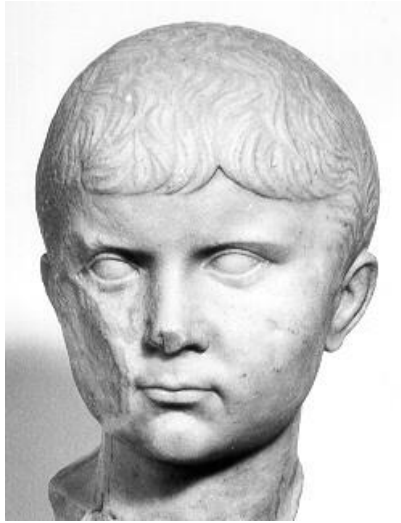
Figure 28: Portrait of Agrippa Postumus or Nero Caesar (son of Germanicus) excavated at Velia. Ascea, inv. 43672.
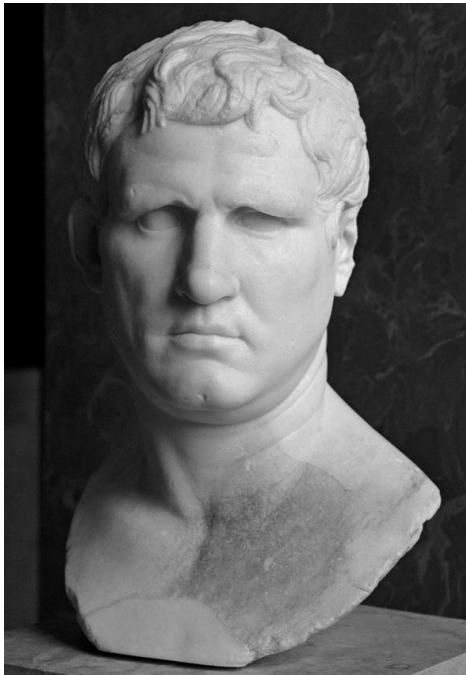
Figure 29: Portrait of Agrippa. Louvre, inv. MR 402.

Figure 30: Denarius of C. Sulpicius Platorinus depicting Augustus on the obverse and seated images of Augustus and Agrippa on the reverse, 13 BCE.

Figure 31: Childhood portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type I, cat. 1). Pesaro, Museo Oliveriano, inv. 3294.
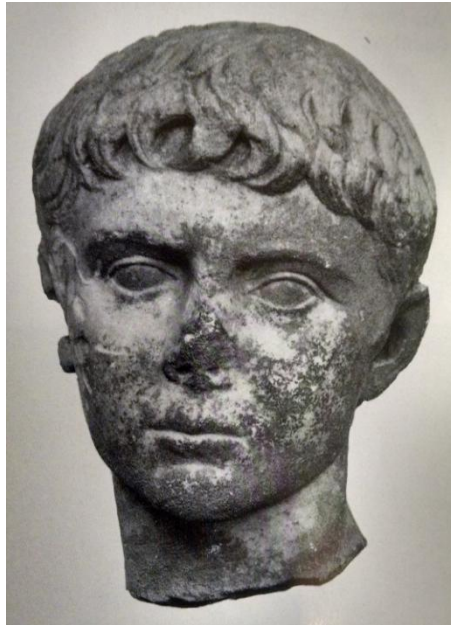
Figure 32: Childhood portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type I, cat. 3). Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 3606.
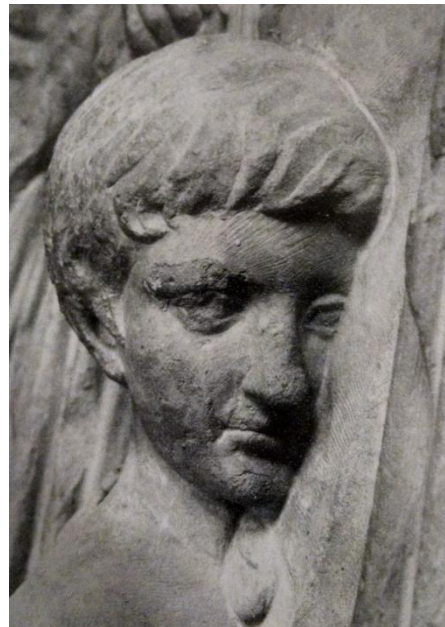
Figure 33a-b: Portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type I, cat. 4), Ara Pacis northern processional panel, profile (a) and frontal (b). Rome.

Figure 34: Childhood portrait of Gaius capite velato (Pollini Type II, cat. 10). Carthage National Museum, inv. 677.

Figure 35: Altar relief from Vicus Sandaliarius in Rome, 2 BCE. Figures identified (left to right) as Gaius, Augustus, and Livia(?). Uffizi, inv. 972.
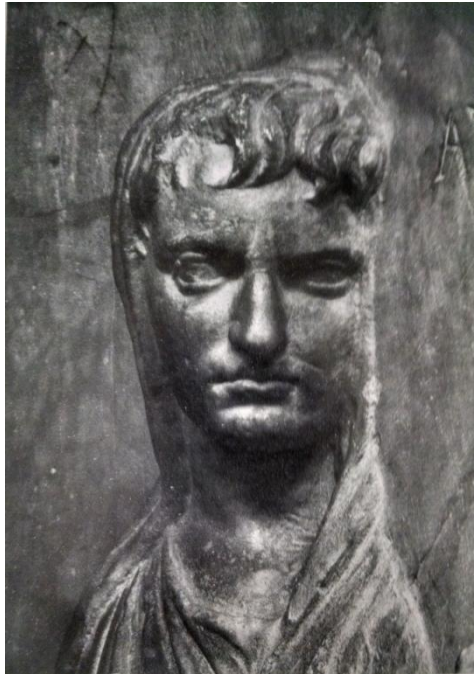
Figure 36: Detail of early adult Gaius (Pollini Type III, cat. 12) from Vicus Sandaliarius altar relief, 2 BCE. Uffizi, inv. 972.
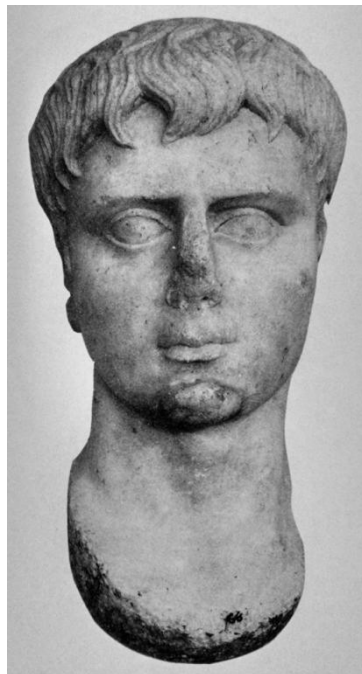
Figure 37: Early adult portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type III, cat. 13). Heraklion Archaeological Museum, inv. 66.

