
THE 'DOCTRINE OF CAPACITIES, THE 'POLITICAL'
BODY AND JULIO-CLAUDIAN ICONOGRAPHY

Danny Pucknell
Cardiff University

14.7.22

Presented for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient History.

Summary

The purpose of this thesis is to propose that there is a new way in which the iconography of the Julio-Claudian dynasty can be read by historians. I propose that the mechanism which can be applied to the iconography of the Julio-Claudians is that of the ‘doctrine of capacities’. The ‘doctrine of capacities’ suggests that a ruler has ‘two bodies’, that of their physical, natural body and their ‘political’ body, or the image which represents the political position they held. Reading the iconography of the Julio-Claudians using this prism suggests that they were adept at using their public image to display a ‘political’ body. That is, a public image which reflected the manner in which they wished to be portray themselves to those they ruled. Through careful examination of the literary and material evidence available, it is clear that not all of the members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty possessed ‘political’ bodies, and of those who did, it is clear that each member of the dynasty amended or adapted the ‘political’ body for their own benefit and to meet their own political needs. This thesis also suggests that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ is both flexible and adaptable when the images of the Julio-Claudians are examined, not only does the concept allow rulers to deal with a range of issues. Those assessed in this thesis are age, disability, gender and political inexperience. In order to bring this fully to the fore, I have made comparisons to more modern political leaders and, in this way, hope to show the effectiveness to the ‘political’ body which the Julio-Claudians were able to fashion.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors who have been the source of constant good advice and helpful reading suggestions over the life of this thesis. My deep thanks go to my primary supervisor, Professor Lloyd Llewellyn- Jones, with whom a chance conversation at Gregynog Hall, during a conference hosted by Cardiff University, led to further conversations around the subject of age and power; conversations which would eventually become this thesis. My thanks also to Professor Shaun Tougher, who has acted as my second supervisor and has provided insightful points and reading suggestions at every stage. Additional thanks must also go to Dr Ruth Westgate, who provided insight and thought-provoking comments during my annual review.

The majority of my thanks must go to my family. They have been a source of constant encouragement and support throughout the thesis. They have endured constant conversations about the Julio-Claudians, Roosevelt, Elizabeth I, and the rest with good grace throughout the writing of this work. Lastly, I must thank my sister, Leah. Over the course of my study, she read much of my work, and as a consequence has learnt more about the ancient world, image, and power than she had ever intended or ever had the desire to know!

Table of Contents

Summary	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Illustrations	iv
Abbreviations	xii
Introduction.....	1
Why the Julio-Claudians?	5
Literary Sources	17
Image, Appearance and Suetonius	21
Structure and Argument	29
Chapter 1: Methodology	37
The Perfect Public Image.....	59
Image and Appearance.....	66
Chapter 2: The Image of Julius Caesar	71
Cromwell and Charles I – An Early Modern Example	88
Chapter 3: Augustus, the Domus Augusta and the Political Body	96
Chapter 4: Livia, Julio-Claudian ideology and the <i>Domus Augusta</i>	122
Livia as <i>princeps femina</i>	128
Livia, Elizabeth I and the ‘Doctrine of Capacities’	142
Tiberius and the act of ‘ <i>dissimulatio</i> .’	155
Chapter 5: Claudius and an American President	159
Anyone but him: Claudius and His Disability	163
Claudius and his Public Image.....	168
Now You See Me – Claudius as the Physical Representation of the Emperor.....	186
The Image of Power: Political Figures and the Impression of Health	198
Chapter 6 – Nero and a New ‘Political’ Body	228
Nero’s Portrait Types and Toeing the Party Line	230
Nero and the ‘Political’ Body of the ‘Showman.’	248
The ‘Showman’ as a Political Persona.....	257
Conclusions.....	273
Gaius and his Omission	278
Presenting What They Want You to See	280
The Durability of the Theory – Women, Disabled, Old and Young.....	282
Legacy Building.....	285
Bibliography	292

Illustrations

Chapter 1

Figure 1.1. (p.41). ‘The Rainbow Portrait,’ c.1600, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the younger. Currently on display at Hatfield House, Hertford.

Figure 1.2. (p.43). An unfinished image of Elizabeth I by Isaac Oliver, currently on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Portrait Miniatures, Room 90a, The International Music and Art Foundation Gallery, case 4.

Figure 1.3. (p.44). Miniature of Queen Elizabeth I by Nicholas Hilliard, c1595-1600. Currently housed in the Royal Collections.

Figure 1.4. (p.45). Queen Elizabeth I, in her early sixties. (Studio of Marcus Gheerarts the Younger, c. 1596). Currently part of a private collection within the UK. Previously on display in Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington.

Figure 1.5. (p.52). Bust of Augustus 21:23. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

Figure 1.6. (p.60). *Marcus Aurelius*, Type I portrait, ca. 140 C.E. Capitoline Museums, Rome.

Figure 1.7. (p.61). Marcus Aurelius type II, Farnborough / Stratford-upon-Avon, Großbritannien und Nordirland, GB, Farnborough Hall. Inv. no.: 1.

Figure 1.8. (p.62). Bust of Marcus Aurelius, Copenhagen bust Carlsberg Glyptotek, Catalogue number, 700.

Figure 1.9. (p.63). Marcus Aurelius Type III image, Art Institute of Chicago, reference number 170/180.

Figure.1.10. (p.64). A marble bust of Marcus Aurelius at the Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse, France.

Chapter 2

Figure 2.1. (p.73). Head of a man from Scoppito, circa first century BC. Currently housed in the Museo Nazionale, Chieti.

Figure 2.2 (p.74). The Tusculum Caesar dating from around 50-40BC, currently housed in the Museo d'Antichità, Turin.

Figure 2.3. (p.77). Statua Lorica of Julius Caesar. Currently housed in Rome, Museum of Roman Civilization. Inv. No. MCK 194.

Figure 2.4. (p.78). Denarii of Mettius 44 BC, Crawford 1975: 480/3 M. Mettius, moneyer. Wreathed head right; *lituus* and *simpulum* to left; CAESAR IM[P] downward to right / Venus Victrix standing left, holding Victory in outstretched right hand and transverse sceptre in left, resting her left elbow on shield set on celestial globe; L to left, M • METTIVS downward to right.

Figure 2.5. (p.78). The Tusculum Caesar, dating from around 50-40BC, bust currently housed, Museum of Antiquities, Turin.

Figure 2.6. (p.80). Images of Julius Caesar, struck at Rome, C.44 BC. by P. Sepullius Macer – Group 1; struck at Rome, c.44 BC. by M. Mettius; struck at Rome, C.44 BC by L. Aemilius Buca. See Tonybee 1957.

Figure 2.7. (p.81). Toynbee 1957: images of Caesar, Rome: number 9, struck c. 37 B.C. by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Figure 2.8. (p.81). Sempronius Graccus Number 10 struck c. 43 B.c. by L. Flaminius Chilo.

Figure 2.9. (p.84). Chiarmonti Caesar, Vatican Museums, Rome, catalogue number, 713.

Figure 2.10. (p.84). Pisa bust of Caesar, Composanto Monumentale, Pisa.

Figure 2.11.(p.86). *Denarius* depicting Julius Caesar, 38 BC.

Figure 2.12.(p.87). Portrait of *Divus Julius* opposite that of Octavian, depicted as the son of the divine Julius. Both *sestertius* of Octavian c.40BC.

Figure 2.13.(p.90). *Oliver Cromwell*, by Samuel Cooper. Watercolour on vellum, 1649. On display in Room 5 in the National Portrait Gallery. Reference number 5589.

Figure 2.14.(p.90). *Oliver Cromwell*, by Samuel Cooper. Watercolour on vellum, 1655, On display in Room 5 in the National Portrait Gallery. Reference number 5274.

Figure 2.15.(p.91). *Oliver Cromwell* by Robert Walker, oil on canvas, circa 1649. On display in Room 5 at the National Portrait Gallery. Reference number 536.

Figure 2.16.(p.91). *Charles I*, by Van Dyck, currently housed in the Queen's Gallery, Windsor Castle.

Figure 2.17.(p.94). Upright effigy of Cromwell, currently housed at the British Museum.

Chapter 3

Figure 3.1.(p.98). Bronze torso from an equestrian statue of emperor Octavian Augustus. Currently on display in National Museum, Athens.

Figure 3.2.(p.99). Portrait of Octavian C. 30 BC – 'Alcudia' type (Pollini), part of a private collection.

Figure 3.3.(p.101). *Denarius* depicting Augustus as Apollo, 29 BC.

Figure 3.4.(p.105). Augustus (r. 27 BC - 14 AD) as a younger man, this sculpted artwork dated to around 30 BC. It is located in the Museo Capitolino of Rome, Italy.

Figure 3.5.(p.106). Silver *Denarii* of Augustus, Lugdunum, 11 BC - 10 BC.

Figure 3.6.(p.107). The *Via Labicana* dated to post 12 BC. This statue was found on the slopes of Oppian Hill. Currently housed in the National Museum, Rome.

Figure 3.7.(p.112). Gaius Caesar dated to c. 1-14 AD. Now housed in Corinth Archaeological Museum. Inv. No. S-1065.

Figure 3.8.(p.112) Lucius Caesar dated to c.1-14 AD. Now housed in Corinth Archaeological Museum. Inv. No. S-1065.

Figure 3.9.(p.116). Agrippa Postumus, the youngest son of Julia the Elder and Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, bust currently housed in the Capitoline Museum in Rome: Catalogue number 745.

Figure 3.10.(p.118). *Henry VIII*, By Hans Holbein the Younger, 1537, currently on display in the Walker Museum, Liverpool.

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1. (p.124). The *Lupercal* Panel of the *Ara Pacis* which shows Romulus and Remus being suckled by the she-wolf. Currently housed in the *Ara Pacis* Museum, Rome.

Figure 4.2.(p.125). Aeneas and Ascanius panel of the *Ara Pacis*, this panel shows Aeneas and his son sacrificing a sow. Currently housed in the *Ara Pacis* Museum, Rome.

Figure 4.3.(p.126). The procession of the imperial family on the *Ara Pacis*, currently housed in the *Ara Pacis* Museum, Rome.

Figure 4.4. (p.132). Head of Livia, Museo Arqueológico, Barcelona.

Figure 4.5.(p.133). Bronze busts of Augustus and Livia, currently on display in the Musée de Louvre, Paris. Br.22. Inv. N. 3253.

Figure 4.6.(p.136). Portrait of Livia dated to shortly after her marriage to Augustus. 37-31 BC, on display at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Figure 4.7.(p.138). Head of Livia, on display at in Copenhagen at the Ny, Carlsberg Glyptotek 1444. Copy from 4 CE or later after an original from 27—23 BC.

Figure 4.8.(p.140). Portrait head of Octavia (minor). Dated from around 20- 10 BC. Currently on display in the Palazzo Museum, Rome.

Figure 4.9.(p.141). Head of Octavia, on display in the Hotel De Sade, France.

Figure 4.10. (p.145).Queen Elizabeth I ('The Ditchley portrait') by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, oil on canvas, C.1592. NPG 2561.

Figure 4.11.(p.147). *The Hampton Portrait* by Steven Van Der Meulen, 1563, part of a private collection.

Figure 4.12.(p.151). The 'Landsdowne' Tiberius, currently on display at the Getty Villa, Gallery 108, Temple of Hercules

Figure 4.13.(p.152). Type I ('First Military' type = Naples-Basel type) Pl. 8, 1-2 Marble bust of Tiberius. Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6052, from Farnese Collection.

Figure 4.14.(p.154). The emperor Tiberius, 13 AD, currently on display in the Louvre, room 411.

Chapter 5

Figure 5.1.(p.170). Cameo Portraying Emperor Claudius as Jupiter dated to within the reign of the emperor Claudius 41-54 AD. Currently housed at the Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 5.2.(p.171). *Denarius* depicting a more traditional ‘bearded’ Jupiter.

Figure 5.3. (p.172). *Aureus* bearing Claudius on the obverse and an oak wreath on the reverse.

Figure 5.4.(p.174). *Denarius* of Claudius 41-42 AD. Property of the American Numismatic Society, Claudius n.14.

Figure 5.5. (p.176). The ‘Kassel’ type portrait of Claudius, dated to around 41 AD. Currently on display in the Hessen Kassel Museum.

Figure 5.6.(p.177). Bust of Claudius, currently on display in the Vatican Museum. Inventory number 243.

Figure 5.7.(p.179). The Rochester Head of Claudius, currently on display in the Rochester Memorial Art Gallery.

Figure 5.8. (p.182). Portrait bust of Claudius, currently housed at the Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Inventory number, 609.

Figure 5.9.(p.184). Bronze *Sestertius* of Claudius. Dated 50-54 AD, housed at the British Museum, museum reference number, R.9866.

Figure 5.10.(p.185). Fragment of an altar frieze which depicts the Claudian line, currently housed in the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna.

Figure 5.11.(p.191). *Aureus* of Claudius, 41-42 AD, RIC I [second edition] Claudius no 7. Currently housed in the British Museum.

Figure 5.12.(p.193). *Aureus* of Claudius 41-42 AD, RIC I [second edition] Claudius no .11. Currently housed in the British Museum.

Figure 5.13.(p.195). *Aureus* of Claudius 46-47 AD, Property of the American Numismatic society. Claudius no 9.

Figure 5.14.(p.204). Braces fashioned for FDR after his polio attack.

Figure 5.15.(p.207). FDR with his daughter, Anna. Housed in the FDR Presidential Library.

Figure 5.16.(p.209). Photograph of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, with retouching, circulated by Wide World Photos in October 1928. Stefan Lorant picture archive. Lorant's The Glorious Burden.

Figure 5.17.(p.211). FDR featured in Liberty Magazine, July 25, 1931, 9. AP/Wide World.

Figure 5.18. (p.215). FDR pictured with his son, Franklin Jr. Housed in the FDR Presidential Library.

Figure 5.19. (p.218). An artistic depiction of a *Sella*.

Figure 5.20.(p.220). President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, third from right, being pushed in a wheelchair aboard the U.S.S. Baltimore in Pearl Harbour in July 1944, National Archives.

Figure 5.21.(p.221). Prescription from Dr. Linder Inc. for leg braces, housed found in the FDR Presidential Library under the collection FDR Family, Business, Personal Papers.

Figure 5.22 (p.222). FDR sitting in his custom-made wheelchair. with a group on the terrace of Springwood in Hyde Park, New York (1937). Currently housed in the FDR Presidential Library.

Chapter 6

Figure 6.1.(p.231). A portrait of the young Nero, currently housed at the Louvre, Paris.

Reference number 1210.

Figure 6.2.(p.232). Nero in young manhood, currently housed in Cagliari, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 35533.

Figure 6.3.(p.233). Nero and Agrippina depicted on the *Sebasteion* Relief, currently housed in the North House of Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.

Figure 6.4.(p.236). *Aureus*, 51-54 AD, currently housed at the British Museum, reference number, 175.

Figure 6.5. (p.237). *Aureus*, 55 AD, depicting Nero and Agrippina in jugate form

Figure 6.6. (p.239). Plate of Neronian coins from 58-62. AD. Catalogued by Mattingly and housed at the British Museum.

Figure 6.7.(p.240). *Dupondius*, 64-66 AD. Currently housed at the British Museum, London, reference number 239.

Figure 6.8. (p.242). Portrait bust of Nero, currently housed at the Palatine Museum, Rome.

Figure 6.9. (p.243). Portrait bust of Nero, currently housed at the Munich Glyptothek, inv.321.

Figure 6.10.(p.249). *Dupondius*, dated. 64-66 AD, currently housed at the British Museum, London.

Figure 6.11.(p.260). ‘If there was an Oscar for Boris Johnson’s Performance’ by Chris Riddle.

Figure 6.12.(p.264). *Ballet Royal de la Nuit*, Gissey. 1652. Now housed at Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire.

Figure 6.13.(p.266). William Makepeace Thackeray, *Ludovicus Rex*. 1868.

Figure 6.14.(p.269). *Louis the Great or the Sun King* (1638-1715), A 1701 portrait of Louis XIV, by Rigaud.

Conclusions

Figure 7.1. (p.287). *The Ageing Louis*, Benoist 1706, currently on display in the Palace of Versailles.

Abbreviations

AJA	Archaeological Institute of America
Arist. <i>Rh</i>	Aristotle. <i>Art of Rhetoric</i> . Translated by J. H. Freese. Loeb Classical Library 193. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926.
Arist. <i>Nic. Eth</i>	Aristotle. <i>Nicomachean Ethics</i> . Translated by H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library 73. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926. Revised by Barnes, <i>The Complete Works of Aristotle</i> , New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1984.
Arist. <i>Phgn</i>	Aristotle. <i>Minor Works</i> . Translated by W.S. Hett. Loeb Classical Library 307. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936. Revised by Barnes, J. <i>The Complete Works of Aristotle</i> , New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1984.
Arist. <i>Pol</i>	Aristotle. <i>Politics</i> . Translated by H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library 264. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932. Revised by Barnes, J. <i>The Complete Works of Aristotle</i> , New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1984.
Arist. <i>Prob</i>	Aristotle. <i>Problems, Volume I: Books 1-19</i> . Edited and translated by R. Mayhew. Loeb Classical Library 316. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011. Revised by Barnes, J. <i>The Complete Works of Aristotle</i> , New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1984.
BMCRE	Mattingly, H. Carson, R. A. G. and. Hill, P.V. <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , 6 vols. British Museum, 1923-62.
Cel.	<i>On Medicine, Volume I: Books 1-4</i> . Translated by W. G. Spencer. Loeb Classical Library 292. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935.

Cic. <i>De. Fin</i>	Cicero. <i>About the Ends of Good and Evil</i> , Translated by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library 40. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936.
Cic. <i>Sen.</i>	Cicero <i>On Old Age, On Friendship. On Divination</i> . Translated by W.A. Falconer, Loeb Classical Library 154. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989. Revised by Grant. M. <i>Cicero's Selected Works</i> , London, Penguin, 2004.
<i>I Cor</i>	<i>Corinthians I</i> The Bible, Revised Standard Version 1971.
Dio.Cass	Dio Cassius. <i>Roman History, Volume VI: Books 51-55</i> . Translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster. Loeb Classical Library 83. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917. Revised by Kilvert-Scott, I. <i>Roman History: Reign of Augustus</i> , London, Penguin, 1987.
D.H	Dionysus of Halicarnassus, <i>Roman Antiquities</i> , Translated by E. Carey, Loeb Classical Library 83. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1921.
Hom. <i>Il</i>	Homer, <i>The Iliad</i> . Vol 1+2. Translated by A.T. Murray, The Loeb Classical Library 170 & 171, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988 & 1993. Translated by Rieu, E.V. <i>The Iliad</i> , London, Penguin. 2003.
Hom. <i>Ody.</i>	Homer, <i>The Odyssey</i> . Vol. 1+2. Translated by A.T. Murray, The Loeb Classical Library 104 +105, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919. Revised by Rieu, E.V. <i>The Odyssey</i> , London, Penguin, 2003.
Joseph. <i>AJ</i>	Josephus, <i>The Jewish War, Volume III: Books 5-7</i> . Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Loeb Classical Library 210. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928.
Juv.	Juvenal, <i>Satires</i> . Translated by Susanna Morton Braund, The Loeb Classical Library 91, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Liv.	<i>Livy History of Rome Volume I: Books 1-2</i> Translated by B.O. Foster, Loeb Classical Library 114. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919. Revised by Selincourt, A.D. 2002, <i>The Early History of Rome: Books 1-5</i>, London, Penguin. <i>Livy History of Rome Volume IX: Books 31-34</i>, Translated by J.C. Yardley, Loeb Classical Library 295. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017. Translated by Yardley, J.C. <i>The Dawn of the Roman Empire: Books 31-40</i>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
Luc. <i>Phars.</i>	Lucan, <i>Pharsalia</i> Translated by J.D. Duff, Loeb Classical Library 220. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928. Revised by Graves, R. <i>Pharsalia</i>, London Penguin, 1957.
Macrb. <i>Sat.</i>	Marcobius <i>Saturnalia</i>, Volume I: Books 1-2. Translated by R. A. Kaster, Loeb Classical Library 220. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.
Ov. <i>Ars.</i>	Ovid, <i>Ars Amatoria</i>. Translated by J.H. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library 232. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929.
Ov. <i>Tri.</i>	Ovid, <i>Tristia. Ex Ponto</i>, Translated by A.L. Wheeler, Loeb Classical Library 151. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.
OCD.	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>, S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (eds), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
Plin. <i>HN.</i>	Pliny. <i>Natural History</i>, Volume VI: Books 20-23. Translated by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 392. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951. Revised by

	Healey, J.F. <i>Pliny the Elder Natural History: A Selection</i>, London, Penguin, 1991. Pliny. <i>Natural History, Volume IX: Books 33-35</i>. Translated by H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library 394. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952. Revised by Healey, J.F. <i>Pliny the Elder Natural History: A Selection</i>, London, Penguin, 1991.
Plut. <i>Caes.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Lives, Volume VII: Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar</i>. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 99. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919. Revised by Waterfield, R. <i>Roman Lives</i>, Oxford, Oxford World Classics, 1999.
Plut. <i>Cat. Ma.</i>	Plutarch. <i>Lives, Volume II: Themistocles and Camillus. Aristides and Cato Major. Cimon and Lucullus</i>. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 47. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Waterfield, R. <i>Roman Lives</i>, Oxford, Oxford World Classics, 1999.
Plut. <i>Cat. Mi.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Lives, Volume VIII: Sertorius and Eumenes. Phocion and Cato the Younger</i>. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 100. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919. Revised by Pelling, C. London, Penguin, 2010.
Plut. <i>Cic.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Lives, Volume VII: Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar</i>. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 99. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919. Revised by Waterfield, R. <i>Roman Lives</i>, Oxford, Oxford World Classics, 1999.

Plut. <i>Cor.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Lives, Volume IV, Plutarch Lives, IV, Alcibiades and Coriolanus. Lysander and Sulla</i> , Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 80. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916.
Plut. <i>Demetr.</i>	Plutarch. <i>Lives, Volume IX: Demetrius and Antony. Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius</i> . Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 101. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920. Revised by Waterfield, R. <i>Hellenistic Lives including Alexander the Great</i> , Oxford, Oxford World Classics, 2016.
Plut. <i>Pomp.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Lives, Volume V: Agesilaus and Pompey. Pelopidas and Marcellus</i> . Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 87. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917. Revised by Waterfield, R. <i>Roman Lives</i> , Oxford, Oxford World Classics, 1999.
Plut. <i>Pyrh</i>	Plutarch, <i>Lives, Volume IX: Demetrius and Antony. Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius</i> , Translated by Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library 101. Cambridge MA. Harvard University Press, 1920. Revised by Waterfield, R. <i>Hellenistic Lives</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016.
Plut. <i>Sull.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Lives, Volume IV, Plutarch Lives, IV, Alcibiades and Coriolanus. Lysander and Sulla</i> , Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 80. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916. Revised by Waterfield, R. <i>Roman Lives</i> , Oxford, Oxford World Classics, 1999.
Polb.	Polybius. <i>The Histories, Volume III: Books 5-8</i> . Translated by W. R. Paton. Revised by F. W. Walbank, Christian Habicht. Loeb Classical Library 138. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Revised by Scott-

	Kilvert, I. <i>The Rise of the Roman Empire</i> , London, Penguin, 1979.
Prop. <i>Elg</i> ,	Propertius. <i>Elegies</i> . Edited and translated by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 18. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.
Quint. <i>Inst</i>	Quintilian. <i>The Orator's Education, Volume I: Books 1-2</i> . Edited and translated by Donald A. Russell. Loeb Classical Library 124. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
Raleigh. <i>Cyn</i> ,	<i>Ocean to Cynthia</i> . Raleigh, W. Omaha, University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
RIC I	Mattingly, H and Sydenham, E.A. <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 1, Augustus to Vitellius</i> , London, Spink and Son, 1923.
RIC II	Mattingly, H and Sydenham, E.A. <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 2, Vespasian to Hadrian</i> , London, Spink and Son, 1926.
RRC I+II	Crawford, M. <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> . 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974-75.
RRC I	Grueber, H. A. <i>Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum</i> , London, 1910.
Sal. <i>Cat</i> .	Sallust, <i>War with Cataline</i> . Translated by John Carew Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 116. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921. Revised by Handford, S.A. <i>Sallust: The Conspiracy of Cataline</i> , London, Penguin, 1963.
Sal. <i>Jug</i> .	Sallust, <i>War with Jugurtha</i> . Translated by John Carew Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 116. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921. Revised by Handford, S.A. <i>Sallust: The War with Jugurtha</i> , London, Penguin, 1963.

Sen. <i>Apoc.</i>	Seneca, <i>Apocolocyntosis</i> . Translated by Gareth Schmeling, Loeb Classical Library 15. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020.
Sen. <i>Brev. Vit.</i>	Seneca, Moral Essays Volume II: <i>De Brevitate Vitae</i> . Translated by John Basore, Loeb Classical Library 254. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932.
Sen. <i>Clem.</i>	Seneca, Moral Essays Volume I: <i>De Clementia</i> . Translated by John Basore, Loeb Classical Library 214. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928.
Sen. <i>Epi.</i>	<i>Epistles</i> : Volume I. Translated by Richard Gummere, Loeb Classical Library 75. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917. Revised by Campbell, R. <i>Letters from a Stoic</i> , London, Penguin, 2004.
<i>Si</i>	<i>Greek Epic Fragments</i> : From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries. Translated by Martin West, Loeb Classical Library 497. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
Strab.	Strabo. <i>Geography, Volume I: Books 1-2</i> . Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Loeb Classical Library 49. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917.
Stat. <i>Silv.</i>	Statius. <i>Silvae</i> . Edited and translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Revised by Christopher A. Parrott. Loeb Classical Library 206. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.
Suet. <i>Aug.</i>	Suetonius. <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume I: Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula</i> . Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Introduction by K. R. Bradley. Loeb Classical Library 31. Cambridge, MA:

	Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Suet. <i>Jul.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume I: Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula</i> . Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Introduction by K. R. Bradley. Loeb Classical Library 31. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Suet. <i>Calig.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume I: Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula</i> . Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Introduction by K. R. Bradley. Loeb Classical Library 31. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Suet. <i>Claud.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume II: Claudius. Nero. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Vespasian. Titus, Domitian</i> . Translated by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 38, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Suet. <i>Dom.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume II: Claudius. Nero. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Vespasian. Titus, Domitian</i> . Translated by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 38, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Suet. <i>Gal.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume II: Claudius. Nero. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Vespasian. Titus, Domitian</i> . Translated by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 38, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of</i>

	<i>the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Suet. <i>Ner.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume II: Claudius. Nero. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Vespasian. Titus, Domitian.</i> Translated by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 38, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Suet. <i>Otho.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume II: Claudius. Nero. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Vespasian. Titus, Domitian.</i> Translated by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 38, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Suet. <i>Tib.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume I: Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula.</i> Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Introduction by K. R. Bradley. Loeb Classical Library 31. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Suet. <i>Vit.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars, Volume II: Claudius. Nero. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Vespasian. Titus, Domitian.</i> Translated by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 38, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914. Revised by Edwards, C. <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
Tac. <i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales Books 1-3.</i> Translated by C. Moore and J. Jackson, Loeb Classical Library 111. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954. Revised by Grant, M. <i>Tacitus Annals</i>, London, Penguin, 1956. Tacitus, <i>Annales Books 4-6.</i> Translated by C. Moore and J. Jackson, Loeb Classical

	Library 249. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954. Tacitus, <i>Annales Books 4-6, 11-12</i>, Translated by J. Jackson, Loeb Classical Library 312. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954. Revised by Grant, M. <i>Tacitus Annals</i>, London, Penguin, 1956
Vel. Pat.	Veleus Paterculus, <i>Roman History</i>. Translated by F.W. Shipley, Classical Library 152. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.
Virg. Aen.	Virgil, <i>Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1-6</i>, Translated by H.R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library 63, 1916, Revised by D. West, London, Penguin, 2003.

Introduction

It is the contention of this thesis that there is a different way to read and examine the iconography of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (31 BC-69 AD), than has previously been undertaken. This thesis examines the iconography and public images of members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in order to determine how and why their iconography was formed in the manner that it was. This thesis seeks to explain how the iconography of the Julio-Claudians can be viewed as the continuation of a framework which was founded by Augustus during his rule (31 BC- 14 AD), but subsequently adopted and adapted by his successors. To achieve this, the thesis examines the iconography of the Julio-Claudians through the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ – a framework which has its origins in the medieval period but which can be applied, just as successfully, to the ancient world. Using the framework of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ to assess the iconography of the Julio-Claudians offers historians a fresh perspective on the public image of Rome’s earliest, post-republican ruling dynasty. The Julio-Claudians understood the notion of the ‘doctrine of capacities’, that is the theory that a ruler possessed a natural body, which is the body of the individual who held the office, whilst also possessing a ‘political’ body, which projected the visual representation of the office itself. The iconography of the Julio-Claudians, when viewed through the prism of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ shows not only an acute awareness of the idea which Ernst Kantorowicz termed the ‘two bodies’, but that many of the Julio-Claudians were able to craft and adapt the idea of a ‘political’ body to tailor it to their individual or political circumstances.¹

The theory of ‘two bodies’ proposed by Kantorowicz has rightly become a staple of scholarship on the body politic of the medieval monarch, yet this should not be seen as the only application for the theory. This thesis contends that the base of Kantorowicz’s theory can be successfully

¹ For discussion of this concept, see Chapter One of this thesis, pp.47-53.

applied to the iconography of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and through it, we can reveal the concept of the ‘political’ body of the dynasty. In order to do this, however, we must focus our attention first on the ‘doctrine of capacities’, rather than the ‘two bodies.’ The idea of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ focuses on the difference between an individual who holds an office, and the office itself; it gives no special, religious status.² The first written application of this concept can be seen, not in any dealing concerning a monarch, but in the trial of a monarch’s brother. In 1076, Odo, brother of William I of England, was tried for treason. Odo, who held the bishopric of Bayeux and the earldom of Kent, demanded that as he held a clerical office, he could not be tried. In actual fact, the court tried Odo as the Earl of Kent, rather than as a bishop.³

The manner in which Odo was tried is important for defining the uses of the ‘doctrine of capacities’, in this case, the doctrine has allowed the court to remove any theological consideration and apply the idea of ‘two bodies’ to Odo the individual, and not to him in his ecclesiastical position as Bishop of Bayeux. This suggests that the idea of the ‘doctrine of capacities’, although used previously by Kantorowicz to distinguish the king representing the collective polity as linked to the Medieval theological concept of the unity of the body of Christ, is not its only possible application.

The example of Odo shows that although Kantorowicz bound his theory with the theological nature of medieval kingship, the idea of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ does not require a theological bedrock to be applied effectively. Odo was tried as Earl of Kent and this accounted for his secular, not his religious position.⁴ This example shows that neither the ‘doctrine of capacities’ nor the concept of the ‘two bodies’ has to be seen through a theological or religious

² Davies 1967:22-23.

³ Chrimes 1936:34; Valente 2003:30.

⁴ Maitland and Pollock 1898: 523-524.

prism. In fact, both concepts can be applied to secular rulers and offices. I suggest that an instance where this application can be most beneficially employed, is in regard to the iconography of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. I will apply the framework of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ to the position of the *princeps* in the early Principate of Augustus and the subsequent Julio-Claudian rulers. Although the title of *princeps* has often been described as honorific, it is clear that Augustus and his successors created a political office of the *princeps*, from that which had previously been an honorific title.⁵ As shall be outlined below, the circumstances of the Julio-Claudians were very different to that of Kantorowicz’s medieval monarchs, yet as Canning has noted, political ideas being applied to different time periods is ‘the result of innovation and reinterpretation’, and there is no reason why the same cannot be said of the use of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ as a way to frame and review the Julio-Claudian iconography and examine the concept of the Julio-Claudian ‘political body’.⁶ One of the most interesting pieces of evidence for the fact that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ can be seen in antiquity is in the example of the Roman practice of burning the deceased emperor twice (first in body, then in effigy). As this practice predates Kantorowicz, it is possible to suggest that the model of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and the ‘two bodies’ is applicable to the ancient world. It has been suggested by Agamben that this may challenge the idea that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ was first conceived in the medieval world.⁷

Not only will my thesis propose that the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ can be used to examine the iconography of Julio-Claudians while removing the theological aspect of Kantorowicz’s framework, but it will also propose an additional element, one which will allow the iconography of each individual member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty within this thesis to

⁵ For further explanation of this argument, see Chapter One, pp.47-50

⁶ Canning 1996:1.

⁷ Agamben 1998: 92. Agamben suggests that in some instances, the effigy of the emperor was treated as the emperor himself. For further explanation of this concept, see 92-94.

be more thoroughly assessed. By adding a sociological approach (pioneered by Erving Goffman) to the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’, a new framework for viewing the iconography of the Julio-Claudians can be created. Goffman suggested that human interaction, at its core, was about the adoption of different ‘faces’ which people use when in different environments. Goffman highlights that when interacting with one another, human beings will make great efforts to present the idea of themselves or their role, which they are most keen to convey.⁸ An examination of the portraits, statues and images of the Julio-Claudians, when using Goffman’s lens, will allow us to ascertain how carefully the dynasty constructed their public face. Not only can this be seen within their iconography, but also in accounts from primary sources, suggesting that the attire worn by members of the dynasty was part of their costume and was also important in displaying the Julio-Claudian ‘political body’.⁹ The use of Goffman’s framework in addition to that of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ will allow us to carefully examine the individual ‘political’ bodies crafted by each of the rulers assessed. As shall be made clear, each Julio-Claudian adopted a different ‘political body’, one which was dependent on and tailored to, their individual circumstances. Using Goffman’s model alongside the ‘doctrine of capacities’ allows each individual ‘political body’ and the differences between them to be viewed more clearly.

⁸ Goffman 1959:30-40.

⁹ For more on the costume of the *princeps*, see Chapter One pp.66-69, Chapter Four pp.155-158, Chapter Five, pp.208-214, Chapter Six, pp. 250-252, pp.266-270, Conclusion pp.274-276.

Why the Julio-Claudians?

The question which may immediately be posed is why the Julio-Claudians should be the chosen case study for this thesis. The answer to this question is twofold: the first lies in the circumstances in which Augustus rose to power and in which his subsequent successors attempted to keep that power, the second is concerned with the political needs of each individual member of the *Domus Augusta* and how they dealt with any unfavorable political circumstances.

The political context in which the Julio-Claudians established themselves was unique, they had to replace the power vacuum which existed as the Republic crumbled but do so in a way which was acceptable to those they now ruled. As Augustus emerged from the civil war as the only remaining major figure, he needed to find a way to cement his position at the head of the Republic without openly looking like an emperor. In addition, the idea of the *princeps* was not fully formed, and before Augustus, the title could be seen as entirely honorific. Therefore, the reason why the Julio-Claudians should be considered as a viable subject for study using the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ is because Augustus and the other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty stepped into the void left by the civil wars and sought to fill it. The creation of a ‘political’ body for the dynasty as a whole, as well as the individual members of the *Domus Augusta*, was a vital part of their political success and the way in which they projected themselves as rulers and this was despite not being as forthright about their position as later rulers of the Principate.

Their major issue was how to rule without using a title such as king, which in Rome carried negative, tyrannical and dangerous connotations. In short, the Julio-Claudian’s possessed a

problem of projection, they were a 'royal family' without the license to acknowledge that fact.¹⁰

They could not call themselves rulers but had to find a method of portraying the strength and stability needed to govern.

In the first instance, the circumstances of the fall of the Roman Republic presents scholars with an opportunity to assess Julio-Claudian iconography as a method by which Augustus could create, and attempt to sustain, a new and different political system to that which had gone before. For historians today, the distinction between Republic and Empire appears clear, and the ascension of Augustus to the Principate marks a new chapter in the history of Rome. Eder has remarked on this by noting that 'today it is a matter of course to set a dividing line between the old and the new'.¹¹ Yet, at the time of the crumbling Republic, things were not so clear. It could be argued that even contemporary accounts of Augustus' rule do not see the period of his Principate as a definitive break from the fall of the Republican system. After all, Augustus did not date his reign consecutively until 23 BC when he was vested with tribunician *potestas*.¹² As it is now recorded, the rise of Augustus and the continuation of his dynasty appear inevitable, yet when the context of his rise is taken into account, it is through the examination of his iconography and the 'political' body which he constructed, that we can make sense of how he was able to fashion a durable and lasting base for the presentation of his position.

The most exceptional facet of Julio-Claudian iconography is that it was able to establish the dynasty at a time of turmoil, and then prove itself durable and adaptable enough to be used by the subsequent successors to Augustus, who each had their own issues with which to contend, such as age, gender or physical disability. Each chapter will set out the challenges faced by

¹⁰ Previous attempts by individuals to establish one person rule had failed. Liv 1.59-60 tells of the exile of the last King of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus. Suetonius and Plutarch both recount the assassination of Julius Caesar after he had made himself Dictator. For both accounts in full, see Suet. *Caes* 82.1-3 and Plut. *Caes.* 67.1-6.

¹¹ Eder 1993:74.

¹² RG 4 and 6.

these members of the dynasty and how, by viewing their iconography through the lens of the ‘doctrine of capacities’, we can see more clearly the ‘political’ body of each member of the *Domus Augusta*.

The iconography of the Julio-Claudians has attracted attention from scholars over a long period of time. In 1976, Donald Strong suggested that all Julio-Claudian portraiture was difficult to categorize due to the likeness of individual figures because they all ascribed to the ‘formula [established in Augustus’ imperial image].’¹³ This has been something of a prevailing theme among scholars such as Pollini and Galinsky, yet it is not necessarily correct.¹⁴ The iconography of the Julio-Claudians is richer than has previously been suggested when the nuance of the iconography of individual members of the dynasty are considered. Paul Zanker was among the first to discuss the idea that images conveyed messages, which clearly addressed the idea of creating a new method of visual communication between Augustus and those he ruled.¹⁵ Zanker’s work was an immensely valuable study and brought into the academic conversation the idea of a framework for the iconography of Augustus. Yet, his work, however, did not cover subsequent members of the *Domus Augusta*, instead describing in some detail, and with some clarity, the change in the iconographic tradition from Republic to Principate.¹⁶ In order to fully establish that there was a ‘formula’, as Strong alleged, a more extensive analysis of Julio-Claudian imagery would be necessary. Prior to Zanker’s comments on the imagery of Augustus, scholars could turn to the extensive and invaluable work of K. Fittschen and Zanker himself, who catalogued and analysed vast numbers of imperial portraits in *Katalog*

¹³ ed. Toynbee 1976: ii.

¹⁴ Pollini 1983.

¹⁵ Zanker 1990:4.

¹⁶ It should be noted that throughout the thesis, when referring to the *Domus Augusta*, I am referring to Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Gaius, Lucius, Claudius and Nero. It should also be noted that when the expression *Domus Augusta* is used both in the introduction and the chapters throughout, this is at the exclusion of Caligula, not because I do not consider him part of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, but merely because I do not believe that he adopted the principle of the ‘political’ body, as other members of the dynasty did. For further discussion on this, see this thesis, pp.278-285.

der Römischen Porträts. The stated aim of the work was to provide a framework of chronological fixed points by which the ideal sculpture of the imperial period could be better dated. This is a feat that they achieved, producing four volumes of an excellent standard.¹⁷ The other major contribution made by Fittschen and Zanker is that their work documented a ‘large and representative’ section of the portraits, which could be found at the centre, specifically, those portraits developed in Italy rather than the provinces. This highlighted the stylistic differences, alongside those of the quality of the craftsmanship (of which we shall see more in chapter three). Despite the undoubted quality of Fittschen and Zanker’s four volumes, which offer both catalogue and comment on the busts and portraits, they do not offer comment on the concept of imperial iconography for the Julio-Claudians specifically. Whilst this is to be expected in a work of such remarkable breadth, it did not offer a coherent reason for a particular image, or a method of representation for the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

A work which does address some of the ideological narratives of the dynasty and their use of iconography is that of Brian-Rose, whose insights into the ideological uses of the portraiture of the Julio-Claudians is illuminating in regard to the larger, family monuments constructed by the dynasty. However, many of the examples appear to be event-focused; that is, specifically constructed to commemorate a big event in the imperial calendar, such as the designation of an individual as an heir, or a birth within the imperial family. Brian-Rose’s study does provide us with insight into the ideological uses of the portraiture of the Julio-Claudians, but it focuses on statue groups rather than individual busts.¹⁸ Therefore, although revealing in regard to some aspects of the ideological narrative of the dynasty, it lacks the specific focus on individuals. Not only that, but it does not seek to examine whether there was a coherent ideology beneath the depiction of images, except for that of prosperity, fertility and the continuation of the

¹⁷ Fittschen and Zanker 1985.

¹⁸ Brian-Rose 2005.

dynasty. As the work mainly deals with collections of statue groups and official monuments, rather than individual busts or portraits it is more difficult to ascertain whether each member of the dynasty has an ideological message and what that message supposedly reveals. Despite this, a great strength of this work is that it identifies dissemination of types of images from the centre to the provinces, even if this is mainly achieved through the examination of statue groups rather than individual portraits.¹⁹

Subsequent to the work of both Strong and Zanker on the portraits of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and Augustan iconography respectively, scholars have sought to examine the concept of the 'Julio-Claudian image' and whether it can be seen as a coherent and typecast one. Stewart and, later, Osgood have suggested that there was a coherent imperial image, and this was something which the Julio-Claudians sought to create and then reproduce. Hekster *et al* have termed this an 'implicit' visual programme.²⁰ Yet, the attempts to fashion a working centre-periphery model have not adequately addressed why the dynasty would wish to fashion an iconographic framework for themselves. Scholars such as Stewart and Pollini have noted that the centre-periphery model is proven by the idea that the less stylised portraits of various Julio-Claudians is merely the product of poor workmanship or a lack of adequate moulds from which to construct the image. Galinsky, meanwhile, has taken the position that the policy on the public image of the Julio-Claudians involved both the input of the emperor, and also some autonomy for the provinces in the way they worked.²¹ Galinsky's theory is only a partial explanation and more important to the outcome is that the differences in the images are not *just* a reflection of the quality of the craftsmanship, but are also an indicator of the success of an established Julio-Claudian programme to represent the notion of a 'political' body within their imagery. This programme can be seen in the more stylised images which reflect the 'political' body and what

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Osgood 2011; for the 'implicit' comment on Julio-Claudian imagery, see Hekster *et al* 2014: 8.

²¹ Galinsky 1997: 172-173.

scholars have termed the ‘periphery’ or the provinces where the workmanship shows individual rulers appearing less stylised. The centre-periphery model has much merit and is a coherent way of explaining how particular portrait types are disseminated. Where there appears to be a gap, however, is in the reason for the differing quality and type of the images, and the potential iconographic and political implications of such differences.

In order to better analyze the way in which the Julio-Claudians created their image, it is important to assess why the centre-periphery model for the distribution of portraits, statues and coins discussed in the introduction can be seen as an intentional method of disseminating the ideological message of the dynasty. I believe the centre-periphery model is compelling because it allows us to understand how the Julio-Claudians were able to create the ‘political’ body for both the dynasty as a whole and the individuals who became *princeps*.

The use of the centre-periphery model can help us understand how intentional the production of images by the Julio-Claudians was and to what extent the *princeps* and the imperial family had a hand in the management of this image. The works produced in the centre (near to imperial power) and those of the periphery (within the provinces) can also show us how effective imperial policy was. As Meriweather Stewart has noted, the distribution of imperial portraits from Rome (what we would term the centre), to the provinces, was slow. He also suggests that those who became *princeps* were, in the immediate period after their accession, eager to produce their portrait for those closer to the imperial court. Stewart notes that ‘the first year portraits of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero are limited themselves to provincial art centers or were otherwise near these centers.’²² Thus, it can be argued that the Julio-Claudians were most concerned with how their image was received by those at the centre (those who lived in Italy), in order to make sure their image was produced most effectively and most efficiently to those

²² Stewart 1939:611.

who were closer to the centre of power in both a metaphorical and literal sense. As Nodelman has previously suggested, the purpose of Roman art was to persuade those who viewed it to believe a particular thing or subscribe to a particular viewpoint. This was achieved intentionally by the Julio-Claudians through what has been described as audience targeting.²³

The intentionality of Julio-Claudian iconography can also be seen in the coinage produced during the Principate, which can be seen as value evidence of the impact and success of the centre-periphery model. For example, Livia and other members of the imperial family are to be found more often on coinage from the provinces than mints from official minters. As Burnett has pointed out, once Augustus had officially resigned the consulship in 23 BC, he lost the constitutional power to exercise direct control over coinage in Rome but was able to keep some command over provincial mints through the constitutional settlement and his proconsular imperium.²⁴ However, as Augustus was not always in a particular province when coins were being minted, Clare Rowan has suggested that the creation of an imperial ideology can be seen as ‘a collaborative process involving multiple authors’.²⁵

The effectiveness of this model, as well as the reason why there are differences between the quality of the images found at the centre and periphery, can be understood by turning to the semiotics of more modern art. In *The Painting of Modern Life*, Timothy Clark discussed the idea of a work of art being both part of an ideology, but also a representation. Clark noted ‘a work of art may have an ideology as its material, but it works that material; it gives it new form.’²⁶ This can be seen as a way for us to view the centre-periphery model advocated by Stewart, as there are distinct differences between the images from Italy and those which were produced in the provinces. While the details of these will be discussed at greater length

²³ Nodelman 1975, Hekster 2011: 177-190.

²⁴ Burnett 1977:37-63.

²⁵ Rowan 2019:149.

²⁶ Clark 1985:8.

throughout chapters three and four, here, it is important to note that Clark's idea of an item holding both an ideology and its own representation can be seen in Julio-Claudian iconography. In essence, the centre-periphery model is so compelling because it reveals that the Julio-Claudians were more concerned about their iconography closer to the centre of power, and as the example of the early accession portraits demonstrate, they took greater time and effort to make sure their image reached the most important cities of the empire.

Returning to the scholarship on the individual figures of the Julio-Claudian dynasty reveals that some excellent studies have been produced. These studies focus more on the individual and give the reader a sense of the unique nature of the person, while still maintaining an overview of whether there is an element of an ideological narrative in their depiction. One such volume on the wife of Augustus is Bartman's *Livia*, which tracks the visual imagery of Livia's portraits (providing the most extensive catalogue to date), and then analysing her imagery in its social, political and economic context. Bartman's work charts the change in Livia's portraits from the Marbury Hall type to the more idealised and attractive Faiyum type in the first part of the work, establishing a definitive change in image. The second half of the work looks at how Livia came to embody the visual representation of a large part of the Julio-Claudian ideological framework; embodying motherhood, family and the guarantee of a future for the Augustan line.²⁷

Although Bartman's volume has examined Livia's extant portraits, she did not do so with the intention of analysing them in the context of her political position or with the exception of her role as a mother and as a makeweight to Cleopatra or her ideological importance to the *Domus Augusta*. To some extent, the lack of examination of Livia's political position is rectified by Purcell's work on her position as the *princeps femina* in an article of the same name.²⁸ His

²⁷ Bartman 1999:23-24.

²⁸ Purcell 1986:78-105.

article does provide an analysis of her political role and influence but without featuring iconography extensively within his analysis. There has not been a study which yet fully seeks to combine these two facets in order to completely situate Livia in her political and iconographic context.

Other studies which examine individual members of the dynasty neglect the political and ideological considerations of the portraits. For example, Pollini's work in cataloguing the known (and disputed) statues of Augustus' grandsons (then adopted sons), Gaius and Lucius, offers an extensive overview of the imagery of the two men, yet seeks to offer little comment on the ideological and political implications.²⁹ Perhaps this is to be expected in a work which only focuses on the iconography of two short-lived figures, but it is clear that their images have a more complex role within Julio-Claudian iconography. When taking the images of Gaius and Lucius as a collective alongside other members of the dynasty, wider implications as to the purpose of Julio-Claudian iconography can be made if they are examined through the prism of a 'political' body.

The literature examining the reign of Nero is particularly interesting. Hekster's article on the Roman ruler's use of 'reality gaps' is an excellent addition to the scholarship on iconography, and while Nero is not the sole subject of the article, he is seen as an example of a ruler who possessed a 'reality-gap' within his public image. The idea of reality gap suggests that rulers often distribute an image which bears little relation to themselves. Although Hekster, in my view rightly, suggests that Nero adopted the idea of a 'theatrical autocrat', this does not go far enough in explaining Nero's image. Hekster's work, however, did not seek to analyse the entirety of Nero's image. Hekster's conclusions are coherent and insightful, yet also perhaps too narrow. They do not adequately examine the possibility that when placed against a wider

²⁹ Pollini 1987.

appreciation of Nero's reign, they are just one facet of many, which was used to craft the 'political' body.

In studying the image and iconography of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, it is also important to acknowledge the works of scholars working on iconography and power in different time periods, who provide important methodological focus and analyses of developments across time and space. Within this thesis, I will address the fact that no current study examines the Julio-Claudian dynasty in light of the concept of a 'doctrine of capacities.' While many fine studies have been produced on the iconography of the Julio-Claudians, none sought to produce a work which focuses specifically on the framework in which to view the images of the dynasty. This thesis will produce a more coherent narrative for the iconography of the dynasty. In order to be best placed to achieve this, the evidence provided by the material corpus we possess is vital in understanding the nature of the Julio-Claudian 'political' body.

This, then, should prompt us to turn to the available material evidence for a greater understanding of Julio-Claudian iconography, allowing us to ascertain just how veristic a depiction of their appearance in the material record is. Images of members of the *Domus Augusta* are available for all the major figures examined in this thesis, through coins, statues and portraits, amongst other evidence. When these images are examined, it gives us some idea of what they may have looked like, or perhaps even more importantly, what they wished to be seen to look like, if the image was officially accepted and compared to those images which may have been produced in the provinces, and were seen as a less favorable depiction by members of the *Domus Augusta*. Of all the Julio-Claudians examined in this thesis, Augustus is the *princeps* for whom we possess the most extant portraits. At around 200 depictions, Augustus provides more busts and statues than any other emperor. Livia, the wife of Augustus, has eighty-eight surviving portraits and statues. Of all the portraits, most conform to the Prima

Porta and Faiyum types for the respective individuals.³⁰ Other members of the dynasty have more defined types, which indicate that one variation was not as prominent. For example, of the seventy-four surviving images of Claudius, three main statue types appear, predominantly: 20 Kassel type, 37 Main type, 16 Turin type.³¹ Of the Julio-Claudians examined in this thesis, it is Nero who has the fewest surviving portraits, with Varner suggesting that fifty portraits of the final Julio-Claudian remain.³²

I have laid out these arguments in greater detail in subsequent chapters, but what we can suggest is that the material evidence gives us an indication of physical appearance and when contrasted with the literary accounts, may also give us an insight into how accurate these descriptions were.³³ Even if they do not give us a completely accurate picture of what an individual ruler looked like, they give us an idea of how that individual wished to be seen.

A word on the use of material evidence throughout the course of the thesis is also necessary here. In the course of this thesis, discussion centres around the major portrait types of the Julio-Claudian rulers, in order to examine the concept of the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body and review the major ‘types’ of statues for various members of the dynasty. For some individuals, such as Caesar, there are not enough extant examples to provide historians with a statue type. Instead, I have reviewed the portrait busts which take the name of the location either in which they were found, or the museum in which they are currently housed. One such example of this is the ‘Tusculum’ Caesar. In other instances, where the number of examples proves possible, I have examined examples of the various statue ‘types.’ In this way, I have assessed the most prominent of the statue types and also those depictions which can be said to have several

³⁰ For further discussion of the different images of Augustus, see Chapter Three, pp.98-107. For Livia, see Chapter Four, pp.134-142.

³¹ For further discussion of Claudius’ image, see pp.170-182.

³² Varner 2004 see in particular, pp.46-85.

³³ For a more detailed analysis of whether rulers had any control over his depiction, see Chapter Three, pp.98-107. For Augustus and the early Julio-Claudians in particular, see Chapter Three, pp.105-113.

examples of the ‘type.’³⁴ In Chapter Three, when assessing the iconography of Augustus, I have examined images which fall into the Prima Porta type and those images which fall into the ‘Alcudia’ type.³⁵ In the examination of the iconography of Livia, amongst the eighty-eight free standing-sculptures, I have focused on the two most prominent and numerous portrait types. These two are known as the Marbury Hall and the Faiyum portrait types. In examining these images alongside other less numerous examples, such as the Ampurias head, this allows a clear focus on the type of image which members of the *Domus Augusta* found politically advantageous, and those which it sought to avoid. In the examination of Tiberius, I have endeavoured to take the same line. Here I have examined portraits of Tiberius which are categorised as type I or the ‘first military type’ portraits, and compared those with the examples of what have been termed the *imperium maius* type.

Chapter Five examines the image of Claudius and there are currently three major statue types attributed to his image. The Kassel type of which twenty examples survive, the Main type of which there thirty-seven examples and the Turin type, of which there are fewest with only sixteen surviving examples. I have examined portraits where the identification is certain and those that can be supported by further likenesses of other statues.³⁶ Finally, Chapter Six examines Neronian portraiture and places particular focus on types one and two in portraiture and coinage. These first two types encompass the early years of Nero’s principate. In addition, these are compared to types three and four, which depict a Nero who has a greater control and idea of his public image. Overall, the material evidence will be used to ascertain the depiction of various members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, both in images which were ‘officially sanctioned’ and those that display a more veristic image. In order to gain the most complete and comprehensive picture of the appearance and image of the Julio-Claudians, however, it is

³⁴ For Augustus, see Galinsky 1997; for Claudius, see Hildebrandt 2013

³⁵ Smith 1996:38-39.

³⁶ Stuart 1938.

necessary to combine both the material and literary evidence available to us. Indeed, in regard to physical appearance, the literary sources can prove beneficial.

Literary Sources

The major literary accounts of the reigns of the members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty fall roughly to three authors Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio. Tacitus was the closest in terms of dates for being a contemporary to any of the Julio-Claudians. Born in 56 or 57 AD, Tacitus would have grown up during the reign of Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. While it appears that he was not close to the centre of power, and was most likely born in either Gaul or Cisalpine Gaul to a provincial, upper-class family, his career was one which is worthy of note, acquiring the consulship in 90 AD and becoming the Governor of Anatolia (modern day Turkey) towards the end of his career. Not only did Tacitus have a successful political career, but he also wrote several literary works, which have become some of our most vital sources for the period covering the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Known as the *Annals*, Tacitus' work is a chronological narrative of the Julio-Claudian rulers from just before the death of Augustus in 14 AD to the death of Nero in 64 AD. The work deals with all the male rulers of the dynasty, but some sections of the original work are lost to us: two years of the reign of Tiberius; the entirety of Caligula's reign; half of the reign of Claudius, and the last two years of Nero's reign. Overall, we possess forty years of the fifty-four which accounts for the dynasty.

When considering the veracity of Tacitus' account, Martin has noted that while some have suggested that Tacitus has done little more than copy from what may have been a pre-existing source, others have taken the view that he must have weighed all the available evidence and produced a judgement, similar to that of a modern historian.³⁷ Neither of these possibilities does he find particularly plausible. It is worth noting that we do not possess the sources which

³⁷ Martin 1981: 206.

Tacitus may have used to construct his account. The references which are made to other sources are, at best, scarce. Pliny is named as a source for details on Agrippina the elder, and the memoirs of Agrippina the younger are mentioned as a source at other places in the account which detail the reign of Tiberius.³⁸ Tacitus also mentions the use of his sources without providing a name for specific authors. At (4.53.2) he mentions *scriptores annalium* or writers of history. On other occasions, he refers to ‘*quidam tradunt*’; that is, some record. This kind of attribution for sources of information is not uncommon for writers of antiquity. Despite its problems, however, Tacitus is a useful source for the study of the Julio-Claudian dynasty because he provides the fullest chronological narrative of the period. In addition, the veracity of his account can be measured against that of the works of Dio and Suetonius for episodes, events or chronology which appear in all three accounts. By using these accounts, it allows the historian to gain a sense of the events and chronology of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and when weighed against other evidence from the material record, is significant enough to construct a picture of how the Julio-Claudians ruled and how this was impacted by their iconography.

Cassius Dio, a Greek writing in the 3rd century AD is another author who provides a narrative of a member of the *Domus Augusta*. Born in 163 or 164 AD in the province of Bithynia, Dio held the consulship twice and served under the emperors Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Macrinus, holding posts such as the governorship of Africa in 221 AD and the governorship of Dalmatia soon after. It is likely that Dio sat down to compose his *Roman History* over an extended period of time and was perhaps near completion at some time during his governorship of Africa in 221 AD before which, as Carter suggests, Dio collected his evidence between 203 -213 AD and spent the subsequent nine years completing the work.³⁹

³⁸ Martin 1981:199.

³⁹ Cartr 1987:19.

The history written by Dio suffers from similar problems to that of Tacitus in regard to our knowledge of the sources Dio used to construct his work. Carter has outlined the lack of evidence we possess for any of the sources which Dio used to compose his historical account by suggesting that ‘thus it is that we know virtually nothing about the sources used for the reign of Augustus.’⁴⁰ This is, however, the only in-depth narrative we possess of the Augustan period. In addition, Carter has suggested that Dio kept to the literary tradition of the ancient world in that history was supposed to be entertaining and engaging and so, ‘personalities and notable deeds bulk large, the common man and the price of bread very small.’⁴¹ Syme argues that Dio could allow himself to make much of the large set-piece events, and this is why they are so well chronicled; Syme suggests that in the case of the battle of Actium (31 BC) ‘It is apparent that Dio (or possibly his source) has let his imagination run riot in order to turn a somewhat disappointing battle into something worthy to serve as the birth-legend in the mythology of the principate.’⁴² Despite the issues present in Dio’s work, it is clear that he was aware of the accounts of Suetonius and Tacitus, though perhaps not Livy.⁴³ What this does suggest is a certain awareness and possible use of earlier sources, and this is something which has been suggested for all three of the major sources for the Julio-Claudian dynasty. In fact, our three major sources – Dio, Suetonius and Tacitus – all appear to have large sections of their accounts which mirror one another or have minor changes in date or the sequence of events. It was first suggested by Schwartz that the major source for all three was the same. He suggested that a now lost work by an annalist writing shortly after the reign of Tiberius must have been the basis for all three surviving accounts.⁴⁴ Although Syme has suggested that this argument is implausible on two counts: the first, that a literary portrait of a dead emperor could become the

⁴⁰ Carter 1987:21.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*:22.

⁴² Syme 1971:144.

⁴³ Barnes 1984.

⁴⁴ For a more detailed statement of this argument, see Schwartz 1899:1716ff.

dominant version when composed by a single literary figure; and second, that Schwartz overestimates the amount of common ground the works of Dio, Tacitus and Suetonius possess. When assessing the similarity, it is clear that there are sections where the influence is, as Martin describes it, ‘undeniable.’⁴⁵ Similar issues and solutions are also present for the sources of the reigns of Claudius and Nero. Despite the fact that this is far from ideal, it is clear that there is some coherent narrative for the reigns of the Julio-Claudian rulers and while sections of the works may differ in their analysis of individuals or events, they can be seen as reliable for forming a chronological narrative.⁴⁶

In addition, there is often the issue of the reliability of the accounts of ancient authors. One of the major applications of the narrative of Tacitus, Dio and in particular, Suetonius within this thesis is the account of how a particular emperor may have physically looked. The question most often asked is ‘how do they know?’ Having written at a later date than the lifetimes of many of the individuals they examine, it is impossible for the authors to have seen many of these people in real life. In the case of Suetonius, for example, he would not have seen any of the Julio-Claudians for himself, as they were all dead before he was born. Although this may present any historian attempting to use him as evidence of the appearance of the Julio-Claudians with some issues, much of this can be solved by the comparative analysis of both literary and material evidence.

⁴⁵ Syme 1982:68-82. For Martin’s work on the similarities of the narrative in Tiberius reign, see Martin 1981:204-207.

⁴⁶ Martin 1981:199-214.

Image, Appearance and Suetonius

When dealing with antiquity, one of the most obvious issues in constructing a working thesis is dealing with the primary material. This is an inevitable concern for anyone working on the ancient world, but is one which becomes particularly apparent when examining the Julio-Claudians due to the density of sources for some aspects, contrasted with the relative paucity of information for others. I will use Suetonius as a major source to examine the physical appearance of the various Julio-Claudian rulers. Having written his biography of the first twelve rulers of Rome, Suetonius is the only major source which chronicles all of the male Julio-Claudians to be examined in this thesis. Suetonius was not a contemporary of any of the Julio-Claudians, being born around 69 AD and five years after the death of the last Julio-Claudian ruler, Nero. Although not a contemporary of the Julio-Claudians, Suetonius remains our most complete biographical source for their reigns and appears to have used extensive sources for the construction of his work. For example, it is clear that he used the work of the elder Pliny, when the latter can provide first-hand evidence of events.⁴⁷ Similarly, Wallace-Hadrill notes that one of Suetonius' sources was Cluvius Rufus, who was active during the reigns of Caligula, Claudius and Nero, and according to both Josephus and Dio, held the fasces in the reign of Claudius.⁴⁸ It is also recorded that Rufus was involved in the conspiracy against Caligula, but the accounts do not state what role he took in the planning or actual assassination.⁴⁹ In addition, it is clear that Suetonius had access to the letters written by Augustus as he quotes from them at length on several occasions. Possibly his access to these came from working at the palace under the emperor Hadrian.⁵⁰ Suetonius then had no first-

⁴⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1983:64.

⁴⁸ Joseph. *AJ*.19.1.13. Dio Cass 63.14.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*.19.1.13.

⁵⁰ Wallace-Hadrill 1983:64-65.

hand knowledge of the individuals he describes but used the works of those who did as a way to gather information on the subjects of his biographies.

Commentators on Suetonius have argued that he is perhaps not a particularly useful source for the examination of the Julio-Claudians. Wallace-Hadrill's own work on Suetonius regards him as something of an irrelevance as far as style and literary quality is concerned, while Baldwin declared that Suetonius 'was not a great biographer.'⁵¹ Both men appear to have underappreciated the point of Suetonius' work, but Wallace-Hadrill, in particular, appears to have overlooked his own statement about placing an author in the intellectual currents and contexts of their time. Indeed, if he is placed within the cultural context of ancient biography, it is clear that Suetonius has much to offer as a source on the Julio-Claudians.

The idea that Suetonius' work does not have much to offer as a source of information does not do justice to that which the work of Suetonius is particularly useful for: namely, the examination of his subject's impact through their life and achievements. This may rightly be seen as nothing beyond the ordinary, indeed, all modern biographers would do their subjects a disservice if they did not manage to achieve this. In Suetonius' case, however, the idea of appearance was extremely important to making sense of the subject of each of his biographies. As Wallace-Hadrill noted in his work on Suetonius, it is vital to place 'the author in the context of the intellectual and cultural currents of his own day.'⁵²

A reading of Suetonius confirms that he was, amongst other things, concerned with the subject of physiognomy or, more loosely, the study of physical appearance. In antiquity, physical appearance was seen as a way of reading someone's character and morals. The interest Suetonius displayed in the study of physiognomy comes through strongly in the physical descriptions of the subjects of each one of his biographies. It is by reading Suetonius in this

⁵¹ Baldwin 1983:579.

⁵² Wallace-Hadrill 1983:7.

way that he becomes an extremely valuable source for studying the iconography of the Julio-Claudians. In order to place Suetonius more firmly in the context of biography and physiognomy in the ancient world, it is valuable to consider other figures who have written works based on the study of physical appearance.

In antiquity, several authors produced works based on the concept of physiognomy or the study of physical appearance. Of those ancient texts, only a handful now survive; two of which are entitled *Problems* and *Physiognomy*, are attributed loosely to ‘Aristotle’, although are more likely the work of a student or admirer.⁵³ In his work, Aristotle focuses on the physical appearance of an individual as a way of being able to reveal aspects of their character or intellect. He refers to this as allowing us to make an ‘overall impression’, and it being the swiftest way to make distinctions between individuals.⁵⁴ Therefore, physical appearance was seen as key to be able to understand the nature of a person. Aristotle produced a catalogue of physical attributes which were indicators of individual character. According to Aristotle, the best place to look for these physical manifestations of character were the face, the forehead, and in the eyes. He notes there are signs inferred from the appearance of the body, from which he produces a list which includes: movements of the body; the parts of the body; the build of the body as a whole; the smoothness of the skin; the growth of the hair; and the characteristic facial expression.⁵⁵ Aristotle goes on to suggest that physical appearance can be linked to mental characteristics and that if a man possessed a particular physical feature, he would also have the mental characteristic to resemble it.⁵⁶ Therefore, if an individual’s physical appearance can be read as ‘signs’ in this way, it is likely that certain signs could be used to portray a particular message. Permanent bodily signs will indicate permanent mental

⁵³ Swain 2005:2.

⁵⁴ Arist. *Prob.* 875a.

⁵⁵ Arist. *Phgn.* 25-31.

⁵⁶ Arist. *Phgn.* 823a. Arist. *Phgn.* 806b14-808b110.

characteristics, according to Aristotle. Therefore, it follows that a permanent image, such as that produced by a portrait or statue, must be indicative of a permanent quality.⁵⁷ I contend, that the idea that image reflected permanent qualities, had a significant impact on how the Julio-Claudians crafted their iconography.

Not only the works of Aristotle, but those on ancient medicine also highlight that the body, and its appearance display signs which can be read and interpreted. Podalirius, a physician during the Trojan War, identifies the signs of Ajax's madness from his flashing eyes and disordered thought.⁵⁸ Holmes has called Podalirius, a 'decipherer of corporeal signs.'⁵⁹ Although this relates to medicine in the ancient world, it provides us with a method of understanding the signs of the body. Ancient physicians also 'read' the body as a sign. The body in antiquity has been described by Holmes as a 'black box', which conceals much of what is happening beneath the surface.⁶⁰ Holmes notes that the physician must 'rely heavily on the symptom.'⁶¹ Ancient Greek medical treatises were often full of signs (*semeia*), which could be read by the physician.⁶² This was something which Galen was also convinced by. In his medical treatise, *The Powers of The Soul Depend on the Mixtures of the Body*, Galen suggests that the physical and mental are linked. Within the work, Galen declares that 'external aspect and internal character must follow the temperament of the body.'⁶³ Here, he suggests that the humours of the body, and therefore the temperament, can be matched with physical appearance.⁶⁴ Given the examples of other ancient authors, Suetonius is not alone in having an

⁵⁷ For Aristotle's indication of permanent traits, Arist.*Phgn.*2.806a1-8. For a list of these permanent signs, see Arist.*Phgn.*2.806b1-4-3.3.808b1-10.

⁵⁸ *The Sack of Ilium*, a fragment of a play which is part of the Trojan Cycle provides an example of the body being a canvass, from which a physician can decipher and interpret much. *SI* fragment 2.

⁵⁹ Holmes 2009:87

⁶⁰ Hippoc. *Art.* 10.6.16-18; Holmes 2009:88.

⁶¹ Holmes 2009:89. Anaxagoras.frag.510. Notes that the way in which physicians could ascertain what was going on was by viewing the body of the patient. He noted, 'the vision of unseen things is through the phenomena.'

⁶² On the symptoms being the signs in the physician's race against the disease, see Hippoc. *Art.* 11 6.20-6.22.

⁶³ Gal. *Anatomy of the Soul.* 4-5.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 4-5.

appreciation for the concept of physiognomy. Throughout his work, Suetonius describes the appearance of each of his subjects and it is clear that he appears to adhere to a physiognomic model for those he describes.

Those who Suetonius appears to favour are described as attractive. For example, he describes Augustus' appearance as 'striking and remaining exceedingly graceful through the whole of his life.'⁶⁵ Those who Suetonius criticizes however are described as ugly. Caligula, for example, is said have a body which was 'ill formed and his legs were very thin.'⁶⁶ This suggests that Suetonius had some knowledge of the science of physiognomics, as the figures of good character were attractive and those who were seen to have vices were ugly. Barton has suggested that Suetonius' appreciation of the science of physical appearance and its link to character can be seen most clearly in his records of the appearance of Nero. Suetonius' description of Nero highlights his mottled body, 'thereby implying resemblance to a panther, the epitome of evil and effeminate characteristics, while his weak eyes could be read as sign of cowardice and his spindly legs a sign of lustfulness.'⁶⁷

Modern authors and academics have also found use for the idea of physiognomy and have produced several fine volumes on the subject. In part, these works owe a debt to Suetonius' own work. Maud Gleeson has written one of the definitive volumes on the subject and has acknowledged the weight which the concept of physical appearance was given in antiquity. Gleeson says 'physiognomy was a merciless discipline because it acknowledged no exceptions to its rules and provided no shade under which certain privileged signs of human frailty could shelter.'⁶⁸ This suggests that the appearance of figures in the ancient world was seen as vital in interpreting who they were as a personality and that the most complete way to achieve this

⁶⁵ Suet. *Aug.*79.

⁶⁶ Suet. *Cal.*50.

⁶⁷ Barton 1994:56-58.

⁶⁸ Gleason 1995:390.

was through an assessment of their physical appearance.⁶⁹ Martin has summarised the ethos of the ancient sources well when he suggests, ‘the surface of the body is an expression of the forces and movements inside the body, that is the soul.’⁷⁰ The idea that appearance can reveal much is not only seen in the ancient sources. For example, and as shall become clear throughout, when comparing the literary and material evidence, a rounded picture of individuals and their aims can be reconstructed.

When considering the material evidence provided by statue busts and, in particular, those of the late Roman Republic, Zanker suggests that the realism of the image cannot be matched in terms of the likeness of the individual depicted. Not only was their likeness something to note, but so too was the veracity with which the personality of the individual was captured by the portrait.⁷¹ Here, we can see how the material and literary record complement each other. When examined together, the material and literary evidence create a more rounded and complete picture of how important appearance was in the ancient world and why many rulers sought to craft an image which they considered advantageous to their rule.

The use of Suetonius, in particular, will allow for a rounded picture of those he chronicles. Townend writes of the true nature of Suetonius’ portraits that ‘there is something solidly authentic about Suetonius’ emperors, even if individual stories remain suspect.’ He allows us to ‘construct our own figures from his materials, and we feel that the results are real.’⁷² This then, will allow an examination of both the material and literary evidence to reveal the aims of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, especially in regard to their iconography. In the introductory notes to her translation of Suetonius’ *Lives*, Edwards appears to get to the heart of what Suetonius’ work was supposed to achieve. She writes ‘Suetonius’ *Lives* offer us a rich instance of imperial

⁶⁹ For one of the most comprehensive works on physiognomy, see Evans 1969.

⁷⁰ Martin 1999:18.

⁷¹ Zanker 1988:9.

⁷² Townend 1967:94.

image as a site where multifarious and incompatible expectations repeatedly clash.’⁷³ On examination, nowhere is this more clearly exhibited than when the iconography of the dynasty is examined. How was Augustus supposed to create an image which reflected the new concept of a long-term ruler where none had existed before? Or how was Livia supposed to project her power and prestige as a woman, in a society where women did not openly hold influence?⁷⁴ Was every Julio-Claudian bound to the model which the first member of the dynasty, in this case Augustus, had created? I will examine the iconography of four of the male members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in an attempt to ascertain just how the members of the *Domus Augusta* both crafted and adapted their public image to support their own political needs. Overall, Suetonius offers us a way in which to make sense of the emperors examined in his *Lives*. While he does not offer a definitive verdict on his subjects, he does provide a view of how they were perceived by various groups: the plebs, equestrians and senators. Paul Plass, when discussing the concept of jokes made by emperors, has noted that ‘emperors’ jokes often serve to problematise the point of view of Suetonius’ account. Fact on one side, fiction on the other, and frequently meditated, which offers multiple, unresolved perceptions of political reality.’⁷⁵ That sentiment of unresolved perceptions of reality is pertinent here. Even though I will not be examining the jokes of emperors as Plass has, I will be attempting to highlight, reveal and examine some of the ‘perceptions of reality’ which the Julio-Claudians have created using their portraits, statues and coins. Through Suetonius’ literary descriptions, the natural appearance of the rulers are revealed and according to Gladhill the *corpus principis* or the body of the Julio-Claudian rulers becomes apparent.⁷⁶ This give us some indication of the natural body of the Julio-Claudians. In order to fully examine this idea, as well as the purpose and

⁷³ Edwards 2000: xxiii.

⁷⁴ Bartman 1999: xxi. For primary evidence of the hatred of the influence of women amongst some members of the Roman elite, see Plin. *HN* 34.30-31.

⁷⁵ Plass 1988:153.

⁷⁶ The term *corpus principis* refers the appearance of Julio-Claudian rulers as described by Suetonius. See Gladhill 2012: 318.

effectiveness of Julio-Claudian iconography, it is important that the literary descriptions are assessed alongside the material evidence to provide a more comprehensive examination of each ruler's image and appearance. Through examining the literary and material evidence in concert, I will reveal that the 'political' body of the Julio-Claudians is visible within their iconography.

Throughout the work, I will use examples of modern and early modern political leaders as points of comparison.⁷⁷ The images of these rulers will be assessed using a different form of media, due to advancement in technology and societal changes. For example, the images of early modern rulers, such as Elizabeth I, Oliver Cromwell and Louis XIV will be assessed using material evidence such as portrait paintings, drawings and brooches. The images of later rulers, such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) and Boris Johnson will be assessed using evidence such as photographs and political cartoons. There is much to be gained from the assessment of photographs: they were harder to alter, yet could potentially be 'stage-managed.' Barthes suggests that a photograph of an electoral candidate (and by extension a ruler) plays many roles. Breaking down the 'types' of photos, Barthes describes what he calls 'the good-looking chap.' This candidate deploys obvious signs, such as his health and vitality.⁷⁸ Not only will the use of photographs give an impression of what an individual may have looked like, but the staging of the photo may provide some indication of what was seen as acceptable for a leader at the time it was taken, given that most of these images would be viewed by prospective voters, as in the case of FDR.

⁷⁷ For the use of comparison within this thesis, see pp.29-33. For the rationale behind the use of comparison, see Chapter One, pp.45-48 and Chapter Two, pp.84-91; Chapter Three, pp. 118-121; Chapter Four, pp. 142-150, Chapter Five, pp.218-226 and Chapter Six, pp.243-252.

⁷⁸ Barthes 1968:105-107. For analysis of the management of photographs, see Chapter Five, pp.207-215.

Structure and Argument

From the discussion of the primary material used, it is evident that the methodology of this thesis is comparative. The use of comparative materials and methodologies throughout allows for the concept on the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body to be more clearly revealed in the imagery of the members of the *Domus Augusta*. The use of comparative is vital for our understanding of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body. Comparisons of rulers from different time periods allow us to understand that while rulers are not the same in the ancient as they are in the modern world, they do face similar challenges, such as how to acquire and maintain power. The details of each ruler's reign differ according to circumstance, as we would expect, nevertheless those two challenges remained fundamental to being a ruler. Using the doctrine of capacities hence allows us to assess the ways in which individual rulers attempted to resolve these challenges, thereby providing a framework of analysis that can more clearly draw out similarities and differences across time and space.⁷⁹

In regard to what a comparative study will bring to our understanding of the Julio-Claudians, it is important to fully appreciate the manner in which a comparative methodology can shed new light on a topic. Vlassopoulos has noted that comparative history helps to ‘defamiliarise the familiar’ and thus to throw new light on aspects that were taken for granted, or to question unexamined assumptions.’⁸⁰ In the case of the Julio-Claudians and their iconography, a comparative approach will reveal that there is a new way of categorising the iconography of the dynasty. Comparative methods further also allow us to examine the manner in which the Julio-Claudians met the challenges of gaining and maintaining their power by highlighting the

⁷⁹ For comment on the essential nature of comparison, see Benham 2022: 33, 285-6.

⁸⁰ Vlassopoulos 2014:5.

frameworks and solutions more modern rulers adopted to meet the challenges they faced. Bloch has described the comparative methodology as the 'most effective of all the magician's wands', and the magic of the method, is that it allows us to test what Vlassopoulos describes as the 'limits of the possible'.⁸¹ In this instance, the 'possible', is what we can reveal and also reasonably surmise about the framework which the Julio-Claudians established to deal with the problems of each of the members of the *Domus Augusta*. Through the use of comparative analysis, I will be able to, as Loius Daville suggested, 'clarify the unknown through the known' when using the examples of more modern political leaders, and the solutions they imposed, to similar political problems.⁸² In doing so, we will be able to infer far more about the concept of a framework for Julio-Claudian iconography, one which aimed for the survival of the dynasty in its entirety, while also being tailored to support each individual *princeps*.⁸³

In order to examine the iconography of the dynasty more effectively, this study adopts a similar approach to that of Kantorowicz's important work on kingship, namely that the ruler had two bodies. Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies*, published in 1957, remains a powerful examination of the medieval concept of kingship, based on the idea that the ruler had two bodies: one natural and another political. This work has been instructive in producing the framework through which this thesis has viewed the iconography of the Julio-Claudian rulers, and although divergent on several major issues, which will be discussed further in chapter one, the concept that a monarch could have 'two bodies' has influenced the manner in which I have studied and examined the leaders within this thesis.⁸⁴ In regard to work on more modern time periods, a scholar who has had an impact on the way in which my thesis has viewed the visual power of rulers is Kevin Sharpe. An expert on monarchy and iconography, Sharpe has

⁸¹ For the Bloch quote, see Bloch 1967:51; Vlassopoulos 2014:3.

⁸² Davillè 1913:41.

⁸³ Trencsényi 2021 discusses the use of the comparative method and its change over time.

⁸⁴ For a more detailed analysis of Kantorowicz and my own framework for the thesis, see Chapter One. For Kantorowicz' work, see Kantorowicz 1957.

suggested that monarchic rule is in some ways dependant on the crafting of a vibrant, strong, and dependable public image. Although his work primarily concerns Early Modern England, with a particular focus on the Tudor and Stuart dynasties, much of what he argues finds resonance in the public image of not only Augustus, but many of the Julio-Claudian rulers. Sharpe notes that although rulers and their iconography have not been neglected in regard to academic publications, they appear to have been marginalised or seen as a side note to the ruler themselves.⁸⁵ As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the Tudor monarchs carefully constructed their image to present an ideal image; a ‘political’ body, if you will. In concert with this, Sharpe contends that to see the iconography of the Tudors as anything other than ‘the real business of ruling’ would be a mistake.⁸⁶ As this thesis argues, the same notion that iconography is at the heart of ruling can be applied to, and is intertwined with, the rule of the Julio-Claudians.

The thesis explains that there was a coherent narrative for Julio-Claudian iconography, but it was not predicated on the concept that all the busts and portraits looked alike. Indeed, as the dynasty matured, the portraits began to bear less of a resemblance to one another. As the individual rulers assumed the role of *princeps*, their iconography assumed an image which suited their requirements. Millar has addressed the issue of iconography by suggesting that there is a difficulty with the array of Julio-Claudian evidence in ‘that we do not know how to ‘read’ it as evidence for some reality beyond itself’.⁸⁷ This is a gap which can be addressed when considering the notion of a ‘political’ body for the Julio-Claudians, one which is not merely dependent on the application of the centre-periphery model but provides a framework through which we can coherently read the images, not just of the dynasty as a whole, but also the individual rulers themselves.

⁸⁵ Sharpe 2009:1.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Millar 1992:379.

Chapter One is particularly important because it defines the mechanism for viewing the iconography of the individuals who follow in the subsequent chapters. The main aim of this chapter is to create a framework through which to view the image of a ruler. The chapter does this by setting up the framework of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ as the chosen method.⁸⁸ Chapter one outlines that although Kantorowicz examined the idea of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ when assessing medieval monarchs in his 1957 work, *The King’s Two Bodies*, he did not assess the images of other rulers in this manner. Not only that, but no individual study since has sought to examine the images of ancient rulers using the ‘doctrine of capacities’ as their framework. This thesis contends in its methodology, and throughout, that this is a missed opportunity with regards to understanding rulers and their iconography. Chapter One, in addition, outlines the images of rulers from different time periods, who are used as points of comparison. These examples focus on modern and early modern figures such as Franklin Roosevelt and Henry VIII. The use of comparanda does not obscure the analysis of the Julio-Claudians but enhances our understanding of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and the application of the ‘political’ body through the use of more modern media, such as the painting, photography and political cartoon.⁸⁹

Chapter Two examines the image of Julius Caesar. Although not a member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in the sense that he became *princeps*, Caesar laid the groundwork for much of what followed by those who succeeded him either continuing what he had done or seeing his failures as a blueprint of what to avoid. An examination of the iconography of Caesar during his lifetime suggests there is evidence of a more veristic image when compared to portraits of Caesar from after his death, where the differences are stark. A comparison of these images will highlight the fact that Caesar had begun to alter his iconography, but that this process was

⁸⁸ For an explanation of the ‘doctrine of capacities,’ see Chapter One, pp.37-40.

⁸⁹ For the ‘political’ body used by Henry VIII, see Chapter Three, pp.118-121. For the ‘political’ body of Franklin Roosevelt, see Chapter Five, pp.191-204.

completed by his great-nephew, the future Augustus. After Caesar's death the change in his image is much starker and he is given a 'political' body during the reign of Augustus because that was deemed politically useful by the new *princeps*. Throughout this chapter the comparison to more modern rulers are of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell. This comparison allows us to see how the use of a 'political' body and its adoption within a ruler's iconography can give them legitimacy; the legitimacy they may otherwise have lacked.

Chapter Three focuses on how Augustus altered the early 'political' body discussed in Chapter Two and was able to create a durable and lasting image. An image One which he and subsequent members of the dynasty could adopt as their 'political' body. In order to achieve this, examples of the accepted 'political' body of Augustus will be assessed alongside those images which appear to depict a less flattering, more versitic physical representation. In this way, it is possible to judge both the preferred image of Augustus and just how successful the use of this image was during and after his lifetime. As previously mentioned, to evaluate the success of the 'political' body, the iconography of Gaius, Lucius and Agrippa Postumus will also be referenced. The comparison within this chapter will be Henry VIII and the famous image by his court painter, Hans Holbein. By assessing the image of Henry, we can gain an insight into how effective the crafting of a 'political' image can be, both at the time of its composition, and as an enduring symbol of the legacy of a ruler.

Chapter Four addresses the idea that the concept of the 'political' body was something which became a focus of Julio-Claudian iconography as the reign of Augustus progressed. An examination of the figures of Livia and Tiberius, alongside the evidence provided by monuments such as the *Ara Pacis* will show that the idea of a 'political' body was part of the Julio-Claudian ideological message. In addition, focusing on a couple of individuals within the chapter suggests that the 'doctrine of capacities' was not just a concept which can be applied to male rulers in the ancient world. An examination of the iconography of Livia reveals that

female rulers in the ancient world could also adopt the idea of a ‘political’ body and craft it within their iconography. The lack of comment on this should be considered an oversight in current scholarship, as it appears there is much to be gained from the combined analysis of Livia’s public image and her position or role as *princeps femina*. An examination of Livia’s role combined with her iconography offer a chance to more fully appraise the creation and maintenance of a ‘political’ body which Livia adopted and continued to employ, from shortly after the battle of Actium to the end of her life. By looking at both her image and her role, Livia can be placed more fully in the context in which a ‘political’ body was created, and examine what the iconography which represented that ‘political’ body was supposed to achieve.

The individual used for comparison in this chapter is Elizabeth I, who has already been the subject of extensive scholarship concerning her public image.⁹⁰ The comparison between Livia and Elizabeth I allows the ‘doctrine of capacities’ to show itself as a concept which is not gender specific, and in the case of a female ruler, may actually be of more use to them than their male counterparts. Tiberius is included at the close of chapter four as his iconography, alongside the account of Tacitus, allows us to focus more fully on the concept of *dissimulatio* and how a ruler might adopt costume or robes when in public to appear more like the image within their iconography. In doing so, they are better able to reflect the image of their ‘political’ body when they are in public.

Chapter Five addresses a different way of approaching the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’. Using the example of Claudius, it is clear that the idea of ‘two bodies’ does not solely have to be applied to a ruler’s iconography to remove the signs or weaknesses caused by old age. Instead, Chapter Five will suggest that the ‘political’ body can be used to remove other weaknesses from a ruler, such as disability, and thus expands the range of applications

⁹⁰ For analysis of the iconography of Elizabeth I in the context of this thesis, see Chapter One, pp.41-46 and Chapter Four, pp.142-150.

for the ‘doctrine of capacities’ through an examination of Claudius and his iconography. Despite Claudius becoming *princeps* during middle age, this chapter focuses on Claudius’ disability and how he sought to mitigate it through his public image. The manner in which Claudius created his own conception of what would later be defined as the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and applied this to his iconography to create a ‘political’ body is further examined alongside and compared to a more modern leader who did the same: the thirty-second President of the United States, Franklin Roosevelt. Both men had physical disabilities which, for the most part, they aimed and succeeded at keeping hidden or downplaying to the public.

The sixth and final chapter discusses Nero. As the last and youngest of the Julio-Claudians, it is fitting to end the thesis with an examination of his iconography and the use of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ as a way to read it. The chapter shows that Nero had a different conception of the ‘political’ body from other members of the dynasty. Beset by different issues when he assumed the role of *princeps*, Nero attempted to combine both his natural and ‘political’ body into one image. More than any of his predecessors, he lived his Principate. To fully establish how successful Nero was in this endeavour, a comparison to Louis XIV and his imagery as ‘The Sun King’ will be made. This reveals that the Neronian ‘political’ body had a distinct quality, one which can be defined as the ‘showman.’ A comparison with Louis XIV as the possessor of the same type of ‘political’ body will allow a more detailed and effective examination of the quality and effectiveness of Nero’s ‘political’ body. Ultimately, this thesis outlines that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ as a theory, is challenged the most by Nero’s imagery, but also reveals how malleable and nuanced the concept can be. In addition, the chapter sets out that Nero possessed less of a reality gap than other rulers because he attempted to fashion a public image which he could experience. In other words, Nero adopted the role of the *princeps* and decided to ‘live it’ to a greater extent than any of his predecessors. Alston has also produced well-researched work on the idea of Nero as an artist and an actor. However, it can be argued

that his conclusions do not go far enough when assessing Nero's performances as an artist or actor if they are placed alongside considerations of what he wished to achieve with his public image.

This thesis offers a new way of viewing and understanding not only the iconography of the Julio-Claudians but the relationship between power and public image during the early principate. It argues that by using the concept of the 'doctrine of capacities' and the idea that a ruler possessed a 'political' body, a new way to view the iconography of the Julio-Claudians can be established. Ultimately, it contends that the Julio-Claudians understood representation and the power it could have over those they ruled.

Chapter 1: Methodology

Image and power are inextricably linked. Iconography is, as Sharpe suggested, ‘the real business of ruling.’⁹¹ This thesis aims to examine the iconography of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and to establish how its members were able to craft a public image which allowed them to not only establish but maintain their authority. Each chapter of the thesis will focus on different members of the dynasty and assess how their images were used to produce a narrative for their rule. By this, I mean the image they wished to convey. In addition, it is the aim of this thesis to provide a new way to examine not only Julio-Claudian iconography but its relationship to power and authority for this particular dynasty.

Constructing images is an important tool by which rulers throughout history have bolstered their power. Zanker imagines that the very image which a leader crafts for themselves has a more than noticeable impact on their own idea of themselves. In his *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, he states that he wished to understand the effect of a tapestry of images upon the viewer. By ‘tapestry of images’, he means works of arts, buildings and poetic imagery, religious ritual clothing and state ceremony which created a visual impression.⁹² While tracking the impact of images on the viewing audience, Zanker was also aware that images affected those they represented. If crafted effectively enough, even those in power were impacted by the image they projected. The image of themselves and of the role they play in public life are strongly influenced by their own slogans.’⁹³

If we were to carry this further, it could be argued that the concept of images carrying a message has taken an ever-greater hold upon the concept of leadership or the definition of ‘a leader.’ In

⁹¹ Sharpe 2009:1.

⁹² Zanker 1989:3.

⁹³ Zanker 1989:3.

support of Zanker's notion of the impact of images as a means of maintaining power, Hekster and Fowler claim that images lie at the heart of power in any form of government, be it ancient or modern. They have noted that, 'the ability to create and manipulate images is itself an indication of power and (arguably) a means to accumulate greater power.'⁹⁴ There is a vast array of literature on the relationship between images and power which suggests that the monarch or ruler is key to the manufacture of that image. Overmeire, for instance, has stated that, 'through careful management of their image, they (rulers) create a public identity that seemingly becomes reality.'⁹⁵

If we are to effectively read these signs, we must have a mechanism by which to do so. Only then can we, as the viewer, begin to understand how images are crafted to be read in a certain way or for a certain purpose. One way to understand how to read these crafted images and address the fundamental question of leadership, is using Kantorowicz and, in particular, the concept of the king's two bodies.

Kantorowicz uses the legal concept of the 'King's Two Bodies' as a way of reconciling the 'mortal' person of the king and the office of the kingship. The 'two bodies' created a symbiosis between the two. Kantorowicz suggests that the individual is transformed by acceding to the throne and that by undergoing the (coronation) rituals required, the person would become the office.⁹⁶ The theory outlined by Kantorowicz was built upon the concept of medieval kingship and that due to the 'doctrine of capacities', the monarch had 'two bodies', one natural and one

⁹⁴ Hekster and Fowler et al 2005:10.

⁹⁵ Overmeire 2012:755. One of the most recent volumes on image and power in the Roman world is that of Beard 2021. The seminal work on images and the power they possess, is of course Zanker 1989. For the power of images on coins, see Crawford 1974; on the use of divine lineage and image making, see Wiseman 1974. For the impact of the images of Livia Drusilla, see Bartman 1999. For works which take a more general approach to image and leadership, see Cheles and Giaccone 2020 and Millar 1992:379. Nodelman 1975:26 has perhaps the most accessible article on this where he examines a portrait of the late Roman Republic and the veristic style in an attempt to 'read' a meaning from it. Millar asks what we can learn about how rulers wished to be portrayed from viewing their public image, while Nodelman has asked similar questions of late republican portraiture.

⁹⁶ Kantorowicz 1957:9. Schnepel (2021) examines the nature of 'King's Three Bodies.' This volume examines the importance of ritual and the extension of the number of bodies applicable to the monarch.

political. Although based on the concept of medieval kingship, this concept found expression in the early modern period when a legal dispute in England brought the issue of the monarch's identity to the fore. Edmund Plowden, a jurist under Elizabeth I, noted that a legal issue arose over the question of lands owned privately by the Lancastrian kings, which Edward VI had decided to lease. This brought to light the disparity between the monarch, King Edward VI, and person of Edward Tudor. Thus, England's jurists assembled to debate the issue and concluded that,

‘The King has two Bodies, viz, a body natural and a body politic. His Body natural [...] is a Body mortal, subject to all infirmities that come by Nature of Accident, to the Imbecility of Infancy or old Age, and to the like defects that happen to the natural Bodies of other people. But his Body politic is a Body [...] utterly void of Infancy and old Age, and other natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body natural is subject to, and for this Cause, what the King does in his Body politic, cannot be invalidated or frustrated by any disability in his natural Body’.⁹⁷

This is key to the idea of the power, authority, and public image of the king. If the body politic protects the ruler or monarch's natural body from age and decay as the ‘superior force,’ then it follows that the body of the ruler or monarch must be presented as such, and therefore immune from the ravages of age and decay in their public image. This is not a concept which is confined to just medieval monarchs, nor absolute rulers. There are numerous examples of leaders and monarchs who have had to prove their physical worth in order to rule.⁹⁸ One of the most famous exponents of this is the Tilbury speech given by Elizabeth I before the defeat of the Spanish Armada in July 1588. The Queen declared that ‘I know I have the body of a weak and feeble

⁹⁷ Plowd. *Reports*, 212a. Plowden's records note the Latin maxim, ‘*quia magis dignum trahit ad se minus dignum*.’⁹⁷ This translates as, ‘the worthier draws to itself the less worthy.’

⁹⁸ Hom. *Ody*.21.40-187, 245-358. Recounts the attempts of the suitors of Odysseus' wife, Penelope to string the famous bow which had belong to Odysseus. The man who proved his strength and was able to string the bow, would become King of Ithaca and marry Penelope.

woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a King, and of a King of England too [...].'⁹⁹ Elizabeth does not suggest that she must be male in order to rule, but she rather makes a statement about the nature of the body natural and the body politic.¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth herself referred to the concept of the 'doctrine of capacities' in her speech before her coronation in November 1558. She claimed, 'And as I am one body naturally considered, though by His permission a body politic to govern.'¹⁰¹

This binding of the two concepts, natural and political, is not without issues. The core question which Kantorowicz sought to answer, was how a particular image could be represented in different contexts and different times. At its heart, Kantorowicz's work is one concerned with semiotics; that is, the study of symbols and images, and how and why, they are used to construct images of power. Elizabeth I, although not part of Kantorowicz's study, was perhaps the most diligent in the craft of the 'king's two bodies' and the clearest indication of this can be found in the material evidence of her reign. Paintings, portraits and brooches all depict Elizabeth I as a representation of the 'body politic'.

The clearest artistic expression of the 'political' body can be found in two portraits of Elizabeth I. The first, known as the 'Rainbow' portrait (1.1), depicts the queen as young and vibrant. Attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, and painted around 1600, this portrait is a striking example of Elizabeth depicted as the body politic. Aged around sixty-seven at the time of this portrait, the image of Elizabeth shows no signs of ageing. Instead, the viewer is presented with the ageless 'Gloriana,' the manifestation of Elizabeth as the body politic.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Marcus, Mueller, Rose 2000: 325.

¹⁰⁰ Schulte 2006; Weil 1999:166. It is also worth noting that Elizabeth refers to herself as a 'prince' in the speech, in spite of her gender. For the speech itself, see Marcus, Mueller, Rose 2000: 325. Kantorowicz 1957:9, Weil 1999:166.

¹⁰¹ Marcus, Mueller, Rose 2000:52.

¹⁰² Strong 1987:157-160.



Figure 1.1 'The Rainbow Portrait,' c.1600.¹⁰³

This is an image of an ageless monarch, who as outlined by both Kantorowicz and the legal definition of the 'two bodies', does not show weakness or frailty with the passage of the years.¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth is the embodiment of the institution of monarchy, ageless and eternal. Despite the fact that she attempted to tightly control her public image so that it reflected the body politic, there are examples which portray Elizabeth as she may have looked in her old age. A portrait also attributed to the studio of Gheeraerts the Younger depicts Elizabeth as an old woman. Dated to c.1596 (1.4), when Elizabeth was sixty-three years old, this painting portrays the queen as looking her age. Instead of the smooth and youthful skin of the queen's public 'Gloriana' image, known by historians as the 'mask of youth,' Elizabeth shows a face

¹⁰³ 'The Rainbow Portrait,' c.1600, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the younger. Currently on display at Hatfield House, Hertford. Image available online at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portraiture_of_Elizabeth_I#/media/File:Elizabeth_I_Rainbow_Portrait.jpg [date accessed 2.1.2021].