Figure 38a-b: Early adult portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type IV, cat. 17), frontal (a) and semi-profile (b). Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. 24.101.
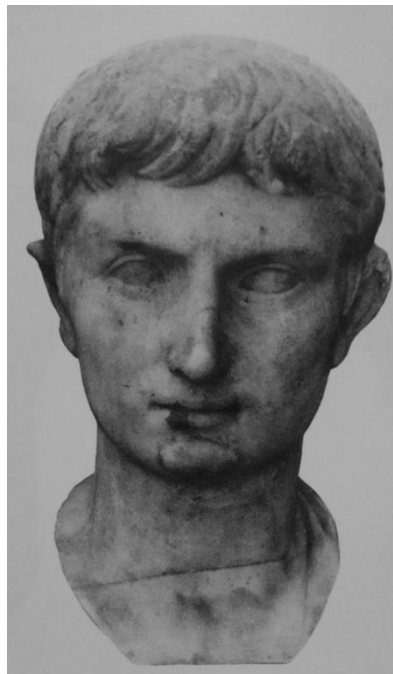
Figure 39: Early adult portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type IV, cat. 18). Naples National Archaeological Museum, inv. 6048.
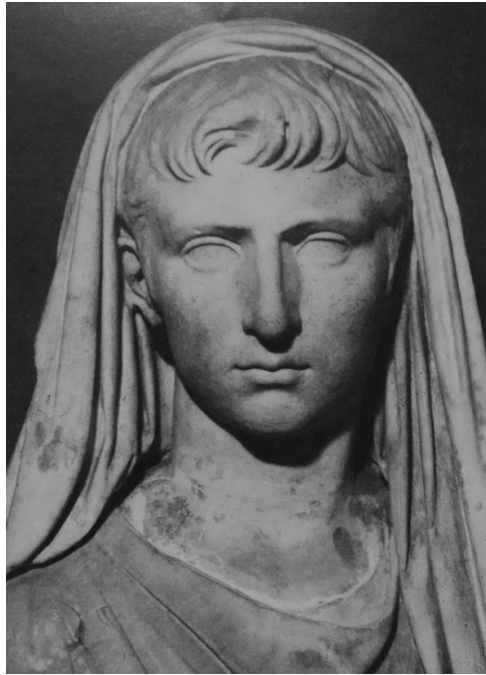
Figure 40: Portrait of Gaius capite velato (Pollini Type IV, cat. 15) from Ocriculum, detail of head. Vatican, inv. 199.
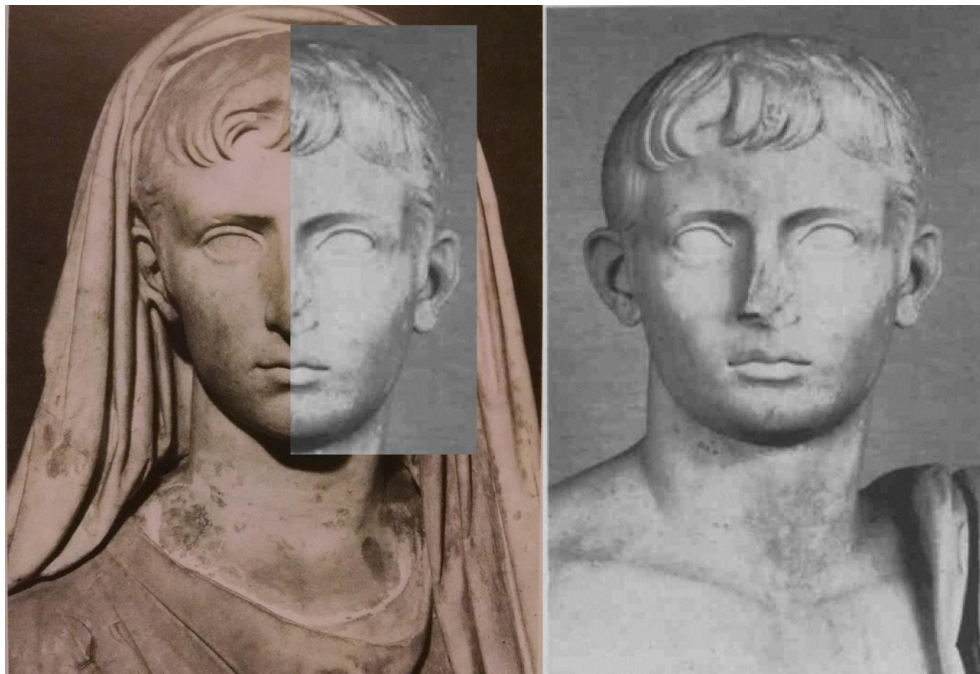
Figure 41: Image overlay comparison of the Ocriculum statue and Corinth 135 created by the author. Any issues with alignment are purely due to image sizing and not the scale or quality of the portraits.
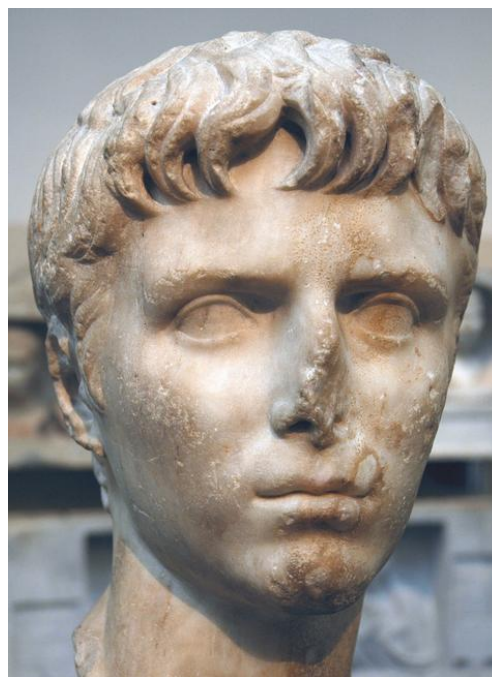
Figure 42a-b: Early adult portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type IV, cat. 16), frontal (a) and semi-profile (b). British Museum, inv. 1885.
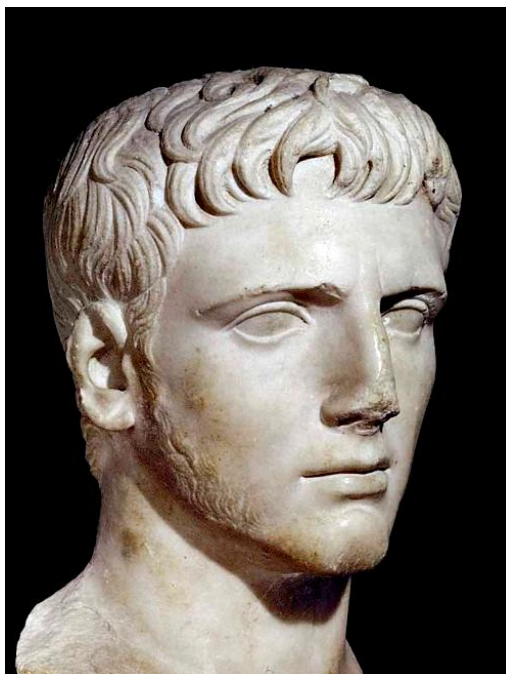