¹⁰⁴ Plowd. *Reports*, 212a; Kantorowicz 1957:9.

which is heavily lined and gaunt, with frown lines on the forehead and dark circles beneath her eyes. Another noticeable aspect of this image (1.4) is Elizabeth's hair. Gone is the vibrant red of the 'rainbow portrait', instead it is replaced by a dim copper colour. The entire image is much darker and symbolically suggests that the youth and vitality which adorns other portraits of the queen was nothing but a mask.

Elizabeth's 'mask of youth' has long been analysed by historians, and two more illustrations by court painters during her reign encapsulate the physical transformation which the 'mask of youth' wrought upon the queen's image. The first image, (1.2) a portrait miniature by Isaac Oliver, dated between 1590-1592, depicts Elizabeth without any of the adornments of her position. This image is clearly unfinished; note the sketched outline of Elizabeth's dress and the lack of colour anywhere save the background and the queen's face.

The queen is depicted as rather grey, without the characteristic vibrancy and colour which the heavy lead applied to her face usually produced; Elizabeth lacks her usual, distinctive, radiance. Her eyes appear sunken and tired, as if the effort of bearing her 'mask' is too much for the queen. Elizabeth's hair is also a notable sign of her age, gone is the vibrance of her auburn hair, instead replaced by an insipid yellow, which drains her face of colour. Her hair is also shorter and clearly receding from the crown of her head, a notable sign of age. This unfinished image allows the viewer to analyze the monarch's body natural, unadorned by the usual trappings demanded by the body politic. Despite this, Elizabeth is not depicted true to her age. By 1590, Elizabeth would have been aged fifty-seven and although this image is unflattering, this is not the image of a woman in her fifties.



Figure 1.2. An unfinished portrait miniature of Queen Elizabeth I by Isaac Oliver.¹⁰⁵

A second miniature (1.3) produced by Hilliard and dated between c.1595-1600 presents a very different image of Elizabeth. Complete and adorned with all the regalia associated with a monarch, Hilliard's image encapsulates the concept of Elizabeth's 'mask of youth.' The differences between the images are so stark, that one can almost imagine the queen's various makeups and treatments being applied. The Hilliard image is dated to when Elizabeth would have been in her sixties, yet the image of the miniature depicts a woman who is much younger. This image reinforces that of the 'Rainbow' portrait and the contrast with the Isaac miniature allows the viewer to witness the transformation from Elizabeth Tudor to Queen Elizabeth I. The Isaac miniature depicts the body natural; the Hilliard image is strongly reaffirming the image of the body politic.

¹⁰⁵ An unfinished Image of Elizabeth I by Isaac Oliver, currently on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Portrait Miniatures, Room 90a, The International Music and Art Foundation Gallery, case 4. Image available online at <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O82275/elizabeth-i-portrait-miniature-oliver-isaac/> [date accessed 31.1.2021].



Figure 1.3. Miniature of Queen Elizabeth I by Nicholas Hilliard.¹⁰⁶

This pair of images magnify the distinctiveness of the body politic of a ruler: ageless, eternal, devoid of any weakness or blemish and destined to rule for eternity. This is the image of the ‘Rainbow portrait’ and the Hilliard miniature. The second Gheerarts image (1.2) which was rejected by the queen and the Isaac miniature, reveal the lie behind the political and legal fiction of the ‘two bodies.’ As the body politic remains unblemished, the natural body of the ruler declines. Age, illness, accident, and infirmity all distort and decay the natural, human ruler beneath the image. Thus, rulers have taken care and gone to great lengths to maintain the ideal of the two bodies. They have used the concept of *dissimulatio* or seeming to defy time itself, maintaining the image of the body politic long after that image has ceased to reflect reality.

¹⁰⁶ A finished miniature of Queen Elizabeth I by Hilliard c1595-1600. Currently housed in the Royal Collections. Image available online <https://www.rct.uk/collection/421029/queen-elizabeth-i-1533-1603> [date accessed 31.1.2021].



Figure 1.4 Queen Elizabeth I in her early sixties. (Studio of Marcus Gheerarts the Younger, c. 1596).¹⁰⁷

The inseparable nature of the body politic and the body natural has provided a complex challenge for rulers, both ancient and modern.¹⁰⁸ Seen as indivisible from their public image and as ageless and eternal, how were rulers, whose bodies aged, weakened and grew sick, to maintain this unsustainable image of youth and vitality. The ‘Rainbow’ Portrait of Elizabeth is just one example of the depiction of the body politic and the art of *dissimulatio* used by rulers to maintain the fiction of the ‘two bodies.’ Instead of reality, rulers have often looked to symbols and symbolism to maintain the fiction of the ‘two bodies.’ Kantorowicz’s work on the

¹⁰⁷ Currently part of a private collection within the UK. Previously on display in Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington. Image available online at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/69/Elizabeth_I_portrait%2C_Marcus_Gheeraerts_the_Younger_c.1595.jpg [date accessed 2.1.2021].

¹⁰⁸ It should be noted that even in Homeric epic, there is the idea that at the moment of death, the individual splits in two. The psyche is bound for Hades, while the corpse is left to be buried. The claim that Homer does not have a concept of a unified body was made in Snell 1953:1-22.

‘king’s two bodies’ addressed this idea in regard to the medieval monarch but was not without its own issues.

Kantorowicz’s study focuses on the of the monarch’s body politic and the conception of this idea as one invested with divine authority. In a study of medieval theology, this is to be expected, yet the theory itself can be applied to a far wider range of contexts. Kantorowicz’s most prominent flaw is that his concept of the ‘two bodies’ is enclosed within a framework of Christian theology.¹⁰⁹ Kantorowicz himself concluded that his work owed much to religion and, more specifically, Christian tradition. At the close of his work he notes, ‘notwithstanding, therefore, some similarities with the disconnected pagan concepts, the ‘king’s two bodies’ is an offshoot of Christian theological thought and consequently stands as a landmark of Christian political theology.¹¹⁰ Therefore, it appears to offer little if we view a leader from a more secular, less religious viewpoint. Indeed, one of the issues with Kantorowicz’s defence of mystic fictions is that in his work at least, they depend on the theological assumption of the ruler being imbued with the symbolism of divine favour, with seemingly no place for the ‘reality of rule’. One critic has noted therefore that the work descends from the discourse which it purports to explain.¹¹¹

One of the major features of the ‘two bodies’ as outlined by Katorowicz, is that it requires the ‘two bodies’ to be divided into both the natural and the ‘political’ body; that is, the body of the individual ruler and the body which represents their office with a religious symbolism being given to the ‘political body’. The ‘doctrine of capacities’, however, focuses on the difference between an individual who holds an office, and the office itself; it gives no special, religious

¹⁰⁹ Kantorowicz 1957:506. For references to the Pauline conception of the body of Christ considered by Tudor jurists, see I Cor 10-15.

¹¹⁰ Kantorowicz 1957:529.

¹¹¹ Leyser 2016: xx.

status to the concept of the king.¹¹² This is the beginning of Kantorowicz's 'two bodies,' which he tailors to focus exclusively on the image of medieval monarchs. The fact that Kantorowicz divides his 'two bodies' into natural and 'political' is what Quigley labels 'the image of kingship'.¹¹³ He argues that one is misled into believing that the 'person' who occupies the position of the monarch is in fact what forms the sacred part of the monarchy. Anthropologist Evans-Pritchard pointed out long ago that the refrain should be 'the king is dead, long live the kingship,' indicating that the office is different from the person.'¹¹⁴

Despite this, if we leave aside the religious and divine aspects of Kantorowicz's monarch, there is still much to be gained from his theory, but in order to exploit it as thoroughly as we might, we must use the 'doctrine of capacities' as our prism through which to view the iconography of rule. For all Kantorowicz's excellent scholarship concerning theology, his work is, more than anything else, concerned with what Geertz called 'the symbolic aspects of power.'¹¹⁵ Geertz also astutely noted that in the context of monarchical image, 'majesty is made, not born.'¹¹⁶ In this case, the 'two bodies' should be considered a model for images and perception of images, rather than facts. The 'doctrine of capacities' can be used as a prism through which to view the image of other rulers, even those not necessarily bound by a theological conception of their position. Despite the current use for, and application of, Kantorowicz's theory, it can be used as a lens through which public images and conceptions of power can be read.

¹¹² Davies 1967:22-23 Uses the example of Odo of Bayeux who was tried for treason not as a bishop, but as the Earl of Kent.

¹¹³ Quigley 2005:1.

¹¹⁴ Evans-Pritchard 1962:84. For an alternative interpretation of the continuing importance of the monarchy as opposed to the individual monarch, see Balmer, Greyser and Urde 2006:153, who suggest that the monarchy is a brand and that the present incumbent should always consider the impact on the future of the monarchy before taking any course of action. 'The mindset that the brand most likely will outlast the present brand manager is clear for any intelligent brand manager at P & G or other leading firms. For a monarch, this insight is no doubt even more evident'.

¹¹⁵ Geertz 1983: 121.

¹¹⁶ For the quote, see Geertz 1983. There is, however, a large scholarly literature on the issue of power and symbolism, some examples include Cassirer 1946; Evans-Pritchard 1948 (from an anthropological perspective and mainly concerned with kingship in Africa); Angelo 1969; Strong 1973. For an example of an early book on the American presidency and the power of symbolism, see Novak 1974.

The wider use of the ‘two bodies’ theory can be seen in its application concerning other leaders. One such example is that of the American presidency. Much like Kantorowicz’s conception of the monarch and the monarchy outlined in Plowden’s statement concerning the dual nature of the natural and ‘political’ bodies of a monarch, the presidency has been similarly addressed in this way. Brownlow has stated that, ‘if I take the two phases, the President and the Presidency, the Man and the institution, together, it is because, as I see it, while they are distinguishable at certain times, in the light of certain events, they are nevertheless inseparable.’¹¹⁷ This shows that the ‘two bodies’ theory is applicable, and has been applied, to institutions other than that of monarchy, and to historical periods other than the medieval and early modern. In the case of the American presidency, the focus is on the legal definition of the presidency rather than any divine or religious statement. Similarly, there are references within classical texts which suggest that antiquity had at least a vague notion of what Kantorowicz called the ‘doctrine of capacities’.¹¹⁸ For example, Plutarch’s *Life of Alexander* has Alexander note that there was a difference between a friend of Alexander and a friend of the king, whilst Aristotle’s *Politics* makes a clear distinction between the friends of a prince and the friends of a principedom.¹¹⁹ Comments by Seneca on the captain of a ship also conforms to this model: ‘two persons are combined in the pilot: one he shares with all his fellow passengers, for he is also a passenger; the other is peculiar to him, for he is the pilot. A storm harms him as a passenger, but it harms him not as a pilot.’¹²⁰ These examples hence highlight that classical writers had a conceptualisation of the distinction between an individual and the office they held.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Brownlow 1949:1. For the notion of transference of souls from one occupant of the office to another, see Greenblatt 2009:64.

¹¹⁸ Kantorowicz 1957:497.

¹¹⁹ Plut. *Alex.*47; Arist.*Pol.* III.16,13,1287b.

¹²⁰ Sen. *Epist.*85.35

¹²¹ Björn Weiler has recently highlighted that the writings of Cicero and Seneca on the concept and duties of public office were widely disseminated, known and quoted in the medieval period through patristic writers such as Ambrose and early theologians like St Augustine and Isidore of Seville, indicating that the idea of the two bodies was a cross-cultural fusion of biblical and classical precedents. For discussion of this and the literature, see Björn Weiler: 43-63.

The distinction between the individual and the office allows for the model to be used on leaders on a wider scale and in different time periods. If the ‘two bodies’ theory can be used to establish and then read images of Elizabeth I by creating a body politic and body natural, it follows that the method can also be applied to other leaders and their public images. Throughout, I will adopt a comparative approach, using leaders from more modern time periods who also found use for the ‘two bodies’ within their public image. At all times, however, my focus will remain on how these comparisons can help us to view more clearly the manner in which the ‘two bodies’ was a feature of Julio-Claudian iconography.¹²²

One of the principle aspects which was key to Julio-Claudian iconography, was the position of the *princeps* as the head of the Roman state, which was established, and later defined by each member of the dynasty. I argue that examining their images offers a new perspective on the concept of the ‘two bodies’, one which can be applied to a time period which predates both the argument made by Plowden of two distinct legal definitions for the monarch and the later naming and application of the ‘two bodies’ theory by Kantorowicz. Despite the differing conceptions of their leaders, and the fact that the era of the Julio-Claudians was not bound by Christian theology, nor did it possess such a definite notion of monarchy, what Kantorowicz defined as the ‘doctrine of capacities’ is not only suitable for the model of Julio-Claudian public image but also reveals that the concept of ‘two bodies’ is present within their iconography.

The title of *princeps*, or ‘first citizen’, which was given to Augustus, the first of the Julio-Claudian rulers, can be examined using the lens provided by Kantorowicz’s theory. Goldsworthy looks to not impose modern titles and conceptions upon Augustus, refusing to name him *imperator*, but he does refer to him as *princeps* and notes that, ‘there is no doubt that

¹²² Wickham 2009: 5-28 for history challenges and opportunities when doing comparative history, see Kocka 2003:39-44. Despite the advantages of comparative study, Kocka is well aware of the arguments of its detractors. See in particular 41. Yet he notes the growing and continued interest in comparative studies, particularly in Germany and France. This he has named the ‘transnational approach’, 42-43. Slater and Ziblatt 2013 note the usefulness of comparative study and its essential nature when considering society.

his chosen successor would follow him.’¹²³ While he may not have been a monarch, Augustus did hold a title. A title which was honorific perhaps, but which gathered to it far more ‘real power’ than even the major figures in the dying Republic had obtained.

Syme supports this conception of Augustus’ rule, albeit with greater dictatorial overtones. Syme noted that ‘the power and domination of Augustus was in reality far too similar to that of the Dictator (Caesar) to stand even a casual comparison.’¹²⁴ What has often been seen as an honorific position, should, in fact, be considered a collection of powers and precedents which, when taken together, comprise genuine political power.¹²⁵ Although more opaque than the position of the medieval monarch or American president, the *princeps* can be viewed as a political office in much the same way. Augustus himself asserts that he held no magistracy which was contrary to the *mos maiorum*; the key omission here is that he held all the power of several magistracies simultaneously.¹²⁶ This collection of powers and offices has come to be known as the Principate, the name given to the period of 31 BC-192 AD, in which politicians and military commanders were offered, inherited or seized the same collection of powers which Augustus had first drawn together.¹²⁷ In the same manner as an examination of the monarchy or the presidency, the Principate, or role of *princeps* at least under the Julio-Claudians, had a notion of what would later be defined as the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and a conception too of what Kantorowicz would later define as the ‘king’s two bodies.’

An examination of the literary and material evidence of the other members of the dynasty will highlight that there is a disconnect between the natural body of the Julio-Claudian rulers and the ‘political’ body, encompassed by the position of *princeps*. The literary evidence when

¹²³ Goldsworthy 2010:2.

¹²⁴ Syme 1939:318.

¹²⁵ Eck 2007: 156 notes that on the day Tiberius was adopted by Augustus, he ‘received all the powers necessary to lead the state.’ For the account of Suetonius, see Suet. *Tib.*23-24.

¹²⁶ Syme 1939:316; for the legality of the powers held by Augustus, see RG6.

¹²⁷ Eck and Sarolta 2003: 50 suggest that Octavian was offered both the name of ‘Augustus’ and the title of ‘*princeps*’ suggesting that it was seen as at the very least symbolic of his status.

assessed highlights the natural body, that is, the body of the individual ruler. The natural body represented in the literary sources will depict what Plowden defined as ‘all infirmities that come by Nature of Accident’ as well as the ‘other natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body natural is subject to.’¹²⁸

One such example of the imperfect nature of the natural body of a ruler can be found in the description of Augustus in old age. The depiction from Suetonius relates a description not of the position of the *princeps*, but of the man, Gaius Octavius. In old age, Suetonius describes him: ‘the sight in his left eye diminished. His few teeth were weak and decayed. His hair was curled and slightly yellowish. His eyebrows met. His ears were of medium size. His nose protruded above and then curved in below.’¹²⁹

The literary evidence depicts all the infirmities and defects of Plowden’s body natural and Augustus as a man is laid bare: old, stooping, and devoid of the energy and vigour of youth. Yet the material evidence tells a much different story. In the material record (despite a few exceptions to be dealt with in chapter three), we do not glimpse Gaius Octavius. Instead, we are offered the image of the *princeps*. Octavius becomes Augustus and is depicted as a representation of the role of *princeps* to the viewing public.¹³⁰ This should be regarded as the ‘political’ body. This is the image which represented the office itself and not the individual who occupied that office at any particular time.

One example from the material record of the ‘political’ body of Augustus (1.5) can currently be found at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland. This example depicts Augustus as ageless, yet in reality, he was perhaps around thirty. Although this exact example is undated, it is possible that it was commissioned around 27 BC, when the Prima Porta type (of which this

¹²⁸ Plowd. *Reports*, 212a.

¹²⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 79.2. For a deeper examination of the image of Augustus, see Chapter Three, pp.100-105.

¹³⁰ For Octavian receiving the name Augustus, see Suet. *Aug.* 7.2.

is one), becomes the widely accepted public image for Augustus. After the Prima Porta type has been created, it can be argued that the public image of the *princeps* is unaltered throughout the rest of his reign.



Figure 1.5. Augustus.¹³¹

Despite this, the literary record does provide us with the example of Augustus as an old man, possessing all the physical indicators of old age. This then presents us with a disconnect in the literary and material record and suggests that Kantorowicz's concept of the 'two bodies' can be applied to the ancient world, and more specifically, to the iconography of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Not only can the 'two bodies' theory be seen in the eternal youth of Augustus, but an examination of the public images of the Julio-Claudian rulers will present different versions of the 'political body.' Part of the application of the 'two bodies' to the figures of the ancient world within their iconograph would be familiar to Kantorowicz. For example, Claudius' attempt to hide his disability, which, despite it being present in the literary record and part of

¹³¹ 21:23. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Found online at <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/767/portrait-of-emperor-augustus/> [date accessed 22.12.21].

his natural body, is absent from his ‘political’ body, represented by statues, coins and portrait busts.¹³² Other applications, such as the creation of a particular political image, instead of a ‘political’ body however would be less familiar, playing less on the concept of a natural body which was prone to weakness or ill health. An examination of the imagery of Nero provides such an example and highlights someone who does not need the ‘political’ body to guard against age or illness, but to disguise the youth and inexperience of his natural body. Even without the physical frailties associated with others, the ‘two bodies’ theory can be used as a method of covering many frailties. In the case of Nero, these would be personal and political as opposed to physical.

Examining the evidence from the Julio-Claudian period (30 BC-68 AD) highlights that the bodies natural and political are divergent from one another. As these two images seldom match entirely due to the weakness of the natural body (through age or illness), one of the key considerations is how the Julio-Claudians managed to apply and control the concept of a ‘political’ body. In Chapter Three, we will examine in more detail the idea of a centralised framework, created by the *princeps* to distribute an acceptable and idealised public image throughout the empire.¹³³

The ‘doctrine of capacities’ is once again crucial here. In order to examine the concept of the ‘two bodies,’ the manner in which the Julio-Claudian’s crafted the concept for themselves is key. This will focus on the issue at the very heart of leadership. As the Julio-Claudians predate the legal definition of the ‘two bodies’ provided by Plowden, it is crucial that their images are examined with the knowledge that they did not possess the idea of the ‘two bodies’ theory in the manner of the medieval world, on which to tailor the imagery of their reigns. To assess the way in which the Julio-Claudians defined and displayed the concept of the ‘doctrine of

¹³² For a more detailed examination, see Chapter Five and in particular pp.170-182.

¹³³ For a more detailed examination, see Chapter Three, pp.98-107.

capacities', not yet the 'king's two bodies', part of Chapter Two is used to highlight the differences between the natural and 'political' body of Julius Caesar. The Julio-Claudian's did not uniformly adopt the idea of divine monarchy within their public image, and this will not be the subject of this thesis. The Julio-Claudians and, in particular, Augustus realised that in order to publicly display the body politic, an idealised image would need to be created. Boschung has observed that the public image portrayed by a Roman emperor was vital in enhancing their authority and was a carefully constructed tool of self-representation. He notes that 'portraits of Roman emperors did not provide a haphazard snapshot [...] on the contrary, they were elaborately designed and consistently used instruments in the emperor's self-representation.'¹³⁴ The emperor's preferred mode of representation was important and thus carefully managed throughout the early years of the Principate. On the accession of Augustus to the role of *princeps*, we see a move away from the veristic nature of portraits in the Roman Republic, and a move towards a more idealised portrait model, one which depicted perpetual youth.¹³⁵

Evidence for the move away from veristic depictions can be seen in the portraits and busts of a major figure of the final years of the Roman Republic. The portrait busts of Pompey, republican general and great rival of Julius Caesar, show an example of the move away from the verism and ageing, but in a different manner than the iconography of the Julio-Claudians. Rather than the traditional, veristic republican portraits which displayed the outward signs of old age such as deep wrinkles and thinning hair, Pompey appeared to create a new, more idealistic image of himself.

¹³⁴ Boschung 2012:294. See also Walker 1995: 16 – chapter entitled 'What is a portrait for?' The process of circulating the image of the emperor relied on two key policies. The first, the creation of official portrait types with distinctive features, were likely made available to sculptors or minters and from these, the artist or minter could reproduce a copy. On the representation of the *gens* Augusta in statuary, see Rose 1997:58-60. For an artist's request to reuse statues of previous emperors and recast them to represent the image of the new *princeps*, see Ephesus frag. 168.

¹³⁵ For the change in the portraits of Augustus, see Zanker 1988:98; Kleiner 2005. For the continued youthfulness of Augustus' portraits, see Eck 2007:163.

One such image is the Copenhagen Pompey, housed in the Carlsberg Glyptotek. In this portrait, Pompey is depicted as an older individual but without the aggressive rendering of previous veristic, republican images. Zanker has seen the Copenhagen bust as ‘the clash of two value systems.’¹³⁶ The bust does not attempt to make Pompey look younger, as busts of several members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty will later, but it does present an idealised version of Pompey’s appearance. Small suggests that the attractiveness of Pompey’s face is retained, ‘the skin of the face remains taught, and the figure fresh faced, perhaps aided by the lack of a beard’.¹³⁷ Thus, before the Julio-Claudians cemented their position and transformed the veristic images of the Republic into more youthful representations, figures such as Pompey had already begun the move away from the ageing images of previous years. In addition, Pompey’s image was about the idealisation of a man of his age, not the removal of age in place of perpetual youth. This also suggests that what Zanker believed to a ‘clash of value systems’ was actually the beginning of an attempt at a new form of representation. Spencer notes that in the final years of the Republic, ‘the traditional rivalries of republican politics were becoming increasingly difficult to sustain’, suggesting that as individual figures acquired ever more power, the manner of their rivalries also transformed.¹³⁸ No longer about the prestige of consulship, rivalries now decided who would be the pre-eminent figure. It could be argued that the traditional forms of representation changed, too. Pompey’s more idealised image suggests a need to be portrayed differently to those who could count on the stability of the previous decades. Although this example lies outside of the parameters of this thesis, it is interesting to note that the search for a more flexible iconographic representation came to the forefront as the Republic began to crumble.

¹³⁶ Zanker 1988:9.

¹³⁷ Small 1982:56. for a physical explanation of Pompey’s youthful face, see Small 1982.

¹³⁸ Spencer 2002:131; Seager 2002:143; App. *B.Civ.* 2.22-26.

The model of image and leadership created by the Julio-Claudian dynasty was one which was achieved through a painful process. Much of the material evidence of subsequent chapters will detail how successfully each *princeps* adopted the concept of the ‘political’ body during their reign. In order to establish how successful the Julio-Claudians were in the development of their image, it is helpful to have a base from which to assess them, a model against which they can be judged.¹³⁹

In the next section, an examination of the iconography of Marcus Aurelius will reveal that when given the opportunity, rulers can tailor their image seamlessly to different periods and circumstances within their reign. As the period before and during his time as *princeps* was one of relative (internal) stability, and Aurelius spent a long time as the heir to the Principate, it is clear that his iconography was prepared in such a way as to represent the differing stages of his life, as well as his role within the *Domus Augusta*.

As the Antonine dynasty managed to establish itself and effectively outline the successors to the dynasty, I argue that this allowed the iconography of the dynasty to develop and mature more easily than that of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. As highlighted in the introduction, the Julio-Claudians had to contend with the uncertain period between the end of the Republic and the creation of an ‘imperial’ family. They could not easily attach a name to their position because there had never been a term for the position in which Augustus (and the subsequent Julio-Claudians) found themselves.¹⁴⁰

The open and frank nature of rule by one individual can only really be seen in the Flavian period where, opposed to the idea of the *princeps* as a sign of leadership but not tyranny, Domitian demanded that he be referred to as ‘*dominus et deus*’ or ‘master and God’.¹⁴¹ King,

¹³⁹ On the distinctiveness of portrait busts, and in particular those of prominent politicians, see Walker 95:61-85.

¹⁴⁰ For a description of the difference in the position of the emperor in the late Roman period, see Burns 1998:84.

¹⁴¹ Suet.*Dom.*13.2.

although writing about a later period of the empire, appears to capture the nature of the change in the position of the *princeps* well by insisting that ‘the emperor himself had long since shrugged off threadbare tatters of the cloak of theoretical republicanism draping his earlier predecessors.’¹⁴²

After this open statement of authority, it appears that it was easier for the individual at the head of the Principate to openly display the fact that they ruled. As we can see from the images of Aurelius, he was able to be nominated as ‘Caesar’ on an *aureus* of 140 AD. This meant that the line of succession was well established and accepted by the subjects of the empire. At the time of the Antonine dynasty, sons or adopted successors had followed the *princeps* solidly since the reign of Nerva. Although it could be suggested that Augustus, in particular, had this sort of solidified succession in mind, personal and political circumstances hampered what he was able to achieve in this regard. The ‘political’ body Aurelius was able to craft shows a maturation and establishment of the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and the ‘political’ body. In this respect, we can see Aurelius as a control for the manner in which the Julio-Claudians created and presented their own ‘political’ bodies.

Aurelius’ iconography can be seen as the ideal representation of the ‘political’ body, the images analysed show that there was a definite representation of the continued Antonine line (figure 1.6), yet Aurelius’ image is also a sign of how easily he was able to display some of the issues which were so problematic for the Julio-Claudians. Figure 1.6 shows Aurelius as a youth, this was acceptable because the dynasty was secure, as will be seen in Chapter Three, Augustus worked hard to downplay the idea of him as a young man and sought to remove the idea of himself as Octavian in favour of his representation as Augustus. Unlike Aurelius, Augustus was the founder of a dynasty and not the continuation of an established line, therefore there

¹⁴² King 1998: 125 refers to the later Roman Empire in his work, but I believe his statement captures well the nature of the shift in Domitian’s style of rule.

was nobody for himself to follow in the same manner. Augustus, Livia and Tiberius all to some extent, attempted to hide the weakness or potential infirmity of old age through the creation of a ‘political’ body. That which the Julio-Claudians attempted to downplay, Aurelius displays openly (figure 1.10). Dated to around 166 AD, this portrait shows Aurelius as an older man, but not openly in physical decline. It is almost as if Aurelius welcomes age for the benefits of experience and wisdom. Again, this is something which almost all the Julio-Claudians either avoided, because the dynasty was not secure enough for the *princeps* to depict himself as ageing, or the dynasty was not stable enough to allow each member of the dynasty to reach old age. As the individual chapters will show, age was not necessarily politically advantageous to members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Aurelius had no need to be concerned with an image which depicted him as ageing. The dynasty was secure, and the succession was already in place.¹⁴³ As Aurelius’ portraits emphasise, he did not have the concerns which the Julio-Claudians did when fashioning their iconography and ‘political’ body. Protecting the fledgling position of the *princeps* and depicting themselves as youthful and physically robust was vital for the survival of the dynasty. In contrast to Aurelius, personal and political issues did not allow the Julio-Claudians to name successors so easily, who assumed the position of their predecessors. The Julio-Claudians were the beginning of the ‘political’ body for the imperial family, and setting aside concerns about age, disability, inexperience or weakness was not something they were able to do. Instead, the ‘political’ bodies they crafted had to address these issues.

¹⁴³ Dio 71. 36.3-4. Aurelius’ son, Commodus was named Caesar in 166 AD and co-emperor in 169 AD.

The Perfect Public Image

By assessing the public images of Marcus Aurelius, a comparison can be sought between the image which he presented during his reign and those of the Julio-Claudians.¹⁴⁴ From several of the busts which depict Aurelius, it is clear he was adept at using his portraits to convey a particular message. When these images are assessed, it is evident that Aurelius used the physical advantages which he had been blessed with. The portrait types of Aurelius do not differ markedly from one another and the 'political' image of the emperor ages as he would naturally. Despite this, Aurelius' image never appears ravaged or weakened by age, instead he appears to be complemented by the aging process. Outlined below are examples of the four portrait 'types' of Aurelius. Each one will be briefly analysed and set against the message which was being portrayed through the image.

In the first of Aurelius' portrait types (1.6), he is depicted as a 'beardless youth with thick abundant curls.'¹⁴⁵ As the portrait of young Aurelius highlights, one curl falls lazily over the forehead of the future *princeps*. The manner in which the hair falls over Aurelius' forehead can be seen as a sign of his youth, as abundant and messy hair can be a sign of a rather carefree existence. The youthful impression is reinforced by the arching of his eyebrows and full lips. All of these physical features could indicate that Aurelius is not yet ready to rule, and this would correspond with the line of imperial succession at this point. If we consider Aurelius to be around 16-18 years of age here, then his accession to the throne appears to be many years away. As Hadrian was the ruling emperor, and Antoninus his heir, the line of succession was seemingly secure for some time.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Of the 110 portraits of Aurelius which survive, they are split into four typological groups.

¹⁴⁵ Stemmer 1988:14-17; Bergmann 1978:22, 40. It has been noted by Boschung that the hairstyle of the first portrait type corresponds to that of Aurelius' adoptive father, Antoninus Pius. The abundant curls are the same, the difference lies in the way the hair falls over the face of the young Aurelius, 2012:290.

¹⁴⁶ For the reference to arched eyebrows and full lips being signs of youth, see Fittschen 1999:32-38. Cited in Boschung 2012: 299.



Figure 1.6. Marcus Aurelius, Type I portrait, ca. 140 C.E. (Capitoline Museums, Rome).¹⁴⁷

The line of succession has an impact on the image of Aurelius. Presented as a young man, Aurelius is seen as the youthful promise of the future. This reinforces the idea that the dynasty is safe. However, later portraits of Aurelius depict him in similar terms, adding physical signs of maturity, yet not aging him too overtly.

¹⁴⁷ Portrait of Marcus Aurelius as a boy currently housed in the Hall of the Emperors in the Capitoline Museum. Available online <https://commons.wikimedia.org/g>
Fittschen 1990 has noted that one of the most useful examples of a copy of the busts of young Marcus Aurelius is housed in the Uffizi gallery, Florence.



Figure 1.7. Farnborough / Stratford-upon-Avon, GB, Farnborough Hall. Inv. no.: 1.¹⁴⁸

The Farnborough Hall portrait of Aurelius (1.7) was most likely created soon after the death of the emperor Hadrian, around 138 AD.¹⁴⁹ The portrait shows Aurelius as youthful yet with a moustache and beard covering only the cheeks and the chin. This indicates a degree of maturity not seen in the earlier image. The hairstyle is also slightly different, arranged as a fringe across the brow. This was a neater arrangement than when compared to the more youthful earlier image, which shows a stray lock of hair upon the forehead. The tidier arrangement of the hairstyle is indicative of Aurelius' new role. After the death of Hadrian, Aurelius would be the heir to the Principate. This new image was intended to place Aurelius as the young yet grown

¹⁴⁸ Portrait of Marcus Aurelius as a young man. Currently located at Farnborough / Stratford-upon-Avon, Großbritannien und Nordirland, GB, Farnborough Hall. Inv. no.: 12. Image available online [https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne/index.php?view\[layout\]=objekt_item&search\[constraints\]\[objekt\]\[searchSeriennummer\]=5692](https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne/index.php?view[layout]=objekt_item&search[constraints][objekt][searchSeriennummer]=5692)

¹⁴⁹ Bergmann 1978:22-23.

up heir and eventual successor of the new *princeps*.¹⁵⁰ This second portrait type appears to have remained consistent and was the standard type for the entirety of Antoninus Pius' reign. This type of portrait was Aurelius in the mould of heir apparent. The second portrait type, exemplified by the Farnborough Hall type, shows Aurelius developing from a young man into an adult. The addition of a third type, developed on his co-accession to the throne, adds only very subtly to his image.¹⁵¹



Figure 1.8. Copenhagen bust NCG Cat.700.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ This portrait type appears to have been popular and was distributed widely throughout Rome. Sometime between AD 145-147, Marcus Fronto, tutor to the young Marcus Aurelius, wrote a letter in which he noted that almost everyone in the market had a portrait of the young heir to the Principate. 'You know how in all money-exchanger's bureaux, booths, bookstalls, eaves, porches, windows, anywhere and everywhere there are likenesses (*imagines*) of you exposed to view, badly enough painted most of them to be sure, and modelled or carved in a plain, not to say sorry, style of art, yet at the same time your likeness, however much a caricature, never when I go out meets my eyes without making me part my lips for a smile and dream of you.' Front.1.207.

¹⁵¹ Kozloff 1987: 86 has referred to this type as based on the Hellenistic, bearded, philosopher type, she also indicates that this image shows Aurelius in his 'prime' comparing it to a bust house in the Princeton Museum collection.

¹⁵² Marcus Aurelius, currently housed at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Catalogue number 700. Image available online [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marcus_Aurelius,_Roman_emperor_161-180,_Ny_Carlsberg_Glyptotek,_Copenhagen_\(36023639540\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marcus_Aurelius,_Roman_emperor_161-180,_Ny_Carlsberg_Glyptotek,_Copenhagen_(36023639540).jpg)



Figure 1.9. Art Institute of Chicago.¹⁵³

The development from young man to adult continues in the third portrait type (1.9); it is however rounded out by signs of maturity, if not exactly signs of aging. The most noticeable change from the type two and type three portraits is the beard worn by Aurelius.¹⁵⁴ In the type two image, the beard is sparse and only lightly covers the cheeks and chin. In type three, the beard is longer and thicker than previously and grows further than the chin. However, there is much which is still consistent with the earlier portraits of Aurelius. For example, the eyebrows are positioned above heavy eyelids and are, like the early images of Aurelius, consistently arched. Even the arrangement of the curls of the fringe are consistent with the more youthful portraits of the *princeps*. The subtle aging done to the portrait of Marcus Aurelius is important;

¹⁵³ The 'Chicago' type 3 portrait of Marcus Aurelius. Currently housed at the Art Institute of Chicago, reference number 170/180. Image available online at <https://imgur.com/gallery/oHWaYah>

¹⁵⁴ Stewart notes that 'Marcus Aurelius's portrait features are today (and probably were in antiquity) recognizable to anyone familiar with his public imagery; his curly hair and rich, triangular beard correspond approximately to his so-called third portrait type: a portrait image apparently devised for him at Rome around the time of his accession in AD 161, 2012: 266.

it sets out the idea that he does not need to alter his image dramatically.¹⁵⁵ The physical features which he possesses lend themselves well to the image of a ruler. He could be considered to have a dignified bearing in each image while also being considered to have the wisdom necessary to rule, while also not succumbing to the ravages of age as he matures. Even in the last of his portrait styles, Aurelius does not differ markedly from his first image.

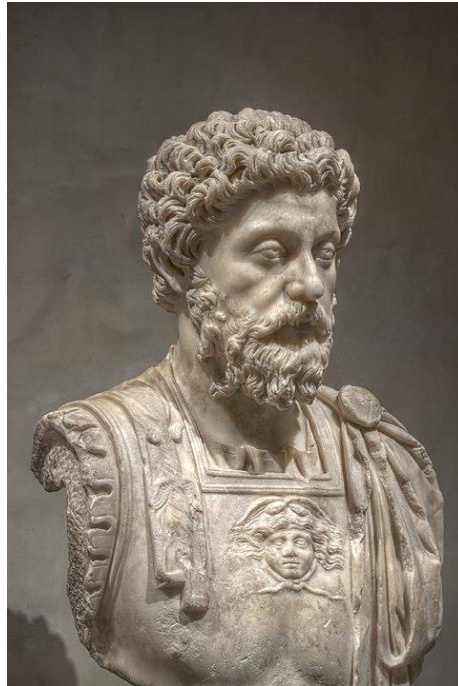


Figure 1.10. A marble bust of Marcus Aurelius at the Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse, France .¹⁵⁶

This final portrait type (1.10) can be dated to around 166 AD or perhaps after the death of his co-emperor, Lucius Verus, in 169 AD.¹⁵⁷ Portraits of type four have a longer, thicker beard compared to earlier images and the hair also appears in a more tightly arranged pattern.¹⁵⁸ Zanker has suggested that the longer beard refers to portraits of Greek philosophers and helps

¹⁵⁵ Fejfer has noted that Marcus Aurelius only has four defined hairstyles within his portraiture. His wife, Faustina Minor, has nine changes to her hairstyle within her surviving portraiture. It has been suggested that this was because the empress wanted to change her hairstyle as the fashion changed, Fejfer: 2008:417.

¹⁵⁶ Marcus Aurelius in middle age, currently housed at Musée Saint-Raymond. Image available online at https://saintraymond.toulouse.fr/Marcus-Aurelius_a202.html

¹⁵⁷ Bergmann 1978:25-27.

¹⁵⁸ Zanker 1985:74-78.

portray Aurelius as wise.¹⁵⁹ It is not only the portraits of Aurelius which provide us with evidence of his ‘believable idealism.’ The same meticulous planning also appears on his coin mints. The early images of Aurelius are an exact replica of those depicted in his portraiture. On an *aureus* dated to 140 AD, the young man is marked out as ‘Caesar’ or the designated successor to the Principate. Borner has suggested that there are six stages to the Caesar period of coin portraits which depict Aurelius. She notes of the image ‘the changes seem rather to reflect reality and the intention to depict the successor true to life.’¹⁶⁰

Aurelius’ created a believable image; his portraits do age. Yet the ageing of his portraits is such that they can be seen as dignified rather than ravaged by physical decline. His image reflects the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ through his ‘political’ body. In terms of his political body, Aurelius has attempted to match the image of himself at various stages throughout his life to the image of the *princeps* which the viewing public are being presented with. The image of Aurelius, and the manner in which his portraiture ages, should be viewed as the apex of a model for the crafting of the ‘political body’ contained within the ‘doctrine of capacities.’ Aurelius adopted the concept of ‘believable idealism’; the idea that a ruler could have a public image which was, in some senses, a reflection of their physical appearance, yet one which had ‘worn well’ throughout the passage of the years. Using the image of Aurelius as a basis for the ideal ‘political body’ and assessing the public images of the Julio-Claudians throughout the thesis, I believe that what will be revealed is the genesis of a policy within the portraiture of rulers such as Augustus and the other Julio-Claudians which is fully formed with Aurelius’ image. Each of the Julio-Claudians examined will be assessed through the ‘doctrine of

¹⁵⁹ Dio Cass. 72.36.4. praises the rule of Aurelius as superior to all those who succeeded him: ‘For our history now descends from a kingdom of gold to one of iron and rust, as affairs did for the Romans of that day’

¹⁶⁰ Borner 2012:279: ‘from the round, smooth boy’s face to a one with a sparse, downy beard, to a slender face with a full beard increasingly matching his adoptive father’s beard style. From about 157 onwards, Marcus wears his beard on the chin longer than his father, and with it, he sets himself off from the emperor to some degree.’

capacities’ and shown to have created their own version of the concept within their public imagery. It is through an examination of the rulers in chapters devoted to them that this will become apparent. Most rulers are not blessed with the genetic advantages of Aurelius and so this thesis, through an examination of the material and literary evidence of the reigns of the Julio-Claudians, seeks to establish how each of the rulers examined dealt with the disconnect between the natural, physical body of the ruler and the ‘political’ body, which was displayed in their public image.

Image and Appearance

When examining the public images of the Julio-Claudians and when referring to the disconnect between the political and natural bodies, I refer to the Latin term *dissimulatio*. *Dissimulatio*, the root for the English word dissimulation, is used within this thesis. Before continuing further with analysis of the material, it is important to define the term and its use within the parameters of this thesis. Rudich has noted that *dissimulatio* can be defined as ‘concealment of one's true feelings by a display of feigned sentiments.’¹⁶¹ This suggests that, for want of a more academic expression, *dissimulatio* relied on the ability to act. However, there is perhaps a more nuanced version available to us. *Dissimulatio* may be, according to Rudich, the ability to act, but this does not merely reflect ‘feigned sentiments’, it also reflects the art of performance, the art of rule. Rudich contends that ‘individual *dissimulatio* and public *existimatio* could exercise contradictory demands on one and the same person.’¹⁶² Here, Rudich is again referring to acting, but I contend that this also transfers to display. In the actions of many of the rulers of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, their outward display did not always reflect their thoughts or feelings or physical well-being. *The Oxford Dictionary of English* records that dissimulate can mean ‘pretend’ or ‘feigning’ as well as conceal, this suggests that the art of performance was

¹⁶¹ Rudich 1993: xxii.

¹⁶² Rudich 1993: xxiii.

necessary for rule.¹⁶³ This is also reflected in the reigns of the Julio-Claudian rulers. For example, Augustus was seen to have ‘played a role’ when granted the powers which gave him the ‘title’ of the *princeps*. As he lay dying, Augustus remarked on the success of his role as the nominal head of state, who ruled without coercion.

‘Since well I’ve played my part, all clap your hands
And from the stage dismiss me with applause.’¹⁶⁴

This statement underlines the fact that Augustus’ position was precarious and his health often frail. Despite this, he had created a body politic, which spoke of youth and vitality, one which those he ruled could believe in. Rudich notes that ‘in Rome the language of *dissimulatio* as a feature of political life developed late in the republic, which is not surprising when a public career often demanded pretence and compromise’.¹⁶⁵ This corresponds with a hiding of emotions and is seen in Rudich’s case as a mainly psychological act. In Vout’s account of the reign of Tiberius, however, we see that Tiberius ‘displays *dissimulatio*’, defined by Vout as ‘concealing’, throughout his entire reign.¹⁶⁶ In one instance, Tacitus notes that Tiberius did not attend the games for fear that his performance as a spectator would be compared to Augustus.¹⁶⁷

Although it could be argued that the Julio-Claudian image is not one which practices deliberate dissimulation, that is, to deceive those they ruled into believing the images they produced represented their real, physical selves, I contend there is an argument to advance in favour of the idea that the Julio-Claudians used *dissimulatio* and the concept of the political body to conceal the at times similar, yet ultimately unique, issues presented in each of their reigns. For each ruler examined the concept of *dissimulatio* was a way of crafting the political body they

¹⁶³ <https://www-oed-com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/Entry/55484?redirectedFrom=dissimulation+#eid> [date accessed 22.12.21].

¹⁶⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 99.1.

¹⁶⁵ Sallust ominously calls Catiline ‘*simulator ac dissimulator*’. *Cat.*, 5, 4.

¹⁶⁶ Vout 2012:61.

¹⁶⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 1.76

desired, instead of relying on the natural body they possessed. In this way, the Julio-Claudians crafted what could be termed as the costume of the *princeps*. Augustus and Tiberius were both said to have adopted the outward appearance of a ruler through the clothes they wore in order to aid the appearance of their natural body when seen in public. Chapter Six highlights that Nero went even further and tied the role of the *princeps* to the concept of display and extravagance.

In Chapter Three, we observe how Claudius skilfully used his public image to downplay and, in some cases, remove evidence of his disability. The use of a *sella*, for example, is used to conceal the fact that he could not walk long distances. The busts and portraits themselves do not conceal Claudius' age from the viewer; they are almost all middle-aged depictions, but they do attempt to conceal his physical frailty (despite the hints visible in portrait known as the Rochester bust).¹⁶⁸ The comparison with FDR highlights that this was certainly a method which could be effective and one which other leaders have also used to obscure physical difficulties from the public. Here, *dissimulatio* can most definitely be seen as a physical habit, despite Rudich's suggestion for a mainly psychological impact. The idea of 'concealed sentiments' which Rudich argues is not physical, does also suggest that the action of *dissimulatio* can be seen in physical representations and go along with demanding a physical act. Rudich suggests as much when he writes that *dissimulatio* 'deprives the actor of 'vigor and energy.'¹⁶⁹

I contend that the concept of *dissimulatio* can also be seen in the reign of Augustus and the other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. This act of creation extends to not only the use of their public image but the creation of the Julio-Claudian 'political' body. Here we must return to Zanker's notion of images containing messages, as we did at the start of the discussion

¹⁶⁸ For Claudius' use of a *sella* and the analysis of its use to hide his disability, see this thesis, Chapter Five, pp.219-222.

¹⁶⁹ Rudich 1993: XXIV.

on leadership. I will examine the material and literary evidence of the Julio-Claudian dynasty through the prism of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ in an attempt to define how the members of the dynasty presented themselves, and why they chose the particular images and formats they adopted. In order to achieve this, the work of Barthes can aid us in unpacking the concepts of semiotics and *dissimulatio*, to see more clearly the disconnected concepts of the natural and ‘political’ body. In *Mythologies*, his seminal work on semiotics or the study of signs, Barthes posits that subliminal signs and messages are ubiquitous. Not only that, but they are used to influence the thoughts and impressions of the person viewing these signs.¹⁷⁰ Barthes’ most famous example is that of a wrestling match, where he describes the bodies of the competitors, noting that ‘the physique of the wrestlers therefore constitutes a basic sign, which like a seed contains the whole fight.’¹⁷¹ For Barthes, the visual image of the body was akin to the key to a map.¹⁷² In order to read it, you had to know what the symbols and signs meant. These signs could be used to fashion a reality. I contend that the Julio-Claudians not only realised this but were able to adapt it for their particular conceptions of leadership and power. As noted by Overmeire, leaders could produce ‘public identity that seemingly becomes reality.’¹⁷³ As Park observed of image and performance, ‘it is probably no mere historical accident that the word person, in its first meaning, is mask. It is rather a recognition that everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role. It is in these roles that we know each

¹⁷⁰ Barthes 1968:1. Ball 1990 suggests that ‘wrestling presents and reinforces a particular vision of reality, and it disqualifies alternative views,’ 139-141.

¹⁷¹ Barthes 1968:18. The idea of ‘performing’ can also be seen in much older contexts than Goffman’s. To return to the concept of performing when displaying scars, see Quint. 2.15.7. For the act of displaying scars as a public performance, see Evans 1999:79.

¹⁷² Sal.Jug.85.10-29; see also Plut. Mar. 9.2

¹⁷³ Goffman 1959:28.

¹⁷⁴ Overmeire 2012:755. One of the most recent volumes on image and power in the Roman world is that of Beard 2021. The seminal work on images and the power they possess is of course, Zanker 1989, for the power of images on coins, see Crawford 1974; on the use of divine lineage and image making, see Wiseman 1974. For the impact of the images of a Livia Drusilla, see Bartman 1999. For works which take a more general approach to image and leadership, see Cheles and Giaccone 2020. Millar 1992:379. Nodelman has perhaps the most accessible article. 1975:26.

other.¹⁷⁴ It is through an examination of the Julio-Claudian image that we can establish how clearly the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ can be seen in their iconography. This also gives us an indicator as Zanker, Overmeire and Hekster have suggested, of how the Julio-Claudians saw themselves. In producing images which offered both obvious and more subtle indicators of authority, we can understand more about the dynasty’s concept of image, power and leadership.¹⁷⁵

As can be seen from the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities,’ there is a clear disconnect between the individual who holds an office and the concept of the office itself. As has been made clear from the study of Kantorowicz’s ‘two bodies,’ this concept has been examined in regard to medieval monarchy. Plowden appears to have given the concept of the ‘two bodies’ legal form during the Tudor period under Elizabeth I and scholars such as Strong have examined the images of Elizabeth I and, as outlined above, it is clear that her images possessed a ‘mask of youth.’ I contend that the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ can be seen in the iconography of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, with different members fashioning a ‘political’ body for themselves. This concept would reach its final form in the images of Marcus Aurelius. Yet before that, the Julio-Claudians would fashion their own concept of a political body. Some members of the dynasty had to rely on the concept of *dissimulatio*, when the disconnect between their natural and political bodies would have been too great to be acceptable to those they ruled. This would particularly be the case when their natural body was subject to weakness or disability. Others, like Augustus, produced an image which would be adopted and amended by his successors. Whatever their use of the ‘political’ body, all of the Julio-Claudians sought to create a political body which became reality in the minds of those they ruled.

¹⁷⁴ Park 1950:249, also see Goffman 1959:35, Kahn 1954:13 and 20.

¹⁷⁵ In regard to how images are viewed, see Elsner (1995) Ioppolo, 1990:40; Elsner 1995: 26. According to Marin 1997, it would appear the same was true in other societies too.

Chapter 2: The Image of Julius Caesar

Public image is a matter of political necessity and through its moulding and application, narratives which serve the ruler it depicts can be established. In this chapter, I examine the public image of Julius Caesar in order to more clearly identify the model of public image which his adopted son and successor, Augustus, used throughout his time as *princeps*. Through this assessment, the way in which the image of Julius Caesar was manipulated to the advantage of Augustus can be thoroughly assessed. What will become clear is that there is a disconnect between the image of Caesar which was created while he was alive, and the public image which Augustus crafted of Caesar after the latter's death in March 44 BC.

Page | 71

Within Caesar's image lies the bridge which connects the Roman Republic to the Principate. In examining his image before and after his death, it will become clear that his image was used to bolster the concept of a 'political' body by Augustus. This chapter contends that the earlier images of Caesar display the body natural. After his death however, this image was rapidly amended to reflect the body politic of the 'doctrine of capacities'. By examining the difference in the depiction of these images, we can address the fundamental questions of leadership; namely, why the public image of the body politic was seen as vital to maintaining the power of rulers. In this particular case, it will also answer questions concerning what it was that the public image of Caesar added to the iconography of the Julio-Claudians as they sought to establish their authority.

In examining the material evidence for both Caesar's natural and political bodies, it is important to assess whether there was a difference between the public images of other politicians of the Roman Republic and Caesar. It is only by assessing the 'typical' image that we can gain some sense of how representative the images made of Caesar while he was alive were to the standard depiction of politicians in the Roman Republic. Due to the highly competitive nature of the

electoral process, and the legal restrictions on the age at which a politician was eligible to stand for office, those who followed the usual conventions could win the consulship in their early forties at the youngest.¹⁷⁶ As a consequence of the competitive nature of elections in the Roman Republic, it could be argued that those who attained a prominent position would be considered ‘middle aged.’¹⁷⁷ As reaching high office was a significant achievement, many families wished to display the accomplishments of either the current generation or the ancestors who had preceded them. One of the most notable ways to achieve this was through the creation of portraiture. By examining other examples of portraiture made in the republican period, it allows us to assess just how typical the surviving portraits of Caesar, made within his lifetime, are by comparison.

Brian-Rose notes that many of the 350 surviving examples of portrait busts ‘bears the signs of advanced age: incised lines on or around the forehead, cheeks, mouth and eyes, as well as short, closely cropped hair more frequently straight than curly and often receding.’¹⁷⁸ Often in ancient sources, the concept of *nobilitas* is associated with the displaying of one’s ancestors, particularly the *imagines*.¹⁷⁹ These were mostly in the format of busts, which depicted the face and neck of an individual. Alongside the use of *imagines* at funerals, these images have a deeper and more elaborate meaning.¹⁸⁰ Hölkeskamp suggests that during the mid to late republican era, a lineage of office-holding ancestors was the only criterion for guaranteed social status and advancement.¹⁸¹ For example, Sallust recounts that senators took inspiration from the busts

¹⁷⁶ Liv.39.32.5. describes candidates who stood for election after failure on their first attempt as ‘veteres candidates, et ab repulsis eo magis debitum, quia primo negates erat, honorem repentes.’ (old candidates and seeking again an honour that was owed to them from refusals because it had first been denied.) For examples of men who achieved the consulship late in their careers, see Plut. *Aem.*17; Liv. 44.41.1. For Marius, see Plut. *Mar.* 2. Sal. *Jug.* 85.49.

¹⁷⁷ For the age of those who held major political offices in the republic, see Gruen 1974:163. Liv.40.44, Ulp. *Dig.* 6.4.1.2, Astin 1958: 34; Astin 1958:45; For a slightly different construction of the ages required for each office, see Devlin 1979:63-80. Astin 1958:22; D.H. 6.66. 1-2; Liv.2.29.

¹⁷⁸ Brian-Rose 2008:102.

¹⁷⁹ Liv. 1.34; Cic. *Ep.*18. Sal. *Jug.* 85 –. For the beginning of a more general moral decline, see Polyb. 31.25.4-5. He blames this decline on the distribution of land by Flaminius in 232 BC.

¹⁸⁰ Flower 1996:38.

¹⁸¹ Hölkeskamp1993:21. For a study on the requirements for being elected to the consulate, see Gelzer 1969.

which depicted their ancestors noting ‘I have often heard Q.Maximus and P. Scipio, and other illustrious men of our state, used to say that when they gazed upon the *imagines* of their ancestors, their hearts were fired with an ardent aspiration to *virtus*.’¹⁸² This account from Sallust on the impact of *imagines* (2.1), suggests that busts which showed achievements of your famous ancestors acted as a promissory note that you would reach similar heights.¹⁸³

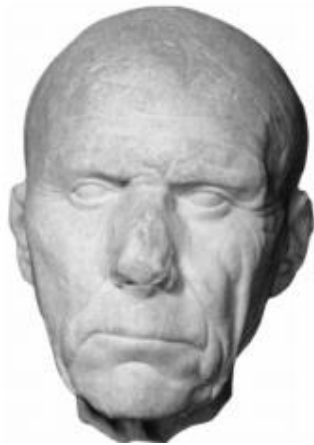


Figure 2.1. Head of a man from Scoppito.¹⁸⁴

Wiseman has pointed out that those who displayed the images of their ancestors possessed an immediate psychological advantage amongst the voters over those who were ‘new men.’ He notes, ‘the difficulty was, of course, that the entrance hall of the noble’s house, crowded every morning with visitors and clients, displayed in impressive ranks the wax death masks of the ancestors of the *gens* [...] no doubt adorned with the insignia of the offices they had held.’¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Sal. *Jug.* 4.5.

¹⁸³ According to Gruen 1974, 140, of the twenty-one consuls elected during 69-60, no less than seventeen had ancestors in the same magistracy. Evans 1985 suggests that a consular ancestor was no guarantee of success when standing for the consulship. This highlights that for some families, political success was an expected birth right, see Harlow and Laurence 2002:120.

¹⁸⁴ Head of a man from Scoppito, circa first century BC. Currently housed in the Museo Nazionale, Chieti. Image available online at <http://uscmads.blogspot.com/2016/06/portrait-head-of-elder-from-scoppito.html> [date accessed 15.1.2021].

¹⁸⁵ Wiseman 1971:107.

Many of the surviving images of Caesar made within his lifetime possess the same kind of physical features as those of the portrait busts of other republican politicians. This has much to do with the political system of the Roman Republic. An examination of these portraits of Caesar will provide us with both the reason for Caesar's image and the reason for the transformation of that image under Augustus. During his lifetime, Caesar's public image followed the veristic traditions of late republican portraiture. Literary accounts suggest that Caesar and others desired to hide or obscure their physical blemishes. For instance, Suetonius suggest that Caesar used to arrange his hair perfectly before a public appearance in order to hide his baldness.¹⁸⁶ Yet surviving portrait busts of Caesar suggest a different kind of iconography.

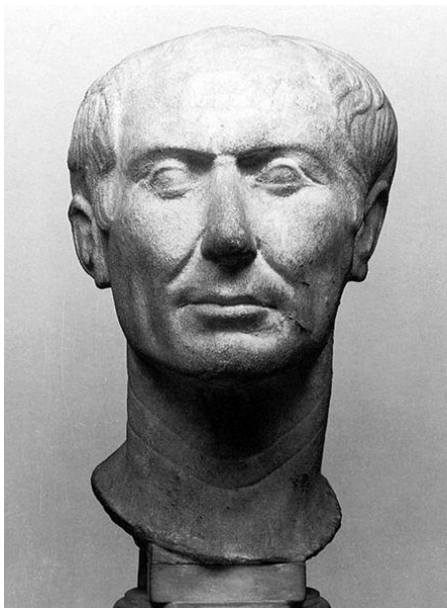


Figure 2.2 The Tusculum Caesar dating from around 50-40BC. This portrait depicts Caesar in what could be realistic middle age.¹⁸⁷

Caesar was depicted many times throughout his life and indeed afterwards. What is interesting for our purposes is the differences in those depictions, both in regard to his age and overall aura of power. For example, the Tusculum portrait of Caesar depicts him in middle age with the hint of a drawn look to his face and lines upon his neck. This could indicate sagging skin sometimes

¹⁸⁶ Suet. *Jul* 45.2-3. Plut. *Caes* 4.9. For other accounts of the hiding or removal of physical blemishes, see Quint. *Inst.* 11.31.143, Macr. *Sat.* 3.25. On Roman dress, see Sebesta and Bonfante 1994.

¹⁸⁷ The Tusculum Caesar dating from around 50-40 BC currently housed in the Museo d'Antichità, Turin.

associated with middle or old age. Caesar's hairline is also clearly receding, which is something that he was thought to be sensitive about.¹⁸⁸ This is indicative of the images depicted in republican portraits; many of which were produced to display the character of an individual. Zanker, for example, believed that 'at no other time in the ancient world did portraiture capture so much of the personality of its subject.'¹⁸⁹ Not only did the veristic images of politicians reflect their character, but they also reflected their suitability for political office. The nature of the *cursus honorum* meant that a long tenure as a senior magistrate was almost impossible and therefore, the major attribute required was experience. The short tenure of an individual's time in office meant that the current incumbent was not often subject to the mental or physical degradation, which may come from an extended period shouldering the burdens of command. The constitution of the Republic had been built upon and maintained a system of constant renewal. The Republic did not rely upon the life span of a single figure; it maintained itself upon its system of office holding magistrates. Every year politicians were elected to hold the senior positions of consul and praetor, two men held the senior position of consul; while four, and then at a later date, eight men held the praetorship.¹⁹⁰ The system appeared flexible enough for Goldsworthy to note that 'the republican system was remarkably resilient and would spring back into something like overt normality after each crisis.'¹⁹¹ The flexibility of that system would be tested by the political and military success of Caesar in the late 40s BC. Such was Caesar's power and wealth, that he was far above any of his political peers in terms of authority. By 46 BC Caesar was the most powerful figure in Rome; he had defeated Pompey at Pharsalus in 48 BC and was the most militarily renowned and wealthy figure in the Republic. Despite this, his image and actions remain, at least at first, 'typically republican'. One of Caesar's first

¹⁸⁸ For Caesar's sensitivity over his baldness, see Suet. *Jul.*45.2-2; Plut. *Caes* 4, which states that Caesar used to arrange his hair perfectly before a public appearance – this could be vanity but may also have been a way of hiding his premature baldness.

¹⁸⁹ Zanker 1988:9.

¹⁹⁰ Gruen 1974:164.

¹⁹¹ Goldsworthy 2006:624.

acts was to build a new forum for the people of Rome, giving it his name; it was the crowning glory of his successes, both military and political.¹⁹²

Caesar erected statues in his forum and the likeness of these images in terms of age and depiction of Caesar are informative. The most frequently cited statue is that of the *Statua Loricata*, mentioned by Pliny (2.3).¹⁹³ The statue itself is now on display in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. Caesar is depicted as a man of middle age, and his brow is creased showing the wear of age, while his hair is thinning on both the sides and the crown of the head.¹⁹⁴ The second statue erected in the Forum Iulium, is the *equus Caesaris* (a statue of Caesar mounted upon a horse) and this celebrated Caesar as a great general. It is unclear whether we possess the original statue or a copy as the statue is only mentioned by Statius in comparison with an equestrian statue of the emperor Domitian. Statius claimed that the statue originally depicted Alexander the Great and that the head of Alexander was replaced later on by the head of Caesar.¹⁹⁵ As this statue was commissioned at a similar time to the *Statua Loricata*, it is quite possible that Caesar's facial features would have been rendered in the same style (especially in regard to age). Despite the ubiquitous nature of Caesar's image, it is not immediately clear that he aimed at kingship. Indeed, many of the honours afforded to Caesar had a republican precedent.

¹⁹² Ulrich 1993:62.

¹⁹³ Pliny *HN* 34.18 also describes this as the first statue in Rome which depicted a man in armour. As Zanker points out, this is in fact not the first statue to be depicted in armour and perhaps this is the first to be allowed inside the *pomerium* for further analysis, see Cadario 2006, 32-7.

¹⁹⁴ For a copy of the statue, see

http://www.museociviltaromana.it/en/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/sezioni_storiche/sala_viii_cesare/statua_loricata_di_giulio_cesare_eta_traianea

¹⁹⁵ Stat. *Silv.* 1.85. Reference to the practice of changing statue heads is found in the writings of Varro 9.79, who suggests that you could place a similar head onto a statue to replace the original. He uses the example of Philip and Alexander the Great, as they were father and son. It appears clear to Varro that also as the ratio (of head to body) is the same then there would be no problem with the replacement. Another prominent example is that of Caesar replacing the head on a mounted statue in the Forum with one which bore his own likeness.

Figure 2.3. The statua Lorica Divi Julius¹⁹⁶

The conventional elements of Caesar's image are clearly visible, at least during the early part of his dictatorship. As Zanker has pointed out, the most surprising aspect is the 'sober realism of the portraits, with their almost ostentatious representation of the marks of old age.'¹⁹⁷ In regard to Caesar's representation as a man of middle age, several material sources support the suggestion that the 'real life' Caesar did not hold back or attempt to soften his age for public consumption. The Tusculum head shows a weather-beaten and aged face, and this corresponds to images of Caesar's portrait minted on coins. An example of this representation of old age comes from the *denarius* of M.Mettius minted in 44 BC (2.4). The obverse of the coin depicts the wreathed head of Julius Caesar. Behind him are symbols of his priestly offices of augur (the *lituus* or staff) and Pontifex Maximus (the *culullus* or bowl). Caesar's features appear worn, with loose folds of skin around the cheek and jaw. The neck also appears elongated and scrawny, mainly due to the lack of fatty tissue in this area which is often a facet of ageing.

¹⁹⁶ Statue of Julius Caesar as emperor, wearing lorica (cuirass) and *paludamentum* (military cloak). Original: Marble, the reign of Trajan (98-117). Currently housed in Rome, Museum of Roman Civilization. Inv. No. MCK 194. Image available online at <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=4987> [date accessed 4.11.20].

¹⁹⁷ Zanker 2009:292.



Figure 2.4. Denarii of Mettius 44 BC.¹⁹⁸

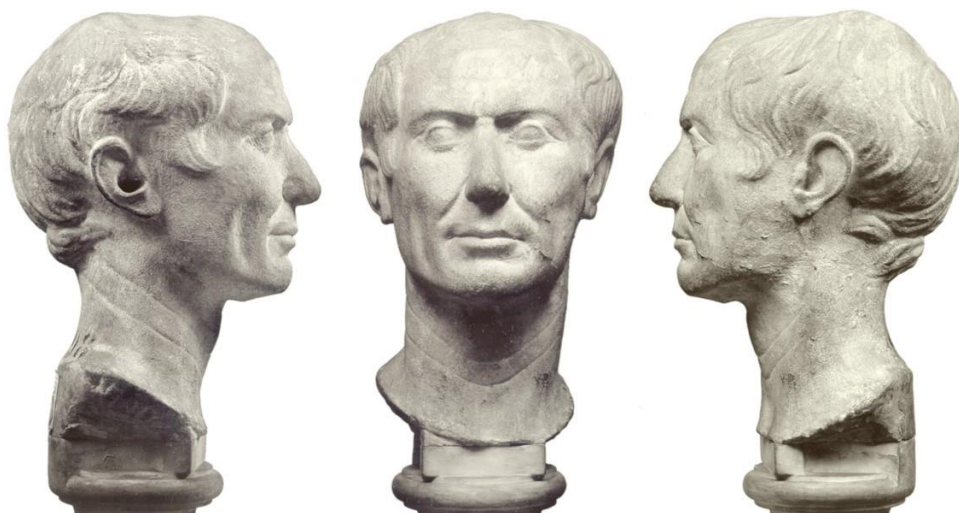


Figure 2.5. Tusculum Caesar.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ For the image itself, RRC I 480. Image available online at <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=334431> [date accessed 4.11.20].

¹⁹⁹ The Tusculum Caesar, dating from around 50-40BC. This portrait depicts Caesar in what could be realistic middle age. Bust currently housed Turin, Museum of Antiquities. Image available online at <https://italianartsociety.tumblr.com/post/176192979000/the-tusculum-and-chiaramonti-caesars> [date accessed 4.11.20].

The Tusculum portrait of Caesar, now housed in Turin, depicts a man with a receding hairline and a pinched look about his face. The depiction of Caesar's neck, as seen on the coin is also echoed in the Tusculum bust as that of a man in middle age (2.5). While both images depict Caesar as having a long neck, which shows signs of age, it could well be argued that the depiction on the coin is a more aggressive image. The neck verges on abnormally long and scraggy with many loose folds of skin, which appear to hang from the neck. On the Mettius coin, Caesar is shown as thin and some might say wasted-looking, with a long and quite scraggy neck.²⁰⁰ As this coin was minted in the year of Caesar's death, it is likely that these coins recall an accurate image of the dictator.

Despite the veristic image of Caesar presented so far by the material record, it is clear that other examples show a markedly different depiction of Caesar. Coins currently housed at the British Museum, emphasise the striking difference in some of the depictions of Caesar. Toynbee in particular, while studying Caesar's coinage, stated that all the coins in Group I (2.6) record with 'ruthless fidelity all our hero's physical blemishes.'²⁰¹ The many physical blemishes depicted on the coinage include straggling locks of hair, combed forward, as Suetonius would have us believe, to disguise Caesar's obvious baldness.²⁰² His forehead is heavily wrinkled and at the corners of his eyes there are pronounced crows-feet. His cheeks are heavily lined with creases while his cheekbones protrude, giving him a thin and wasted look. It is quite possible that this depicted Caesar's actual physical appearance in middle age. These coins depicted an aggressive and stark verism in their portrayal of Caesar. They continued the trend set by republican politicians of using advanced age as a facet of wisdom, an indicator of experience, and of suitability to hold high public office.

²⁰⁰ Crawford 1975 RRC I 480/8 image also available at http://numismatics.org/crro/results?q=issuer_facet:%22L.%20Aemilius%20Buca%22

²⁰¹ Toynbee 1957:5.

²⁰² Suet. *Jul.*45.2-3.



Figure 2.6. Toynbee, Caesar coins (group 1)²⁰³

Koortbojian when discussing Caesar's public image, states that all the portraits of Caesar on the coins minted before the dictator's death found a distinct physiognomic style 'whose age is apparent and whose lack of idealisation is to the image's style.'²⁰⁴

Thus far, the images of Caesar depict his natural body, that is, the way in which a man in his mid-fifties would generally look. His image shows thinning hair, wrinkles and crows-feet, all of which are tell-tale signs of ageing. In addition, as highlighted by the example of the Scoppito head (2.1), Caesar's image is traditional, in that it has the similar traits to those of other images dated to the late republican period. Although these images do show Caesar's natural body, there are other examples dated to just before and then after his death, which suggest that his public image underwent a transformation.

One of the most important reasons for the change in image from the veristic style highlighted in the earlier images is that of the desire to show a 'political' rather than natural body through his public image. A second set of coins, all dated before Caesar's death show a change in his

²⁰³ RRI 3.54.

²⁰⁴ Koortbojian 2013:101.

public image. The verism of the images in Group I have been replaced by a more powerful and younger version of Caesar. The coins numbered 9 and 10 in the collection surveyed by Toynbee reflect the difference in appearance when compared to the earlier, more veristic depictions.



Figure 2.7 + 2.8. Caesar: number 9 +10 from Group II.²⁰⁵

Of the coins in Group II (2.7+ 2.8), the features appear to have filled out and the neck appears muscular in comparison to the earlier elongated form on coins 4-8.²⁰⁶ Although these images cannot be attributed divine status, they do show a more powerful and perhaps a more durable Caesar. However, it should be noted that coin number 9 (2.7) does still possess a hint of the elongated and slightly scraggy neck of the earlier images; this, in itself, suggests a human rather than divine individual. The difference in the images from the two sets of coins are most likely the result of what Hekster and Mundt have termed ‘audience targeting’.²⁰⁷ That is, tailoring the appearance of a subject to fit the audience for which the image is created. This concept shall be explored further during an analysis of the images of Augustus and Livia in subsequent chapters. However, for now, it would not be impossible to see these images of Caesar as being

²⁰⁵ RRI 3.56.

²⁰⁶ Toynbee 1957: images 4-8.

²⁰⁷ Hekster 2011: 177-190.

commissioned for the subjects of the Republic outside of Rome and possibly for those who had never seen Caesar for themselves, as the coins are dated to around 48-47 BC and possibly minted in Bithynia, Asia Minor.²⁰⁸ How much influence Caesar may have had on the depictions on coins is the subject of debate. Rowan has suggested that in regard to the identity of those who chose the images on coins that ‘designs were most likely chosen by high-ranking (mint) officials, who possessed an understanding of imperial ideology.’²⁰⁹ Although Rowan is clearly focusing on the era of the Principate, it would not be impossible to suggest that as dictator, Caesar could have exerted a similar influence on those high-ranking officials at various mints. Rowan continues by suggesting that those who worked at the mints ‘would have been able to produce imagery appropriate to a particular individual or event.’²¹⁰ The fact that these coins were struck in Rome means it is arguable that Caesar, while perhaps not having a direct role in designing the images, may have influenced the concept.²¹¹

The images of Caesar depicted on these coins takes on a more powerful, almost statesman-like image. Gone are the loose folds of skin and deeply lined forehead, along with the pinched look to the figure’s facial features. Toynbee has referred to this type of depiction as ‘monumentalising.’²¹² These depictions of Caesar look to focus not only on his temporary pre-eminence but something longer-lasting and of greater permanence. What Toynbee referred to as monumentalising can actually be seen as the political body of Caesar. No longer wasted and aged, the Group II images of Caesar are indicative of the change in image which the example of Elizabeth I highlighted in Chapter One. Instead of a natural, physical body, Caesar is attempting to portray a ‘political’ body. This is particularly likely when we consider that Caesar

²⁰⁸ For the coin see *BMC Greek* 1889: 153. 8.9.

²⁰⁹ Rowan 2019:15.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*

²¹¹ Rowan 2013a:2012-2013.

²¹² Toynbee 1957:5.

was awarded the dictatorship in 48 BC, the year when these coins were minted.²¹³ Therefore, he intended to display not Caesar the man, but Caesar the dictator.

This links to the earlier discussion of highlighting the ‘doctrine of capacities’ through Zanker’s concept of images which carry messages and his suggestion that the Roman viewer would feel a greater sense of connection with a statue or image than we do, claiming that they viewed it in a more ‘direct way.’²¹⁴ Elsner supported this idea and built upon it with what he described as *phantasia*, which means ‘visualisation or presentation.’ He proposed that the Roman world viewed works of art in two forms: the first through seeing the image itself, the second that which the image did not show, but implied.²¹⁵

Once again, semiotics is crucial here, as Barthes would note, images can not only be read but interpreted. The power of semiotics meant that an image could affect the public consciousness, what was on view was meant to be seen, and seen often, to reinforce a particular image. This allows us to see the covert message which the image is attempting to disseminate. In the case of Caesar, it could be argued that his change in appearance should be read as an attempt to suggest that his position at the head of the Roman state should be more permanent. Therefore, the image of him on coins after he had assumed the dictatorship, appears to display a more ‘political’ instead of natural body and demonstrate to us the different images which focus upon the disconnected aspects of the ‘doctrine of capacities.’ In order to properly examine this concept, it is useful to assess the two famous busts of Caesar, which were most likely commissioned by Octavian.

²¹³ For Caesar’s appointment as dictator, see Plut. *Caes.* 37.2.

²¹⁴ Zanker 2009:288.

²¹⁵ The statues in the Roman Republic were most likely viewed through the prism of *phantasia* ‘visualisation or presentation,’ Ioppolo, 1990:40; Elsner 1995: 26

Figure 2.9 Chiaramonti Caesar, Vatican Museums.²¹⁶

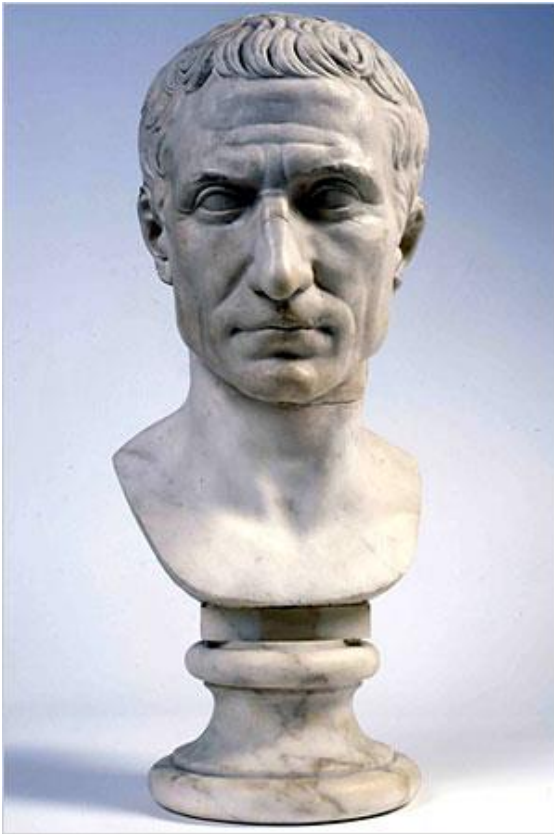
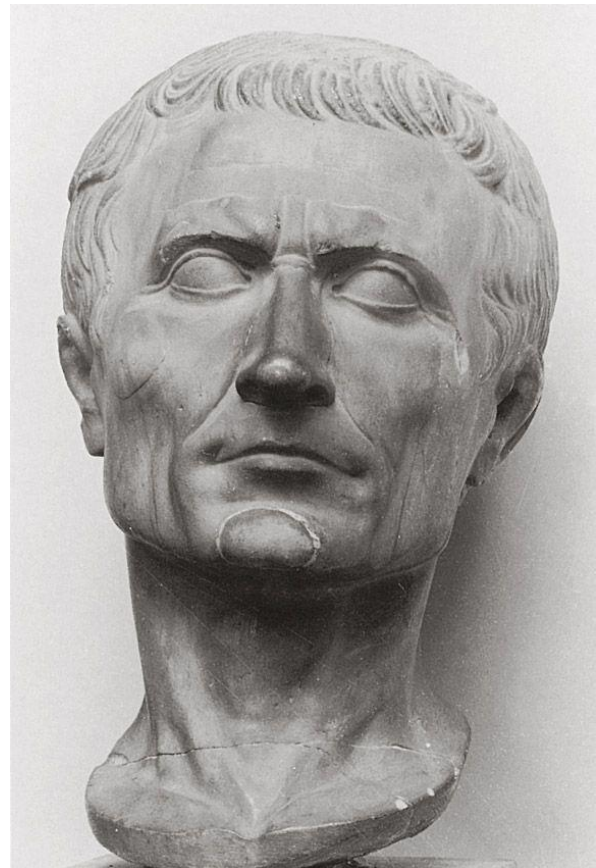


Figure 2.10 Pisa bust of Caesar, Composanto Monumentale



The Chiaramonti bust of Caesar (2.9), currently on display in the Vatican Museum, depicts a very different picture of Caesar from that of the Tusculum bust. Here we see a more idealised image of Caesar, his hairline is not receding and his hair has fullness, which indicates vitality. His jaw is firm, instead of sagging and he has some idealised furrows around his brow, instead of the heavy lines. Koortbojian suggests that the Chiaramonti portrait represents the ‘bestowing’ upon Caesar’s image many of the distinctive physical characteristics of the new ‘Augustan’ style.²¹⁷ It is likely that the Chiaramonti bust was completed after Caesar’s assassination, perhaps between 30-20 BC.²¹⁸ If this were the case, it would suggest that

²¹⁶ Currently housed in the Vatican Museum, catalogue number 713. Image available online at, <http://m.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani-mobile/en/collezioni/musei/museo-gregoriano-profano/cesare-c-d--chiaramonti.html> [date accessed 22.11.2020].

²¹⁷ Koortbojian 2013:106.

²¹⁸ <http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-pio-clementino/Galleria-delle-Statue-e-Sala-dei-Busti/cesare-c-d--chiaramonti.html> [date accessed 21.10.17].

Caesar's image was being used as a method of reinforcing the idea of a 'political body.' Much like the image of Caesar on coins, the Chiaramonti bust indicates power, durability and permanence.

In regard to Caesar seeking a more permanent form of rule over the Republic, there is little that can be said with certainty. Dio mentions that the Senate commissioned two statues of Caesar to be displayed on the Rostra; one of these statues was given a royal diadem after it had been commissioned.²¹⁹ Caesar's reaction to this event and his subsequent anger at Antony's offer of a diadem at the Lupercalia suggest that he was opposed to outright monarchy.²²⁰ Despite this, material evidence may support the idea that Caesar did seek a more permanent position. Koortbojian has suggested that the Tusculum head of Caesar may once have borne a diadem, bearing an indent on the back of the head, at the nape of the neck. Koortbojian suggests that by comparing Caesar's image to a portrait head of King Juba II of Numidia, it is possible to see where the curls of the Juba's hair have been dramatically compressed by the wearing of a diadem.²²¹ This indentation at the back of the neck is similar to an indent bore by the Tusculum Caesar.

The images of Caesar depicted in both his coinage and portrait busts indicate that he both crafted a 'political' body for himself and had one crafted by others. After his victory at the battle of Actium in 31 BC, Caesar's adopted son, Octavian, began to craft a public image for himself, one which, like Caesar focused on the creation of a political body. Yavetz has suggested that Octavian aimed at a particular type of public image one which suggests that 'a new idealised image of a great man and a great warrior.'²²² In order to achieve this, early in the reign of Octavian, his image appears to mimic his recently deceased great-uncle. In some

²¹⁹ Dio Cass. 44.9; Suet. *Jul.*79.1.

²²⁰ Plut. *Caes.*61

²²¹ Koortbojian 2013:124.

²²² Yavetz 1984:7

earlier examples of Augustan coinage, the likeness to Caesar is apparent. A silver *denarius* dated to around 32-29 BC of an unknown Italian mint is supposed to depict Augustus, but the image on the coin is reminiscent of Caesar. The hair is identical to portraits of Caesar, as is the nose which possesses his signature, typical arch. In later portraits of Augustus and in particular, on coinage, this feature is removed. Until Augustus was confident enough to create his own ‘political’ body, he would be content to take advantage of Caesar’s incomplete attempt at one.

As a young man, Mark Antony had told Octavian, ‘you, boy, owe everything to your name.’²²³ Octavian took this insult as advice; Caesar and his relationship to the former dictator would be the foundation on which Octavian would begin building his political position. In order to achieve this, Octavian would refine the image of Caesar’s ‘political’ body. Examples, such as the Chiaramonti bust detail his success with portraits of Caesar and evidence from several coin mints suggest that in this area too, he was equally successful.

A *denarius* minted in Gaul around 38 BC (2.11) shows a figure which is identifiable as Julius Caesar. Yet it is a much younger Caesar than the dictator at his death, the image has taken on a classical style, the wrinkles are gone, and the head is crowned with a full head of hair.



Figure 2.11. Denarius depicting Julius Caesar, 38 BC.²²⁴

²²³ Cic. *Phil.* 13.24.

²²⁴ RRI 3.105.

Octavian played on the political image of Caesar and especially the idea of Caesar's 'political' body. While still solidifying his position, Octavian chose to model his image on that which Caesar had begun to create before his death, including the images such as the Chiaramonti and Pisa busts as well as early coin issues. Zanker notes that 'during the early years of Octavian's rule, the likeness of son and father is evident on numerous coin portraits' and Koortbojian has suggested that images such as the Pisa bust (2.10) of Caesar were intended to convey an image which assimilated the deified image of Caesar with that of Octavian.²²⁵ One portrait head in particular, suggests that Octavian had his features 'transformed' more evidently to match Caesar's. On the coin, dated to around 40 BC, Octavian is shown as a young, handsome, heroic figure. On another issue of the same batch, Caesar is depicted in an image which is almost identical. The two images are extremely difficult to tell apart physically, and it is only by virtue of the legend on both coins that the identity of the figures becomes clear.



Figure 2.12. Portrait of *Divus Julius* opposite that of Octavian, depicted as the son of the divine Julius. Both *sestertius* of Octavian c.40BC.²²⁶

²²⁵ Zanker 1988: 36; Koortbojian 2013:117.

²²⁶ RRC II 535.

The mint of 40 BC (2.12) provides us with the evidence of the beginning of the Julio-Claudian 'political' body. Octavian has altered Caesar's image to suit his political needs. This image is much younger than any created in Caesar's lifetime in terms of age but does maintain the physical strength and permanence of the Group II coins, which show an older, yet still physically robust Caesar. If we read the semiotics of this image, it is clear that Octavian has altered Caesar's 'political' body, from a robust, yet middle-aged man, into the embodiment of youth. Although Caesar appears to have been in the early stages of crafting a political body for himself, it was Octavian who would have the chance to complete the transformation of Caesar's image. The coins and portrait busts of Caesar created under Octavian do not depict the natural body of Caesar but the political one. By assimilating himself with this image, Octavian created a base from which to construct his own political body, one which shall be analysed in detail in the next chapter.

Cromwell and Charles I – An Early Modern Example

Even though Caesar may have wanted to be seen to openly resist monarchy, his situation finds a parallel in the form of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England from 1653-58. Much like Caesar, Cromwell had fought and won a civil war which was as much about ideology as it was about personal power. As we shall see throughout this section, despite the fact that Cromwell resisted the crown, it is clear that his imagery, nomenclature and actions in regard to his successor made him a monarch in all but name. By adopting much of the symbolism of a monarch and adopting much of Charles' imagery, such as his hats, armour and regal bearing, Cromwell captured the process of *dissimulatio*. He seemed and acted like a monarch but was at pains to avoid the crown itself. In effect, Cromwell crafted a 'political' body for himself and supported it with signs, which indicated his supremacy.

In much the same way as Caesar, Cromwell's 'political' body was crafted both by and for him. We have seen how coins struck in Caesar's lifetime depicted a greater emphasis on a 'political' body, and this too can be seen in his surviving portrait busts. Several of the most prominent examples of these busts are dated to several years after Caesar's death. This indicates that his image was being used as a model by which his adopted son, Gaius Octavius could forge his own version of the 'political' body. This is a subject which will be analysed in far greater depth in the next chapter.

Much like the assimilation and modelling of image undertaken by Octavian in the wake of Caesar's death, the situation finds a parallel in the form of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England from 1653-58 and Charles I. By briefly surveying some of the imagery of both men, we can further understand what Caesar and Octavian hoped to achieve through their public depictions and gain a deeper understanding of the body 'politic' and body natural. As Cromwell assumed the position of Lord Protector of England after his victory in the civil war, he began to consider his public image more carefully than he had previously. We have seen a similar thought process with Caesar, particularly in his change of image in the *Toynebee* coins from Group I (2.6) and Group II (2.7 + 2.8). For Cromwell however, the medium of the portrait made his contrast all the more overt. Examining different images of Cromwell suggest that like Caesar, he made efforts to craft a political body for himself. This is most clearly seen when potentially unflattering images are examined.

Two miniatures (2.13 + 2.14) painted by Samuel Cooper exposed the 'real' Cromwell, showing a receding hairline and although far more noticeable on the miniature of 1655 (2.14), the thinning hair is present in both images. The famous 'Cromwell wart' is perhaps more noticeable on the image from 1549 (2.13), due mainly to the 'face on' position of the portrait. These miniatures are far from idealised and appear to depict Cromwell as he would have looked. Cromwell's desire not to hide his physical flaws appears to match his best known statement on

his appearance and public image. To the painter Peter Lely he declared, ‘I desire you to use all your skill to paint my picture truly like me and not flatter me at all [...] remark all these roughness, pimples, warts and everything as you see me.’²²⁷



Figure 2.13 Cromwell, Cooper.²²⁸



Figure 2.14. Cromwell, Cooper.²²⁹

The images represent Cromwell’s natural rather than political body. He is depicted as a man of middle age with thinning hair, an unsightly wart and a rather sallow complexion. Other images of Cromwell, however, do not depict thinning hair or other blemishes. In fact, they represent Cromwell’s ‘political’ body. Much like Octavian, Cromwell used the process of assimilation to fashion his own image. While Octavian chose Caesar as his model, Cromwell opted for the

²²⁷ Piper 1958:31

²²⁸ Oliver Cromwell, by Samuel Cooper. Watercolour on vellum, 1649. On display in Room 5 in the National Portrait Gallery. Reference number 5589. Image available online at <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw07260/Oliver-Cromwell> [date accessed 28.11.2020].

²²⁹ Oliver Cromwell, by Samuel Cooper. Watercolour on vellum, 1655. On display in Room 5 in the National Portrait Gallery. Reference number 5274. Image available online at <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw01599/Oliver-Cromwell> [date accessed 28.11.2020].

recently deposed and deceased Charles I. Sharpe has argued that ‘the visual representations of the Protector [Cromwell] in portraits and engravings, as on seals, medals, and coins, were devised to sustain and enhance Cromwell’s authority in shifting historical circumstances.’²³⁰



Figure 2.15 Oliver Cromwell, by Robert Walker. 1649.²³¹



Figure 2.16 Charles I, by Antony Van Dyck, C.1538.²³²

One of the most notable examples of his visual representation has Cromwell dressed in a similar manner to that of Charles I. In the 1649 painting by Robert Walker (2.15), Cromwell is depicted

²³⁰ Sharpe 2010:494.

²³¹ Oliver Cromwell by Robert Walker, oil on canvas, circa 1649. On display in Room 5 at the National Portrait Gallery. Reference number 536. Image available online at, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw01594/Oliver-Cromwell> [date accessed 28.11.2020].

²³² Portrait of Charles I, King of the Great Britain (1600-1649), circa 1638. On display in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

in the style of a general, noticeably wearing armour and holding a general's baton.²³³ Sharpe suggests that the armour in which Cromwell is depicted is significant; it is not the armour of a civil war soldier, who would have worn a cuirass, buff coat, and helmet.²³⁴ The Walker painting has Cromwell encased in antique plate mail, a style dated to around the 16th century. This is reminiscent of images of Charles I in armour. In particular, the Van Dyck portrait of Charles I (2.16) painted in 1538 presents striking similarities to the Walker image. Both men are depicted in plate armour, and both hold a general's baton; both rest their hand on the hilt of their sword in a relaxed, yet military manner. These two images present a mirror, where both are appearing as something other than they are. Charles, as the monarch, has no royal adornment, he is holding the baton of a general but is not wearing any royal regalia. In contrast, Cromwell wears a sash around his waist and is having it adjusted by a page. In this way, Cromwell's image becomes far 'courtlier' than that of Charles. By using the 'two bodies' theory as a lens through which to view the images of Charles and Cromwell, we can see that they are both attempting to depict themselves as the opposite to their actual positions. Cromwell is leaning into the image of himself as the Lord Protector and some of the courtly imagery which this requires. Charles has adopted the opposite, instead of a depiction as Charles I, King of England, we are shown Charles Stewart, the man, and a more martial image than we might expect.

Knoppers suggests that the Walker painting is a revision of a courtly or monarchical image.²³⁵ She notes that Cromwell's hair is uneven and his head unadorned by any kind of crown, in contrast to the idealised version of the page.²³⁶ Sharpe has suggested that the idealised page could be a reference to courtly culture and the easy nature of royalty in contrast to Cromwell as a man of action.²³⁷ Sharpe has noted that whatever Cromwell's own feelings on the subject,

²³³ Sharpe 2010:494.

²³⁴ Sharpe 2010:494.

²³⁵ Knoppers 1998:32-34.

²³⁶ Knoppers 1998:34.

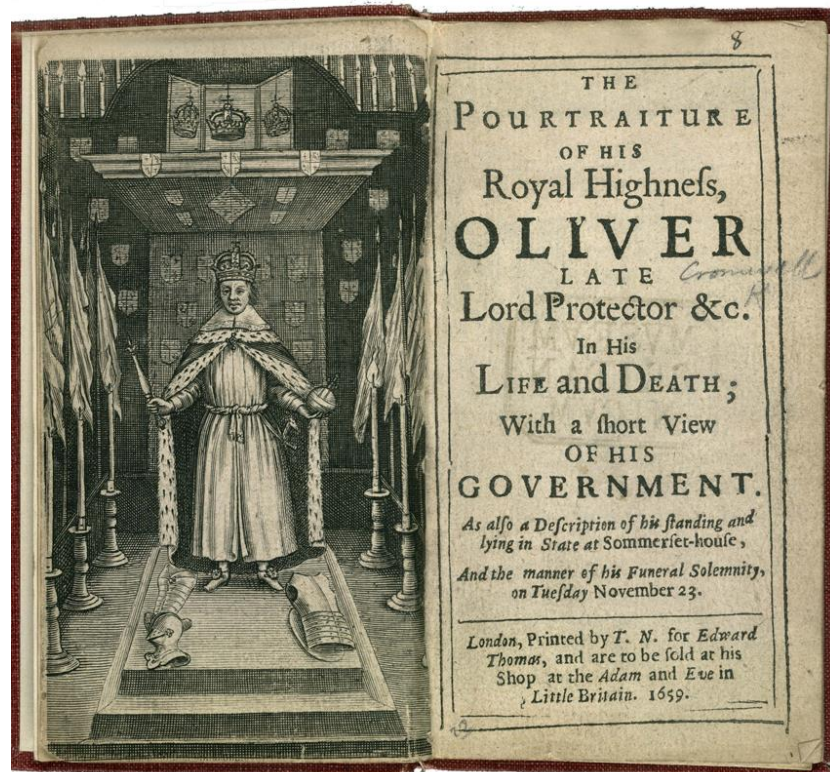
²³⁷ Knoppers 1998:32-34, Sharpe 1998:25-56.

he was being depicted as a king in all but name.²³⁸ Evidence of the level of success Cromwell attained with this depiction can be seen in an engraving printed in 1559. (2.17) The pamphlet depicts Cromwell in the garbs of royalty; the image is also accompanied by the caption ‘his royal highness, Oliver Cromwell, the Late Lord Protector of England.’ The nomenclature here is very interesting as although the caption does mention Cromwell’s position as ‘Lord Protector’ not king, it is telling that the title ‘His Royal Highness’ is used. The title of Highness can, on occasion, be used to address those who lead a non-monarchical form of government, yet here the addition of ‘royal’ does suggest that Cromwell was seen as a monarch. Cromwell was offered, and subsequently rejected, the crown on the 8th May 1657, when Parliament attempted to pass *The Humble Petition and Advice*; the last codified Constitution of Great Britain.²³⁹ Cromwell rejected the crown but did agree to pick his own successor as Lord Protector; he chose his son Richard to succeed him. The image of the engraving is symbolic of monarchy; Cromwell stands before a throne, and his armour lies discarded at his feet while he wears the ermine robe of a monarch. On his head, he wears a crown and in either hand bears the orb and the sceptre, both traditional symbols of monarchy. The image of Cromwell as a monarch is further strengthened by the fact that his effigy was represented with the orb and the sceptre as well as the crown.

²³⁸ Sharpe 2010:467.

²³⁹ Abbott. IV. 1937-1947; Frazer 1973: 618, 627.

Figure 2.17. Upright effigy of Cromwell.²⁴⁰



Here we see the process of assimilation. Much like the images of Caesar and Octavian on the *denarius* of 40 BC (2.12), the images of Cromwell and Charles I appear to have taken on features of one another, particularly in regard to their respective roles as military commander and king. Although perhaps not deliberate in the case of Charles I, both sides have adopted what their own image lacked from images of the other. Charles adopted a martial image, while Cromwell added an element of courtly refinement. In regard to Octavian, he needed the ‘political’ body, which Caesar had begun to use but sought to add his own unique characteristic, his youth.

As Barthes noted of semiotics, ‘the physique of the wrestlers therefore constitutes a basic sign, which like a seed contains the whole fight.’²⁴¹ The example of Cromwell and Charles I is informative in regard to image and power. It is clear that both understood the message conveyed

²⁴⁰ Image of Cromwell currently housed at the British Museum.

²⁴¹ Barthes 1968:18.

by images and how borrowing from other images could give a leader something which inherently, perhaps, they lacked. This helps us to further understand the use of Caesar's political body early in the reign of Augustus. The young Octavian did not possess a recognisable public image, yet once he had assimilated his image with that of Caesar, he 'borrowed' from his great-uncle the quality of instant recognition, which of course he lacked. This allowed him to add more weight to his image and begin to use it more effectively. How he managed to achieve this is examined further in the next chapter. In the years leading up to his eventual victory at Actium, Octavian had managed his own image well, yet merely assimilating Caesar's 'political' body with his own would not be enough to secure his hold on power. If the body contained the 'seeds of the fight', it was clear that assimilating Caesar's example of a political body had enabled him to survive the early rounds. In the next chapter, we shall examine how Octavian used both his political policies and public image to create a new and durable 'political' body. Not only for himself, but also for other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Chapter 3: Augustus, the Domus Augusta and the Political Body

An examination of the image of Julius Caesar suggested that the former dictator had begun to alter his public image once he had achieved victory in the civil war. A comparison of the material evidence suggests that Caesar had begun to create a ‘political’ body for himself and that this image represented an individual with more physical power and durability than the image which depicted Caesar’s natural body. After Caesar’s murder and the ensuing civil war had ended, his great-nephew and adopted son, Gaius Octavius was now the only figure remaining of those who had vied for power in the final years of the Republic. It has been noted that in the years before his final victory at Actium in 31 BC, Octavian created a ‘political’ body for himself by assimilating the public image of his deceased great-uncle. In order to achieve this, Octavian created an image for Caesar which differed from the depiction of the man in his lifetime. Instead of portraying Caesar in the style which Toynbee referred to as ‘monumentalising,’ which made the image of Caesar more imposing and physically stronger but maintained an image in keeping with his age, Octavian created an image which made Caesar far younger than the man himself.²⁴²

The *denarius* of 40 BC (2.12) examined in the previous chapter, details the start of Octavian’s ‘political’ body. This chapter will assess how he developed a ‘political’ body which suited his needs and also fashioned a longer lasting idea of its use. Far from being individual to Octavian, other members of the *Domus Augusta* also took on the ageless public image created by the *princeps*. In order to examine the use of this ‘political’ body, this chapter will also assess the images of Gaius and Lucius, the grandsons of Augustus and Tiberius, the son of Augustus’ wife, Livia Drusilla. It is the contention of this chapter that Augustus created a model for a ‘political’ body which proved so effective, that the majority of the Julio-Claudian dynasty

²⁴² Toynbee 1957:5.

adopted a similar method, and with some amendments to suit individual circumstances, continued to use the idea of a 'political' body throughout the life of the dynasty. Donald Strong imagined nearly fifty years ago, in terms of public image, that 'the Julio-Claudians are notoriously difficult to identify, because they all subscribe to the basic formula [established in Augustus' imperial image]²⁴³ Strong may have suggested that the Julio-Claudians have a similarity in regard to their public image, yet he did not undertake a study which sort to understand why that was the case. Therefore, the concept of the Julio-Claudian 'political' body is something which still requires investigation. Despite this, early attempts at creating a durable political image were not as successful as may be imagined. Several examples of what could be termed the natural body of Octavian remain to us, emphasising how the creation of a 'political' body was one which took time and, in this instance, only reached its conclusion once Gaius Octavius had been renamed Augustus.²⁴⁴

There are several examples from the material record of Augustus which display his natural body, that is, his appearance as he may have actually looked. The images appear to have not been the subject of any flattery on the part of the artist and are quite different from other images of the *princeps*. One such example is a statue of Augustus dated from around 12 BC, which shows him as a young man, possibly around his teenage years or very early twenties. The striking aspect of this statue is not the age of the individual depicted but the physique. The bust does not have the muscular proportions of other images of Augustus; the image could even be described as frail. As shall be examined later in the chapter, many images of Augustus depict a more robust and physically powerful individual. The equestrian statue depicts a lean, almost wasted look. This is something which appears in other images which display Augustus' natural body (3.1). This suggests that what is presented in this image is a veristic depiction of Augustus.