Figure 43a-b: Bearded portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type V, cat. 30), frontal (a) and semi-profile (b). Arles, inv. 51.1.22.
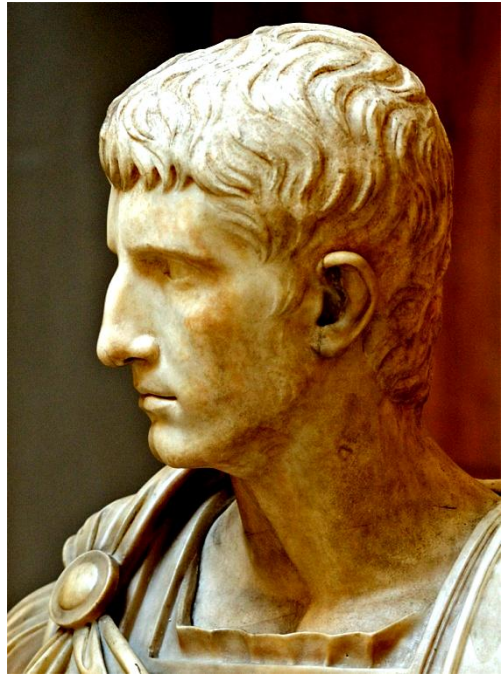
Figure 44a-b-: Bearded (sideburn) portrait of Gaius/Octavian (Pollini Type V, cat. 19), semi-profile (a) and profile (b). Uffizi, inv. 1914.83.
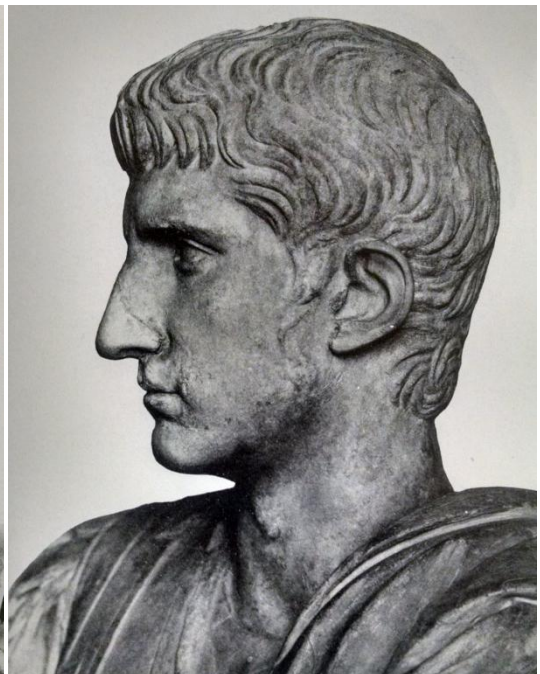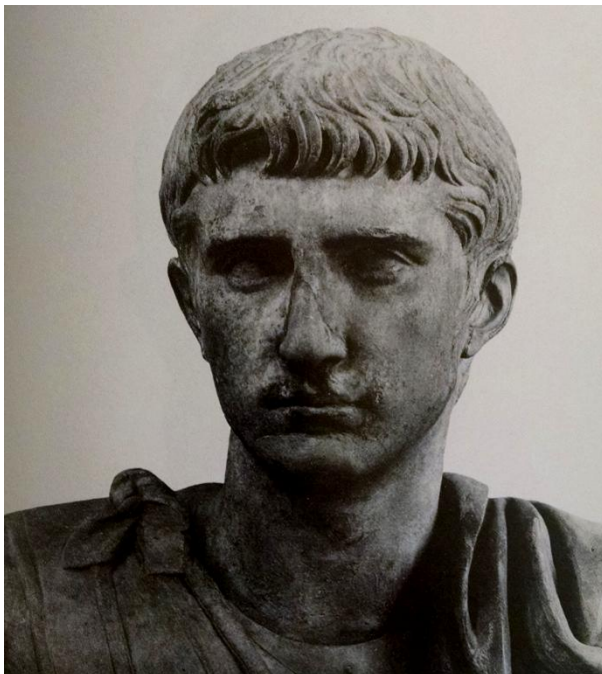
Figure 45a-b: Bearded portrait of Gaius/Octavian (Pollini Type V, cat. 25), frontal (a) and profile (b). Staatliche Museen, Berlin, inv. SK 343.
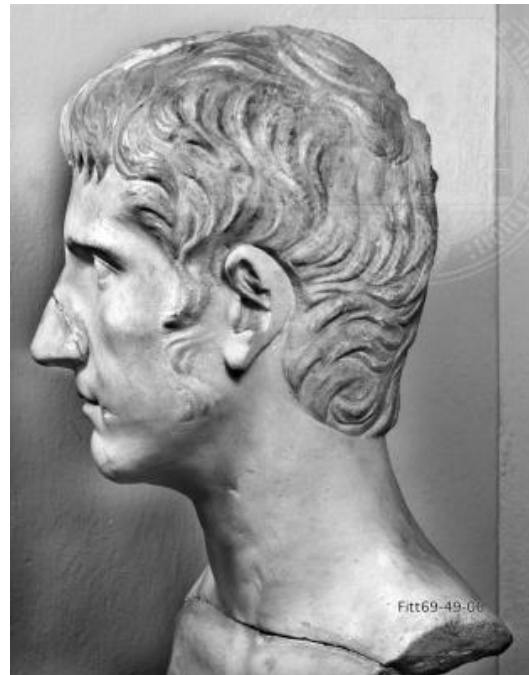
Figure 46a-b: Bearded portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type V, cat. 23), frontal (a) and profile (b). Modena, Galleria Estense, inv. 2049.
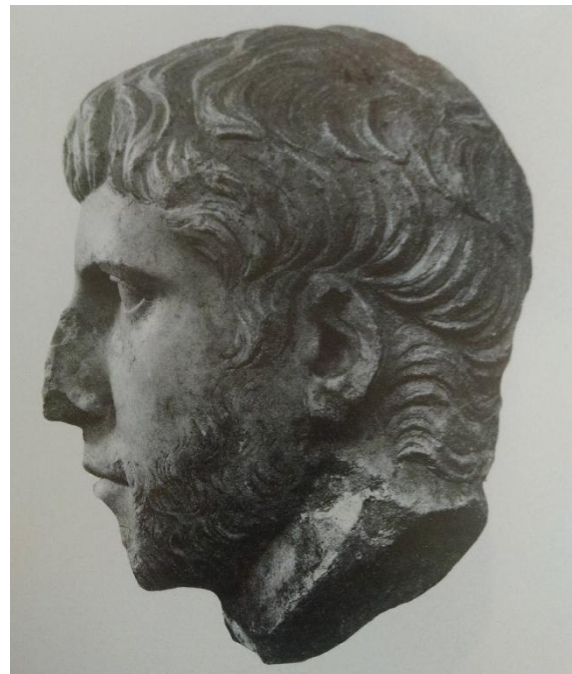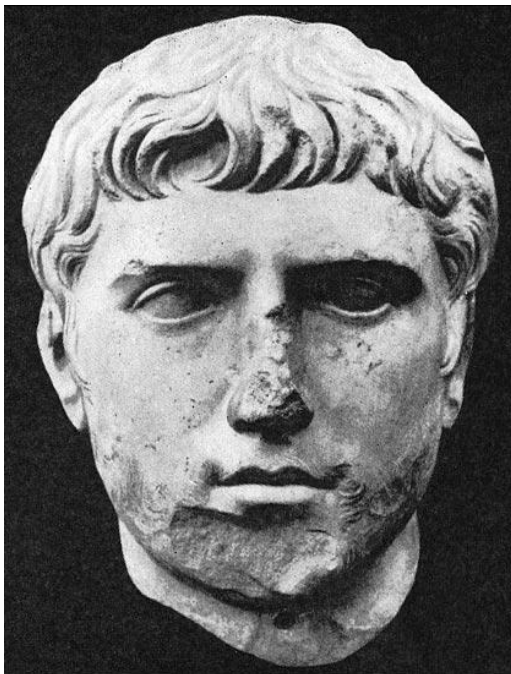
Figure 47a-b: Bearded portrait of Gaius (Pollini Type V, cat. 31), frontal (a) and profile (b). Verona, Archaeological Museum, inv. 147.
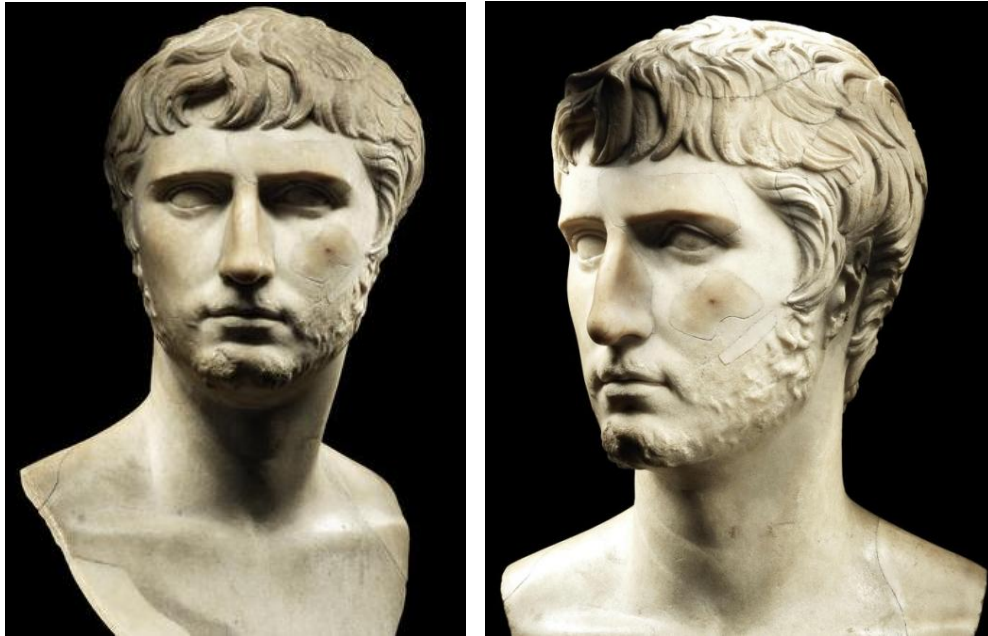
Figure 48a-b: Bearded portrait of Gaius, frontal (a) and semi-profile (b). Private collection.