²⁴³ ed. Toynbee 1976: ii.

²⁴⁴ For the powers and honours conferred upon Octavian, including the name Augustus, see RG 34, Suet. Aug.7, Dio 33.16.7, Zanker 1988:95-100.

This corresponds with accounts of Augustus' physical health.²⁴⁵ Suetonius records that Octavian was ill on several occasions throughout his life; suggesting that he suffered a serious illness while travelling with Caesar in 46 BC which left him in a state of 'semi-convalescence from a serious illness.'²⁴⁶ On another occasion, Octavian missed the engagement at Philippi 'as a member of a triumvirate consisting of Antony, Lepidus, and himself, Augustus defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, though in ill-health at the time.'²⁴⁷ This suggests that he missed the engagement itself, once again because of his poor physical health.



Figure 3.1. Bronze torso from an equestrian statue of Emperor Octavian Augustus. (National Museum, Athens).²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Suetonius notes that Octavian was ill on several occasions throughout his life. In his life *Augustus*, 8, he mentions a period of illness for Octavian and again at Suet. *Aug.*13.1-2.

²⁴⁶ Suet. *Aug.*8.1.

²⁴⁷ Suet. *Aug.*13.1-2.

²⁴⁸ Bronze torso from an equestrian statue of the emperor Augustus. Currently on display at the National Museum, Athens. Inventory number, inv. X 23322. Image found online at <https://www.ancient.eu/image/681/augustus-bronze-equestrian-statue/> [date accessed 23.12.2020].

A second statue of Augustus (3.2), this time in the form of a portrait bust dated from around 30 BC, depicts another less than flattering image of the *princeps*. As one of the first images of Octavian, this lacks the refinement and power of later images. Zanker sums the images up well when he says, ‘the young Caesar is portrayed with a bony face, small eyes and a nervous expression.’²⁴⁹ He goes on to suggest that this is as near to the character of the vicious, power-hungry youth who was the real Augustus as we are likely to get.²⁵⁰



Figure.3.2 Portrait of Octavian, 30 BC ‘Alcudia’ type (Pollini), Zanker 1988, figure 33.²⁵¹

At the beginning of his reign, it is clear that Octavian was the subject of some potentially unflattering images and portraits: the equestrian statue shows a thin and wasted- looking youth, while the Mallorca bust of around 30 BC replicates that wasted yet aggressive looking figure

²⁴⁹ Zanker 1988:43.

²⁵⁰ Zanker 1988:43.

²⁵¹ Zanker 1988: 43, figure 33. Housed in a private collection in Mallorca. Dated to 30BC.

who desired power. Both of these images can be said to represent the natural body of Octavian, they depict him as he may have looked. Figure (3.2) reflects one of the ‘Alcudia’ type, a portrait type which was established around 30 BC.²⁵² The Mallorca bust is dated to before the Augustan constitutional settlement and so is not among the examples which became the standard image for Augustus as his reign progressed. The equestrian statue however, dated to around 12 BC was after a standard image for the *princeps* had been created. Along with Augustus, there are veristic images of his wife, Livia Drusilla, these will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

In regard to these natural images of the *princeps*, it has been suggested that Augustus and the other Julio-Claudians had some control over the images. There appears to be two schools of thought on whether or not the Julio-Claudian’s had some form of agency over their own public image. The contention is the extent to which what can be termed the ‘center’, that is, those who were close to the imperial family, such as members of the imperial court or perhaps the emperors themselves, drove the creation of an ‘imperial’ public image, or if the driving force actually lay in the provinces and the elites of those cities where images were created.²⁵³ As Hekster has described it, ‘in simplified form, the answer has been to assume either a bottom up or a top down model’.²⁵⁴ The assumption is that the material which was produced in the provinces appears to conform to the policy of the centre, although it should be noted, and as the material evidence of the natural body examined earlier suggest, that there are differences in both the style of the coins and portrait busts, but also in the quality of the work produced. The ‘center’ (that is the *princeps* and those who worked closely with him) appear to have even partaken in what scholars such as Hekster and Mundt have termed ‘audience targeting’, which we observed in the images of Caesar’s ‘political’ body.²⁵⁵ Brilliant has suggested that the very

²⁵² Smith 1996:38-39.

²⁵³ Dynamis, Queen of Pontus and Bosphorus, dedicated at statue of Livia in Phanagoria. This suggests that Livia had become a prominent figure and this reflects the fact that women became, as Bartman puts it, ‘a subject of visual representation’.

²⁵⁴ Hekster et al 2014:8.

²⁵⁵ Hekster 2011: 177-190.

nature of portraits meant ‘their imagery combined the conventions of behaviour and appearance appropriate to the members of society at a particular time.’²⁵⁶ In other words, the design was created in a way as to disseminate a particular message.²⁵⁷

Despite this, there were times when an image was produced which did not fit a centralized policy. This and subsequent chapters will examine examples from places outside of Rome and Italy which are different to the seemingly centralized imperial model. Alongside these, another example suggests that on occasion, the provinces would produce their own work. In 21/20 BC the city of Athens commissioned a statue of Augustus as the god Apollo.²⁵⁸ Clear images of Augustus as Apollo were never centrally produced, the closest example still extant comes from a series of coins in 29 BC (3.3), and even these do not make the association clear. The image of the coin is accompanied by the name Apollo, the iconography of whom may bear a slight resemblance to the young Octavian.²⁵⁹ Despite the passing resemblance, both Hekster and Pollini state that this is not aiming to depict Octavian as a god. In particular, Pollini notes that of this example and of other coins, ‘the inconsistencies of die images in showing the assimilation indicate that the issuing authority was not claiming that Octavian was to be seen as Apollo’.²⁶⁰



Figure 3.3 *Denarius* depicting Apollo, 29 BC.²⁶¹

²⁵⁶ Brilliant 1999:11.

²⁵⁷ For an outline of the centre-periphery model and the intentionality of the depictions, see Introduction pp.8-12

²⁵⁸ Peppas-Delmousou, 1979:23.

²⁵⁹ Hekster 2011:4.

²⁶⁰ Pollini 1990:350.

²⁶¹ RIC I 272.

Therefore, it could be argued that Athens had set up their statue of Apollo in an attempt to curry favour with Augustus and not because the center had dictated that they should. This exemplifies the complex nature of the center-periphery model. For example, Galinsky expresses seemingly contradictory opinions on the nature of the debate in his excellent volume on Augustan Rome. At one point, Galinsky suggests that the provinces were not beholden to the ideas of those within Rome, citing the ‘largely autonomous nature of the entire portraiture process’²⁶² This suggests that the provinces largely dictated the nature of the image they produced. This would account for the stylistic differences in some of the images. However, almost immediately afterward, Galinsky proposes a different line, ‘certainly, the ruler is an active participant in determining his self-representation’.²⁶³ This should not be seen as confusion or error on Galinsky’s part, rather it perfectly illustrates the complex nature of the issue. We can suggest that both arguments are possible, though reject the idea of the complete autonomy and believe that some form of ‘guiding model’ to adhere to must have been in effect. This can be seen by the near identical nature of the image of Augustus and the other members of the *Domus Augusta* between 30 BC and 14 AD. The arguments made through the center-periphery model could be said to account for some of the stylistic differences in image, however there is a political reason for the image which Augustus chose to adopt after 30 BC.

The views of Louis Marin, while studying the images of early modern rulers, can allow us to better understand the reason why Augustus chose to change his image and adopt a ‘political’ body. Marin asserts a reciprocal nature between the viewer and the ‘viewed’ whereby the material, human body of the monarch is connected to the ideological body of the kingdom.²⁶⁴ This idea has much to recommend it; the monarch is the physical manifestation of the kingdom, but without the trappings of royalty, the viewer has no recognisable idea to anchor the image

²⁶² Galinsky 1997:172.

²⁶³ Galinsky 1997:173.

²⁶⁴ Marin 1997:211.

to. They must see both the person and the monarch.²⁶⁵ While it should be said that Augustus was not an officially anointed monarch, what is clear is that his continued prosperity was linked to the prosperity of Rome, and this is something that his imagery would reflect throughout his reign.

If the ‘political’ body of Augustus was to be a physical manifestation of the kingdom, as Marin asserts, then the *princeps* would need an image which could overawe the earlier, physically unimposing images of him. D’Ambra has observed that the public images of Augustus display not only youth, but a vitality which may belie the reality of the unimposing and wasted figure.²⁶⁶ Barbara Levick states that Augustus’ image took on the air of the majestic and that his statues depict a physically charismatic figure. This appears to have been part of Augustus’ attempt to create a type of physical charisma which lent itself to rule.²⁶⁷ Zanker has stated that Augustus had a role to play in the creation of his own image. He regards the Prima Porta type as ‘unlike anything found in late republican portraiture’. He goes on to say that the new ‘Augustan’ image was how Augustus imagined himself. Zanker notes that the original design may have been ‘designed with Augustus’ approval, or even at his own insistence.’²⁶⁸ Not only is it possible that Augustus was in some way responsible for the Prima Porta type, but the idea of a centralized imperial model must have been the way in which the image was disseminated.

The concept of an ‘imperial model’ has been given credence by Stewart who noted that the process, by which imperial statues were created, involved the dissemination of models from imperial workshops which were then copied by their local counterparts. The resultant image ‘was the distribution of a recognizable portrait image that appeared with minor variations, in every province, conveying what we can assume was an approved imperial image to all the

²⁶⁵ Ioppolo, 1990:40; Elsner 1995: 26. According to Marin, it would appear the same was true in other societies too.

²⁶⁶ D’Ambra 1998:30.

²⁶⁷ Levick 1999:239.

²⁶⁸ Zanker 1987:98.

inhabitants of the empire.’²⁶⁹ Pollini supported the idea of an ‘imperial model’ and has argued that the market in which the portraits were sold attempted to regulate the image, stating ‘by and large, the ‘faithfulness’ of the reproductions of these images indicates that at least in the earlier imperial period, major distribution, although officially inspired or at least sanctioned, was carried out, not in a highly organized and controlled fashion by some special government agency, but via the art market.’²⁷⁰ It was quite possible that a mixture of an ‘imperial model’ and the desirability of the image within the art market both contributed to the success of the imperial image. As we shall see, the public image of Augustus was disseminated with considerable success, and the message which it portrayed was just what was required.

Zanker suggests that a new portrait of Augustus was created around the time of his first settlement; this replaced the ‘hungry and aggressive’ portraits of Octavian’s early youth with an image which befitted a ruler; ‘in place of the bony irregular features of Octavian’s portraiture, the new type is marked by a harmony of proportions.’²⁷¹ Despite a couple of variations on the portrait type, Augustus eventually settled on what is now known as the Prima Porta type (3.4). The design named after an example from Livia’s villa which ‘portrays a youthful man with a resolute but compassionate command that inspired calm and confidence in all those who beheld it.’²⁷²

²⁶⁹ Stewart 2008:88.

²⁷⁰ Pollini 1987:2-3.

²⁷¹ Zanker 1988:98.

²⁷² Kleiner 2005: 208.

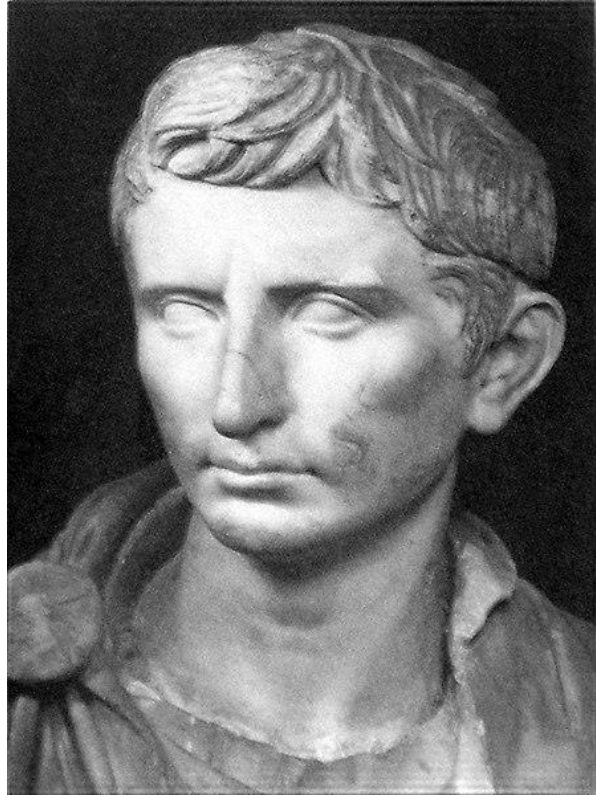


Figure 3.4.A statue of Augustus. Currently housed in the Museo Capitolino of Rome, Italy.

Augustus opted for youth and energy as the fundamental features of his portraits. Foregoing the baldness of the republican portrait types and that of the images of Caesar which predate his death, Augustus' image places great emphasis on his hair. Kleiner has suggested that hair should be the focal point here, noting how 'energy flowing from the Hellenistic icon [Alexander] invigorated Augustus' locks with hyperbolic vitality that infused every strand of hair with the magic power of kingship.'²⁷³ In his forties, when the Prima Porta became the standard portrait of Augustus, he would maintain his depiction for the remaining thirty-six years of his life.²⁷⁴ This image was to become the 'political' body of Augustus, even as he aged, this remained the standard portrait for the *princeps*. As Eck has noted, 'his portrait [Augustus']

²⁷³ Kleiner 2005: 209; on the importance of hair in general, see Arist. *Phys.* 812b-813a, Brilliant 1993:46, Zanker 1988:10.

²⁷⁴ According to Suet. *Aug.* 5-6, Octavian was born on the 27th September 63 BC.

once formed, always appears to display the same youthful features throughout the decades. There is no portrait of Augustus the old man.²⁷⁵

Eck's description is accurate, yet it could be taken even further. Not only is there no portrait of Augustus as an old man, but it also appears that he becomes younger in his public portraits as the years pass. Several of the coins bearing the image of Augustus and minted when the *princeps* was around fifty years of age depict a young man, perhaps in his mid-twenties.



Figure 3.5. Silver *denarius* of Augustus, Lugdunum, 11 -10 BC.²⁷⁶

The image on the *denarius* (3.5) highlights a youthful Augustus even though he would have been in middle age.²⁷⁷ Clearly the image on the coin is idealised, the *princeps* has no wrinkles or outward signs of age, his hair is full, without any trace of thinning or receding. The 'political' body of Augustus is established in images such as the Prima Porta and Lugdunum *denarius*, the completion of this concept can be seen in another image of Augustus, one which carries a religious connotation.

²⁷⁵ Eck 2007:163.

²⁷⁶ RIC I 178 Image found at: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.39110>. [date accessed 12.02.2019]

²⁷⁷ By the age of forty-six, a man may well have completed his climb to the top of the Republic's political ladder. Of course, he could win the consulship again after a ten year gap but essentially at the age of forty-six, a successful politician may have completed the major task in life for which he had worked. In terms of a linear progression, the Roman male ceased to break new ground at the age of forty-six. Liv.4.24.

The *Via Labicana* depicts Augustus as Pontifex Maximus, a role which he inherited in 12 BC. On display in the Museo Nazionale Delle Terme in Rome, the statue itself is physically imposing at around six feet nine inches tall. Once again, Augustus is shown as a young man, although given its supposed date, Augustus would have been around fifty years old when the statue was made. The statue itself depicts Augustus enveloped in the traditional toga, although it should be noted that this is of the more voluminous kind.²⁷⁸ The toga itself appears to be ‘bulky, weighty and restrictive’ though D’Ambra notes that the *princeps* carries its weight with apparent ease, with poise even. The pose of the *Labicana* statue (3.6) does indicate a sense of physical as well as political power, noting that in the statues pose, ‘Augustus has one leg flexed and the other supporting the figure, which demonstrates a sense of poise, despite the heavy drapery’.²⁷⁹

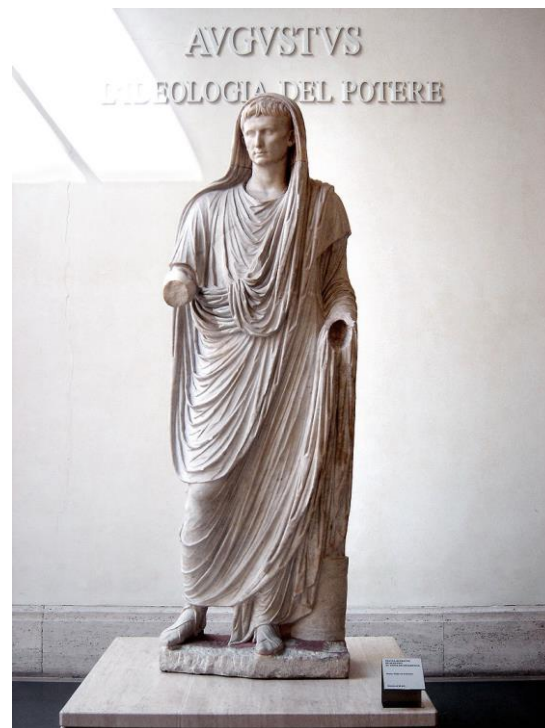


Figure 3.6. The *Via Labicana* statue.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ Zanker 1988:128.

²⁷⁹ D’Ambra 1998:31; Zanker 1988:129 focuses on the power which the statue conveys through its religious symbolism. He suggests that the humble image of the *princeps* making a sacrifice should do nothing to conceal the fact that he enjoyed divine powers. This is supported by the material finds relating to the *genius* of the *princeps* being worshipped at public and private shrines, 128,134, figure 110. For the intricate and perhaps restrictive nature of the toga, see Mac. Sat 3.13.4.

²⁸⁰ Dated to sometime after 12 BC. This statue was found on the slopes of the Oppian Hill in 1910. It is currently housed in the National Museum in Rome. Image available online at

In addition to the religious imagery of the *Labicana*, a political message is also evident, one which would be easy to recognise. Augustus is wearing a toga, the symbol of Roman manhood.²⁸¹ Despite its weight and intricate design, he wears the garment lightly, as if the burden of rule does not concern him. Quintilian advises orators that their style of dress (*cultus*) should be distinguished and masculine (*virilis*), as it should be with all respectable gentlemen.²⁸² This sets the toga out as the mark of a man, which played on connotations of physical power within the image of Augustus' 'political' body.

The new form was a perfect representation of Augustus. His 'political' body had little to do with the actual physical appearance of the man, yet it embodied and projected both his physical charisma and his *auctoritas*. In fact, a description of Augustus' physical appearance in old age suggests that his natural body was markedly different from the political one he had crafted for himself. The way Augustus manipulated his public image is clear evidence that he had mastered the art of 'seeming' despite his physical frailties. He remained youthful and fit in the eyes of the people.

When his portraits are compared to his physical appearance and the portraits which can be seen as depicting his natural body, it is clear just how successful Augustus was in ensuring that the 'political' body he had produced was the one which became the standard image of him. The 'real' or natural Augustus can be seen in the literary descriptions of the *princeps*, the account of Suetonius for example, details Augustus' appearance in old age.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Via_Labicana_Augustus#/media/File:CaesarAugustusPontiusMaximus.jpg dated accessed [23.12.2020]. For Augustus' religious impact on the city of Rome, see RG 19-21. For becoming Pontifex Maximus, see Suet. *Aug.* 31.1. For the central importance of the office of the Pontifex Maximus, see Bowerstock 1990:380-395, in particular 380-383 for the significance of the office as a symbol of Rome's prosperity and survival.

²⁸¹ For further works on the Roman toga, see Rothe 2020, Carroll 2015: Wilson 1938

²⁸² Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.137.

‘He was not very strong in his left hip, thigh, and leg, and even limped slightly at times; but he strengthened them by treatment with sand and reeds. He sometimes found the forefinger of his right hand so weak, when it was numb and shrunken with the cold, that he could hardly use it for writing even with the aid of a finger-stall of horn. He complained of his bladder too and was relieved of the pain only after passing stones in his urine. In the course of his life, he suffered from several severe and dangerous illnesses, especially after the subjugation of Cantabria, when he was in such a desperate plight from abscesses of the liver, that he was forced to submit to an unprecedented and hazardous course of treatment. Since hot fomentations gave him no relief, he was led by the advice of his physician Antonius Musa to try cold ones. He also experienced some disorders which recurred every year at definite times; for he was commonly ailing just before his birthday; and at the beginning of spring, he was troubled with an enlargement of the diaphragm, and when the wind was in the south, with catarrh.’²⁸³

Here Suetonius gives a detailed description of Augustus’ physical appearance and does not leave out any of the *princeps*’ physical frailties. When comparing the literary description of Augustus to the statues and busts which depict a physically less robust *princeps*, it is possible to see the natural body of Gaius Octavius. Yet despite this, the image of the perpetually youthful *princeps*, displayed by Augustus’ ‘political’ body, remained prominent. Not only did the physical image of Augustus contribute to this idea, but actions taken in public also helped to maintain the illusion. Of only average height, Augustus had to emphasise his physique in public by wearing heeled shoes and often placing himself next to shorter men.²⁸⁴ The appearance and physique presented by Suetonius corresponds far more to the earlier statues and portraits of Augustus than those of the Prima Porta type. However, as we have seen, the images depicted

²⁸³ Suet. *Aug.* 81-82

²⁸⁴ Levick 1999:239. For Augustus’ physical appearance, see Suet. *Aug.* 79-80.

earlier in Augustus' reign did not become the standard. Instead, a model which displayed the appearance Augustus desired was the one most widely reproduced. Having created a 'political' body for himself, the *princeps* maintained it for the entirety of his reign, and this youthful public image became more advantageous over time.

The reason why Augustus' establishment and continuation of a 'political' body was and continued to be so useful was as a means of navigating a difficult and unprecedented political situation. Prior to the civil wars which had engulfed the late Republic, the political institutions of the Republic were as elastic as they were rigid. Every year (with the exception of Pompey's sole consulship in 52 BC), the Republic returned two consuls routinely, political crisis or the death of one or both consuls notwithstanding.²⁸⁵ Once Augustus had established himself as the sole ruler of Rome, he also had to contend with the issues and potential perils which sole and autocratic rule possessed. The most pertinent of all these perils was of course, the issue of succession, and it is within this issue that we find the reason for the longevity, but also the necessity for Augustus' 'political' body. In 23 BC, a fairly young Augustus fell ill with a mystery affliction and, for some time, looked in real danger of succumbing to it. In the event of the premature death of the *princeps*, the potential for a constitutional crisis loomed. Cassius Dio recounts that Agrippa was given Augustus' signet ring as a sign of favour, while the co-consul was given a list of the troops in the provinces and a record of the public accounts.²⁸⁶ Cassius Dio noted that 'there looked no hope of recovery,' but Augustus recovered and did live and reign for almost another forty years.²⁸⁷

The political body which Augustus had fashioned for himself allowed the portrayal of an image which suited his needs. It allowed him to be portrayed as both physically charismatic and

²⁸⁵ For Pompey's sole consulship, see Plut. *Pomp.* 54.4-55.1.

²⁸⁶ Eck 2007:63. Dio Cass:53.30 Suet. *Aug* 28.1-3 suggests that Augustus summoned members of the Senate to discuss the reformation of the Republic after his death.

²⁸⁷ Dio Cass. 53.30

forever youthful. According to Zanker, once Augustus had established himself as the dominant political force, a definite shift in his iconography is detectable.²⁸⁸ The political body not only aided Augustus while he ruled, but it also allowed him to focus on the eventual problem of succession. His brush with illness proved to Augustus that he was not immortal and thus he began to attempt to secure the future of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. As we shall see, Augustus endeavoured to give the male members of the Julio-Claudian line the same political body (in terms of image), which he had fashioned for himself. It could be argued that as those who Augustus designated as heirs fell away, the *princeps* attempted to secure the dynasty through what noted historian Sir Roy Strong termed ‘the mask of youth’ and reinforce the ‘political’ body he had crafted for himself.²⁸⁹

The idea which Strong outlined now known as the ‘mask of youth’, refers to the fact that many of the portraits of court painter, Nicholas Hilliard, depict Queen Elizabeth I as eternally youthful, no matter her actual age at the time the portrait was painted.²⁹⁰ We can see something similar to this in the ‘political’ body of Augustus. In order to secure his dynasty despite the loss of his designated heirs, the *princeps* sought to portray a ruler who was young, strong and virile; in short, a ruler who could almost live forever. This was a necessary precaution, as all of those who Augustus had designated as heirs pre-deceased him. It is alleged that the first member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty to be designated as an heir was Augustus’ nephew, Marcellus. Some weight can be given to this theory as Augustus arranged for Marcellus to marry his own daughter, Julia in 24 BC.²⁹¹ This would indicate favour for Marcellus and tying the family even closer together may have hinted at a planned succession. Despite favour falling on Marcellus,

²⁸⁸ Zanker 1988:43.

²⁸⁹ Strong 1977; 1983:128.

²⁹⁰ Strong 1987:157-160.

²⁹¹ Suet. *Aug.* 63.1 There is some debate about whether Marcellus was able to stand for the aedileship early or whether he was merely given the office. Levick says he was given the right to stand for the aedileship of 23 BC 1976: 19, Cassius Dio says Marcellus was immediately made aedile and Tiberius was made quaestor, Dio Cass. 58.26; Suet. *Tib.* 4.6, for the date of the *Lusus*, see Dio Cass. 51. 22.4.

he died unexpectedly at a young age.²⁹² Alston has noted, ‘the public mourning of Marcellus was seen as the emergence of a royal dynasty, one in which Marcellus was a ‘fallen prince’.²⁹³

Augustus’ preoccupation with his own age and public image appears to be well founded. Page | 112

Although Augustus would designate several men to be his successor throughout the course of his reign, most of them young men, none of them would outlive him. When referring to the high mortality rate of the males of the Julio-Claudian line and Augustus’ despair, Suetonius recounts ‘but his [Augustus’] happiness and confidence in the offspring of his house were destroyed by fortune.’²⁹⁴ The next of Augustus’ designated heirs were his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, sons of his daughter Julia and her marriage to Marcus Agrippa. Both children appear to have been in the favour of the *princeps* to the extent that Syme has suggested that Augustus had plans for a not merely dynastic succession, ‘but in his own family and of his own blood.’²⁹⁵



Figure 3.7 Gaius Caesar Corinth.²⁹⁶



Figure 3.8. Lucius Caesar Corinth.²⁹⁷

²⁹² Sue. *Aug.* 63.1 Suetonius recounts that Marcellus married Julia when he had barely reached adulthood (he was around 18). Dio Cass. 53.30; Alston 2015:250-252.

²⁹³ Alston 2015:252.

²⁹⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 63.1

²⁹⁵ Syme 1939:341; Syme 1986:82-85, 93-94

²⁹⁶ The statue of Gaius was found within the limits of the Basilica of Julia in Corinth, lying undisturbed and apparently just as it had fallen under some stratum of broken Roman tile, fragments of marble revetment and miscellaneous debris. Swift 1921. Now housed in Corinth Archaeological Museum. Inv. No. S-1065.

²⁹⁷ The statue of Lucius was found at a considerably greater depth, although also in the Basilica it was discovered nearly 5 metres below surface level. Swift 1921. Also housed in the Corinth Archaeological Museum. Inv. No. S-1065.

This appears to be supported by numismatic evidence from Augustus' reign, with Stevenson citing an *aureus* that depicts Augustus with the caption CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE on the obverse and two figures representing Gaius and Lucius with the caption C L CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT on the reverse.²⁹⁸ Pliny, writing much later than Augustus, gives an idea of the appreciation of the fertility of the Julio-Claudian line. Soon after Livia's marriage to Augustus, an eagle dropped a hen carrying a laurel branch in her lap. From this branch, a great tree grew at Livia's villa, which became a grove and from this grove future Caesars would cut their victory wreaths.²⁹⁹ This highlights that as the younger members of the *Domus Augusta* grew to adulthood, Augustus intended to position them as his eventual successors. As Gaius and Lucius appear to have been positioned as Augustus' successors, in many of the surviving portraits and statues of both Gaius and Lucius we can see the replication of the 'political' body created by Augustus (3.7 + 3.8). The historian Macrobius, writing at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, suggests that the boys looked like their father.³⁰⁰ Despite the long gap between the source itself and the period it describes, this is as close as we can get to evidence of the similarities between the boys and their biological father.³⁰¹ Putting aside the problems with the source in terms of its distance from its chosen subject, and the idea that familial likeness and the act of commenting on it is as relevant today as it was in the ancient world, this does provide us with possible evidence of the fashioning of a 'political' body for the two young heirs.

As Pollini has noted, 'besides the strong family resemblance shared by many members of the imperial house, there is the matter of the extent to which the image of one individual might

²⁹⁸ Stevenson 2007:119-141.

²⁹⁹ Pliny *HN*15.136 'the priests who divined the future from the bird's behaviour commanded that the hen and its offspring be looked after and that the olive twig be planted and tended. Augustus and all his successors used to carry a branch of this olive tree and wear a garland from it whenever they held a Triumph.' For the historical validity of the grove, see Curran and Williams 1981:209-12.

³⁰⁰ *Mac. Sat.* 2.5.3; 2.5.9.

³⁰¹ For the issues with the source, see briefly Pollini 1987:6.

have been made to look like that of another in facial features and/or hairstyle.’³⁰² Kleiner has stated that both the portraiture of Gaius and Lucius adopt the physiognomy of Augustan portraits. This is part of the ‘political’ body formed for the heirs to the Principate. Both are physically extremely similar to the portrait types of Augustus and have been confused by historians as not just the same family, but at times the same person. For example, the features of Gaius are often mistaken for those of Augustus where the physical resemblance to Augustus is especially marked.³⁰³ The moulds which were commissioned for the boys appear to be extremely similar to that of Augustus. They are only differentiated by the two forms of Augustan hairstyle which tell them apart from the *princeps*.³⁰⁴ Although the imagery of both Gaius and Lucius adopted the imagery of the ‘political’ body of Augustus, it is notable that both have a slight variation to their portrait types. For instance, the hairstyles are variants on the Augustan type. Lucius’ hairstyle is a variant of the Augustan ‘Actium’ type, while Gaius’ is a variation on the Prima Porta type.³⁰⁵ Therefore, this reinforces the stability and the continuation of the dynasty, but still gives each a more individual personality.

Securing the idea of a succession for Gaius and Lucius did not just come from transforming their public image, it can also be seen in inscriptions and monuments.

In a statuary group dated between 16 and 13 BC at Thespieae in Greece, Augustus’ daughter, Julia is depicted with both Gaius and Lucius. The arrangement of the statues was telling in that the statue of Julia was flanked by those of her sons, both of which bore the name ‘Caesar’ while Agrippa’s statue was positioned looking away from both Julia and his sons. His statue also depicts him holding the new-born Agrippina which seeks to highlight the fact that he is her father. As Brian-Rose has suggested, this is because Gaius and Lucius were now legally the

³⁰² Pollini 1987:7. The obvious assimilation of the facial features of Caligula and Augustus and of Caligula and Tiberius on certain coin issues of Caligula, see Brilliant 1969:16. For statues being reused and made to look like a different person, see Knudsen 2016:20.

³⁰³ Pollini 1987:7-8.

³⁰⁴ Pollini 1987:7; Cooley 2009:162; 1988:219-221.

³⁰⁵ Kleiner 1978:774.

sons of Augustus, having been adopted by the *princeps* in 17 BC.³⁰⁶ Not only that, but the fact Agrippa is set apart from his sons and is depicted holding his daughter shows that he has relinquished parental responsibility over them.

Evidence for the fashioning of a ‘political’ body for Gaius and Lucius can not only be seen in the similarity of their images to Augustus, but also in the way in which the portrait of another member of the Julio-Claudian family bears little resemblance to theirs. Agrippa Postumus, the youngest son of Julia and Marcus Agrippa shares few of the same physical features as his grandfather, Augustus. According to Zanker, Postumus bears the features and physiognomy of his biological father Marcus Agrippa.³⁰⁷ The features of the younger Agrippa (3.9) differ from those of the Prima Porta images of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius. Postumus appears to have a long neck, which is reminiscent of both the abnormally long neck of images of the natural body of Caesar and the images which depict the natural body of the young Octavian, particularly in the equestrian statue. Not only is his neck different from the ‘political’ body but his nose is too. In regard to the nose of Postumus, Suetonius reveals that Augustus had a nose which, ‘protruded above and then curved in below.’³⁰⁸ This indicates a very prominent nose, something which is not as prominent on the Prima Porta image of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius.

³⁰⁶ For the adoption of both Gaius and Lucius, see Dio Cass. 54.18.1; Suet. *Aug.*64.1; Vel.Pat.2.96.; Brian-Rose 1997:14.

³⁰⁷ Zanker 1988:221.

³⁰⁸ Suet. *Aug.*79.

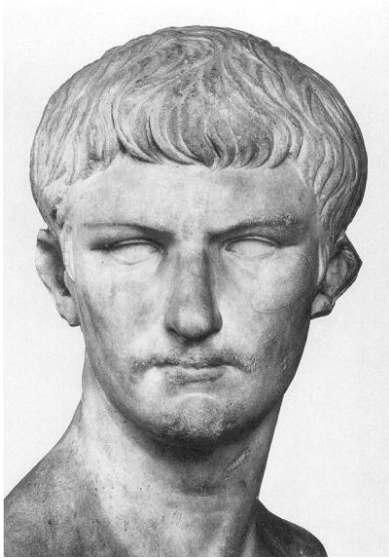


Figure 3.9 Agrippa Postumus.³⁰⁹

The marked difference in the images of Gaius and Lucius when compared to their brother should be seen as a way of distancing the imperial family from Postumus but also providing the contrast which highlighted how significant Gaius and Lucius were for the continuation of the dynasty. The visible markers of the succession did not just come from the statues of the two heirs, but also in the way monuments were carefully arranged to send the same political message. The fact that Postumus was not part of the use of the ‘political’ body indicates that he stood outside the *Domus Augusta*. Brännstedt has noted that the *Domus Augusta* was a term used in the last decade BC to describe the imperial family. The word *domus*, the Latin word to describe a house or physical dwelling, could also describe a family unit. The *Domus Augusta* thus came to describe the imperial family.³¹⁰ It is also worth noting that the portraits of the male members of *Domus Augusta* such as Marcellus, Gaius, Lucius, Drusus, and Tiberius all resembled Augustus’ portrait-type, this was a mark on the continued stability and success of

³⁰⁹ The bust depicts Agrippa Postumus, the youngest son of Julia the Elder and Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, and the bust is currently housed in the Capitoline Museum in Rome: Catalogue number 745 For his birth, Suet. *Aug.* 64.1-2, Dio Cass. 54.29. For his hostile attitude to Livia and subsequent disinheritance, see Dio Cass 55.32.2, Tac *Ann.* 1.3, Suet. *Aug.* 65 For a summation of all of the arguments available from Tacitus, Dio and Suetonius, see Detweiler 1970:295.

³¹⁰ Brännstedt 2016:58; for further scholarship of the *Domus Augusta*, see Flory 1996; Severy 2003: 213-227; Milnor 2009: 39-40; Seager 2013.

Augustus' rule.³¹¹ Seager notes that 'the continuity of the succession was always at the forefront of Augustus' mind,' therefore the fact that Postumus was not given the same 'political' body indicates that he was not part of the recognised plan of succession.³¹² As he had been exiled for an alleged conspiracy against Augustus and excluded from the succession, it appears his portraiture did not need to replicate that of the chosen successors to the Principate.³¹³ This reveals that there was a strong iconographic trend to the succession. The difference in the iconography of Postumus highlights his lack of 'political' body and this indicated his exclusion, not only from the succession, but the *Domus Augusta* entirely.

Once again, we see the 'doctrine of capacities' at work in the images of Augustus and the rest of the *Domus Augusta*. The natural body of Augustus is viewable in the earlier images of the *princeps* and to some extent, in the portraiture of Agrippa Postumus. Yet these images show us Gaius Octavius, the man. The portraits which depict a rather scrawny and feeble looking individual appear to correspond to literary accounts of the health of Augustus. In contrast, the image which Augustus fashioned for himself within the Prima Porta portraits display the 'political' body, which reflects Augustus' position as the head of the Roman state. This body is ageless and devoid of any weakness or infirmity. Not only did Augustus successfully create this image for himself but ensured that the same 'political' body could be used by other members of the dynasty. This can be seen in the images of Gaius and Lucius, which replicate Augustus' Prima Porta image. The creation and maintenance of a 'political' body for the members of the *Domus Augusta*, both spoke of and reflected the continued stability of the Julio-Claudian line.

³¹¹ Osgood 2012:33.

³¹² Seager 2013 41-57

³¹³ For Postumus' exile, see Vel. Pat 2.112.7; Suet *Aug* 65.1

The image of a ruler is bound to the image of the state they rule. The ruler was on the one hand a private individual, but on the other a separate entity who is bound to the position of ruler and a public face of the state.³¹⁴ An example from the Tudor period can aid us in understanding just how successful Augustus was in creating his own ‘political’ body and binding it to his own concept of the state. Henry VIII of England, via the talented and forgiving brush of court painter Hans Holbein, remained young and physically imposing long after his youth and strength had deserted him. Derek Wilson asserts that Hans Holbein had flattered Henry outrageously.³¹⁵



Figure 3.10. Henry VIII – By Hans Holbein, the Younger, 1537.³¹⁶

The portrait itself (3.10) is the most famous image we possess of Henry VIII. It has him depicted full-face, while research has shown that Holbein’s original design opted for the more

³¹⁴ Kantorowicz 1957.

³¹⁵ For his thoughts on the impact of Holbein’s portrait, see Wilson 2009:1.

³¹⁶ <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/walker/exhibitions/henry/walker.aspx> On display at the Walker Museum, Liverpool, [dated accessed 10.2.19].

conventional three-quarter face model.³¹⁷ Not only is the angle of the king's face significant but there is also much to be made of the stance and physical appearance of Henry.³¹⁸ Holbein did his work well and the image had an effect on those who saw it. Karel Van Mander commented upon seeing the painting, 'Henry stood there, majestic...so lifelike that the spectator felt abashed, annihilated in his presence.'³¹⁹ By the time this image was painted in 1537, this no longer represented the real Henry. The painting depicts Henry as powerful and virile (note the over exaggerated codpiece) the painting was made to confirm that the dynasty was secure, and that the young and athletic king would go on to have many more children and a long and successful reign. Yet the truth was quite different. 'At the age of 45, Henry was on the brink of old age, he would soon be bound to a chair or moved about via a stair lift; he had become increasingly fat and his 'elongated' legs were in fact ridden with sores from which foul-smelling puss emanated.'³²⁰ Henry described his condition in his own words, in a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, confessing: 'to be frank with you, which you must keep to yourself, a humour has fallen into our legs and our physicians advise us not to go far in the heat of the day.'³²¹

The example of Henry VIII, much like Augustus, reveals how the creation of a 'political' body can be so successful that it becomes the standard image of a ruler. The Holbein portrait of Henry is still among the most famous images of any monarch in English history. Recognised by both children and adults, it has become *the* image of Henry VIII. This example, when

³¹⁷ Ganz 1921: 210 suggests the 'three-quarter face' model appears to be a staple of Holbein's work, 'sharp-cut ornaments. There is a portrait in the collection of Count Lanckoronski (the only one known with certainty as a work of Hans the Elder) which also shows a man turned three-quarters face.' Lipscombe, 2006: 101 echoes the idea of the position of Henry's head being significant.

³¹⁸ Lipscombe 2006:100 'to emphasise the power of the pose, Holbein also elongated Henry's legs. We know from comparing a model of armour made for the king in 1540, his actual legs appear to be considerably shorter.'

³¹⁹ Van Mander cited in Brooke and Crombie 2003: 27.

³²⁰ Lipscombe 2006:101-104.

³²¹ 'Henry VIII: June 1537, 11-20', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 12 Part 2, June-December 1537*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1891), pp. 25-42. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol12/no2/pp25-42> [date accessed 6.12. 2020]. For more on Henry's medical condition, see MacNalty 1952; Keynes 2005.

compared with Augustus allows us to see the importance and power of the ‘political’ body. If it is constructed well enough, it can become the standard image for that particular ruler. As we can see from the Prima Porta image of Augustus, this is the form in which the *princeps* is most recognisable and most well-known. The fact that the same political body was adopted and amended by subsequent members of the *Domus Augusta* also speaks to the images enduring success. Much like Henry VIII, Augustus needed to appear youthful and physically strong, not only to demonstrate the idea of stability but also to support the idea of his longevity, particularly as the younger members of the dynasty and designated heirs predeceased him. As Henry needed to appear young and virile to reflect that his dynasty was secure, so did Augustus. The comparison with Henry helps us to understand not only why Augustus adopted the concept of eternal youth, but also that he hoped to reflect not just his own physical good health but that of the *Domus Augusta*.

The ‘political’ body then, is of critical importance when understanding the symbiotic nature of power and iconography. The iconography of a ruler could disseminate ‘their’ message while also being a symbol of their rule. In examining the ‘political’ body of Augustus, we can see that it hid both his natural, physical frailties, while also projecting an image of perpetual youth and physical energy. When viewed through the lens of the ‘doctrine of capacities,’ it is clear that the natural body reflects Gaius Octavius. The ‘political’ body, however, is the image of Augustus, the *princeps* of the Roman state. The ‘political’ body crafted by Augustus was so successful and embodies the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ so completely, that it was extended to other members of the dynasty.

The fact that a model of a ‘political’ body was used for the portraits of Augustus’ heirs exemplifies not only the flexibility of the ‘political’ body (as individual physiognomic differences between Gaius and Lucius attest too) but also its durability. Having adopted the Prima Porta image in 30 BC, the ‘political’ body did not need amending for the remaining

forty-four years of Augustus' life, so successful did it prove to be. When viewing the images of both Gaius and Lucius and assessing their 'political' body, it is equally useful. As the portraits of Gaius and Lucius depict them as successors to Augustus and 'princes of the youth', it was vital that they had a public image which depicted them in their role and their 'political' body reflected this.

The success of the 'political' body is further exemplified by the fact that it was adopted by other members of the *Domus Augusta*. Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus also adopted the 'political' body of the dynasty, and this can be seen in her iconography and her role as the *princeps femina*. This illustrates that the 'political' body is woven into the iconographic fabric of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. In addition, the 'political' body can also be seen in the public images and iconography of Augustus' stepson, Tiberius. Examining their use of the 'political' body is important in order to appreciate the flexibility of the 'political' body and what it can reveal about Julio-Claudian iconography when viewed through the lens of the 'doctrine of capacities.'

Chapter 4: Livia, Julio-Claudian ideology and the *Domus Augusta*.

The Julio-Claudian dynasty possessed the ability to craft a particular ideological narrative through their public image. Nowhere is this more clearly and more persuasively expressed than on the *Ara Pacis*. On this monument the ideological message of the dynasty, which encompassed the ‘political’ body was displayed and acted not only as an extension but also an addition to what Augustus had previously created. As Augustus’ reign progressed, the ‘political’ body he had created was adopted by other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, those who Flory defined as the *Domus Augusta* and used as a symbol of the continued stability of the family line.³²² In this chapter I will examine how the ‘political’ body of Augustus was displayed and disseminated through one of the most famous monuments produced during the Principate, the *Ara Pacis*. Through this monument it came to be understood that the entirety of the *Domus Augusta* possessed the ‘political’ body.

In the second half of the chapter, I will focus on individual members of the *Domus*: first I will examine the public image of Livia, the wife of Augustus, who utilized and modified the ‘political body’ Augustus had created, and end by assessing the ‘political’ body adopted by Augustus’ step-son, Tiberius. An examination of the public image of these members of the *Domus Augusta* will reveal further applications for the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body. As the most significant female member of the dynasty, an examination of Livia and her public image prove that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and the adoption and implementation of a ‘political’ body is a concept which can be applied to a ruler, regardless of their gender. Although the individual message of a female ruler may be different from a male counterpart for political or dynastic reasons, this does not make the concept any less successful when applied to a female ruler. At the close of this chapter a comparison of

³²² Flory 1996.

Livia, Octavia and Elizabeth I will highlight not only the success which Livia had in adopting a ‘political’ body, but also the enduring success of the ‘political’ body crafted by Elizabeth I. Lastly, an examination of the public image of Livia’s son, Tiberius who succeeded Augustus as *princeps*, will highlight that the adoption of a political mask was necessary to continue to portray the idea conveyed by the ‘political’ body in person which a figure had crafted for themselves. This will allow us to consider the concept of *dissimulatio*, which allowed a ruler to present, as far as possible, the image of a ‘political’ body when they were seen in person.

Of all the monuments of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the *Ara Pacis* can be seen as a direct public statement on the durability of the line. This was, of course, bound up in the depiction of the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body. This unity was nowhere better expressed than on the altar which became one of the Julio-Claudians most enduring symbols. The *Ara Pacis* or the Altar of Peace, became the symbol of the continuity of the dynasty, establishing not only the extent of the *Domus Augusta* in terms of size (though it should be noted, that of those depicted Marcellus, Gaius and Lucius would go on to die prematurely), but also in terms of fertility. The statement made by the imagery of the monument was that the Principate would always thrive whilst a Julio-Claudian was alive to carry the mantle of the *princeps*.³²³ The *Ara Pacis* has long been seen as a symbol of the power of not only Augustus, but the Julio-Claudian dynasty as a whole. Galinsky has noted that ‘the altar is not merely the *Ara Pacis*, but the *Ara Pacis Augusti*.³²⁴ When the images on the monument’s friezes are examined, it is clear that each member of the family has the ‘political’ body necessary to convey an ideological message.

The Western entrance to the altar is decorated with mythical scenes from Rome’s past; although the image has been badly damaged, the so called ‘Lupercal panel’ (4.1) is thought to depict

³²³ For the idea that the monument represents Augustus as the guarantor of peace, see Galinsky 1996:142 for the idea that this is in fact the procession of the day on which Augustus became Pontifex Maximus, see Bowestock 1990:390ff

³²⁴ Galinsky 1996:224.

Romulus and Remus as children, being nursed by the she-wolf. As the twins are famous ancestors of Augustus, this further reinforces the idea of the monument displaying the lineage of Augustus and his family.³²⁵



Figure 4.1 The 'Lupercal panel'.³²⁶

The altar also depicts Augustus' semi-divine ancestor Aeneas who, as an exile from Troy, led the refugees who had escaped the Trojan War to Italy. Once there, his ancestors would go on to found the city of Rome.³²⁷ On the panel (4.2), Aeneas is accompanied by his son Iulius, from whom the Julian family derived its name.³²⁸ The scene (4.2) shows Aeneas making a sacrifice, which shows his *pietas*, one of the main components behind Augustus' moral and religious

³²⁵ For the familial link between Romulus and Remus and Augustus, see Virg.*Aen.* 6.757-807.

³²⁶ The Lupercal Panel. The second panel on the west wall is poorly preserved but is thought to depict the discovery of Romulus and Remus by Faustulus, the shepherd. Romulus and Remus are shown suckling a she-wolf and the god Mars observes from the left.

³²⁷ On Aeneas leading the Trojans to Italy, see Virg.*Aen.* 1.1; 7.1-149.

³²⁸ Galinsky 1996:142

reforms. The fact that Aeneas is with his son also supports the theme of the larger friezes which indicate fertility.

Figure 4.2 Aeneas and Iulius sacrificing a sow.³²⁹

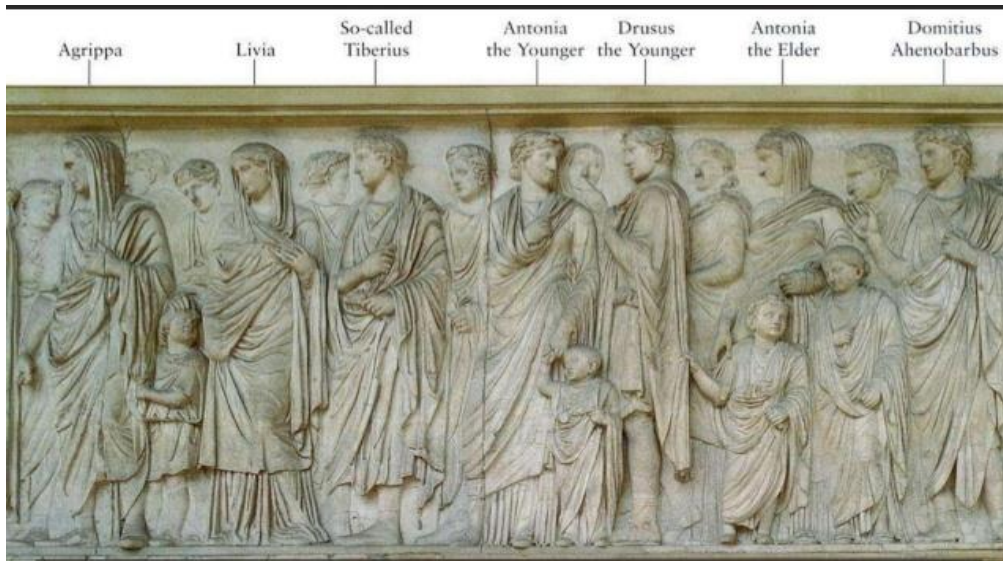


The idea of a flourishing and fertile imperial dynasty is at the forefront of the design; the larger friezes on the monument depict abundant foliage which has been seen as signs of plenty and fertility.³³⁰ On the monument itself, what Kleiner has called ‘three family groups’ are represented (4.3).³³¹

³²⁹ Located in the upper right-hand corner of the frieze on the West Wall of the *Ara Pacis*, this image depicts Augustus’ mythical ancestor, Aeneas, and his son, Iulius making a sacrifice. Brunt and Moore 1967; Aug. *RG* passage 3.

³³⁰ Galinsky 1996:152. For a breakdown of all the friezes, see Kleiner 1978.

³³¹ Kleiner 1978



4.3 *Ara Pacis*, central frieze.³³²

The identity of all the individuals on the monument has been the subject of some scholarly debate, but what is clear is that the major members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty are depicted.³³³ The procession depicted on the *Ara Pacis* is also fulfilling a political purpose for the dynasty. Zanker suggests that even Gaius and Lucius are depicted on the monument, and there are several reasons why, in particular, the boy near the head of the procession must be Gaius. According to Zanker, they occupy a prominent position on the monument and the procession is arranged in the order of dynastic succession. If this is the case, it would make sense for the young boy to be Gaius.³³⁴ The enthusiasm, energy and charisma of a young child were just the sort of message the fledgling dynasty of Augustus wished to send to the rest of the world.³³⁵

³³² Figure 4.3 The procession of the imperial family on the *Ara Pacis* currently housed in the *Ara Pacis* Museum, Rome.

³³³ For debate over the various identities of the individuals depicted, see Ryberg 1949:85, Gross 1962. Poulson 1946:4, Brian-Rose 2005:109.

³³⁴ Zanker 1988:218.

³³⁵ Zanker 1988:219.

It should be noted that the members of the dynasty depicted on the *Ara Pacis* all appear to have the same youthful features, corresponding to the images of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius which were examined in the previous chapter. In order to solidify the eternally youthful ‘political’ body which the Julio-Claudians had created, not only the male, but also female members of the dynasty adopted the concept into their own public imagery. Before assessing the youthful image further, it is also important to note that the ‘political’ body created by the dynasty can be seen by the position of some of the key figures on the frieze.

On the frieze which depicts the imperial procession, Livia is fulfilling the role of grandmother, yet also of surrogate mother, as her pose does hint at some sort of affection for the child.³³⁶ Livia has her hand on the head of the child in a gesture of both reassurance and affection.³³⁷ The child clings to his father’s leg, whilst also looking back at Livia. If this figure has been correctly identified as Gaius, this would be the natural reaction of a child to the encouragement of his (step) grandmother. The youth of the image suggests that Livia could easily step into this role, this is due to the fact that Augustus has created the concept of eternal youth within the imagery of the imperial family. Not only that, but this also demonstrates the extension of the ‘doctrine of capacities’; the individuals depicted on the moment are members of the same family, part of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Not only were they part of the *Domus Augusta* literally, but they are also part of it ideologically as well. It is a testament to the success of this concept that it was displayed so openly upon the *Ara Pacis*. The most prominent members of the dynasty have a hierarchical place and it is within this structure that they became part of the ‘doctrine of capacities:’ Augustus as *princeps* and Gaius and Lucius as heirs to the throne or

³³⁶ Dio Cass. 48.34.3 notes that Augustus married Livia on the same day which his ex-wife Scribonia gave birth to Julia in 39 BC and that Julia was taken from Scribonia and when old enough, was sent to live with her stepmother Livia, Suet.*Aug.*69.1 notes that the marriage was contracted in haste but makes no further mention of it. The boy has been identified as Gaius Caesar, the son of Augustus’ daughter Julia and his friend and associate Agrippa. Poulson 1946:4.

³³⁷ The boy has been identified as Gaius Caesar, the son of Augustus’ daughter Julia and his friend and associate Agrippa. Poulson 1946:4.

principes iuventutis ‘leaders of the youth.’³³⁸ Livia also adopts the idea of leadership in her own portraits and statues as she took on the role of the *princeps femina*. The adoption of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ by Livia highlights that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ is a concept which is not gender specific. The concept requires a ruler, but it is no less effective if that ruler is male or female. For example, Schulte, while working on Elizabeth I, has asked if the body of a monarch has to be male.³³⁹ When examining the ‘political’ body of Livia Drusilla, it clear that question can be answered with a resounding no.

Livia as *princeps femina*

As Augustus’ reign progressed, his wife, Livia Drusilla took on a far more prominent role as a member of the *Domus Augusta*. A major part of this role was the display of her physical form in statues and portraits. Dio refers to the fact that both Livia and Octavia (the sister of Augustus) were awarded honorific statues by the Senate.³⁴⁰ This marks a shift in the imperial policy towards women, with Hillard suggesting that the women of the Julio-Claudian dynasty became public figures; Augustus’ daughters and granddaughters were trained in the arts of spinning and weaving which had allusions to a time of honour before the foundation of the Republic.³⁴¹ This suggests that Augustus was planning for multiple generations of the female line to become politically visible at some point in the future. Overall, though, Livia held the most significant

³³⁸ For Gaius and Lucius being awarded the title of ‘leaders of the youth,’ see Aug. RG 14; Cooley 2009: 162-167.

³³⁹ Schulte 2006.

³⁴⁰ Dio Cass. 49.38.1 refers to the fact that both Livia and Octavia were awarded honorific statues by the Senate. ‘he [Octavian] granted to Octavia and Livia statues, the right of administering their own affairs without a guardian, and the same security and inviolability as the tribunes enjoyed.’ For Livia’s second dedication, see Dio Cass. 55.2.5.

³⁴¹ Suet. Aug. 64.2-3; Liv. 1.64, relates the story of the rape of Lucretia, the consequences of which brought down the last king of Rome. The leading men of Rome debated who amongst their wives was the most virtuous, Collatinus proposed his own wife, Lucretia, as the winner in order to prove this, the men secretly travelled to Collatinus’ home to observe Lucretia’s behaviour when men were not around. They found her weaving with her handmaidens.

position, initially alongside Octavia. Emily Hemelrijk sees the statues awarded to both Livia and Octavia as more significant for the visible profile of women.³⁴²

Livia became the female face of the dynasty, and as such, adopted a position similar to that of Augustus, in honorific terms. Not only was Livia a public face of the new dynasty (a point to which we shall return), she also had immense power and prestige in the family sphere too. The *Consolatio ad Liviam*, written in 9 BC after the death of her son, Drusus refers to Livia as *Romana princeps*; while Ovid is the first Augustan poet to use the term *princeps femina* or first lady of Rome between 12-13 AD.³⁴³ Newlands has suggested that ‘this oxymoron describes an unprecedented role in the affairs of the state.’³⁴⁴ Livia appears to derive her power from several sources, one of these was what Purcell has termed ‘petticoat power,’ the ability to scheme and meddle in affairs.³⁴⁵ This of course was not a new concept attributed to women in the ancient world; women as well-known as Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, Agrippina, mother of the emperor Nero and even Cleopatra VII, have all been subjected to scorn from writers who felt they had undue influence with their male relatives or that they used their appearance to beguile men into doing as they asked. This of course, perpetuates a particular trope about women’s role in history and their character and should not be relied upon as an accurate representation of their characters or abilities.³⁴⁶

Thus, if this were Livia’s only form of power or influence, this would not be particularly remarkable. Hillard suggested the concept of *materna auctoritas* (maternal authority) was a legitimate and accepted part of traditional republican politics. Similarly, other scholars have

³⁴² Hemelrijk 2006:309–317.

³⁴³ For the use of the phrase, see Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.125. The *Consolatio ad Liviam* (line 356). For the dating of Ov. *Pont.*, see Galasso 2009:194-206.

³⁴⁴ Newlands 2015:64

³⁴⁵ Examples of this can be seen in Reynolds 1982:104 and Barrett 2002:198.

³⁴⁶ For Olympias cruel nature, see Diod Sic 19.11 4-9. For the wicked nature of Cleopatra, see Prop. *Elg.* 3.10. On Agrippina, see for the overstepping on the ‘traditional’ female role, see Tac. *Ann.* 12.37.4, 12.56.3. For an analysis of the women and the usurpation of power in Tacitus, see L’Hoir 1994:5-25.

suggested that the women of the *nobilitas*, that is the wives and mothers of the patrician families, had as much influence as the average senator.³⁴⁷ Female influence then was less than alien to a powerful senator and as we shall see, was far from alien to Augustus. The influence and power which Livia exercised can be seen as two-fold. Purcell has suggested that Livia derived some form of influence from the *auctoritas* of Augustus' position which is very likely true, but it is clear that her role was greater than 'secondary influence' derived from the power of her husband.³⁴⁸

I believe that Livia fulfilled many different roles, and these should be seen as evidence of the use of not only the 'doctrine of capacities' but also of Livia's use of the Julio-Claudian 'political' body. Purcell has neatly adopted the words 'graded system' to explain the vast array of roles which Livia undertook, many of these were maintained in the private sphere, but several of them also had a public face.³⁴⁹ It is here that we can see the 'doctrine of capacities' at work, as Livia fulfils the roles of mother, grandmother, wife and also partner to Augustus. The fact that many of these roles had a public face meant that Livia, like other members of the *Domus Augusta*, had to have a suitable public image. There is certainly material evidence which suggests that Livia and Augustus were a partnership and collaborated in regard to issues of their family.

If we return for a moment to the processional frieze on the *Ara Pacis* the extent of this collaboration is emphasised by the depiction of the figures of both Livia and Augustus. The

³⁴⁷ The influence of wives and mothers among the Roman *nobilitas* is attested in the primary sources, Plut. *Cor* 33-36, Liv. 2.40, Syme 1964:25-26, *Cat* 25, Goldsworthy 2006:71 suggests that it was at the urging of Aurelia that her relatives, Mamercus Aemilius and Aurelius Cotta along with the Vestal Virgins, appealed to Sulla to spare Caesar's life. Neither Suet. *Jul.* 1 nor Plut. *Caes* 1 recount this detail though in securing the aid of her own brother and uncle, it is more than likely that Aurelia played some part in the episode. Hiliard has written on the subject of politically influential republican women too, see Hillard 1992:37-64. See also, Milnor 2009b: 278.

³⁴⁸ The nature of *auctoritas* has long been discussed, Rowe 2013: who has defined it as a public form of power 8-15 rather than what he describes as, 'a transcendental sense and explanatory power — is wholly untenable.' Purcell 2009:179.

³⁴⁹ Purcell 2009:179.

pose of both the figures on the processional frieze of the *Ara Pacis* match one another. Torelli has defined this as staccato: Livia stands in an almost frontal pose while still looking towards Augustus and the processions head.³⁵⁰ Livia and Augustus are united by the symbolism of their attire, of the ninety figures depicted on the monument only Livia and Augustus wear both the veil and the laurel wreath. The identical attire hints at the shared powers and status: Augustus as *princeps*, Livia as *princeps femina*; more of a partnership than would be imagined by most.³⁵¹ Evidence of this partnership can be found in several instances, for example, Livia is said to have persuaded Augustus to act with clemency towards his enemies.³⁵² A passage from Suetonius' *Life of Augustus* suggests that the *princeps* read drafts of any important public speeches out loud to Livia before the event 'indeed, he never once addressed the Senate, people or army without first preparing and organising his speech, remarks even to his wife Livia (on serious subjects) would be written out and read.'³⁵³

Livia's influence can be seen in the way in which she became the female face of the dynasty, long before Augustus' eventual victory at Actium.³⁵⁴ As of 35 BC, with the grant of an honorific statue, Livia moved out of the shadows and into the glare of public scrutiny. The honour was unprecedented yet reinforced in 9 BC when she was granted a second statue. These would not be the last statues erected bearing Livia's image, as the material record attributes eighty-eight freestanding sculptures and seventy-six inscribed statue-bases, together with twenty likenesses on gems, testifying that she was highly visible throughout the Roman Empire.³⁵⁵ These images were not altogether consistent and reveal four distinct types: the Marbury Hall, Faiyum, Kiel/Salus and Diva Augusta types. This highlights that during the

³⁵⁰ Torelli 1982:50.

³⁵¹ Bartman 1999:88.

³⁵² For the particular examples, see Sen.*Clem.*1.9.6; Dio Cass 55.14.2-21.

³⁵³ Suet. *Aug.* 84.2

³⁵⁴ On the extent on Livia's advice to her husband, see Suet.*Claud.*4'

³⁵⁵ Brännstedt 2016:21. The earliest work to compile portraits of Livia is a catalogue by Johann Bernoulli in 1886. For the most up to date published work on Livia's statues, see Bartman 1999; for an unpublished work on Livia's visual representation, see Harvey 2011 (diss).

course of her marriage to Augustus, Livia's public image underwent nuanced changes over the course of her life.

Despite the fact that Livia was the female head of the *Domus Augusta* and the recipient of a similar 'political' body to other members of the dynasty (previously examined on the *Ara Pacis*), there are examples where Livia's image on the *Ara Pacis* is not what is produced elsewhere. Some busts of Livia depict an image which could be termed Livia's natural body. One such example is the Ampurias head (4.4), currently housed in the Museo Arqueológico in Barcelona and dated to 4 AD. Bartman has suggested that individual sculptors appear to have adjusted portraits and busts to suit local tastes, much like the audience targeting mentioned by Hekster.³⁵⁶ I contend that this alone is not a suitable reason to explain the vastly different depiction of the Ampurias portrait of Livia; stylistic differences as well as differences in the quality of the workmanship notwithstanding, it is clear that this image could be considered offensive if it were merely a matter of taste.



Figure.4. 4. Livia, Ampurias head.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁶ Hekster 2011: 177-190.

³⁵⁷ Livia, Ampurias head, Museo Arqueológico, Barcelona, FZ III.2.

The Ampurias head shows signs of old age: the lips are thin, and the indentations of the nose highlight the age of the figure depicted. The bust itself has some surface damage but this does not hide the loose skin of the figure, which again is synonymous with ageing. Here Livia is depicted as an old woman who apes the verism of the earlier republican tradition. The Ampurias image is not the only one which deviates from the carefully crafted ‘political’ body of the members of the *Domus Augusta*.³⁵⁸ Another example, currently housed in the Louvre (4.5), offers another interpretation of Rome’s leading couple.³⁵⁹



Figure 4.5. Bronze busts of Livia and Augustus.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Wood 1999:107.

³⁵⁹ The inscription on the bust reads: LIVIAE AUGUSTAE ATESPATUS CRIXI FILIUS V(otum) S(oluit) L(ibens) M(erito)(Atespatus, son of Crixus, fulfilled his vow to Livia Augusta, gladly and deservedly.

³⁶⁰ Paris, Musee de Louvre, Inv. N. 3253.

The Louvre statue depicts both Livia and Augustus and could both be said to appear as they would if depicted as their natural selves. The Louvre portraits show signs of ageing; Livia appears drawn with large bags under both eyes, while Augustus sports a heavily lined forehead and the gauntness of face which is somewhat reminiscent of the equestrian statue of Augustus. It has been observed by Wood and others, as this was a private dedication, the owner would not have had to worry about the official nomenclature or the preferred ‘official’ image of the imperial family.³⁶¹ When analysing the busts, Wood has suggested that photographs of the busts create a deceptive image and that the figures are not as ‘old’ as they appear. She pinpoints the wrinkles on the forehead of Augustus and suggests that they are the product of ‘muscular contraction’ rather than the ravages of old age.³⁶² Whatever the case, it is clear that these images are less flattering than those of the favoured portraits of the imperial couple. There is an element of verism to these images which may have exaggerated their features, the eyes being a prime example. Rather than appearing ‘intense’ or piercing, they appear to be hooded and have a look of fatigue. This does appear to match the other major element of stylistic confusion in this piece: Livia is depicted as aged and yet wears her hair with the classicising shoulder length-hair, which is a staple of divine associations.³⁶³ Once again, this image has all the physical indicators of depicting the natural bodies of Augustus and Livia. Wrinkles and signs of fatigue are visible, something which cannot be seen on the political body of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius for example.

This depiction suggests that control over the image of the imperial family was not quite as tight in the provinces as it was in Rome. Although we do not possess any examples where ‘offending’ statues were removed, there does appear to have been some form of control over

³⁶¹ Wood 1999:106 notes that the nomenclature on the busts is incorrect. Livia is given the form of ‘Livia Augusta’ a name she did not hold. She was more properly known as ‘Julia Augusta’ but this was not until after she had been adopted into the Julian *gens* in the will of Augustus.

³⁶² Wood 1999:107.

³⁶³ Wood 1999:107.

artistic output. For example, whilst the poet Ovid's alleged affair with Augustus' daughter, Julia led to his exile, it was clear that the *princeps* found Ovid's literary work distasteful and banned it because it flouted the new marriage laws.³⁶⁴ It is also clear that the defacing of a statue of a member of the imperial family was considered an act of treason; one example tells of one man who had removed the head from a statue of Augustus was tried before the Senate.³⁶⁵ There was then, at least some attempt to regulate artistic output, particularly if it was considered unfavourable by Augustus and the other members of the *Domus Augusta*. Bartman believes that Livia played a prominent role in the shaping of her own public image, suggesting that 'without predecessors, Livia was forced to invent new modes of behaviour and representation'.³⁶⁶ Not only did Livia craft new modes of behaviour, which can be seen in her role as *princeps femina* but Bartman believes that she was 'instrumental in the process' of crafting her public image'.³⁶⁷ This is supported by MacMullen's hypothesis that during and after the reign of Augustus, women of the Principate enjoyed greater signs of power.³⁶⁸ Part of this would have been a more noticeable public presence, which was recorded in part by the statues awarded to Livia and Octavia. In Livia's case her role was expanded further still. Livia appears to have had some power and influence over the direction of her image and her role as a benefactor. Purcell points out that the construction of a *macellum*, or market which bore her name drastically improved domestic life; chiefly by providing fresh food to the Esquiline neighborhood.³⁶⁹

Not only was Livia's name an important political tool for the *Domus Augusta*, but her image was too. Of the previously mentioned eighty-eight portraits and statues of Livia which remain

³⁶⁴ *Ov.Tri.* 2.207 says he was banished because of 'a poem and a mistake.'

³⁶⁵ *Suet. Tib.* 58.1-2.

³⁶⁶ Bartman 1999: xxi.

³⁶⁷ Bartman 1999: xxi.

³⁶⁸ MacMullen 1986:169. MacMullen suggests *Tac. Ann.* 57.2 shows the extent of Livia's influence, especially under the early years of Tiberius' reign.

³⁶⁹ Purcell 1986:102.

from the material record, we possess more of the Faiyum type of Livia's portraits than any other; while the Prima Porta type is the most numerous of Augustus' image.³⁷⁰ Of the two most numerous types of portrait of Livia, the Faiyum type outnumbers that of her 'Marbury-Hall' type two to one. Livia's image and iconography possess some of the features of the Augustan imagery, the eternal youth and classically strong features amongst the most prominent aspects. In regard to Livia's image, Bartman suggests Livia was certainly influential when it concerned the creation of some of her statues even if not necessarily, the finished piece. Bartman may be correct when theorising that Livia may not have had total control of all of her images. However, the fact that the more favorable 'types' survive in larger numbers may indicate that the imperial image was created using a model, which was then followed by workshops or individual sculptors.³⁷¹ Bartman has claimed that portraits and busts of Livia 'exist at the interface between art and social life'.³⁷² I believe it would be more fitting to say that Livia's portraits exist as a manifestation of the 'political' body of her dynasty, even if her images had their own individual style. One of the earliest images we possess of Livia is currently housed in the Walters Art Museum and is known as the 'Baltimore' head (4.6).



Figure 4.6. Livia portrait head, Baltimore.³⁷³

³⁷⁰ For Augustus, see Galinsky 1996, for Livia, see Bartman 1999: 74.

³⁷¹ Stewart 2008:88.

³⁷² Brilliant 1999:11.

³⁷³ Portrait of Livia, on display at the Walters Art Gallery, dated to shortly after her marriage to Augustus 37-31 BC. Found online at: <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/16696/portrait-of-livia/> [date accessed 28.12.2020].

Dated to around 37 BC and potentially after her marriage to Augustus, the portrait depicts Livia as an attractive young woman with an oval shaped face.³⁷⁴ The most innovative concept about this depiction of Livia was the '*nodus*' hairstyle, in which a section of hair is arranged in a roll over the forehead, while the rest of the hair is swept back in loose waves and secured in a bun at the nape of the neck. Kleiner has commented on the hairstyle's symbolic value, emphasising its significance in giving Livia the appearance of virtue. The *nodus* may have depicted a tight roll over her forehead and an equally taut bun at the nape of her neck, but for Kleiner, it also represents Livia's virtue and the qualities which she possessed.³⁷⁵ The simplicity of the style stood in contrast from 'the excessively primmed styles associated with the Hellenistic East.'³⁷⁶

The '*nodus*' style is not accidental, it is a carefully crafted statement; it says as much about what Livia was, as about what she was not.³⁷⁷ As Flory has commented, dedications of public statues incorporated two traditions, that of the public display which can be seen in the statuary of Hellenistic monarchies and that of the traditional Roman ideal of women which was set out by the *mos maiorum*.³⁷⁸ As Octavian began to position himself for the conflict with Antony, and the presumed victory which would follow, he needed to depict a chaste and honourable family. He was aided in this by the image of Livia. This can be seen as the beginning of Livia's 'political' body. Not only does the image display Livia as youthful, but the image also embodied the virtues which were important to the fledgling dynasty. Virtue now had a public face, and that face belonged to Livia Drusilla. The virtues which the '*nodus*' itself exemplified were those exhibited by 'ideal' Roman women: modesty, moral excellence, marital fidelity and fertility.³⁷⁹ The depiction of Livia and the 'political' body she crafted also carried a powerful

³⁷⁴ Bartman 1999:145.

³⁷⁵ Kleiner 2005:209.

³⁷⁶ Bartman 2001:8.

³⁷⁷ Flory 1993: 295 argues that a Marbury- Hall portrait of Livia was erected alongside the statue of Cleopatra in the Temple of Venus Victrix to present a moral antithesis to the Egyptian queen.

³⁷⁸ Flory 1993:296-297.

³⁷⁹ Kleiner 2005:208. See also, Winkes 1996:37.

message; that she was the moral antithesis of the Egyptian queen, who Propertius describes as a ‘harlot’ queen; it was intended to show that Anthony and his chosen consort were unworthy of public office and unworthy successors to Caesar’s legacy, unlike Octavian and Livia who’s fitness to rule was solidified by their public image.³⁸⁰

The image seen in the Baltimore head is known as the Marbury- Hall type. This does depict Livia in an idealised fashion but is not the final ‘political’ body which she adopts. As Octavian defeated Antony at Actium and secured his position at the head of the Roman state, Livia’s public image underwent a transformation. This new image (4.7) has become known as the Faiyum type; the most numerous and recognisable of all Livia’s images, it was created to match her new position as the *princeps femina*.



Figure 4.7. Portrait of Livia.³⁸¹

Found alongside portraits of Augustus and Tiberius at Arisone in Egypt, it could be argued that this portrait type was part of a monument which hinted at Tiberius’ formal adoption as the

³⁸⁰ Prop. *Elg.* 3.11.39.

³⁸¹ Head of Livia, on display at in Copenhagen at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1444. Copy from 4 CE or later after an original from 27-23 BC. Available online at <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=2229#in> [date accessed 28.12.2020].

successor to the *princeps*. The Faiyum portrait appears ideally suited to the ideological and public profile of Augustus; characterised by an oval face, large eyes with a slightly curved brow, a large aquiline nose, small lips and a high, loose *nodus* hairstyle, it shows all the characteristics of a virtuous Roman women. It is significant that Livia would have been in her 30's during the time her official Faiyum portrait was produced. Yet, almost all of this particular model depicts her as younger than that, she does not succumb to the physiognomic ravages of time. Bartman has remarked that 'the Faiyum type projected an image which was eminently suitable for Rome's first lady and wife of Augustus: an ageless and elegant beauty [...] the Faiyum type should be seen as the female counterpart to the Prima Porta created in c.27 BC for Augustus.'³⁸² Both figures have distinct features which mirror each other, crisply defined features along with the almost symmetrical hair arrangement. The lack of expression within the eyes along with the idealised age of the images suggest that the Faiyum type was produced around the time that the Prima Porta model was created for Augustus.³⁸³ There are only subtle changes to the Faiyum portrait when compared to the earlier Marbury-Hall image, yet the meaning behind the change is significant, with the hair and the arrangement of the *nodus* being most distinct.³⁸⁴ Bartman summarises that the Faiyum portrait amalgamates the 'traditional imagery into a new and highly distinctive mode that itself became the normative standard.'³⁸⁵ The idea of a 'normative standard' should be replaced by the idea of a 'political' body when considering the Prima Porta and Faiyum portrait types. The stylistic elements of the ideas are so similar, that they should clearly be taken to represent an ideological banner for the *Domus*

³⁸² Bartman 1999:74-75.

³⁸³ Bartman 1999:75 suggests that the Faiyum type was developed within a decade of the Prima Porta roughly between 27 BC and 17 BC.

³⁸⁴ For the difference in the hairstyle of the two types, see Jessen 2013:21. 'In the Faiyum type, the *nodus* is tall and composed of strands of hair pulled slightly outward towards the sides rather than straight back as in the Marbury Hall. Additionally, the side waves of hair are drawn back from the face in three distinct sections, though the hair itself is pulled much more loosely than in the Marbury Hall type. Finally, comma-shaped curls of varying sizes fall all around the face and neck where there are only small, uniform curls on either side of the *nodus* in the Marbury Hall type.'

³⁸⁵ Bartman 1999:214

Augusta. When taken together, both portraits represent the message conveyed by the ‘political’ body of the Julio-Claudians. That the *princeps* and *princeps femina* were ageless, eternal and physically vigorous. In the case of Livia, this is at odds with the Ampurias and Louvre portraits which depict a more natural body. It is therefore of vital importance for a ruler to project the image which they want to represent them, otherwise an image which depicts the ruler’s natural body may gain more influence than it should. Further evidence for the fact that Livia was given a ‘political’ body in her iconography can be seen in the material record when examining the image of Octavia, the sister of Augustus. Octavia, although part of the Julio-Claudian family, does not possess the ‘political’ body given to both Augustus and Livia.



Figure 4.8. Head of Octavia.³⁸⁶

Octavia’s portrait (4.8) does differ in style from that of Livia. While Livia is the embodiment of youthful beauty, Octavia’s image has a more matronly air. Although she, like Livia, wears the traditional *nodus* hairstyle, there are subtle differences in its presentation. Octavia wears a

³⁸⁶ Portrait head of Octavia (Minor) currently on display in the Palazzo Museum in Rome, 20-10 BC. Available online at <https://www2.cnr.edu/home/sas/araia/state.html> [date accessed 13.10.2019].

higher, more curved *nodus* that is pulled taut into a bun. While Livia's *nodus* is softer, more youthful, surrounded by curls, and the face is framed in a more youthful way. The overall appearance of Octavia's facial profile is harsher, her nose more pronounced, her lips thinner. Octavia reflects the austere image of a Roman matron, while Livia represents vitality. Although Octavia also shows signs of ageing, for example, the pronounced indentations at the sides of her nose, these were also visible in the Ampurias head of Livia and more in keeping with the natural image of Livia, given the supposed date of the bust. Therefore, it is likely that the same signs of ageing in Octavia's image also depict the natural rather than 'political' body.

A second portrait of Octavia reveals even more physiognomic character; The Glanum bust (4.9) (modern-day Saint-Remy-de-Provence), certainly depicts a woman who is older than that of the Rome bust, this is perhaps a greater physiognomic likeness of a woman in her forties who has by this point in her life, borne five children. The Glanum bust also depicts Octavia with a fleshly lower face (perhaps hinting at weight gain in middle age), and a higher *nodus*, exaggerating that of the Rome bust.

Figure 4.9. Head of Octavia.³⁸⁷



The Glanum bust could be the result of the fact that the provincial sculptors lacked the skill to flatter their subjects with the subtlety which artisans in Rome could call upon. However, as the

³⁸⁷ Head of Octavia, on display in the Hotel De Sade, see Bartman, Cat.49 pl.16.

stylistic elements such as the *nodus* are present, I contend that the differences have more to do with the image that was desired than by any lack of skill by the particular sculptor. These slight, yet evident differences are the result of Livia adopting the ‘political’ body of the *Domus Augusta* while Octavia had no need to do so. Octavia was not a vital part of the *Domus* in regard to the succession to the Principate; early in Augustus’ reign there was the possibility that she may one day have been mother to the future *princeps*, if Augustus’ daughter, Julia had married her son, Marcellus. With Marcellus’ early death however, that was no longer possible.³⁸⁸ Without a defined role in the future of the succession, Octavia, although not necessarily marginalized, becomes less important to the future of the *Domus Augusta* than she once was. As her role in the future of the dynasty receded, the need for a ‘political’ body also fell away. Despite this, her portraits are attractive and have the stylistic elements of the period, but they are not depicted as overly classical, powerful or vigorous. In my opinion this is not a matter of artistic merit but a matter of rank and station within the Julio-Claudian dynasty. This highlights the differences between the natural body of those who are not seen as politically vital and those members of the dynasty who required and so adopted the ‘political’ body.

Livia, Elizabeth I and the ‘Doctrine of Capacities’

Over the course of Augustus’ reign, Livia’s image altered to become a twin of the ‘political’ body of Augustus and took on the mantle of the ‘doctrine of capacities.’ Not only did her image represent Livia Drusilla the individual, but also the *princeps femina* of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

In order to fully appreciate the scale of Livia’s success in adopting a ‘political’ body, we shall, return to the public image of Elizabeth I for a comparison. Within the image of Elizabeth I, we see an example of the ‘political’ body described by Strong as the ‘mask of youth.’ Despite this,

³⁸⁸ For the death of Marcellus, see Sue.*Aug.*63.1

we possess contemporary accounts of Elizabeth detailing what she looked like naturally, without the aid of a forgiving artist. A German diplomat called Paul Hentzner observed in 1598 that the image Elizabeth portrayed in portraits no longer matched reality. On seeing her walk to her chapel in Greenwich Palace he remarked:

‘Next came the queen, in the sixty-fifth year of her age, as we were told, very majestic; her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled; her eyes small, yet black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked; her lips narrow, and her teeth black (a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar); she had in her ears two pearls, with very rich drops; she wore false hair, and that red; upon her head she had a small crown...’³⁸⁹

Notice how Hentzner comments both on the queen’s face showing wrinkles and that her hair was quite obviously not her own, both are definite signs of ageing. Here, we see a description of Elizabeth’s natural body. At sixty-five years of age, it would be expected that the queen had several wrinkles and that the colour of her hair may not be natural. This is not the only indication that the queen was beginning to show signs of age. In his *Ocean to Cynthia*, Walter Raleigh depicts Elizabeth in less than flattering terms. Although she is depicted as Cynthia, Goddess of the Moon, Raleigh chooses to use the image of a moon in wane rather than one on the rise.³⁹⁰ He describes Elizabeth using the line ‘constraint me guides, as old age draws a stone against hill, which over-weighty lines,’ openly referring to the queen as old.³⁹¹ This perhaps refers to the fact that although he had played the game of courtly love with Elizabeth, he truly

³⁸⁹ Hentzner Vol.2. p.89 Trans. Lord Orford.

³⁹⁰ Hopkins 2011:89 argues that ‘both the phoenix and the moon-goddess Phoebe/Diana/Cynthia [were] favoured emblems of the Queen’, Cobb 1990:226 also discusses references to Elizabeth I as the moon-goddess.

³⁹¹ Raleigh. *Cyn*, in Hebel and Hudson. XX.532-33.

saw her as an old and unattractive woman when it came to the image of her natural, not 'political' self.

Despite the fact that the depictions by Hentzner and Raleigh portray the natural ageing of someone in her sixties, this was not the impression which Elizabeth wanted for her public image. Instead, she crafted a 'political' body, to which she stuck rigidly. In this, we also see elements of Livia's 'political' body too. Much like Livia, political circumstance first necessitated the change in the public image of Elizabeth I. Having reached the age of sixty, both unmarried and childless, Elizabeth needed a way to silence those who were questioning the continued stability of the monarchy. Elizabeth's solution was to reinvent her public image; perpetual youth and vitality became the standard depiction of her in works of art. A fine example of this is the Ditchley Portrait (4.10), which shows Elizabeth as the embodiment of regal power and vitality. Painted in c.1592 by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger when Elizabeth was aged around sixty-years old, the image depicts a woman who appears to have largely escaped the ravages of time.



Figure 4.10 Elizabeth I, Ditchley portrait.³⁹²

The Ditchley portrait is a rare surviving example of a full-length portrait of the queen, which highlights her power and majesty in the wake of questions about her physical capabilities. James Jewitt has described the image depicted in some detail:

‘Gheeraerts depicted Elizabeth life-size, balancing on the globe that occupies the lower quarter of the large canvas. An enormous gown supported by a wide farthingale festooned with diamonds and rubies anchors her to a map of England in the centre of the globe. Dressed in a wired ruff and winged sleeves, she fills

³⁹² Queen Elizabeth I ('The Ditchley portrait') by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, oil on canvas, circa 1592. NPG 2561.

the picture plane. The background is bisected down the middle: the sun shines in clear blue skies on the left, while lightning rends stormy skies on the right. Elizabeth wears a large red wig surmounted by a crown.’³⁹³

The Ditchley Elizabeth has long been the subject of scholar’s attentions from an iconographic point of view. The queen has been variously identified as depicting: Spenserian Fairy Queen Gloriana, the Virgin Mary, a ‘divine monarch,’ or the embodiment of Fortuna herself.³⁹⁴ However, a subject which appears to have garnered less scholarly attention is the queen’s age. Although Elizabeth was around sixty when this image was painted, there is not much sense of this when viewing the image. The eyes of the queen may appear to have dark circles which give her eyes a hooded look, a feature which becomes more pronounced with age, but despite this, she appears youthful.

The image is inscribed with the Latin phrase ‘HIS FORTUNA PARENS ILLIS INIVSTA NOVERCA EST,’ ‘to these Fortune is a parent, to those a wicked stepmother.’ Again, this builds on the idea of motherhood, and yet again it solidifies Elizabeth’s position as a constant presence and as ‘parent’ to her country. The Ditchley Elizabeth, along with previous images assessed in Chapter One, can be seen as her ‘political’ body. This supports the idea that the images of the sun and storms could be seen as a reference to the queen’s longevity.

Whether or not the symbolism of perpetual rule was Elizabeth’s aim, she certainly conducted a campaign to have all images which did not correspond to this depiction removed. In 1596, the year of her sixty-fifth birthday, the queen recalled all portraits of herself which she deemed unflattering. An order to the Privy Council commanded public officers ‘to aid the queen’s Sergeant Painter in seeking out unseemly portraits which were to her ‘great offence’ and

³⁹³ Jewitt 2014:293.

³⁹⁴ For Elizabeth’s depiction as Gloriana, see Strong, 1963:153,157; for Elizabeth as the Virgin Mary, see Montrose 2006:130. For Elizabeth as Fortuna, see Norbrook 1984:152-153.

therefore to be defaced and no more portraits to be produced except as approved by [the] Sergeant Painter.³⁹⁵ The portraits ‘approved by the Sergeant Painter’ suggest that Elizabeth was determined to craft and reproduce a ‘political’ body for herself. This appears to have been something which the queen had considered for some years before the recall of images in 1596. A draft of a royal proclamation in 1563 attempted to regulate the reproduction and circulation of images of Elizabeth.³⁹⁶ As of 1563, the standard image of Elizabeth became what is known as the ‘Hampden Elizabeth’ (4.11).

Figure 4.11. Elizabeth, Hampden Portrait.³⁹⁷



Both the proclamation made by Elizabeth in regard to the reproduction of her image and the numerous examples which display the ‘mask of youth’, suggest that the queen was extremely careful in her crafting and maintaining of a ‘political’ body. Any portraits which were produced

³⁹⁵ Bruce 2013:4

³⁹⁶ The Acts of The Privy Council 1596. Volume 25. Available online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol25/pp26-50>. [date accessed 28.12.2020].

³⁹⁷ *The Hampden Portrait*, oil on panel transferred onto canvas. Anglo Flemish School, Private Collection Photo, Philip Mould Ltd, London Bridgeman Images.

came under scrutiny, and that scrutiny aimed to eliminate images which showed the queen looking like someone of her age is expected to. Any image which showed the queen's natural body was to be replaced or destroyed. The personal motto of Elizabeth was *Semper Eadem* or 'always the same,' which highlights how the queen attempted to remain the embodiment of youth and the nation, until her death in 1601.

By 1596 there was now no correlation between the political ideal of the queen's beauty, or as Kantorowicz would have it, 'the body politic', and the queen's real, natural body.³⁹⁸ As her natural body aged, Elizabeth resorted to the adoption of the 'political' body which can be seen in the Ditchley and Hampden portraits of the queen. The reason for the adoption of Elizabeth's 'political' body was to dispel the idea that she needed to produce an heir. As the 'political' body was ageless however, there was no need for an heir and there was no need to worry about the succession. Here the 'doctrine of capacities' is once again useful in revealing the effectiveness of the 'political body.' Elizabeth as an individual may age, fall ill and eventually, die, but Elizabeth as the 'political' body, depicted in the famous portraits, is ageless and not subject to any weaknesses of age or illness. The portrait depicts her as Elizabeth I, Queen of England, and as such, they are as Plowden stated:

'a Body [...] utterly void of Infancy and old Age, and other natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body natural is subject to, and for this Cause, what the King does in his Body politic, cannot be invalidated or frustrated by any disability in his natural Body'.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸ Kantorowicz 1957: 220-221; Montrose 2006:222.

³⁹⁹ Plowd. *Reports*, 212a.

In this facet of their public image Livia and Elizabeth share some similarities. By viewing Livia's and Elizabeth's image through the lens of the 'doctrine of capacities', we can see how they both successfully managed to create a sustainable and politically successful image. The comparison with Elizabeth allows us to reveal the concept of image management within Livia's iconography. Just as Louis Davillè suggested, 'one clarifies the unknown through the known' when using comparisons, such is the case with Elizabeth and Livia. Elizabeth's 'political' body held off allegations that her dynasty was a failure without having produced an heir. Similarly, Livia's iconography seeks to give the dynasty a more permanent feel as without an heir, the dynasty would fail inside one generation. The eternally youthful iconography of Livia, however, suggests that further heirs to the Principate are possible, adding to the sense of stability of the *Domus Augusta*. Most interestingly of all, Elizabeth's iconography held in check what she did not want her dynasty to be. While Elizabeth ruled, the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots was held in check from the throne, and this can be considered a great success of Elizabeth's imagery. This allows us to see also Livia's purpose more clearly, because, as the anti-Cleopatra, she reflected what the Julio-Claudians wanted their dynasty to look like. Even though Cleopatra was not a direct threat in the same manner as Mary Queen of Scots was to Elizabeth, the chaos of a renewed power struggle and return to anarchy loomed in the minds of those who saw the Julio-Claudians as the guarantors of peace.

Both created a new image for themselves, and both adopted the use of a 'political' body in order to fulfil their role. Both managed their respective images carefully and were able to navigate the challenges which faced them. Both adopted the guise of perpetual youth, although not always with complete success. The Ampurias and Louvre images of Livia prove that not all of the images followed an imperial model, as age and physical blemishes are visible on both. These depictions give us a glimpse at the natural image of Livia Drusilla, what Kantorowicz would have termed the natural body, and this was subject to all the ills and physical frailties of

being human. In order to negate this, Livia sought to produce an image which depicted her as the *princeps femina*. In this role, she could fashion her ‘political’ body, which could be ageless and classically beautiful. Seeing this through the idea of the ‘doctrine of capacities’, Livia Drusilla and her natural image is substituted for that of *princeps femina*.

Livia used her public image to build the dynastic ambitions of Augustus and the other key members of the *Domus Augusta*. By adopting a ‘political’ body, Livia could depict herself as young and energetic and so there was no reason for people to imagine a time when she and Augustus did not hold the position at the head of the Roman state. As the members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty adopted the ‘political’ body, it was clear that this demonstrated an ideological message, one which was reinforced by the frieze depicting the imperial family on the *Ara Pacis*. Livia’s public image also reveals an additional facet of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ in that it is a concept which is not gender specific. As we have seen with the images of Livia and Elizabeth I, female rulers were able to use the concept of a ‘political’ body just as well as their male counterparts. It could even be argued that because of the pressure on a female ruler to have children and therefore secure the dynasty, that the eternally youthful ‘political’ body was actually of greater advantage to them; particularly as they moved beyond the age of being able to bear a child.

Finally, we shall focus on a member of the dynasty who, although depicted in the procession of the *Ara Pacis*, appeared far less comfortable adopting the role of *princeps* than his step-father had been. Much like other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the images of Tiberius present us with the disconnection between the natural image of the individual and the ‘political’ body which they eventually fashion for themselves. In regard to Tiberius, it is clear that his early portraits bear little to no resemblance to Augustus or the ‘political’ body he fashioned for members of the *Domus Augusta*. Tiberius’ early portraits appear to depict the natural Tiberius, that is, what Tiberius may have actually looked like. Several examples suggest

that his early iconography had little resemblance to the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body and may even have taken facets from images of other prominent individuals, such as Marcus Agrippa.

One of the portraits which depict a natural Tiberius can be seen in an example known as the ‘Landsdowne’ Tiberius (4.12) which depicts him looking more like a man of fifty-five years old. The ‘Landsdowne’ portrait, now housed in the J. Paul Getty Museum in New York, depicts a man with a furrowed brow and wrinkles. These are of course, obvious signs of ageing. In addition, there also appear to be lines around his mouth and cheeks. This is a depiction of the natural body of Tiberius and does not depict a man who has yet been given the ‘political’ body of the *Domus Augusta*.



Figure 4.12 The ‘Landsdowne’ Tiberius.⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰ Portrait head of Tiberius, currently on display at the Getty Villa, Gallery 108, Temple of Hercules. Available online at <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/6731/unknown-maker-portrait-head-of-tiberius-the-landsdowne-tiberius-roman-ad-14-37/> [date accessed 1.1.22].

A second portrait of Tiberius as a younger man provides even greater evidence for the physiognomic changes which Tiberius' image underwent as he moved closer to becoming *princeps*. Known as Type I or 'First Military' type (4.13), Pollini suggests that this type should be dated to around 19 BC and that this image depicts Tiberius as a young man. According to Pollini, we should see the 'military' type as representing Tiberius in the role of 'a charismatic commander and a rising star in the imperial family.'⁴⁰¹



Figure 4.13 Type I ('First Military' type = Naples-Basel type) Pl. 8, 1-2 Marble bust of Tiberius. Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6052, from Farnese Collection.

Despite Pollini's claim that Tiberius was the rising star of the imperial family, we see little resemblance in the image of Tiberius with the 'political' body of Augustus. Boschung has claimed that the first military portrait type is more reminiscent of the appearance of Agrippa. 'Tiberius' hairstyle in this type were not influenced by Augustus' coiffure, but by that of Agrippa, most notably in the formation of the hair on the temples, the forking of the locks over the inner corner of the left eye, and the shoved-together pincer near the middle of the

⁴⁰¹ Pollini 2005:64.

forehead.⁴⁰² Pollini agrees that this is possible, especially given the dating. In 19 BC Agrippa had just become Tiberius' father-in-law.⁴⁰³ From the military type, we can see that this image does not resemble those of Augustus. As Boshung has pointed out, the image is similar to Agrippa, who was not blood related to either Augustus or Livia.

The most prominent feature of the 'military type' portrait is Tiberius' nose, not only is it much longer than the noses on the portraits of other members of the *Domus Augusta* but it is also more reminiscent of the portrait of Agrippa Postumus which was examined in Chapter Three. Tiberius then, just like Postumus, was not being considered as a successor to Augustus. Therefore, he was depicted as he looked. He was not given the 'political' body which other members of the dynasty assumed at earlier points in their lives and public careers. The will of Augustus makes clear that Tiberius was not his step-father's first choice as a successor. Upon his death, the will of Augustus, which was read out in the Senate, suggests that Augustus wanted an heir of his own blood to succeed him. His will read, 'on account of the fact that fortune had taken my sons Gaius and Lucius from me, Tiberius was to be the heir.'⁴⁰⁴ As other potential heirs predeceased Augustus, it became increasingly clear that Tiberius was the only option remaining as a successor to the *princeps*.