Figure 49: Numismatic portrait of bearded Octavian, 42 BCE.

Figure 50: Numismatic portrait of bearded Octavian paired with Antony (opposite side), 41 BCE.

Figure 51: Numismatic portrait of bearded Octavian on the reverse (left) paired with the image of deified Julius Caesar on the obverse (right), 40 BCE.
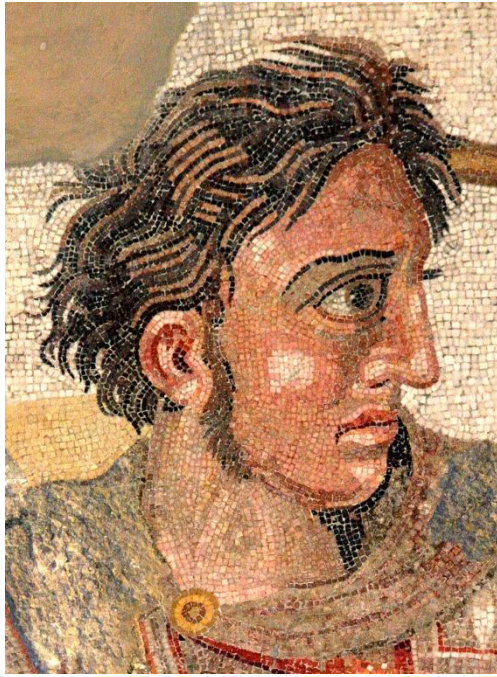
Figure 52: Detail of Alexander, Alexander mosaic, 1st Century CE. House of the Faun, Pompeii.

Figure 53: Posthumous bust of Alexander with facial hair (sideburn), 2nd Century CE. Capitoline, inv. MC 732.

Figure 54: Statue of "Borghese Ares," thought to be representative of 2nd Century BCE Greek original. Louvre, inv. MR 65.

Figure 55: Statue of Diomedes found at Cumae, thought to be representative of Greek original. Naples Archaeological Museum, inv. 144978.

Figure 56: "Drusus," Ara Pacis southern processional frieze. Rome.

Figure 57: "L. Domitius Ahenobarbus," Ara Pacis southern processional frieze. Rome.

Figure 58: Portrait of Germanicus with facial hair from Asido, post-4 CE. Cadiz Archaeological Museum, DAI Madrid R16-79-16.

Figure 59: Posthumous portrait of Germanicus with facial hair, Caligulan or Claudian period. Private collection.

Figure 60: Posthumous portrait of bearded Germanicus capite velato, Tiberian or Caligulan period. Corinth Archaeological Museum, inv. 1088.