In order to prepare for Tiberius' succession as *princeps*, a new public image was created for him. One which depicted the 'political' body which had already been given to other members of the *Domus Augusta*. In 13 AD, Tiberius was given *imperium maius* by the Senate. This was equal to the authority which Augustus held and so, effectively made him co-ruler along with his step-father. In the same year, a new portrait type was produced for Tiberius. These portraits belong to the *imperium maius* type.

⁴⁰² Boshung 1993:376.

⁴⁰³ Pollini 2005: 64; For Tiberius' various marriages, see Suet. *Tib.*2.1-3.

⁴⁰⁴ Suet. *Tib.*23.1.



Figure 4.14. The emperor Tiberius.⁴⁰⁵

One such example of the *imperium maius* portrait of Tiberius (4.14) was originally discovered in Philomelium (modern day Turkey) and is currently on display in the Louvre. The Louvre portrait of Tiberius possesses many of the visual elements of the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body fashioned by Augustus. Tiberius, like his step-father, is depicted as youthful, despite being fifty-five years old when this portrait was produced. Other examples of portraits of Tiberius show that in this *imperium maius* type, he has fully adopted the ‘political’ body of the *Domus Augusta* as would be expected once he had been granted similar powers to that of Augustus. As Vout has suggested ‘before Tiberius, Augustus’ name and image, although public property,

⁴⁰⁵ Portrait of Tiberius, dated to around 13 AD image available online at <https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/tiberius-emperor-ad-14-37>. Currently on display in the Louvre, room 411. [date accessed 28.12.2020].

were his alone; now they were a badge of office; not just portrait but paradigm.’⁴⁰⁶ Viewing this through the lens of the ‘doctrine of capacities’, it is clear that the ‘paradigm’ which Augustus had created would be adopted by other members of the dynasty, even after his death. What is most interesting about accounts of Tiberius’ reign, is that the idea of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ can be seen in a section of Tacitus’ account of the *princeps*’ meeting with a disguised slave. This allows us to see how the ‘doctrine of capacities’ is not just a concept which relates to material evidence, such as statues and portraits but can also extend to the instances where the *princeps* is viewed in person. On occasions like these, the *princeps* adopts the idea of *dissimulatio* to maintain the image of the ‘political’ body.

Tiberius and the act of ‘*dissimulatio*.’

Thus far, we have discussed the idea of a natural and a ‘political’ body in terms of images. In the final section of this chapter, I believe it will be useful to discuss the concept of *dissimulatio* once again. *Dissimulatio* can prove useful to a ruler who may be required to be seen in public on occasion. In order for the ruler to display the image of their ‘political’ body when in public, they were, at times, required to adopt the trappings or costumes of their position, to shield, as far as possible, their natural selves from the view of those they ruled. In regard to Tiberius, he was a member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty who embodies the concept of *dissimulatio*. Vout, in her study on the succession to the role of *princeps* after the death of Augustus, has suggested that Tiberius adopted the *dissimulatio* in order to strengthen the Principate. In the instance of Tiberius (and to some extent Augustus), the art of ‘seeming’ was used to display the political image that they had created whether they were in a private setting or in public.

As the ‘political’ image had to match the natural as far as was possible, many of the figures of the *Domus Augusta* adopted elements of the ‘mask’ which Goffman referred to as key for

⁴⁰⁶ Vout 2013:60.

everyday interaction. In order to effectively project the role of the *princeps*, Augustus had to ensure that he was always ready to present that concept to anyone, at any time. Suetonius recounts that Augustus always, ‘kept his shoes and clothes by his bed to wear on unexpected occasions.’⁴⁰⁷ Viewed through the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’, this provides a new way of seeing this at first, quite innocuous statement. The clothes and the shoes which Augustus kept close to his bed, were his costume, his ‘political’ body. Whenever anyone had to see him in person, he made sure that he was still presenting the *princeps*, rather than the image of Gaius Octavius. This can also be seen in his desire to always stand next to shorter men in public, this again was part of the *dissimulatio* of the role of the *princeps*. Augustus was so successful in fashioning his ‘political’ body both in public and private, that the issue of the succession hindered Tiberius when he came to found his own conception of the Principate.

Vout insightfully comments that the people would expect ‘Augustus two,’ a reincarnation of the original *princeps*.⁴⁰⁸ Vout has also suggested that *princeps* should be seen as a role and this is supported by further contemporary evidence. An account from Tacitus confirms the idea that Tiberius was adopting the role of *princeps* and that this was not part of his natural self. The incident involves a slave who had disguised himself as Agrippa Postumus in order to gain access to Tiberius’ villa, on the isle of Capri. When Tiberius confronted the slave, he asked him “How did you turn yourself into Agrippa?” The slave is supposed to have indicated the clothes which he was wearing and replied, “The same way you turned yourself into Caesar.”⁴⁰⁹ Here we see the same idea in regard to presenting the concept of the *princeps* to those who had seen Tiberius in person. The slave who imitated Postumus is suggesting that it was Tiberius’ appearance and the clothes he wore which made him the image of the *princeps*. Once again,

⁴⁰⁷ Suet. *Aug.*34.

⁴⁰⁸ Vout 2013:61.

⁴⁰⁹ Tac *Ann.*2.39-40.

processing this through the ‘doctrine of capacities’, it is clear that Tiberius could adopt the ‘political’ body of the *princeps* and use his outward appearance to do so. As the fact that Tiberius had adopted the role was pointed out by a slave, it would suggest that he was not as successful as Augustus had been at portraying the concept in person. What this does suggest is that when viewed in person, the natural body could be obscured by ‘elements’ of the ‘political’ one. In this case, the clothes worn by Augustus and Tiberius. The costume of the *princeps* shows that the ‘political’ body did not need to *just* apply to portraits and paintings.

Elizabeth I can also be seen to have adopted the outward signs of a ‘political’ body. Accounts of her morning routine suggest that the queen would ready herself with clothes, hair and makeup before being seen by members of the court: ‘the wrinkles around her eyes and mouth, as well as her smallpox scars, were hidden by layers of caustic cosmetics. White lead and vinegar were used to glaze Elizabeth’s skin and give it the pale white colour for which she became famous. Egg white was also used to hide her wrinkles and smooth out the queen’s complexion.’⁴¹⁰ When appearing in public, it was even more vital that the monarch depicted the ‘political’ body, and this is something which has been noted by historians studying earlier periods too. William Makepeace Thackeray has astutely remarked that the image seen in public is merely a matter of the attire the ruler is wearing, ‘you see at once, that majesty is made out of the wig, the high-heeled shoes, and cloak.... Thus, do barbers and cobblers make the gods that we worship’.⁴¹¹

The enduring success of the ‘political’ body fashioned by Augustus may indicate that this was the only configuration possible, and that eternal youth must be one of the major concepts of the ‘political’ body. The expansion of the image of the ‘political’ body upon the friezes of the *Ara Pacis* was the first public ideological statement of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, suggesting the concept was flexible enough to apply to members of the *Domus Augusta* of different ages,

⁴¹⁰ Whitelock 2013:191.

⁴¹¹ Thackeray 1868: from his drawing *Ludovicus Rex*.

but also different genders too. The ‘doctrine of capacities,’ when used to view the ‘two bodies’ of the members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, proves itself flexible enough to adapt to multiple rulers and their specific situations. Claudius, as a later member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, would take this adaptability further still. Offering a distinctive take on the ‘two bodies’ theory, one which proved suitable to his own unique set of physical circumstances. How Claudius altered the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body and how successful he was at disseminating this image will be the subject of Chapter Five.

Chapter 5: Claudius and an American President

Of all the Julio-Claudians, Claudius is perhaps the one who best expresses the durability of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and its conception of the ‘two bodies’ theory. His rule marked a new kind of ‘political’ body, one which gave those who had previously been seen as incapable of ruling a way of crafting a new image for themselves. One which was unconcerned with attributes such as youth and vitality. In previous chapters, I have demonstrated how, for the most part, rulers were determined to secure the continuation of their dynasty by presenting a ruler who was eternally youthful. The evidence examined has shown that in most cases, rulers were determined to use the ‘political’ body to present a more durable, youthful image than they naturally possessed. Wrinkles have been removed, thinning hair re-grown, and other unsightly blemishes deemed unpalatable for public displays, eradicated. Augustus had created a ‘political’ body which could and was applied to the public images of other members of the *Domus Augusta*. The accession of Claudius to the position of *princeps* offers another application for the ‘doctrine of capacities’; one which cannot be seen in any images or ‘political’ bodies of the other members of the *Domus Augusta*. When Claudius became *princeps* in 54 AD, his rule was followed by a new model of imperial public image which meant that the concealment of age was no longer strictly *de rigueur*. Instead of a focus on youth, the ‘political’ body adopted by Claudius, was one which displayed strength and vitality. The reason for this adaptation was because Claudius possessed a physical disability which previous members of the *Domus Augusta* had not. Therefore, he adapted the concept of the ‘political’ body to overcome his physical frailties.

The second half of this chapter will further display the adaptability of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and the creation of ‘political body’ by examining the public image of a ruler from

the twentieth century, American President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. A comparison with Claudius, will show how successful the creation of ‘political’ body can be, but also to demonstrate how the ‘doctrine of capacities’ can be used by rulers from multiple time periods to address the same issues and frailties.

The example of Claudius highlights that it is not only issues of age and gender which can be solved by the use of a ‘political’ body. In addition, a ruler could adopt a ‘political’ body in order to change their public image from that of a disabled ruler, to one who was able-bodied. Claudius was born with a disability and this, coupled with the circumstances of his accession to the Principate, made his position especially precarious. In order to understand the challenges faced by Claudius, I believe it would be useful to briefly discuss some of the views towards disability within the Roman Republic and Empire. Once completed, this will allow for a more rounded examination of the reasons why Claudius sought to adopt a ‘political’ body and in addition, make clear how successful the model he had chosen was at hiding the physical frailties he possessed.

As Corbeill has noted when discussing those who were deemed suitable to lead the state, ‘bodies mattered.’⁴¹² Those who ascended to or were placed in the position to rule were expected to be able to meet the physical demands of the role. This idea also finds support in the works of Cicero who referred to the concept of ‘visible *dignitas*’, or how a man carried himself and his physical appearance. For Cicero, the concept could mean not only what an individual looked like, but also their ability to lead.⁴¹³ Any deviation from the idea of an individual with ‘visible *dignitas*’ was to be treated with suspicion, fear and even contempt. This is what Cicero has described as deviating from nature.⁴¹⁴ This does not appear to be merely

⁴¹² Corbeill 2006:443.

⁴¹³ Corbeill 2006:443. Cic. *Fin.*2.18.

⁴¹⁴ Cic. *Fin.*2.17.

the view of one Roman writer, with Pliny advocating spitting at a person with a limp in their right leg to avoid contagion.⁴¹⁵ This suggests that those who had a disability were considered as ‘other’ and separate from the rest of society. Cicero reveals that individuals would attempt to hide any disability they possessed, so that it might not be seen as a deformity, ‘do you notice how men try to hide a deformed or infirm or maimed limb? They actually take great pains and trouble to conceal, if they possibly can, their bodily defect, or at all events to let it be seen as little as possible.’⁴¹⁶ In support of the idea and display of ‘visible *dignitas*’ Van Lommel has argued ‘impairments that were difficult to conceal, like facial disfigurements, the loss of a limb or lameness made the body ugly.’⁴¹⁷ Not only did having a disability make someone an object of fear or ridicule, it could also damage an aspiring politician’s career. A physical ‘deformity’ and the shame and fear which it induced could prohibit an individual from political advancement. For example, according to Dionysus of Halicarnassus, a physical fault could prevent you from becoming a priest or according to Gellius, a Vestal Virgin.⁴¹⁸

Even those who had demonstrated their physical prowess in battle could not overcome the stigma attached to disability. Marcus Sergius was a warrior of great renown, having fought bravely in the Second Punic war. During the course of the war, he lost his right hand. Pliny recounts Sergius’ exploits in battle with some admiration, yet the fear and unease of his contemporaries over his disability is clear. Sergius was elected to the praetorship, yet we have no record of him either standing for or winning the consulship. This could suggest that even for a man of great martial valour, the stigma of a disability provided limitations. In another passage, Pliny reveals that Sergius was excluded from a religious ceremony because of his disability, ‘all this we learnt from an oration of his, which he delivered when, in his praetorship,

⁴¹⁵ Plin. *HN*. 28.7

⁴¹⁶ Cic. *Fin.* 2.17.

⁴¹⁷ Van Lommel 2015:95.

⁴¹⁸ DH.2.21.3; Gell.1.12.3.

his colleagues attempted to exclude him from the sacred rites, on the grounds of his infirmities.⁴¹⁹ The term *debilis*, or infirm is used to describe Sergius and although we do not know whether Sergius' appeal to be allowed to partake in the rights was successful, the very existence of the episode is revealing for the fact that it suggests even martial prowess did not completely remove the stigma attached to disability. It appears that during the reign of Augustus the disbaring nature of a disability or a deformity was made legal, as senators were barred from holding priesthoods if they possessed a disability.⁴²⁰ Given the fear and loathing associated with disability among the Roman elite, it is not surprising that Claudius sought to hide, lessen and manage his condition once he assumed the role of *princeps*.

Claudius was born with a disability, yet there is little sign of this within his public images. Instead, he is portrayed as physically capable and strong. The opportunity to completely amend his image certainly existed for Claudius upon his accession: he was over fifty years of age and was a virtual unknown to anyone in the provinces when he assumed the role of *princeps*. These circumstances could have easily given Claudius the inclination, and perhaps the means, to portray himself as younger in his public image. Alternatively, however, Claudius chose only to hide signs of his disability. It is important to note that Claudius' 'political' body may have hidden his physical frailties, but it did not attempt to hide his age. In this instance we are seeing a new application for the 'political' body. Not only could the 'political' body be crafted to remove the signs of ageing, and the weakness which accompanied it, but Claudius revealed that it could also be used to erase physical frailties; either those which were congenital or those which had been the result of some accident or injury. The 'political' body of the ruler gave Claudius the chance to project the ideal, physical image of himself. This was something which

⁴¹⁹ Plin. *HN*.7.29.

⁴²⁰ Dio 54.26.8-9

he had never had the opportunity to do before. In order to properly evaluate the use and success of the ‘political’ body crafted by Claudius, it is important that we fully understand the nature of his disability and how it impacted his ability to perform the tasks necessary to fulfil the role of *princeps*.

Anyone but him: Claudius and His Disability

Following the assassination of his nephew, Caligula, Claudius was duly elected by acclamation by both Caligula’s former bodyguards and, subsequently, the Praetorian Guard.⁴²¹ The reason for his election appears to have been that he was the only male member of the dynasty left alive after the murder of Caligula, and this caused problems which Claudius had to overcome. Thrust into the spotlight at the age of fifty, Claudius had to become accustomed to the harsh glare of public scrutiny. In order to understand how he decided to portray himself publicly, it is important to understand how his earlier experiences had come to shape the public image of his rule. It appears that Claudius was hampered by his disability, with Suetonius recording that ‘he suffered from various persistent illnesses to such a degree that his mental and physical development was impaired.’⁴²² Historians have suggested multiple possibilities for Claudius’ disability, ranging from congenital cerebral palsy to Tourettes syndrome.⁴²³ Whatever the exact nature of Claudius’ disability, it manifested itself through several physical symptoms. Suetonius notes that he had ‘feeble knees’ which would ‘often fail him.’ He was also said to have possessed a noticeable limp.⁴²⁴ In addition to weaknesses in his lower body, Claudius is also reported to have had a speech impediment and a consistent tick whereby ‘his head twitched all the time.’⁴²⁵

⁴²¹ Josep. *AJ*.19; Dio Cass. 60.1.3.

⁴²² Suet. *Claud*.2.1-2.

⁴²³ For a diagnosis of cerebral palsy, see Leon 1948:79, Levick 1993:15 and Armstrong 2013:1. For a diagnosis of Tourette syndrome, see Murad 2010:221-227. For a diagnosis of Polio, see Graves 1930.

⁴²⁴ Suet. *Claud*.30.1.

⁴²⁵ Suet. *Claud*.30.1.

Due to his disability and the symptoms it caused, Claudius was treated with disdain by members of his own family, who frequently mocked or ignored him. We are told by Suetonius that Claudius' mother Antonia

[...] often called him 'a monster of a man, not finished but merely begun by Dame Nature'; and if she accused anyone of dullness, she used to say that he was 'a bigger fool than her son Claudius.'⁴²⁶

Not only did his mother treat Claudius with contempt, but it appears that his grandmother, Livia, also harboured similar thoughts about him, to the extent that she was at pains not to speak to her grandson at all.⁴²⁷ His sister, Livilla, openly mourned the fate of the Roman people when she heard that Claudius was to become emperor.⁴²⁸ Not only was Claudius ridiculed by his family, but it was also decided that he should play no public role within the imperial family.⁴²⁹ Both Augustus and Livia exchanged letters on the subject of whether Claudius should have had a public role in the imperial family, with one letter stating that 'for if he is sound and, so to speak, all there, have we any reason to suppose that he may not advance along the same path by the same steps as his brother has done?'⁴³⁰ Further evidence of Claudius' isolation can be seen in the fact that he was given no real experience of public office during the reign of Augustus, apart from being a member of the college of augurs. Under the reign of Tiberius, Claudius was similarly side-lined, where he was offered the insignia of a former consul but was not allowed to hold the office. For a time, he retained the privilege of speaking in the Senate in the position of an ex-consul but Tiberius soon had his honour stripped from him, insisting that his nephew was too infirm for the task.⁴³¹ Garland has noted that even

⁴²⁶ Suet. *Claud.*3.2.

⁴²⁷ Suet. *Claud.*3.2 Suetonius recounts that Livia 'always had the greatest contempt for him [Claudius] speaking to him only on the rarest occasions and giving him instructions in brief and peremptory notes or else via an intermediary.'

⁴²⁸ Suet. *Claud.*3.2.

⁴²⁹ Suet. *Claud.*4

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ Suet. *Claud.*5.1.

membership of the imperial family was no guarantee that a disabled child would receive love and affection.⁴³² Yet it is perhaps worth noting that Claudius was allowed to be an augur, a religious official who observed natural signs despite his disability, which was something Augustus had prohibited members of the Senate who had a disability from doing by law. Another difficult episode before Claudius became *princeps* can be seen in the fact that Claudius was dressed in a 'Greek cloak' when attending gladiatorial games. In Rome, the 'Greek cloak,' like the one which Claudius wore to open the games, was (among other things) the sign of an invalid; someone with either a physical or mental condition which set them apart from other people.⁴³³ This could be deemed a sign that Claudius was considered incapable of ruling. This is further supported by the fact that when he assumed his toga of manhood, he was carried to the Capitoline upon a litter in the middle of the night, so that no one would witness the ceremony.⁴³⁴ Edwards has suggested that the Greek cloak worn by Claudius during his public appearances was the sign of someone who could not care for themselves.⁴³⁵ This further supports the idea that Claudius was not considered a member of the *Domus Augusta*. By not wearing a toga in public nor being seen to assume the toga of manhood in public, Claudius was already being excluded from the line of succession. Edmundson suggests that the wearing of a toga 'laid claim to a shared Roman identity and shared cultural tradition in which each of these garments were invested.'⁴³⁶ The fact that Claudius did not wear the toga suggests that he was not considered part of the same culture and identity as those he would one day unexpectedly rule.

Despite the view that Claudius was unfit to shoulder any type of responsibility or leadership role, it appears that his disability did not always hamper him to the same degree. Upon his

⁴³² Garland 1995:29. For examples in primary sources detailing the treatment of children with disabilities, see Arist. *Pol.*7.16; Plut. *Lycur*; Herod.5.92.

⁴³³ Fant and Reddish 2008:334.

⁴³⁴ For Claudius wearing a Greek cloak, see Suet. *Claud.*2.2 and also for his visit to the Capitoline.

⁴³⁵ Edward 2000:328.

⁴³⁶ Edmundson 2008:22.

accession to the throne, Claudius declared that ‘he had pretended stupidity.’⁴³⁷ While it may not have been the case that he pretended to be stupid, it is quite possible that Claudius may have exaggerated the level to which his disability hampered him physically. Claudius may have been just as skilful as both Augustus and Tiberius in the art of *dissimulatio* and used his acting ability to good effect before he came to the throne. For example, Claudius experienced moments where his condition and its physical manifestations were less pronounced. As noted in Augustus’ letter to Livia, even members of the imperial family appear to be unsure of how Claudius’ condition affected or, indeed, would continue to affect him. Augustus wrote to Livia expressing his shock over Claudius’ ability to speak publicly,

‘Confound me, dear Livia, if I am not surprised that your grandson [Claudius].... could please me with his declaiming. How in the world anyone who is so unclear in his conversation can speak with clearness and propriety when he declaims, is more than I can see.’⁴³⁸

The correspondence between Livia and Augustus suggests that Claudius was capable of performing tasks that could be considered difficult for him given his condition, with a great deal of ability. The ability to speak well in public is not altogether uncommon of people with a speech impediment, particularly under the correct circumstances.⁴³⁹ Accounts detailing Claudius’ ability to run, walk or climb steps also suggest that the nature of his condition led to variations in his ability to move around unaided. Jane Rice records that:

⁴³⁷ Suet. *Claud.* 38.3; Dio Cass. 60.2.4.

⁴³⁸ Suet. *Claud.* 4.6.

⁴³⁹ For example, the Stuttering Foundation notes that often those who speak with a stutter lose their stutter when singing. A range of reasons for the improvement are given but one of the main causes is said to be the process of ‘word retrieval.’ This is where the person singing has already memorised the words and so does not need to search for a response. For further information, see <https://www.stutteringhelp.org/content/singing-and-stuttering-what-we-know-0> [date accessed 16.1.2021].

‘descriptions of his [Claudius’] gait disturbance also suggests variations in severity. For example, during one public appearance he seems to have walked down the aisle of an amphitheatre between tiers of seats to reach his own place without difficulty. Despite the fact this would have presumably needed the negotiation of a series of steps.’⁴⁴⁰

It is possible that what these instances show are merely the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ days of someone who has a particular medical condition. However, in light of the fact that Suetonius suggests Claudius had deceived the rest of his family, it could be argued that Claudius was an expert in presenting people with the image he wanted them to see rather than the reality. Thomas Ruth suggests that Claudius was incapable, both physically and mentally, of performing the duties of the *princeps*.⁴⁴¹ Since then, other scholars have fought back against that tradition with Arnaldo Momigliano stating that Claudius was certainly capable of the role from an intellectual perspective. Momigliano goes as far as to claim that Claudius was a more able administrator than either Tiberius or Caligula.⁴⁴² Others such as the classicist and author Robert Graves, have suggested that Claudius had no intellectual constraints which endangered his rule, but what he had to master was the intractable problem of how to survive as a male in the notoriously paranoid Julio-Claudian dynasty. In *I, Claudius*, and *Claudius the God* he notes that ‘he did not wish to be branded as a clever opportunist who pretended to be a fool.’⁴⁴³

Due to his disability, Claudius was given no important role within the framework of the *Domus Augusta*, yet this does not mean that he did not have his own conception of the role of the

⁴⁴⁰ Rice 2000:198-201; for the account of the story about Claudius, see Suet. *Claud.*21. It should be noted that Rice does not favour any of the traditional attributions of Claudius’ condition. Instead, she believes that the *princeps* suffered from dystonia, a movement disorder which causes muscles to contract uncontrollably. The diagnosis of dystonia has also been suggested by Valente 2002:398.

⁴⁴¹ Ruth 1916.

⁴⁴² Momigliano 1934:78.

⁴⁴³ Graves 1934:10.

princeps. During his lifetime, he had carefully observed both the most and least successful rulers of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Over the course of his fourteen years as *princeps*, it is clear that Claudius endeavoured to put what he had learnt into practice. Instead of presenting those he ruled with an image of the natural body of Tiberius Claudius Germanicus, Claudius instead presented his own conception of the ‘political’ body, one which eliminated, as far as possible, any hint of his physical disability. He began his transformation from Tiberius Claudius Germanicus to the *princeps* by adopting a ‘political’ body which was unique to his own set of political circumstances.

Claudius and his Public Image

Upon his accession as *princeps*, it was clear that Claudius was at a severe disadvantage relative to his predecessors. Claudius was the first *princeps* to have gained the role without the usual criteria associated with its assumption. Augustus had been the great-nephew and adoptive son of Julius Caesar, possessing both the incalculable wealth and the vast *auctoritas* of his adoptive father. Augustus carefully enhanced his position during his near forty-year reign and was able to designate his own successor. That successor was Tiberius, who although sullen and distrustful of the Senate, was Augustus’ designated successor and a man with a proven and successful military record and experience of the office of consul.⁴⁴⁴ While Augustus had a blood link to Julius Caesar, Tiberius was Augustus’ designated heir and a figure with a distinguished political and military standing; Claudius possessed none of these advantages. Even in the case of Caligula, it is important to note that he was a direct descendant of Augustus as he was the son of Agrippina the Elder, the daughter of Augustus’ daughter Julia and his long-time friend and ally, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, making Caligula the great-grandson of

⁴⁴⁴ For his designation as heir, see Suet. *Tib.* 15., 23; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3; for his consulships, see Dio Cass. 55.9, Levick 1999:42. For the celebration of triumphs, see Suet. *Tib.* 20-21.

Augustus. In addition to this, Caligula had been designated a co-heir by the previous *princeps*, Tiberius.⁴⁴⁵

After the murder of Caligula, Claudius had been found cowering behind a curtain by a member of the Praetorian Guard and removed from the imperial palace and away from the assassins.⁴⁴⁶ As the only surviving male member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, he was immediately elevated to the position of *princeps* by the Praetorian Guard.⁴⁴⁷ As Josiah Osgood has noted, ‘at the moment Caligula fell dead, there was no legal basis for favouring him [Claudius] over another candidate.’⁴⁴⁸ There were in fact other claimants to become *princeps* and it was perhaps only the military support of the Guard which enabled Claudius’ accession.⁴⁴⁹ It should be noted that for many of his subjects, Claudius was a mystery upon his accession. Claudius held no political posts and was seen rarely in public and, even then, clothing was used to conceal the most pronounced symptoms of his condition.

In order to be seen as suitable for the role of *princeps*, Claudius had to introduce himself to the empire which he would now control. In terms of his public persona, of which image was a large part, Claudius had a near blank canvas on which to compose his own identity. Not possessing the natural advantage of a blood link to Augustus, nor the physical or martial advantages of his relatives, Tiberius or Germanicus, Claudius looked to forge a new type of public image. There were portraits of Claudius before he became emperor, within his role as a member of the *Domus Augusta*, but it appears there were very few of these portrayals in

⁴⁴⁵ Wood 1999:321; Pettinger 2012:235. For Caligula being co-heir to the empire, see Suet. *Tib.*76.1; Suet. *Calig.*12.1-2.

⁴⁴⁶ Joseph. AJ. 19.2.1.

⁴⁴⁷ Details of the plot against Caligula in its entirety can be found in Suet. *Calig.* 56-60; *Claud.*10; Dio Cass. 59.29-60.2.1; a blended version can be found in Joseph. AJ. 19.1-273. For Claudius’ reluctance to be emperor, see Dio Cass. 60.1.3a; Joseph AJ suggests that Claudius may have been a willing Emperor, even suggesting he may have had a hand in the plot. For scholarly opinion on Claudius alleged role in Caligula’s death, see Levick 1993:33-39.

⁴⁴⁸ Osgood 2011:30.

⁴⁴⁹ The Praetorians had awarded Claudius the title of imperator and this they had also done for Caligula upon his own accession.

existence.⁴⁵⁰ The portraits which existed prior to Claudius' rule appear to conform to the Julio-Claudian mould in so far as they maintained the fiction of perpetual youth. It appears that only later did Claudius choose to base his public image on that of a divine, or at least semi-divine, being. Many of the images of Claudius depict him as a god or give him divine qualities. One excellent example of this type can be seen in a cameo which portrays Claudius as Jupiter (5.1). While the mount for the cameo dates from the sixteenth century, the cameo itself is firmly dated to Claudius' reign.⁴⁵¹



Figure 5.1. Cameo Portraying Emperor Claudius as Jupiter.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ Statues for members of the *Domus Augusta* prior to their accession are relatively common, although this does depend on the political circumstances in which they were due to be elevated to the status of an heir to the *princeps*. For the number of statue bases, see Stuart 1938: 42; for statue bases for Britannicus, see Stuart 1939: 601-617; for Tiberius, Caligula and Nero, see Hanson and Johnson 1946: 389-400; for Gaius and Lucius Caesar, see also Pollini 1987. Højte 2003:365-388 calculated that there were forty pre-accession bases for Tiberius, eight for Caligula and ten for Nero.

⁴⁵¹ Art Institute of Chicago, Cameo 138.1

⁴⁵² Cameo Portraying Emperor Claudius as Jupiter dated to within the reign of the emperor Claudius 41-54AD. Currently housed at the Art Institute of Chicago. Image available online at <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/111809/cameo-portraying-emperor-claudius-as-jupiter> [date accessed 16.1.21].



Figure 5.2. Denarius depicting a more traditional 'bearded' Jupiter.⁴⁵³

The iconography of the cameo appears to be that of Jupiter but, when examined more closely, does have a slight twist on the traditional iconography of Rome's supreme deity. The god in this guise is clearly younger than traditional depictions of Jupiter (5.2). The typical iconography for Jupiter shows a mature, bearded man, yet the cameo image shows him as young, emphasised by his beardlessness. Jupiter in this form has been called Jupiter *Anxur* or *Veiovis*, the 'unbearded Jupiter.'⁴⁵⁴ Although that is not the only unusual part of this image. An examination of the face of the cameo informs the viewer that this is not an image of Jupiter, but of Claudius. Most interestingly of all, there is significant evidence that this cameo has been reworked to make the features of Jupiter become the features of Claudius.⁴⁵⁵ The iconography can be considered fairly standard for the depiction of Jupiter. The Art Institute of Chicago notes:

'he stands, turned to his right, supporting a long sceptre-staff in his left hand and a thunderbolt in his right. His feet are bare. He is nude except for the aegis, the magical woolly hide of the goat Amalthea, who suckled him as a baby; it is wrapped loosely

⁴⁵³ RRC: 449. C Vibius Cf Cn Pansa Caetronianus *denarius*. 48 BC. Mask of Pan right, PANSA below / IOVIS AXVR before, C VIBIVS C F C N behind, Jupiter Axurus seated left.

⁴⁵⁴ Ancient inscriptions and writers associate Veiovis with the underworld ancient Etruscan rites, the *gens Iulia* (Julian family), goats, laurel, and the god Apollo and his son Aesculapius, the god of medicine. The remains of one of his temples in Rome and a fragmentary, beardless cult statue have been excavated on the Capitoline Hill, near the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, partly incorporated into the *tabularium* (public records office) constructed by the emperor Claudius. Another excavation at Monte San Angelo in Terracina has found the remains of a temple dedicated to 'Jupiter *Anxur*' image found at <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-tempel-jupiter-axur-monte-san-angelo-terraccina-latium-italien-103156123.html> [date accessed 16.1.21]

⁴⁵⁵ The Art Institute of Chicago records that, 'A close look at the head of the figure reveals the likeness not of a god but of a man—Claudius, the fourth ruler of the dynasty of Julio-Claudian emperors.

around his hips and looped over his left arm. The giant golden eagle that served as the god's personal messenger looks up at him.⁴⁵⁶

It appears that Claudius was content to play around with the youthful look of his public image as Claudius' depiction as a god appears to play on the idea of eternal youth as a facet of the Julio-Claudian 'political' body and the Chicago cameo is the depiction of a young man. This is not the only image of Claudius which plays on similar aspects of the 'political' body fashioned by other members of the *Domus Augusta*. An *aureus* dated to 41-42 AD (5.3) shows Claudius as a young man adorned with *corona civica*, which was awarded to those who had saved a legion in battle.



Figure 5.3 *aureus* bearing Claudius on the obverse and an oak wreath on the reverse.⁴⁵⁷

The figure depicted on the coin bears the hallmarks of the 'political' body fashioned by Augustus and Tiberius, as well as Gaius and Lucius. Not only is the face similar in appearance, but the figure also appears to be far younger than Claudius was in reality. What this image also suggests is that Claudius was happy to adopt the facet of youth from the Julio-Claudian 'political' body early in his reign, before fashioning his own, more true to age version of the

⁴⁵⁶ Art Institute of Chicago, 1991 Cameo 138.

⁴⁵⁷ RIC 15, *aureus* bearing Claudius on the obverse and an oak wreath on the reverse. 41-42 AD. Property of the American Numismatic Society, Claudius n.6.

‘political’ body. It is possible that there was some family resemblance between the four individuals and Claudius, however it should be noted that Claudius was not actually closely related to Augustus, Gaius or Lucius, only being the grandson of Augustus’ sister, Octavia. This made Claudius the great-nephew of Augustus; exactly the same familial link which had given Augustus his own basis for power, being the great-nephew of Julius Caesar.⁴⁵⁸ It should also be noted that the image of the ‘political’ body was so similar throughout the *Domus Augusta*, that public works which depicted one member were often re-carved to look like another. For example, in the cameo depicting Claudius as Jupiter, analysis of the image has revealed that it had in fact, been reused. ‘The flattened top of the head, the bumpy line of the profile from hairline to chin, and the roughly carved locks of hair and wreath when compared with the precise engraving of the wool of the aegis and the feathers of the eagle are all evidence that the head was re-carved in antiquity, in order to cut the features of Claudius from the face of one of his predecessors — Gaius (Caligula), Tiberius, or Augustus.’⁴⁵⁹

Such was the durability of the ‘political’ body which the ‘doctrine of capacities’ made possible, that the concept could be adapted for multiple members of the *Domus Augusta*. As Claudius was fifty-five years old when he became *princeps*, the image of the *aureus* cannot possibly depict how Claudius actually looked in terms of age. Instead, it depicted the ‘political’ body. At the beginning of Claudius’ reign, the image depicted on the *aureus* (5.3) suggests that Claudius was comfortable adopting the ‘political’ body, which had been used by other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty; one which was youthful and had physiognomic similarities to other members.

The legend on the reverse of the coin attempts to tie Claudius even more closely to his predecessors. On the reverse the legend reads EXSC OB CIVES SERVATOS, which translates

⁴⁵⁸ Levick 1990:51

⁴⁵⁹ Art Institute of Chicago, 1991 Cameo 138.

as ‘for having saved the citizens.’ As Claudius had no military experience, could this refer to his role in saving the people from Caligula? Claudius was keen to exploit this as a public relations coup. The legend on the coin also reads ‘by decree of the Senate’ which suggested that his elevation to the Principate had saved the citizens of the empire from the rule of Caligula. The legend on the obverse of the coin awards Claudius the names ‘Caesar’ and ‘Augustus.’⁴⁶⁰ In linking himself to the two most influential members of the Julian clan, as well as being awarded the names which had become part of the nomenclature of the *princeps*, Claudius was purposefully giving the people a sense of continuity regarding their leader. This is also suggesting that Claudius had the ‘visible *dignitas*’ to take on the role of the *princeps* and this is displayed in the ‘political’ body depicted on the coin.

Other coins from early Claudian mints also continue this message. Another, dated to 41-42 AD (5.4), suggests that Claudius wanted the Julian link and therefore his ties with Augustus, to be explicit.



Figure 5.4. *denarius* of Claudius 41-42 AD.⁴⁶¹

This coin (5.4) shows Claudius as a younger man, depicted as crowned by a laurel wreath. Again, Claudius is playing on the idea of perpetual youth and strength, while the laurel wreath he wears shows his concern for the lives of fellow citizens. Most important on this *denarius* is

⁴⁶⁰ Osgood 2011:34.

⁴⁶¹ RIC II cf. 2; BMCRE -, cf. 1 *denarius* of Claudius AD41-42. Property of the American Numismatic Society, Claudius n.14.

the image which is shown on the reverse of the coin, a goddess known as ‘the Constancy of Augustus.’ This was a new goddess to the Roman pantheon and Osgood suggests that name was specifically chosen by Claudius as an endeavour to link himself to the rule of Augustus, highlight his familial link (although not directly by blood) and emphasise how he physically fitted the Julio-Claudian mould.⁴⁶²

Despite the early and obvious links to the visual image of his predecessors, Claudius altered and amended his public image, presumably as he became more comfortable with his position as *princeps*. Before Claudius became *princeps*, it appears that his portrait model was that of a Julio-Claudian, that is to say, idealised. Osgood comments that this model ‘depicted Claudius as a youth with a powerful neck and chin, fine facial features, and a thick cap of hair that reached down the back of his head.’⁴⁶³ However, as his reign progressed, Claudius created and adapted an image which suited the needs of his own ‘political’ body. In fact, of the 74 surviving portraits of Claudius in various forms, four major types have been categorized. This highlights how Claudius was keen to create his own image and fashion a ‘political’ body which suited his own circumstances, rather than merely looking to recreate the image of the ‘political’ body previously adopted by others.

In order to achieve this, Claudius needed to be sure of his position. As has already been established with the image and legend on both the *aureus* and *denarius* dated to 41-42 AD, the easiest and most politically expedient way to do this was to repurpose the iconography of previous members of the *Domus Augusta*. Not only is this visible in the coins minted early in Claudius’ reign, but it can also be seen in some of the early portraits of Claudius too.

⁴⁶² Osgood 2011:34.

⁴⁶³ Osgood 2011:51; on the possible medical reason for Claudius’ enlarged neck, see Baring-Gould 1923:467.

This type is referred to as the ‘Kassel’ and conforms to previous portraits of the Julio-Claudians as it mimics their physiognomic features, without having to be identical. The Kassel portrait type (5.5) depicts a rejuvenated and idealised portrait of Claudius and although there are other, less idealised types, these correspond in the closest physiognomic way to previous Julio-Claudian depictions.⁴⁶⁴



Figure 5.5. The ‘Kassel’ type of the emperor Claudius.⁴⁶⁵

The ‘Kassel’ type does possess a great deal of variation within the type. Here, the pattern of the hair is reminiscent of Tiberius; the difference is what Massner termed the ‘hair fork’, or what might be considered as the absence of a quiff.⁴⁶⁶ While other types of Kassel portrait appear different again. The Ocrinum Claudius has an identical hairline, yet this was a refashioned bust of the previous *princeps*, Caligula.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁴ In regard to the number of depictions of Claudius, the number of different types of portrait are fairly even. Of the 74 defined images of Claudius, there are currently :20 Kassel type, 37 main type, 16 Turin type.; Hildebrandt 2013:222.

⁴⁶⁵ The ‘Kassel’ type dated to around 41 AD. Currently on display in the Hessen Kassel Museum. Image available online at https://antikeskulptur.museum-kassel.de/detail.html?bild1=073_1&id=82 [date accessed 16.1.2021].

⁴⁶⁶ Massner 1982.

⁴⁶⁷ Varner 2004:26.



Figure 5.6. Bust of Claudius, currently on display in the Vatican Museum.⁴⁶⁸

The Kassel portrait (5.6), in part, assimilates Claudius to previous *principes* such as Augustus and Tiberius, partly because this was part of the imperial message, and partly because what Claudius actually looked like was not that well known.⁴⁶⁹ These portraits, along with the coins depicted, suggest a continuation of the Julio-Claudian mould. While the Kassel may have been the standard portrait at the beginning of Claudius' reign, this was not the standard image throughout Claudius' time as *princeps*. These portraits represented a desire by Claudius to be seen as legitimate in the wake of the assassination of Caligula. Therefore, the imperial image reverted to a model it both understood and could employ with speed. The long-term prospects of the Kassel model were never viable for Claudius in the same way that they had been for other members of the dynasty, both for reasons of his age and the despotism of the younger former *princeps*. Unlike his predecessors, Claudius had not had the time, nor the opportunity, to build a public image. Of the surviving 'princely' portraits of the Julio-Claudians, those which

⁴⁶⁸ Bust of Claudius, currently on display in the Vatican museum. Inventory number 243. Image available online at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b2/Claudius_Pio-Clementino_Inv243.jpg [date accessed 17.1.2021].

⁴⁶⁹ For the argument that many of the busts of Caligula were re-carved to depict Claudius, see Varner 2004:25-30.

refer to members of the dynasty who were designated heir or were part of the *Domus Augusta*, Claudius is the only member who does not have an identifiable portrait. Therefore, rather than adopting *just* the Julio-Claudian concept of eternal youth, Claudius used the youthful image as a place holder while he moulded his own image. Claudius attempted to create his own ‘political’ body, which moved away from the image of eternal youth favoured by other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Claudius only appears to have adopted the traditional ‘political’ body of the Julio-Claudians early on out of necessity, and this he resorted to because he had previously been disregarded in respect of the *Domus Augusta* and therefore the line of succession. Hildebrandt states that Claudius was unlikely to have possessed an ‘accession’ image because that was not a path which was considered open to him, ‘because of his disability, Claudius could not match the Augustan ideals and played therefore no role in the succession. Did he actually have an individualized youth portrait? If there was one, it might have had some similarities to Tiberius, Drusus Maior, Germanicus, or Caligula.’⁴⁷⁰

The lack of an ‘accession’ portrait shows that Claudius was not considered as a potential successor to the *princeps* and according to Hildebrandt, this was because of his physical disability. Claudius appears to have adopted the features of ‘political’ body of previous *principes*, upon his accession and this can be seen as the beginning of his ‘political’ body. Yet there is evidence to suggest that Claudius’ natural image, that which portrayed him as he may have looked, reveals a very different image from that of the ‘Kassel’ portraits (5.5 and 5.6). Instead of the image of a *princeps*, what is revealed is the image of a man who appears to be under great physical strain. For example, the Rochester Claudius (5.7) conforms to many of the physical features which we would ascribe to the *princeps*: the concentric rings of the hair, in evidence in both the idealised young portrait busts and the Copenhagen type, are present.

⁴⁷⁰ Hildebrandt 2013:222.

The hair lies flat to the skull and as with the other types this is clearly aping some of the previous Julio-Claudian tradition in regard to portraiture. Suhr identified that the design of the hair as well as other physical features, correspond to known examples of other Julio-Claudians.⁴⁷¹ Despite the iconographic match with other Julio-Claudian examples, it has also been argued that the Rochester Claudius displays signs of the *princeps*' disability (5.7). Suhr has argued that there is a discrepancy between the left and right side of the portrait, which shows a fuller development on the right side, and that this reveals the fact that Claudius felt the physical strain of living with his disability.⁴⁷²

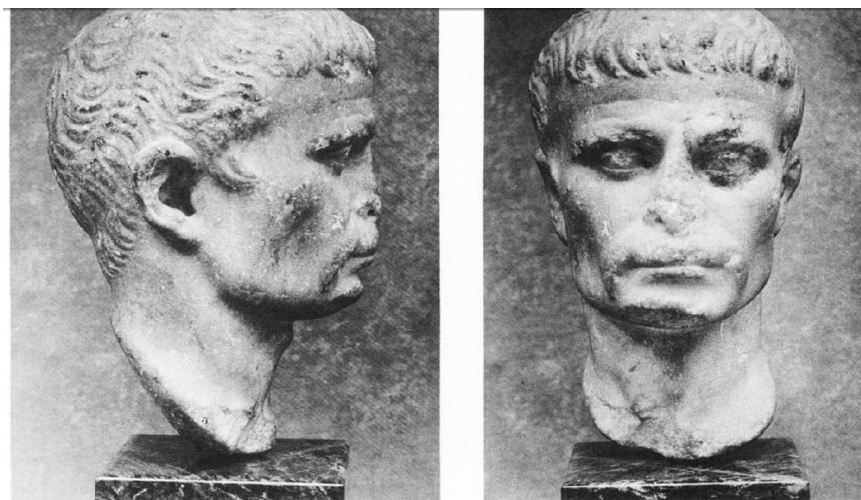


Fig. 1 Head of Claudius, Memorial Art Gallery, Rochester

Fig. 2

Figure 5.7. The Rochester Head of Claudius.⁴⁷³

The lines on the brow, the somewhat sunken cheeks and the dropping eyelids all point to a man in middle age, perhaps around fifty. It is possible that this bust could indicate physical strain, but to suggest that it was an indicator of the disability which Claudius lived with would be somewhat dubious. Although it could be argued that the portrait does depict a man who has

⁴⁷¹ Suhr 1955:319.

⁴⁷² Suhr 1955:321.

⁴⁷³ The Rochester Head of Claudius, currently on display in the Rochester Memorial Art Gallery. Image Available online at

https://www.google.com/search?q=the+rochester+claudius+memorial+art+gallery+&tbm=isch&ved=2ahUKEwiH5arvggPuAhWQwIUKHfssDhEQ2-cCegQIABAA&oq=the+rochester+claudius+memorial+art+gallery+&gs_lcp=CgNpbWcQA1CkjQJYwrECYM ezAmgAcAB4AIAbpwGIAZENkgEEMjEuMZgBAKABAaoBC2d3cy13aXotaW1nwAEB&scient=img&ei=wDQEYIeFEJCBlwT72biIAQ&bih=969&biw=1920#imgsrc=qltVoSOBd4TrM [date accessed 17.1.2021].

had to endure physical hardship, someone who has been able to endure physical hardship would be something to be admired by those he ruled.⁴⁷⁴ In terms of his actual appearance, Claudius looks no more worn than the Tusculum Caesar.

Although the Rochester Claudius may not be clear enough to support Suhr's claim of evidence of Claudius' disability, it did expose a more natural image of Claudius than the numismatic and material evidence of Claudius from the year of his accession. Claudius' task was to construct his public image from the very beginning of his reign. The public had no real concept of who Claudius was, and so, he attempted to give them a narrative reflected in the members of his family who preceded him. He did not just give the people what they wanted; he gave them the image they had come to expect. Yet, once he was more secure in his position as *princeps*, he adopted a new identity as ruler, one which contains slight differences from the Julio-Claudian mould. He adopted, to borrow the phrase made famous by historian John Keegan, 'the mask of command.'⁴⁷⁵ In order to make this a successful policy, Claudius took that which was useful to him from the previous occupants of the role and discarded the rest. This extreme practicality allowed Claudius to identify his own unique brand of iconography. The 'majesty of bearing' discussed by Suetonius appears to be a key aspect of Claudian image-making in the years immediately following his accession.⁴⁷⁶

Of Claudius' physical appearance, Suetonius comments, 'he possessed majesty and dignity of appearance, but only when he was standing still or sitting, and especially when he was lying down; for he was tall but not slender, with an attractive face, becoming white hair, and a full neck.'⁴⁷⁷ That majesty of bearing found its expression not only on coins but also in portraits of Claudius' middle and later reign. The images of this period of Claudius' rule are the 'political'

⁴⁷⁴ The Romans often appreciated those who could endure physical hardship, see Liv. 44.41.1 for Aemilius Paullus, see Plin. *HN*.7.29 for his admiration for Marcus Sergius.

⁴⁷⁵ For the work of the same name, see Keegan 2004.

⁴⁷⁶ Suet. *Claud.* 30.1.

⁴⁷⁷ Suet. *Claud.* 30.1.

body, which he chose to adopt and can be seen as an amalgamation of two styles, which portrayed an ideal image of Claudius. In the Copenhagen portrait, (5.8) now housed in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, in Copenhagen, a representation of Claudius' conception of the 'political' body can be seen. In this portrait, Claudius is depicted with a lined forehead and bags under his eyes; he also appears somewhat drawn, not by a loss of weight, but perhaps the effects of the strain of his condition. There is also the hint of a double chin which would confirm the tendency to overeat, something discussed by Suetonius, who notes of Claudius' appetite 'he was eager for food and drink at all times and in all places. Once, when he was holding court in the forum of Augustus and had caught the savour of a meal which was being prepared for the Salii in the temple of Mars nearby, he left the tribunal, went up to where the priests were, and took his place at their table. He hardly ever left the dining-room until he was stuffed and soaked.'⁴⁷⁸ The Copenhagen bust displays a portrait which was not intended to remove all signs of realism, but to present a sombre, steadier figure than that of Caligula.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ Suet. *Claud.*33.1-2.