Figure 61: Posthumous portrait of bearded Germanicus from Leptis Magna, post-23 CE. Tripoli Archaeological Museum.
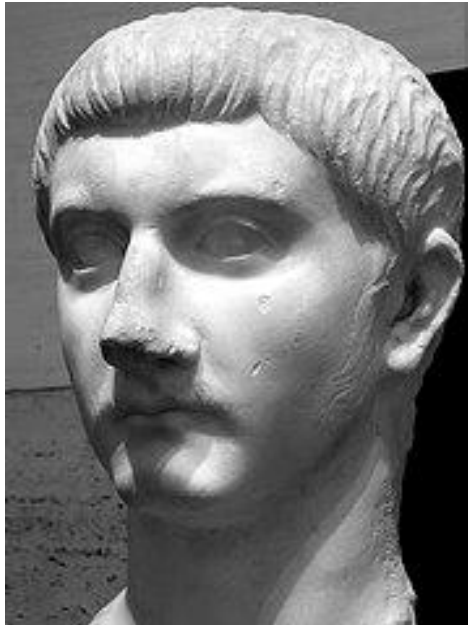
Figure 62: Portrait of Drusus Minor with facial hair from Nomentum, 7-11 CE. Terme Museum, Rome, inv. 125711.
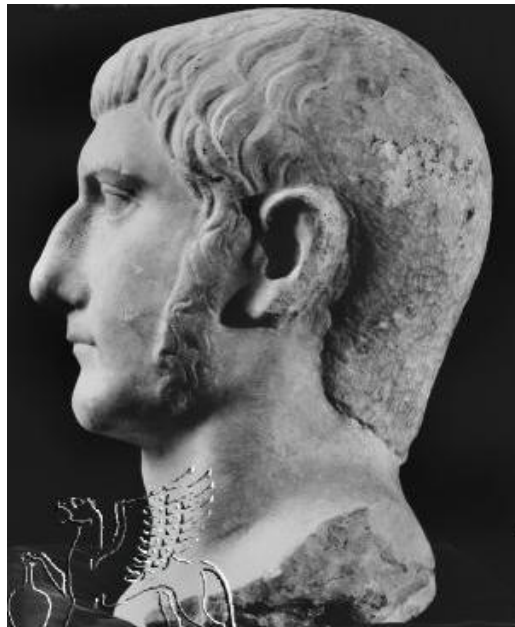
Figure 63: Portrait of Drusus Minor with facial hair from Asido, post-4 CE. Cadiz Archaeological Museum, DAI Madrid R17-79-17.

Figure 64: Comparison image of four portrait heads purportedly depicting Gaius. Current location, from left to right: British Museum (Figure 42), Arles (Figure 43), Verona (Figure 47), private collection (Figure 48).

Figure 65: Comparison image of (left to right) three heads purportedly depicting Gaius with the Augustus of Prima Porta (far right). Top row shows frontal view, bottom row shows profile view. Current location, from left to right: Uffizi (Figure 44), Berlin (Figure 45), Modena (Figure 46), Vatican.

Figure 66a-b: Portrait of Marcellus, nephew of Augustus, frontal (a) and semi-profile (b). Louvre, inv. MND 911.

Figure 67a-b: Basalt head of Gaius(?) or Lucius(?), frontal (a) and profile (b). Walters Art Museum, inv. 23.124.

Figure 68a-b: Gypsum alabaster head of Gaius(?), frontal (a) and profile (b). Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 2011.376.

Figure 69: Basalt portrait of Germanicus, defaced in late antiquity. British Museum, inv. GR 1872.6-5.1.

APPENDIX I: CAREERS OF IMPERIAL PRINCES

The traditional *cursus honorum* was the ladder of offices by which Roman aristocratic men advanced in their careers. The pattern had been for young men to advance by magistracies from the lowest to the highest: quaestor, aedile, praetor, consul.[230] Common practice had set certain requirements for those standing for office, but it was not until the *lex Villia annalis* in 180 BCE that an attempt was made to codify these customs into law.[231] About a century later, the dictator Sulla restated those same customs under his *lex Cornelia annalis* and added new ones. It set fixed minimum ages for the holding of magistracies: thirty for a quaestorship, thirty-six for the aedileship,[232] thirty-nine for the praetorship, and forty-two for the consulship. By doing so, Sulla made the quaestorship a prerequisite for those seeking curule magistracy.[233] Each magistracy would additionally require the observance of a *biennium* between each curule office, from which the quaestorship was excluded. Lastly, Sulla required tens year to elapse

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[230] Supernumerary magistracies, such as propraetor and proconsul, or extraordinary magistracies, such as censor or dictator, were temporary offices which were not consistently available and thus not a part of the *cursus*.

[231] On the *lex Villia annalis*, see Hamilton (1969), 187.

[232] Although the aedileship was not technically required by the *lex Cornelia*, it was expected that most young men would seek this office. For that reason, the law stipulated that a *biennium* be observed for holders of the curule aedileship before advancing to higher office. See Keaveney (2005), 144.

[233] Curule magistracies were certain office which were granted the extra honor of a holding a curule chair (*sella curulis*), a symbol of power often associated with the possession of imperium. The regular curule magistracies were consul, praetor, and curule aedile. In the case of the curule aedileship, the *sella curulis* distinguished it from the aedile of the plebs, an office similar to the curule aedile in responsibility, but distinctive in prestige.

before one could stand for an office again, a custom which had lapsed into disuse by his time.[234]

Despite the intervening civil strife and extraordinary events such as the Catilinarian conspiracy and civil wars, by the time of Augustus, the reformed Sullan *cursus* was the general guide for all aristocratic careers. It was by this measure that ancient writers compared the careers of the young men of the Imperial household so that when Dio mentions that Tiberius was given the right to stand for each magistracy five years before the legal age,[235] he refers specifically to the minimum age set out in the *lex Cornelia*. Undoubtedly this was part of the Augustan program of cultural reform which sought to return to traditional ways; however, like Sulla, Augustus' reforms were not immune to his own ideological intentions. In part to justify his own early rise to power, but largely to ensure the success of his own dynastic agenda, Augustus made exceptions for the young men of his household—or, rather, he allowed the Senate to make such proposals, to which he frequently acquiesced. Such exceptions included the exceptional honor of allowing young men to stand for the consulship at a very early age: ten years before the legal age for Marcellus,[236] five years for Tiberius,[237] and an extraordinary twenty-two years for Gaius and Lucius.[238] This is reflective of an accelerated *cursus honorum* designed specifically for the young men of the Imperial household.

Subtle differences in the manner by which each was granted honors set apart one young men as the preeminent "twin." Marcellus received the honor to stand for the

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[234] The full account can be found in Keaveney (2005), 143-144.
[235] Cass. Dio 53.28.3.
[236] *Ibid.*
[237] *Ibid.*
[238] *Ibid.* 55.9.2 with *RG* 14.1.

consulship before the minimum age at the same time as Tiberius, but would be able to put

it to use ten years earlier. By contrast, although Gaius and Lucius may have been

acclaimed at the same moment in time, Gaius' more advanced age would have brought

the honor to him three years sooner.

The same designation of preeminence can be seen in minor offices. In 23 BCE,

Marcellus was elected aedile, while, at the same age, Tiberius was elected quaestor.[239]

Similarly, in 6 BCE, Gaius was made a pontifex when he was fourteen years old,[240] while

in 2 BCE, Lucius was made an augur when he was fifteen years old.[241] In the former

instance, Marcellus is afforded greater honor in the higher magistracy, while in the latter

Gaius is not only afforded greater honor in the higher priesthood of a pontifex, but it is

designated at an earlier age than when his younger brother was designated for his own

priesthood. Here we see Augustus' willful appropriation of the culturally-ingrained

principle of twinly preeminence whereby each pair of heirs was presented as a "twin"

pair with the understanding that one was preeminent.[242]

The following tables briefly document the accelerated careers of these young

men.[243] Although the primary concern is with Marcellus, Tiberius, Gaius, and Lucius,

one will note the similarly accelerated careers among other young men of the Imperial

household, such as Tiberius' brother Drusus, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Agrippa

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[239] Cass. Dio 53.28.3. Both young men may have held an aedileship sooner in 25 BCE (*Ibid.* 53.26.1), but this does not appear to have been the curule aedileship of Rome. Scott-Kilvert (trans., 1987), 280 n75, notes that this line may refer to the aedileship of Augusta Emerita during its foundation ceremonies.
[240] Cass. Dio 55.9.4 with Pollini (1987), 52.
[241] See Pollini (1987), 83 n20.
[242] For an echo of this sentiment, see "Claudius Marcellus (5), Marcus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 327. See also above Chapter I: Cultural Origins.
[243] For a list of abbreviations used herein, refer to the master list above on page vii. Note the use of "Aug" as an abbreviation for "Augustus." Many of the dates are generally agreed upon by the scholarly community, but may vary by source, author, or tradition.

Postumus.[244] Although these latter three do not show the same overtly "twinly" pairing as the aforementioned pairs, they were each afforded similarly accelerated honors and careers as befitting potential heirs of the princeps Augustus.[245] A future study would continue this analysis to the careers of later Augustan princes, namely Germanicus and his sons, Drusus Caesar, Nero Caesar, and Caligula; and Drusus Minor and his son Tiberius Gemellus.[246]

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[244] A succinct account of these careers, excluding Ahenobarbus, can be found in Rowe (2002), 44-46. For L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, see "Domitus Ahenobarbus (2), Lucius," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 474 with Bowersock (1984), 173; cf. Swan (2004), 116.

[245] The exception is Agrippa Postumus. Ironically it was his *lack* of honors, rather than their distinction, which set him apart from the preeminent "twin," Tiberius, in the adoptions of 4 CE. See Sumner (1967), 431, with Levick (1966) and Rowe (2002), 45-46.

[246] A summary of these careers may be found in Rowe (2002), 44-46.

Year (BCE)	Marcellus	Tiberius	Drusus	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	Major Events
42	**BORN**	**BORN** (16 Nov)			Caesar deified
41					
40					
39					Julia born
38			**BORN** (14 Jan)		
37					
36				**BORN**	
35					
34					
33					
32					
31					Battle of Actium
30					
29	rides left trace horse in triple triumph	rides right trace horse in triple triumph			Octavian's triple triumph
28					
27		*toga virilis*			Octavian entitled "Augustus"
26		military tribune			
25					
24		permitted to stand for cos. and prae. 5yrs early			
23	permitted to stand for cos. and prae. 10yrs early; aed.; **DIES**	quaes.			"Constitutional Settlement"; Aug resigns public office
22				aed.	
21					
20					
19					
18			quaes.		
17					*Ludi Saeculares*
16		prae.; governor of Gaul		cos.	
15					
14					
13		cos. I			Ara Pacis commissioned
12		*ornamenta trium.*; *ovatio*(?)		proconsul	Agrippa dies
11		marries Julia; *ornamenta trium.*	prae.		
10					
9		*ovatio*	cos.; **DIES**		Ara Pacis consecrated
8					

Table 3: Careers of Imperial Princes I: Marcellus, Tiberius, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Drusus (42-8 BCE)

Year	Tiberius	Gaius	Lucius	Agrippa Postumus	Major Events
20		**BORN** (Aug/Sep)			
19					
18					
17		adoption	**BORN** (Jun/Jul); adoption		*Ludi Saeculares*
16	prae.; governor of Gaul				
15					
14					
13	cos. I	*lusus Troiae*			Ara Pacis commissioned
12	*ornamenta trium.*; *ovatio*(?)			**BORN** (26 Jun)	Agrippa dies
11	*ornamenta trium.*		*lusus Troiae*(?)		
10					
9	*ovatio*				Ara Pacis consecrated
8					
7	triumph; cos. II				
6	*t.p.* I for 5yrs; Rhodes	pont.; designated cos. for age 20 (1 CE)			
5		*p. iuventutis; toga virilis*			
4					
3					
2	returns to Rome	*profectio* East	*p. iuventutis; toga virilis*; augur; designated cos. for age 20 (4 CE)	*lusus Troiae*	Aug. *p.p.*; Forum Augustum dedicated; Julia in exile
1 BCE					
1 CE		cos.			
2			departs for Spain; **DIES** (20 Aug)		
3		imp.			
4	adoption; *t.p.* II; adopts Germanicus	**DIES** (21 Feb)		adoption	
5					
6				sent to Surrentum	
7				exiled by Senate to Planasia	
8					
9	imp.				*Clades Variana*
10					
11					
12	triumph				
13	*t.p.* III; censor; *imperium maius*				
14	principate			**DIES** (20 Aug)	Augustus dies

Table 4: Careers of Imperial Princes II: Tiberius, Gaius, Lucius, Agrippa Postumus (20 BCE-14 CE)

APPENDIX II: DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN GAIUS TYPE V AND OCTAVIAN TYPE-B

During a preliminary presentation of this research, it was suggested that a possible delineation may be made between those portraits that display a clear beard of mourning, characterized as unkempt and disorderly facial hair, and a stylized military beard/sideburns. As intriguing as the idea might be, there are two major hurdles that must be overcome. The first is that images of Octavian with a beard show him alternatively with a full beard—associated with a beard of mourning—and with stylized sideburns. In the case of coinage from 40 BCE, the image's relationship to Caesar on the obverse clearly defines the beard's meaning as one of "mourning" (Figure 51), but this does not explain the presence of the stylized sideburns on coinage from two years earlier (Figure 49), as well as its presence on the coinage of Antony and Octavian in 41 BCE (Figure 50).

Were we to apply this same differentiation of facial hair to the portraits of the Type V Gaius, only two portraits display full beards, the head from Verona (Figure 47) and its close associate in private collection (Figure 48). It is possible that these images alone represent depictions of the beard of mourning, while the rest depict the stylized sideburn popular among the young men of military age. Portraits of the post-Augustan period, however, show that the difference between the military beard and the mourning beard were not well defined. The portraits of Germanicus from Corinth (Figure 60) and Leptis Magna (Figure 61) show him with a beard somewhere between stylized military

sideburns and a beard of mourning. The fact that both of these depictions are posthumous problematizes the issue further[247] since we would not expect a beard of mourning to be present on portraits of the deceased. If the facial hair is indeed military in nature, then we would expect to see trimmed military sideburns like those shown in portraits of Germanicus and Drusus Minor dated to 4 CE (Figure 58 and Figure 63); posthumous portraits of Germanicus with such trimmed sideburns are not unknown, as in a portrait now in private collection (Figure 59). We may see this same "transitional" beard in the portrait of Gaius from Arles (Figure 43); the facial hair is neither a full beard nor is it the more neatly trimmed sideburns of military association.

Taking all of this into account, we may find ourselves reversing the situation described at the conclusion of Chapter III, namely that the Type-B is represented in the examples from Verona (Figure 47) and private collection (Figure 48), while the remainder of the Type V portraits represent Gaius. This, however, overlooks the fact that Octavian himself was depicted with these same sideburns in his own lifetime (Figure 49 and Figure 50), opening the door once more to the possibility that the entirety of Pollini's Gaius Type V portraits belong to the Octavian Type-B.

What we are led to conclude is that no simple solution exists for the complexities of portraits now more than two thousand years in the past. The solutions that work for some situations are not necessarily capable of answering questions in others. But rather than attempt to define very specific explanations for each particular instance of facial

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[247] For the Germanicus from Corinth, see Rose (1997), 138-139. For the Germanicus from Leptis Magna, see Rose (1997), 182-184. In both instances the portraits are posthumous. Rose (1997), 132, posits that the beard was used "in order to highlight his military career…."

hair, we should focus on explaining larger trends.[248] The sounder conclusion would be the more conservative one: The beard was an ideological symbol of the Augustan regime, originating in form with the bearded Octavian and transformed through imitation into a symbol of dynasty. In imitation, whether intentional or stylistic, the young men of the Imperial household perpetuated the regime's dynastic program.

The issue of identity in Gaius' Bearded Type[249] should not unduly concern us since the presence of the beard would have invariably evoked the image of a young Augustus regardless of its original meaning or form. It may be possible for future scholars to distinguish between facial hair of mourning and facial hair popularized by heroes and divinities. That said, the likeliest conclusion is that neither of these would have been present in the minds of the viewer and, thus, in the minds of their creators. In the context of Imperial portraiture, the beard and facial hair more generally came to represent a connection with the princeps, one which provided the *iuventutes* of the Imperial household a basis for claims to authority in the public's eye without overtly declaring their status as dynasts. The lone exception to this trend appears to have been Gaius, whose enhanced imitation synchronized with that of Augustus so completely that his images could have been, and were likely meant to be, confused with those of the princeps. The fact that scholars in the present continue to debate their identity attests to their continuing effectiveness as works of dynastic ideology.

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[248] See Riccardi (2000) and Vout (2005).
[249] See above Conclusions.

APPENDIX III: IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The reorganized typology of Gaius' portraiture set out in the preceding pages is meant to foster a more inclusive approach to portrait typologies. Too often typologies are concerned with creating catalogues of "official" portraits which reflect a theoretical original model. Where a particular portrait does not adhere to the exacting standards laid out by the creator of the typology—that is to say, the scholar who defines it—the portrait is classified as a "blending" or "provincial" imitation of official form, leaving it outside the accepted canon. All too often this results in the exclusion of dozens of portraits that are otherwise identifiable. Lee Ann Riccardi, writing about portraits of Trajan, notes that of thirteen portraits discovered in Turkey and identified as Hadrian, more than half are considered too provincial to be identifiable with an official Imperial prototype; they are therefore excluded from official typologies.[250] This denies "that sculptors may have had the freedom to accept, modify, or only loosely refer to current models and prototypes given to them by Rome."[251]

Such uncanonical portraits have long plagued the study of ancient art, and the portraiture of Gaius is no exception. A basalt head currently in the possession of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore is one such example (Figure 67). Acquired by the museum in 1931, it was identified as Lucius by Jean Charbonneaux in 1948 based on the

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[250] Riccardi (2000), 114-115.
[251] *Ibid*., 115.

identification schema laid out by Franklin Johnson in 1931 wherein Corinth 135 was identified as Lucius. We have seen how Johnson's work has since been reversed[252] in favor of the identity originally proposed by E.H. Swift[253] and reiterated by John Pollini's 1987 study. If for no other reason than reconciliation with modern scholarship, this portrait should be given renewed attention. Its uncanonical nature and poor state of preservation, however, have removed it from scholarly discourse and may have contributed to its relegation to storage. The former point may be responsible for the allegation that the piece is a forgery, a point emphasized by the Walters' own Object Report.[254] In his 1987 study, Pollini similarly characterizes the piece as being "not ancient."[255]

Although the modeling of the hair is conclusively unorthodox and is certainly enough to classify the piece as "uncanonical," there is an apparent attempt to model the Augustan pincer, here located rather centrally on the face. The features of the face are in line with a generalized Julio-Claudian style, but the durability of the material makes any attempt at exactitude impossible; nevertheless, the execution of the facial features is first rate and certainly comparable to other basalt portraits such as the Germanicus in the British Museum (Figure 69). The dissonance between the working of the hair and that of the face implies the craftsmanship of more than one hand, which is suggestive of an

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[252] See above Chapter II: Caesares Gemini.

[253] Swift (1921b).

[254] My thanks to Danielle Horetsky and Lynley Herbet at the Walters Art Museum for providing me with a copy of the report, which was last updated 17 July 2009. In no uncertain terms, the report states, "It is probably a forgery."

[255] Pollini (1987), 120.

ancient work manufactured in a workshop rather than a poor forgery which happens to have been created by more than one forger.

A similar situation can be found within the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. There a gypsum alabaster head currently on display has been identified as portraying a Julio-Claudian youth and may possibly represent Gaius (Figure 68).[256] In terms of features, the portrait adheres well to the portraits described by Pollini;[257] it can easily be compared with the childhood portrait of Gaius from the Vatican (Figure 21) in the execution of the eyes, the slightly crooked line of the lips, and the rendering of the locks on the cranium. The reference to Augustus is evident in the pincer over the right eye and the apparent visual affinity it bears to images of Augustus, such as the Augustus Prima Porta (see Figure 65). Unfortunately this piece has yet to receive scholarly attention. This may in part be due to the allegation that the head, like the one in the Walters, is also a modern forgery or reproduction; that reason may be the reason it remains unpublished.

These two pieces reflect a need for continued revision of typologies. Their status as potential forgeries is partly to blame for their exclusion, but I am of the opinion that their exclusion may have more to do with poor documentation and provenance. Both were gifts to their respective institutions, acquired before the 1970 UNESCO Convention against the illegal export of art objects, but neither can provide documentation of their archaeological origins. When one considers the lengthy battles presently fought over the

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[256] On this piece, see the Metropolitan Museum's website: http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/258543. A generous grant from George Mason University's Department of History and Art History allowed me to travel to New York to view this piece in person.
[257] Pollini (1987), 35.

ownership of ancient works which have plagued, for example, the British Museum's possession of the "Elgin Marbles," or the way in which drawn out legal cases can result in occupational ruin, as happened to the Getty's curator Marion True, it is little wonder that museums are unenthusiastic to advertise pieces which have even the slightest hint of an uncertain provenance.

One is led to wonder if the allegation of "forgery" is applied to such pieces as a means of removing them from the attention and scrutiny of parties interested in their repatriation. The Walters' head is kept out of the public eye in storage, while the head in the Met is removed from the primary atrium to a subsidiary gallery on the second floor, manifestly out of place among terracotta figurines, clay vessels, and other more "humble" works of ancient art. Clearly, by examining specific pieces, we are led to scrutinize the very nature of typologies and their construction. In turn, this leads us to larger questions of methodology in scholarship, both in the study of the works themselves and in their display and attribution.

Returning to the uncanonical status of these two works, it remains to be seen how a revised typology of Gaius' portraiture might account for such pieces. It may be that, like the portraits of Trajan to which Riccardi alludes, we should reexamine the purposes of typologies and their alleged value. Caroline Vout, in her study of Antinous,[258] has demonstrated how specific portrait features were not a factor necessary for identification by contemporaries; indeed, a generalized visual affinity might be all that was required

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[258] Vout (2005).

where context or inscription was not present or necessary.[259] This was certainly the case with the Julio-Claudians, whose portraits were crafted to resemble the portrait, if not the actual likeness of their patriarch Augustus. For that very reason this study concludes that, from an ideological point of view, the differences between the portraits of a bearded Gaius and those of a bearded, mourning Octavian are essentially irrelevant.[260]

In case of the Gaius Type V, the resemblance is more enhanced and represents total and intentional emulation of the Augustan form, but we should not be quick to apply this criteria to *all* instances of Gaius' portraiture. If we do so, we are implicitly accepting that all portraits of the Imperial household were centrally distributed, a case that can be made for some portraits,[261] but certainly not all. Differences in portraits may be a result of skill, material, or cost, but they may just as easily represent differences in style, the preference or wealth of the patron, artistic agency, or any number of other processes that are inherently a part of a business. Although portrait models may have emanated from Rome to the provinces, the larger provincial centers would certainly have had their own artist communities, and each of these may have had their own style or technique.[262] This partly explains why the statue of Gaius in Corinth is acceptably nude, while its relative from Ocriculum was depicted clothed and *capite velato*.

For these reasons, a future study should devote itself to the application of the principles laid out in the preceding pages—in particular the principle of twinly

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[259] *Ibid.*, 90-94.
[260] See above Chapter III: Aemulatio Augusti with Appendix II: Distinguishing Between Gaius Type V and Octavian Type-B.
[261] For example, the Gaius from Ocriculum in Italy and Corinth 135 (see Figure 41). See above Chapter III: Aemulatio Augusti.
[262] My thanks to Prof. Emer. Carol Mattusch of George Mason University for many of these insights.

preeminence[263] and *aemulatio Augusti*[264]—to the study of uncanonical portraits of the Julio-Claudian household. The head in the Walters and the one in the Met are just two examples of works which would benefit from this sort of attention. A bronze statue representing a Julio-Claudian youth in the Met (inv. 14.130.1) would also benefit from such a study, as would any number of portraits in museums and galleries across the world purportedly depicting a youthful Augustus. John Pollini considered such pieces in his own study, namely the sard intaglio in the Uffizi (Figure 18) and a portrait head of Gaius in the Vatican later recut as Nero.[265] In the case of the former, the curious depiction of facial hair on what appears to be youthful faces makes it unusual and arguably not in keeping with Pollini's typology,[266] while the latter's recutting indicates that portraits of Gaius were available and seemingly appropriate choices for reuse.[267] These two instances alone demonstrate that many such anomalous images are already present in academic discourse and need only to be identified.

The final point of discourse we must consider is the reorganization of Lucius' typology. Their substantially smaller number and his shorter life and career make such an

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[263] See above Chapter I: Cultural Origins.

[264] See above Chapter III: Aemulatio Augusti.

[265] Pollini (1987), Cat. 20, Pl. 22. Note its striking resemblance to another portrait identified as Gaius in the Erbach Schloss collection; Pollini (1987), Cat. 21, Pl. 23. For details of the portrait, see Pollini (1987), 13, 66-68 and Varner (2004), 69-70.

[266] Pollini certainly does not think so. He argues that the most important features match the Gaius Type III and that the facial hair is anomalous, meant to " 'update' " Gaius' portrait as an allusion to his military experience. Since Lucius did not yet distinguish himself militarily, Pollini attributes Lucius' facial hair to an imitation of Gaius' image, which—according to Pollini's argument—would not have had facial hair before the development of the Type V with the single exception of this particular intaglio. This argument is flawed in so far as it is self-referential. On Gaius' image, see Pollini (1987), 75; on Lucius', see Pollini (1987), 84.

[267] The reuse of Gaius' image for Nero may argue for the existence of the Gaius Type V since the image of Augustus would presumably have remained an inappropriate choice for reuse. On balance, the wide dissemination of Augustus' portrait may have made it more widely available for reuse.

undertaking much more difficult, particularly given the close visual similarity between the boys in adolescence.[268] This may mean that some of the portraits counted among Pollini's Gaius typology may actually represent Lucius,[269] and vice versa. Given archaeological context and iconographic affinity, we can say with some certainty that Corinth 136 (Figure 23) dates to the same time as Corinth 135 (Figure 22) and is therefore posthumous.[270] The possibility certainly exists that it was commissioned at a different time than its companion piece,[271] but the difference in time would have been minimal, and they would both have been viewed in tandem during antiquity. This may mean that the other members of Pollini's Lucius Type III represent the final type commissioned during Lucius' lifetime, which explains their anomalous nature beside Corinth 136.[272]

A future revision of John Pollini's foundational study is certainly necessary, particularly when one considers the vast amount of scholarship published in the intervening quarter century. Any future study should carefully consider many points of dynastic ideology described herein and the ways in which it was manifested before Gaius

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[268] See above Chapter II: Caesares Gemini.

[269] For example, arguments regarding the identity of Velia A (Figure 20) and Velia B (Figure 19) as either Gaius and Lucius, per Pollini (1987), or the reverse, per Rose (1997), make it clear that the identification of childhood and adolescent portraits is significantly more complicated than the identification of adult portraits. If we follow Rose's interpretation, which identifies Velia A as Lucius, then the significant visual affinity between it and a childhood portrait in the Vatican (Figure 21) may be force us to reconsider the entire repertoire of portraits in both typologies. More logically, however, I propose that a more generalized form of identity is at work, which may have led to the representation of identical or near-identical features among the childhood portraits of Gaius and Lucius which were only necessarily differentiated in later life, e.g. Corinth 135 (Figure 22) and Corinth 136 (Figure 23).

[270] See above n200.

[271] During a presentation of this research, Prof. Christopher Gregg of George Mason University noted differences in the body types, Corinth 135 being more robust in the vein of the Polyclitean school, while Corinth 136 is more in keeping with the lithe proportions of the Lyssipan school.

[272] On Lucius Type III, see Pollini (1987), 83-87, Cat. 39-41, Pl. 40-42.

and Lucius and afterward. Finally, a complete study should also address the status of uncanonical or "provincial" portrait types, giving them a place within scholarly discourse.

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