⁴⁷⁹ Osgood 2011:52.



Figure 5.8. Copenhagen bust of Claudius.⁴⁸⁰

The Copenhagen portrait (5.8) is not a veristic depiction, but it has more in common with the Augustan representations of Caesar than the official portraits of the other Julio-Claudian rulers. The new *princeps* is depicted as more youthful and fresher faced than the veristic portraits of the Republic. Claudius has set out his position clearly with this type of imagery; he was a different type of ruler to that which had gone before, as he had survived the rule of Caligula and been voted thanks for it. He intended to reassure the state that there would be no repeat of Caligula's madness, that he would be a continuation of the line of Augustus and rule in his mould; not that of the erratic, cruel, and above all youthful, Caligula. Just as those in the Republic had seen youth as a character flaw, those who had lived through the rule of Caligula believed that the role of *princeps* did not belong to a young man.⁴⁸¹ Claudius had portraits of Caligula removed, or as previously mentioned, re-carved to represent his own features.⁴⁸² Not

⁴⁸⁰ Portrait bust of Claudius, currently housed at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Inventory number 609. Image available online at <https://museum.classics.cam.ac.uk/collections/casts/clauidius-0> [date accessed 17.1.21].

⁴⁸¹ Caligula had become *princeps* at the age of only 24. For the character flaws of youth, see Cic. *Cael.* 31.75, other restatements of this opinion can be found in Tac. *Ann.* 13.2.2.

⁴⁸² Knudsen 2016:20. For the technical evidence of re-carving, see in particular paragraph 46.

only was Claudius astute in the use of his own image but he also subtly, yet significantly, added more importance to the Claudian line of the family, and moved, to some extent, away from the Julian line, which was temporarily sullied by the actions of Caligula.

The portraiture of the reign reflects this new prominence; the Claudians were portrayed as the branch fit to rule the empire. The latest product of the Julian line had been found wanting in regard to possessing the qualities needed to rule. Instead, Claudius would bind himself not only to the ‘better’ of the Julian rulers, but also to members of his own family. Brian-Rose suggests that Claudius used the opportunity of his accession to raise the level of prominence of the Claudian side of the family which, until this point, had been ‘ignored or recast in the Julian mould.’⁴⁸³ Upon his accession, Claudius immediately struck a variety of coins, all of which honoured his late father. New *aurei* and *denarii* of Claudius and Drusus shared a reverse which bore a triumphal arch and the legend *De Germanis*.⁴⁸⁴ The image depicted on the coin was most likely a reference to the arch erected in 9 BC by the Senate in commemoration of Drusus’ Germanic victories.⁴⁸⁵ To supplement these mints, there were also two series of *sestertii* (5.9) which also hailed the military victories of Claudius’ family. The second of these coins coupled an obverse of Drusus with a reverse which showed Claudius seated among a pile of weapons.

⁴⁸³ Brian-Rose 1997:39.

⁴⁸⁴ For the coin itself, see RIC I (second ed) Claudius, no.3-4, 35. For the games which Claudius staged to celebrate his father’s birthday, see Suet *Claud.*11.3.

⁴⁸⁵ Osgood 2011:61.



Figure 5.9. Bronze *sestertius* of Claudius.⁴⁸⁶

At the beginning of his reign, the image of a militarily capable leader was a desirable look for the new *princeps*. The minting of this series of coins coincided with the recovery of the Varian standards from the Chauci, a Germanic tribe. The standards had been lost in 9 AD under the reign of Augustus, when three Roman legions were attacked and routed in Teutoburg Forest.⁴⁸⁷ This had the effect of tying Claudius and his public image to military success. Claudius evocation of his popular and militarily successful father suggested that there was to be similar success under this son, just as Germanicus (Claudius' brother) had been militarily successful before his own premature death.⁴⁸⁸ Claudius similarly tied himself to both Augustus and Livia; an altar built in Ravenna during the Claudian period makes the link between the three figures. The relief is prominent because it depicts the family of Claudius, not Augustus (5.10).

⁴⁸⁶ RIC I .1.109; BMCRE 208, 8.

⁴⁸⁷ Suet.*Aug.*23.1-2, does not refer to the battle in any great detail he merely states that 'but in the Varian he [Augustus] sustained the almost catastrophic loss of three legions slaughtered together with their commander, legates and all their auxiliary forces.' Tac.*Ann* 1.3. merely refers to 'the disgrace of the army lost with Publius Quintilius Varus.'

⁴⁸⁸ For the death of Germanicus, see Tac *Ann.* 2.71. Tacitus alleges that Gaius Piso may have succeeded in poisoning Germanicus, however in *Ann.*2.70 he suggests that 'the cruel virulence of the disease was intensified by the patients' belief that Piso had given him poison.'



Figure 5.10. Fragment of an altar frieze which depicts the 'Claudian' line.⁴⁸⁹

The figures on the relief depict the Claudian line. Although the image on the relief is not whole, there were clearly once figures to the left of Augustus and these would most likely have been Claudius, along with his wife and children. This main type was produced more regularly and seems to have become the official portrait of Claudius. Further portraits and statues of Claudius suggest that he did not feel that hiding his age from those he ruled was important; perpetual youth would not help Claudius to rule well. If anything, the example of Caligula's youth had proved the opposite to be true and prompted Claudius' move towards an older image. Claudius sought an image which portrayed a 'safe pair of hands' to manage the empire. The images depicted on the frieze from Ravenna do not depict youth. In fact, careful examination of the faces of the figures on the frieze depict middle-aged individuals. This appears indicative of the image Claudius wanted to portray.

Claudius' 'political' body was therefore not one of eternal youth. Instead, he sought to portray a figure of experience and good health. As is clear in the image of the Rochester Claudius (5.7),

⁴⁸⁹ Fragment from an altar in Ravenna, currently housed at Museo Nazionale, Ravenna.

hints of the *princeps*' natural body may give away the fact that he possessed a physical disability. In order to negate this, Claudius adopted a different 'political' body to others. His natural body portrayed physical weakness, yet the Copenhagen portrait bust and the Ravenna frieze, depict a figure who did not have any physical frailties and was also an older and more experienced figure than the previous *princeps*. Both of these amendments from earlier conceptions of the 'two bodies' highlight how adaptable and durable the concept was. Not only was it a concept which could demonstrate youth, it was also one which could be applied to rulers of either gender. The example of Claudius proves that in addition to solving issues of youth and gender, the 'doctrine of capacities' can also be used by rulers who are disabled or possess physical frailties.

Now You See Me – Claudius as the Physical Representation of the Emperor.

The most important task facing Claudius was to produce a public image which conformed to the public's idea of a *princeps*. We have seen how he crafted a 'political' body in his use of public imagery to assuage or remove his disability, yet, other, more negative sources from post the reign of Claudius, provide a picture of the *princeps*' disability as viewed from inside the imperial family.⁴⁹⁰ One of the most damaging attacks of all comes from the work of Seneca, tutor to the final Julio-Claudian ruler, the emperor Nero. In his *Apocolocyntosis* ('pumpkinification of Claudius'), Seneca launches a scathing attack on the former *princeps* suggesting that his entire reign had been built upon the myth that he had any of the qualities of Augustus. In his satire, Seneca depicts the recently deceased *princeps* petitioning the gods in an attempt to be allowed to join the council of the immortals. Claudius claims that he is an

⁴⁹⁰ Suet. *Claud.*4.1.

ancestor of Aeneas and so should be allowed to join. This claim is argued against until it is confirmed by one of the gods.⁴⁹¹ Claudius looks set to be admitted to the council until the deified Augustus speaks against him. Augustus declares of Claudius ‘this man you see has been all along masquerading under my name.’⁴⁹² Although some of the early mints of his reign do suggest that Claudius was keen to play on the link with Augustus, that link was by no means the only aspect of Claudian public image.

The work makes the link to Augustus merely so that it can more effectively highlight Claudius’ physical disabilities. This is even more effective because the work has Augustus be the one to disparage Claudius. Seneca has Augustus ask, ‘how can you make this man a god who cannot say three words in quick succession’?⁴⁹³ This played upon the idea that Claudius was not a fully formed person and so therefore, could not be a god. The direct contrast between the two former *principes* is particularly damaging for Claudius and makes his disability seem all the more prominent. The narrator of the work calls Claudius ‘*homo Claudiana lingua disertus*,’ or a man whose speech has deserted him.⁴⁹⁴ This is in direct contrast to Augustus who is described as a man of ‘*summa facundia*.’⁴⁹⁵

Seneca, as the tutor to Claudius’ successor Nero, may have been keen to diminish Claudius’ reign. The depiction of Claudius in his work may have been an exaggeration but it did enhance physical ailments which Claudius endured. The contrast with Augustus was supposed to reflect as unfavourably as possible on Claudius. The founder of the Julio-Claudian dynasty is described as a complete man, not ‘half-finished’ as Antonia had described her son.⁴⁹⁶ This is testament to the effectiveness of the ‘political’ body which Augustus had crafted during his own reign; it had worked so effectively, that any sign of the weak and feeble figure of Octavian

⁴⁹¹ Sen. *Apocol.* 9. 4-6.

⁴⁹² Sen. *Apocol.* 10.4.

⁴⁹³ Sen. *Apocol.* 11.3.

⁴⁹⁴ Sen. *Apocol.* 14.2.3; Paschalis 2006:108.

⁴⁹⁵ Sen. *Apocol.* 10.1.

⁴⁹⁶ Suet. *Claud.* 3.2.

had become a man ‘*summa facundia*.’⁴⁹⁷ Claudius could not hope to match the more able-bodied members of the dynasty physically, but he could, and as we have seen, did, create a ‘political’ body which worked to his advantage. In order to achieve this, Claudius used examples of his image which could be displayed publicly. Unlike speeches or public appearances, statues and coins were inanimate; they do not speak, nor do they move; therefore, they can neither limp, nor fall down in public. Statues and coins were the perfect tool for Claudius as the embodiment of Suetonius’ comment that Claudius ‘had a certain majesty and dignity of presence, which showed to best advantage when he happened to be standing or seated.’⁴⁹⁸ Statues, cameos, and gems provided the perfect reflection of this statement. Leon suggests that there were some physical similarities between Claudius’ portraits and those of a previous member of the Claudian line. ‘All portrait busts or cameos made in his later years when emperor, show a not unattractive person. He displays a marked resemblance to his uncle, Tiberius; Claudius, however, had a broader skull.’⁴⁹⁹ As we have seen from Claudius’ iconography, he maintained some of the physical features of Augustus and the Julio-Claudian mould at the beginning of his reign. Not only that, but the physical similarity between his natural body and other members of the dynasty is to be expected, even if only in a limited capacity as he was related to all of the former occupants of the role of *princeps*, in one form or another. Despite these similarities, the ‘political’ body which Claudius crafted during his reign was very much his own. This becomes clear both through an assessment of his iconography and a reassessment of the concept of what Kantorowicz called the ‘king’s two bodies’ but is ultimately more clearly expressed as the ‘doctrine of capacities.’

⁴⁹⁷ Sen. *Apocol.* 10.1.

⁴⁹⁸ Suet. *Claud.* 30.1.

⁴⁹⁹ Leon 1948:84.

Processing Claudius' public image through this lens, it is clear that his iconography reflects what we can see retrospectively, as a form of the 'doctrine of capacities', one which offered a distinctive take on the 'political' body of previous Julio-Claudians. Claudius did inhabit the concept of the 'doctrine of capacities' and for a short period at the beginning of his reign, attempted to adopt the 'political' body of Augustus. Yet for the promise of political stability, let the ageless nature of the body politic lapse to some extent once his rule was secure. This created a symbiosis between the natural body of the individual who wears the crown and the body politic, that is, the institution of the monarchy.⁵⁰⁰ The body politic could not age and was not subject to the infirmities and weaknesses of the monarch's natural body. Claudius' public image provides a slight amendment to the practicalities of the theory. As noted, when viewing the Copenhagen and Rochester busts which depict Claudius, neither depict an ageless ruler or a young man who has newly acceded to the throne. Both statues depict a man of middle age. For example, Suhr estimates the age of the individual depicted by the Rochester bust to be between forty-five and fifty years of age. We have seen how Claudius does not seek to maintain the image of eternal youth in his portrait busts.⁵⁰¹ The Copenhagen bust (5.8) has facial similarities with portraits of both Tiberius and Claudius' successor, Nero.⁵⁰² The image itself does also display some of the signs of youth. For example, a full head of hair. Yet particularly with the Rochester image, the Claudius depicted is not a young man, nor one full of vitality. Yet, it should be noted that an analysis of the Rochester portrait does show some evidence of facial symmetry, which, in and of itself, would make the image more attractive and mirror other Julio-Claudian portraits. Suhr notes in particular the asymmetry of the eyes, stating, 'the eyes betray the asymmetry of the upper portion of the head better than any other feature.'⁵⁰³ The two 'main type' portraits then, do not uphold the visage of eternal youth adopted by Augustus,

⁵⁰⁰ Kantorowicz 1957:7-8.

⁵⁰¹ Suhr 1955:319.

⁵⁰² Osgood 2011:54.

⁵⁰³ Suhr 1955:319

Livia and Tiberius. Setting aside the lack of eternal youth in the Claudian ‘main-type’ portraits, what they do possess is the ethos of a steady and mature ruler. In abandoning the concept of youth in his portraits, Claudius is adhering to the concept of the ‘political’ body as he requires it. In his study of monarchy from 1300-1800, Duindam has highlighted the fact that the kingship can be transferred from one individual or vessel to another in a variety of ways. Amongst the reasons for this transference, as Duindam sees it are ailment or impending death.⁵⁰⁴ If considered through this prism, Claudius adheres to the ‘political’ body. Not only does the ‘political’ body of Claudius choose not to hide his age, but it also provides evidence that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ does not conform to merely one model or type of ruler. Claudius could not adopt the eternal youth favoured by previous members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, he was middle aged when he acceded to the role of *princeps* and in any case, political circumstance dictated that a different image was necessary.

In order to make sure the Principate survived Claudius, he amended the continuous images of eternal youth favoured by previous members. The major reason for this was the idea that Caligula’s youth had contributed to his dangerous, cruel, and erratic nature. Thus, Claudius adopted the image of a serious elder statesman, and to help solidify the image, allowed his iconography to represent what Wace has called naturalism. This simply meant depicting a physical form which had not been idealised.⁵⁰⁵ This provides yet another use and application for the ‘doctrine of capacities’, one which Claudius had pioneered. Not only did Claudius use a ‘political’ body to hide the symptoms of his disability, but his image also demonstrates that the ‘political’ body, and therefore the ‘doctrine of capacities’ is not a theory which depends on the ruler desiring to be portrayed as eternally youthful in order to be successful. In fact, one of

⁵⁰⁴ Duindam 2019: 15.

⁵⁰⁵ Wace 1905-1906:407.

the major reasons for the success of Claudius' 'political' body aside from the fact it hid is disability, was that his natural age set him apart from the image of his young, brash and ultimately, mad predecessor, Caligula.

Despite the use of a differing iconography from previous members of the *Domus Augusta*, Claudius did borrow some aspects of his ideological image from that of his predecessors. One of the most important aspects of the character of the *princeps* was military success. Caesar, Augustus and Tiberius had all been militarily successful, even if Augustus could only claim his victories via the use of his military commanders. It is also notable that Caligula, for all his youth and military pretensions, was unable to achieve any military glory during his reign.⁵⁰⁶ It is interesting to note that on coinage, Claudius worked hard to foster the image of a martial leader and an individual who was physically capable.

Some of the most telling images that bound Claudius to this martial image are two *aurei*, which depict Claudius as a friend of the Praetorian Guard.



Figure 5.11. *aureus* of Claudius.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁶ Although both Suetonius and Pliny state that Caligula annexed the region of Mauretania (modern Algeria) it appears this was not the result of a major military campaign. Suet. *Calig.*35 recounts that Caligula invited his second cousin and the ruler of Mauretania to Rome where he was murdered on Caligula's orders. After the murder, Rome annexed the Kingdom of Mauretania. Plin. *HN.*5.2.

⁵⁰⁷ RIC I 7.

Dated to 41-42 AD, the obverse of one of the *aurei* (5.11) shows the head of Claudius. It is interesting to note that Claudius is not young in this image, yet he does appear to have a strong profile: he has a good head of hair, prominent nose and a strong neck, which is also a feature of other portraits of the *princeps*. Portraits of Claudius appear to show a neck which is thicker than average. Leon has attributed this to the fact that Claudius made every effort to ‘hold his head erect and avoid the trembling motion which affected him at times.’⁵⁰⁸ The image does not portray a youthful ‘political’ body, but it does depict Claudius as a strong and confident leader. Not only does the image portray Claudius in a favourable light, but the legend on the coin also supplements his air of authority. The reverse of the same *aureus* (5.11) shows an image of the praetorian camp, where a figure holds a standard with the abbreviated legend *imper-recept* or the GENERAL RECEIVED.⁵⁰⁹

I believe that the chosen legend on the *aureus* is particularly noteworthy. It denotes that the *princeps*, but also the commander of the legions, has arrived. This again builds upon Claudius’ use of the ‘political’ body to display an individual who was able bodied instead of disabled. Claudius had been received, and therefore accepted and adopted by Rome’s most elite and recognisable military unit. Therefore, Claudius not only portrayed Wace’s idea of naturalism in regard to his age, nor merely the concept of being able bodied, he also displayed himself as a military commander through his iconography. This can be seen through the use of the word *imperator*, although synonymous with the role of *princeps*, it is also the term for a victorious military commander. The message is that the Guard and Claudius support one another and are bound together in partnership.

⁵⁰⁸ Leon 1948:84; for a different medical reason for Claudius well developed neck, see Baring-Gould 1923:467, who believes that the thickness of Claudius’ neck could have been the result of swollen glands.

⁵⁰⁹ Osgood 2011:34.

A second *aureus* (5.12) dated once again to 41-42 AD, also depicts Claudius' relationship with the Guard. This time, Claudius appears to be the more senior partner. As with the first coin, the obverse depicts the head of Claudius, and here he looks even more imposing than on the first coin (5.11). This image is representative of Claudius' 'political' body, possessing quite harsh, sharp features. Note the well-developed neck of the figures; these features combine to create a figure who was, perhaps, viewed as more suitable of commanding the respect of the Praetorian Guard. This is quite different from the 'political' body of the previous members of the *Domus Augusta* and instead, depicts a representation that is unique to Claudius.

The legend and image on the reverse is also significant for Claudius' image as a military figure. The reverse shows the togate figure of Claudius shaking hands with a figure bearing a standard; this marks the unnamed figure as holding the position of *signifer* within the Praetorian Guard.⁵¹⁰ The legend on the coin once again reads *imper-recept* or the general received. The depiction of Claudius with regard to his physical condition is also interesting. He is depicted as standing and is well proportioned. He is depicted as having the majesty of bearing which is described by Suetonius.



Figure 5.12. *aureus* of Claudius 41-42 AD.⁵¹¹

⁵¹⁰ Bedoyere 2017:110.

⁵¹¹ RIC 11, RSC 78; BMCRE 9.

Just as other Julio-Claudian emperors had used their public image to structure their own narrative, Claudius created a 'political' body which allowed him a new public image and with it, a new life. The image of Claudius the stammerer, Claudius the feeble, Claudius the fool, were to be replaced. Instead, the world was given Claudius the *princeps*, Claudius the scholar, Claudius the conqueror. The image which Claudius presented to the public changed over the course of his reign. The perpetual youth and physical similarities to Augustus were replaced by older, more realistic features. Yet youth was not what mattered to Claudius; his design was to hide the ailment which had hindered him his entire life. As previously mentioned, Elsner stated that the Roman world viewed works of art in two forms: one through the prism of *phantasia*, which means 'visualisation or presentation;' the second was what the image did not show, but implied.⁵¹² What Claudius did not show was the ailment which hindered him.

This also finds expression in the public image of the Julio-Claudians; it was obvious to anyone who saw Claudius that he was not young, handsome or martial in any way. Yet that was not the main concern. It was the fiction that mattered most. One of the most impressive aspects of Claudian 'political' body was how malleable it became. Early in his reign, Claudius is depicted as a young Augustus, but once he had settled into the role, the new *princeps* considered his visual depiction more carefully. The 'main type' (5.8) portraits depict him as the middle-aged and steady influence after the fall of Caligula, and a final aspect of this public image emphasised martial qualities.

⁵¹² The statues in the Roman Republic were most likely viewed through the prism of *phantasia*, meaning visualisation or presentation,' see Ioppolo, 1990:40; Elsner 1995: 26.



Figure 5.13. *aureus* of Claudius 46-47 AD.⁵¹³

The *aureus* (5.13), dated to around 46-47 AD, still shows a relatively young man, still laureate to display his martial prowess on the obverse; the reverse of the coin depicts an equestrian statue of Claudius with a triumphal arch. This could allude to Claudius' conquest of Britain in 43 AD.⁵¹⁴ The equestrian statue is, perhaps, the most interesting aspect of the image. It shows a figure, presumably Claudius, riding a horse. This is an indicator of some martial status, as we know that during the late Republic; Pompey was especially keen to prove his physical prowess by riding a horse.⁵¹⁵ Yet for Claudius, with his physical condition, the act of mounting a horse, let alone riding one, could be seen as a severe challenge. Suetonius notes of Claudius 'he stammered besides, and his head was very shaky at all times, but especially when he made the least exertion.'⁵¹⁶ Equine therapy is used in children with cerebral palsy as a form of treatment. The child will attend regular sessions, where they ride a horse, with the support of both their

⁵¹³ RIC 9.

⁵¹⁴ For information on the Triumphal Arch, see Barrett 1998; for more information regarding the campaign and a possible reconstruction of Claudius' part in it, see Barrett 1998. For Dio's account that Claudius' forces met with some resistance, see Dio Cass. 60.19-23. For Suetonius who claims there was no battle of any kind, see Suet. *Claud.* 17.1-3.

⁵¹⁵ Plut. *Pomp.* 64.1-3; App. *Mith.* 117.

⁵¹⁶ Suet. *Claud.* 30.1-2.

physiotherapist and professionals at the equine centre.⁵¹⁷ Not only Cerebral Palsy but Polio, another suggestion as the cause of Claudius' condition, can also be positively affected by equine therapy.⁵¹⁸

There is no ancient source which mentions Claudius riding a horse, so it is possible that he did not, or may have had difficulty doing so. It may have been a problem for Claudius to be able to mount a horse, given the potential for a lack a flexibility of the hip joints in sufferers of cerebral palsy. For example, children who undergo equine therapy are lifted into the saddle; this would be neither possible, nor acceptable, for a military and political commander of the empire. Even if Claudius could successfully mount and ride a horse, the physical toll it would exact from him would increase the risk of him falling or shaking and therefore provide a potential source of embarrassment. The depiction on the *aureus* (5.13) does show Claudius riding a horse, therefore this was a form of *dissimulatio*. The 'political' body was reflected on the coin, even if this did not match Claudius' natural body. Even though Claudius may have never ridden a horse, nor indeed been capable of riding one, the most important aspect of the image is what he wanted the citizens of the empire to see. Not only do we see Claudius overcoming the physical difficulties of his condition by use of his iconography, but it is also present in accounts of how he overcame some of his impairments. For example, Claudius' hands are the subject of some discussion by the ancient sources. Suetonius tells us that Claudius had difficulty playing dice in the conventional manner because he found it difficult to grip the cup in which the dice were placed to roll them. Seneca noted that the difficulty came from Claudius' 'shaking hand', which presumably made it difficult for him to play.⁵¹⁹ He obviously

⁵¹⁷ It should be noted that equine therapy has been shown to produce wide-ranging benefits in both the physical and mental development of child with cerebral palsy. Davis *et al* 2009:111. See also, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S1R4_HrnHkc for a visual representation of the improvement which may be possible through the use of equine therapy.

⁵¹⁸ See <https://www.rda.org.uk/now-we-are-50/> Riding for the Disabled Association. [date accessed 31.1.21].

⁵¹⁹ For the act of dice playing, see Leon 1948:83. Sen. *Apocol.* 6.2.

overcame this to become quite proficient as Suetonius notes that the *princeps* was the author of a book of the successful methods and strategies for playing dice and found a non-conventional grip with which to play.⁵²⁰ Here we see Claudius adopting the process of *dissimulatio*. He was not physically able to play dice in the same manner as everyone else, yet he did not let this become an issue. In this way, his natural body adapted to meet the requirements of the ‘political’, he had to be seen to be capable of activities in which others also partook. In this way, he was able to reflect the ‘political’ body he had crafted for himself.

As we have previously noted in this chapter, not only adaptation but omission were ways in which Claudius crafted his ‘political’ body. It is attested that Claudius suffered from a range of physical difficulties, yet these are noticeably absent from the image of the *princeps*. For example, we know that Claudius had mobility difficulties. Josephus states that Claudius was ‘unable to walk to the camp when the praetorians made him emperor.’⁵²¹ Not only did Claudius have difficulty walking, but it also appears that despite the depiction of Claudius standing to receive the congratulations of the *signifier*, Claudius appears to have had difficulty in standing for periods of time. Cassius Dio records that Claudius remained ‘seated when he read to the senate.’⁵²² Allowances of some kind were made for occasions when Claudius could not manage some of the physical aspects of his role. Dio records that Claudius was the first emperor to use ‘a covered chair.’⁵²³ Similarly, when part of a parade to honour Roman military victories, he was required to ascend the steps of the Capitol on his knees, but according to Dio, ‘needed his sons-in-law to support him on either side.’⁵²⁴ Nowhere, however, do these ailments appear in Claudian imagery. Claudius wished to be seen as a serious and capable leader and so, this is what was reflected in both the statues and cameos produced during the middle and later parts

⁵²⁰ Suet. *Claud.* 30.1.

⁵²¹ Joseph. *A.J.* 19.222.

⁵²² Dio Cass. 60.2.2.

⁵²³ Dio Cass. 60.2.3.

⁵²⁴ Dio Cass. 60.23.1.

of his reign. When possible, in order for his natural body to reflect that of the ‘political’ body, *dissimulatio* was the means by which Claudius presented a statesmanlike and capable leader to the Roman world.

The Image of Power: Political Figures and the Impression of Health

If we are to fully understand the impact and effectiveness of the ‘political’ body as a concept, a comparison to a more modern political leader will prove fruitful. In regard to ruling, image was everything and reality mattered little. The ability to shape a political reality and with it, a public image was what was, and still is, most important to political leaders. In order to fully appreciate this concept, we shall turn our attention to one of the most adept politicians of all time. As Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) is the longest serving president in American history, it seems fitting to examine his public image, especially as he achieved this record-breaking tenure while under severe physical strain.

Before beginning a full and detailed examination of the public image of FDR it is useful to pause and consider just how well the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ fits the office of the American president. The idea of stewardship is ingrained in the US Constitution and makes the office a perfect vessel for the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities.’ For all presidents, their term of office is limited by the twenty-second amendment.⁵²⁵ This dictates that the president can only ever perform the role of steward for the nation.

‘No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of

⁵²⁵ For other restrictions imposed on office holders by the Constitution, see Nelson 2012:38.

a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once.’⁵²⁶

This amendment was passed after Franklin Roosevelt died shortly after winning a fourth term in office.⁵²⁷ Therefore, the US political system is constructed so that each president has a limited stewardship of the nation. Despite the presidency being a limited office in terms of time, it bears the hallmarks of the theoretical nature of a monarch. Those who inhabit the office are not the same individuals who stood for election. They are, for a time, transformed into the ‘office of the President.’ Graubard has indicated that he does not believe the office of the president ‘makes the man,’ yet he is quick to acknowledge the vast burden and power of the office. He acknowledges that ‘each president arrives with intellectual baggage that is rapidly depleted.’⁵²⁸ The demands posed by the presidency meant that those who entered the office, met the challenges they faced differently. For example, under FDR, Graubard claims the Oval Office became ‘a king’s closet in all but name.’⁵²⁹ This highlights the immense responsibilities and power placed in the hands of one individual. Others have coped less well; Graubard gives little credit to the presidencies of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, though it is clear that the office of the presidency is still respected.⁵³⁰

The evidence of the respect for the office of the president is displayed through the idea of signs and symbolism. Thuman Arnold noted that all human conduct and institutional behaviour are symbolic. He believes that in the main, ‘society is generally more interested in standing on the

⁵²⁶ For a copy of the words of the twenty-second Amendment, see <https://constitution.congress.gov/constitution/amendment-22/#:~:text=No%20person%20shall%20be%20elected,the%20President%20more%20than%20once>. [date accessed 31.12.2020].

⁵²⁷ Roosevelt had actually told those close to him that he would consider resigning the presidency once the Second World War was over due to his ill health, see Dallek 1995:618-619.

⁵²⁸ Graubard 2004: xiii

⁵²⁹ Graubard 2004:13 for the monarchic feel of the Oval office under the Roosevelt administration, see Ickes 1953; Scott 1955: 50, Graubard also describes President Woodrow Wilson as ‘a king in all but name.’ 2004:12.

⁵³⁰ Each however does have their own chapter in Graubard’s study of the Presidency. For Harding, see 202-214; for Coolidge, see 214-228; For Hoover, see 228-242.

sidelines and watching itself go by.’⁵³¹ Dittmer has stated of political symbolism: ‘most importantly, political symbolism provides an empirical variable to be analysed.’⁵³² This symbolism can be seen in all aspects of the American presidency. Graubard’s stated that the men who hold this office were a new breed of monarch when all of the symbolism which attends them is analysed. Consider that when a president enters a room, all the occupants must stand until told to retake their seats by the president; ‘Hail to the Chief’ sounds upon his entrance; flag bearers appear and a disembodied voice says, ‘Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.’ Max Lerner, writing before the Second World War, believed that symbols had a profound effect on those who viewed them, to the extent that they could shape the thoughts of the viewer. Lerner has argued that ‘men possess thoughts, but symbols possess men.’⁵³³ Symbols can take many forms: images, written works, and speeches. The power of symbols is maintained through Arnold’s symbolism, the message conveyed is one which must be recognisable to the viewer.⁵³⁴

These are all the essential trappings of monarchy, albeit in a democratic state. Despite the fact that the US presidency is not a monarchy, those who hold the office are still bound by the political and theological considerations of the ‘doctrine of capacities.’ In the opinion of Walzer, ‘the state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen.’⁵³⁵ David Kertznar has argued that ‘identifying oneself with a popular symbol can be a potent means of gaining and keeping power, for the hallmark of power is the construction of reality.’⁵³⁶ Kertznar’s quote is perceptive, yet it is arguable that he does not go far enough. He claims that identifying themselves with a symbol will allow a ruler to maintain power. An extension of this, and in

⁵³¹ Arnold 1962:219.

⁵³² Dittmer 1977:562.

⁵³³ Lerner 1937:687.

⁵³⁴ In regard to the presidency, Norton has discussed its symbolic value noting, ‘the President represents, in an instance of official multivocality, the nation, the government, the executive branch, and (as Tocqueville observes) the triumphant party’. Norton 1993:88.

⁵³⁵ Walzer 1967:194.

⁵³⁶ Kertznar 1988:5.

keeping with Walzer's notion of a visible state, would be for a leader to *become* a popular symbol and so become the physical embodiment of their own authority.

When looking at the presidency in this way, it maintains all the criteria to harness the ideology of the 'doctrine of capacities.' The presidency is a symbol, and so, therefore, is the individual who holds the office.⁵³⁷ Much like monarchs, who are indivisible from the office itself whilst they are the incumbent. Although it may at first seem odd to categorise a modern democratic leader as having 'two bodies,' the presidency of the United States falls under this category. Consider, for example, the fact that the person who assumes the office of the president is given access to the official @POTUS Twitter account. Obama, as the former president, has had his tweets archived and was given a newly created handle of @POTUS44. The account which contains the @POTUS twitter handle was then used by the next incumbent of the office.

In the sense of the argument made by Kantorowicz, the office of the president will outlast each occupant; the major difference from the medieval conception of the theory is that the outgoing president is normally alive when he leaves office. In the case of the American presidency, this transition is stark. Quinta Jurecic has noted that even the transition of the president's digital presence highlights the continuity of the office, '@POTUS is a digital metonym for the office of the Presidency: a vessel filled in turn by each new occupant. The account came to be Trump's on his assumption of the office. And it will presumably not follow him when he leaves it.'⁵³⁸

Daphna Renan has argued that 'the President, as a legal construct if not quite a 'they', is at least

⁵³⁷ John Adams asserted that a representative assembly 'should be in miniature an exact portrait of the people at large. It should think, feel, reason, and act like them.' For Adams, see Papers of John Adams, Volume 4: II to John Penn. See also Lowndes 2013:473 who argues that the president is also a portrait or representation of the people they lead. Available online at <http://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/PJA04d039> [date accessed 7.1.2021].

⁵³⁸ Jurecic 2017: available online at <https://www.lawfareblog.com/body-double-what-medieval-executive-theory-tells-us-about-trumps-twitter-accounts> [date accessed 1.1.2021].

an ‘it.’⁵³⁹ Therefore, the idea of the incumbent as separate from the office itself whilst in possession of it, is even denied by law.

Renan claims that both of the bodies of the president are central to the institution. ‘The President’ is an amalgamation of the individual president and the institutional presidency. Renan continues, ‘either body, on its own, misses something foundational about the nature of presidential power.’⁵⁴⁰ As recently as July 2020, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, ruling on the matter of President Trump’s public tax return, has rejected both the appeal of members of a congressional subcommittee and of outgoing President Trump, both of whom proposed that the presidency and the person of the president were subject to a definition of a single body.⁵⁴¹

As Kantorowicz and Weil have outlined, it is the power and sacred nature of the office of the monarch which allows the individual who occupies it to be seen as immune from weaknesses such as age, infirmity, or illness. Yet it could be argued that this concept does not merely include monarchy, but also covers other political offices. The office of the President of the United States, for example, has long held a sacred place in the political fabric of the United States and, by extension, much of the Western world. Created by the US Constitution, dubbed ‘the holy of holies, an instrument of sacred import’ by Louis Marshall, it possesses a special significance in Western culture.⁵⁴² If the document itself is viewed as sacred, then surely its

⁵³⁹ Renan 2020:1123; for a similar legal position being applied to the US Congress, see Shepsle 1992:239. For a brief summary of the differing conceptions of the presidency as regards the ‘two bodies’ theory, see Renan 2020:1122-1123.

⁵⁴⁰ Renan 2020:1123

⁵⁴¹ Renan 2020: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/mazars-vance-and-presidents-two-bodies>. The written decision of Chief Justice Roberts seeks to reinforce the connected nature of the office of the presidency and the individual incumbent of that office. ‘The President is the only person who alone composes a branch of government. As a result, there is not always a clear line between his personal and official affairs. ‘The interest of the man’ is often ‘connected with the constitutional rights of the place.’ The Federalist No. 51, at 349. Given the close connection between the Office of the President and its occupant, congressional demands for the President’s papers can implicate the relationship between the branches regardless of whether those papers are personal or official. Either way, a demand may aim to harass the President or render him ‘complaisan[t] to the humors of the Legislature.’ Id., no. 71, at 483.’

⁵⁴² Corwin 1920:14.

most important office should be similarly revered.⁵⁴³ Stephen Graubard, writing about the occupants of the presidency from Theodore Roosevelt to George W. Bush, has argued that ‘these American Presidents were monarchs, admittedly of a new breed’.⁵⁴⁴

In this way, the presidency is an excellent subject for an assessment of the ‘doctrine of capacities,’ and FDR its most extensive and detailed case study. Up until the age of thirty-nine FDR had been a physically fit and energetic individual. One biographer has described Roosevelt as ‘standing 6’2 tall, towering over most of his contemporaries; handsome, energetic, blessed with a genial sense of humour, yet as happy alone as with companions.’⁵⁴⁵ He had been planning a run for the US senate in 1922 when he collapsed while playing with his children. Hamilton records that Roosevelt was ‘in Maine, sailing and playing with his children, when his legs gave way beneath him.’⁵⁴⁶ He was quickly diagnosed with polio, which it appeared would end his political ambitions.⁵⁴⁷ On word of his diagnosis, his mother, Sara, thought he should retire to become a country squire. Others began referring to him as a cripple.⁵⁴⁸ Despite this, his media team declared that FDR was on the road to ‘recovery, not disability’, even though polio was known to lead to complete lower limb paralysis.⁵⁴⁹ FDR was at pains to prove that the media statement was true. Despite the severity of his diagnosis, FDR learnt to walk again. The idea of *dissimulatio* can be seen in the image of FDR. In order to make sure that his natural body matched the statement of his team, that he was indeed going to recover, he refused to let his public appearance show anything to the contrary. His wife, Eleanor stated of FDR that, ‘his first reaction to any great event was to be completely calm. If there was something that was

⁵⁴³ Before the creation of ‘Air Force One’ the plane on which the President flies and there for his own personal use, any aircraft carrying the President was known as the ‘sacred cow’ because of the individual aboard the plane. For more details on the ‘Sacred Cow,’ see Factsheet: Douglas VC-54C SACRED COW. *National Museum of the United States Air Force*. Retrieved: October 19, 2009.

⁵⁴⁴ Graubard 2004:4.

⁵⁴⁵ Hamilton 2011:4

⁵⁴⁶ Hamilton 2011:7.

⁵⁴⁷ Smith 2007:192.

⁵⁴⁸ Smith 2007:192

⁵⁴⁹ Hamilton 2011:8.

bad, he became almost like an iceberg, and there was never the slightest emotion that was allowed to show.⁵⁵⁰ In order to achieve his aim of walking again, Roosevelt had made special leg braces. Weighing some fourteen pounds each, this held him upright from hips to heels (5.14).⁵⁵¹ Roosevelt's daughter, Anna, noted that it was difficult to see her father, previously so graceful and energetic, struggle under the weight of his leg braces. 'It is a bit traumatic, to see your father, who took long walks with you, sailed with you, could out-jump you, and suddenly you look up and you see him walking on crutches, trying, struggling in heavy steel braces.'⁵⁵²



Figure 5.14. Braces fashioned for FDR after his polio attack.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵⁰ Ward 1989:591.

⁵⁵¹ Smith 2007:196.

⁵⁵² Cited in Smith 2007:198, originally from an interview with Anna Roosevelt entitled *Reminiscences of Anna Roosevelt Halsted*, conducted by Columbia University, 1973.

⁵⁵³ The leg braces made for FDR after his illness. Image available online at <https://www.dickndebbietravels.com/?p=9362> [date accessed 18.1.2021].

Roosevelt was also careful to maintain the appearance that his condition was improving and that he was constantly getting stronger. In a letter to Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, FDR downplayed the severity of his condition, writing ‘I am sure you will be glad to learn that the doctors are most encouraging.’⁵⁵⁴ This even took the form of FDR’s doctor openly lying about his progress, with his personal doctor writing that ‘Franklin was walking quite successfully and seems to be gaining power in his hip muscles.’⁵⁵⁵ His first public appearance since his polio diagnosis in 1921 was at the Democratic National Convention in 1924. He was to give the nominating speech for Governor Al Smith for the presidential nomination. As FDR made his way to the podium, to give the speech, with the use of crutches, one onlooker described how ‘no one dared to breathe,’ presumably for fear that Roosevelt may fall.⁵⁵⁶ Roosevelt finished his speech and afterward the whole delegation ‘burst into thunderous applause.’⁵⁵⁷ Overcoming the adversity of his illness was seen as important; the public saw it as a triumph of will as well as the improvement in his condition.⁵⁵⁸

This was not, however, the truth of FDR’s condition. Roosevelt worked hard so that it appeared to the audience that he had overcome the worst of his condition. The recollections of longtime Roosevelt friend and associate Marion Dickerman describe how much effort Roosevelt put in for his 1924 solo walk to the speaker’s podium, ‘they measured off the library of the sixty-fifth street house the distance to the podium, and he practiced getting across that distance. Oh, he struggled.’⁵⁵⁹ The memoirs of Roosevelt’s son, James recall how FDR adopted a mask of composure and grace when he was in public. James recalled ‘outwardly, [father] was beaming seemingly confident and unconcerned, but I could sense his inner tenseness.’ James also noted

⁵⁵⁴ FDRL FDR to Daniels, October 6th, 1921.

⁵⁵⁵ Cited in Smith 2007:197.

⁵⁵⁶ Smith 2007:211.

⁵⁵⁷ Smith 2007:211.

⁵⁵⁸ Davis 1974:30.

⁵⁵⁹ For further references to FDR’s private correspondence, see Roosevelt, E. 1954

his father's grip, 'his fingers dug into my arms like pincers.'⁵⁶⁰ One further element which FDR adopted to conceal the extent of his disability was that the leg braces he wore were hidden from those at the conference, covered by his suit trousers.⁵⁶¹ This again highlights the disconnect between the natural and 'political' body. Spectators saw a man who could walk, seemed in rude health and was always amiable. Yet this was *dissimulatio*. Roosevelt required his natural body to match the perception of what he had previously been before his illness. Therefore, through effort and will, he fashioned a 'political' body with which he could lead the nation.

In 1928 he went to the convention again. This time there were no crutches, instead he carried a traditional walking stick and used the arm of his son, Jimmy, for support. Hamilton notes that it seemed to the 15,000 people in attendance that 'FDR gave the impression of mild, residual stiffness but was otherwise in rude good health.'⁵⁶² In the eyes of those at the convention, FDR had recovered from his ordeal and was certainly physically capable of leading the nation. Despite the fact that he was and, perhaps more importantly, appeared to be physically improving, Roosevelt was not exempt from scrutiny over his condition. In July 1931, *Liberty* magazine, a weekly that claimed a circulation of 2.5 million, published an article headlined 'Is Franklin D. Roosevelt Physically Fit to Be President?' The opening paragraph was scathing in its assessment of Roosevelt's condition, 'it is an amazing possibility that the next President of the United States may be a cripple.'⁵⁶³

Despite the claims of *Liberty* magazine, FDR, and many others worked tirelessly to maintain the image of his 'political' body. Davis Houck and Amos Kiewe have suggested that 'Roosevelt's disability was carefully concealed not only from the media, and thus the public, but also from some members of his own family.'⁵⁶⁴ While it would appear this claim is too

⁵⁶⁰ Roosevelt and Shalett, 1959:205.

⁵⁶¹ Stein 2004:36.

⁵⁶² Hamilton 2011:8.

⁵⁶³ Clausen 2005:26.

⁵⁶⁴ Houck and Kiewe 2003:9. The view that the public were unaware of the extent of FDR's disability is disputed in Schlesinger et al 2005:7-9,11.

strong and focuses too much on the ‘secret aspect’ of FDR’s condition, it would be fair to say that his appearances in public, specifically with regard to his physical health, were carefully ‘stage- managed.’ FDR’s grandson, Curtis Roosevelt has noted the help which the press did give to FDR, claiming that ‘photographers voluntarily excluded FDR’s spindly legs (which were so bony that even trousers couldn’t disguise them) from their pictures.’⁵⁶⁵ One of the ways in which FDR stage-managed his condition was through the use of photographs and carefully adopted standing positions. This carefully cultivated image allowed FDR to convince the public that he was physically fit and easily capable of the rigours of the presidency.



Figure 5.15 FDR with his daughter, Anna.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁵ ‘Reporters did not mention that he was an invalid. His condition certainly didn’t affect his performance as President, and that was what concerned the White House press corps.’ Schlesinger et al. 2005:7-9.

⁵⁶⁶ Image Available at <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-fdr-presidency-us-president-franklin-delano-roosevelt-and-anna-roosevelt-35111785.html> [date accessed 6.10.2019].

One of the finest examples of this cultivated image can be seen in a photograph of FDR and his daughter, Anna (5.15). Roosevelt and Anna both look happy and at ease. In the image he stands very straight, not quite face on to the camera. He looks relaxed, and healthy; his cane is positioned behind him as if it were of no concern in holding his weight up. However, a closer examination of the photo reveals that we are viewing the president's 'political' body and that there are signs of physical dependence. His left foot appears very lightly pressed to the ground; this indicates that not much weight is being borne either through that leg, or on the foot itself. His weight is actually being sustained by the cane, which he appears to hold in a relaxed manner behind his back. The second aspect which indicates that Roosevelt is struggling physically is that he is holding Anna's arm. At first glance this would appear absolutely natural and nothing to do with any ailment FDR may have. After all, what loving father would not take his daughter's arm, if offered? Yet, the positions of FDR's second and third fingers are indicative of someone who is holding on reasonably securely, probably in order to provide support for both balance and weight bearing.

Roosevelt's image as a vibrant and energetic leader did not end with images of him in still shots with Anna but were built into all aspects of his image. Burton Peretti has suggested that FDR identified with the role of the leading man on the silver screen.⁵⁶⁷ Peretti notes FDR 'faked walking in public with the use of his steel braces on his legs, usually with one of his grown sons supporting him on the elbow'.⁵⁶⁸ It is clear that FDR had perfected the art of *dissimulatio*, and in this regard, both *princeps* and president were very alike. So great was Roosevelt's success that Peretti called his presidency and the man himself, 'a virtuoso of deceptive public performance.'⁵⁶⁹ Another of Roosevelt's political photos furthers the evidence for the success

⁵⁶⁷ Peretti 2012:83.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁹ Peretti 2012 :84.

of his ‘political’ body. Note, for example, the way that FDR has carefully manipulated all aspects of his bearing in his gubernatorial photo (5.16).



Figure 5.16 FDR before the 1928 gubernatorial election.⁵⁷⁰

Much like in the image with Anna, Roosevelt appears relaxed and physically commanding. Although we are aware that he holds a cane, this was not unusual for politicians in the twentieth century, many of whom were older than some of our more recent political leaders. Roosevelt adopts a classical *contrapposto* stance; this pose leaves all of the weight of the President on one foot, his right shoulder rotated slightly backwards, while maintaining a ‘front on’ stance for the viewer. The *contrapposto* pose has a long history in classical sculpture, and a recent study which examined body position and desirability noted that the *contrapposto* was seen as

⁵⁷⁰ Photograph of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, with retouching, circulated by Wide World Photos in October 1928. Stefan Lorant picture archive. Lorant’s *The Glorious Burden: The American Presidency* 1969,600.

a particularly attractive pose by viewers of an individual who adopted this stance.⁵⁷¹ This stance is presenting a relaxed and carefree manner, indicative of someone who is confident. In the case of FDR, his height and strong upper body denote a physical confidence he cannot have felt in reality due to his dependence on aids, to both walk and stand. Despite the reality, the image is a statement of FDR's physical fitness. Sally Stein has dubbed the gubernatorial image 'the future President rehearsing his national performance of the art of recovery.'⁵⁷²

As FDR was one of the first political leaders to be subjected to a type of modern mass media, it was particularly important that his deception worked. Stein believes that 'today's mass media intensifies the popular impulse to scrutinize the bodies of leaders and would-be leaders for signs of these abilities.'⁵⁷³ The most important ability for a political leader was to inspire confidence that they could protect their people. Winter suggests 'the strongest visual sign of this ability is to stand upright and strong before the electorate.'⁵⁷⁴ One of the major parts of FDR's deception was that he revealed just enough of the 'truth' to have people believe the narrative he wished to construct. During the previously mentioned article in *Liberty* magazine in 1931, FDR did share some facts about his condition. Albeit the article stretched the truth when asserting that swimming was restoring partial use of his legs. The claims that he had regained some form of mobility using his lower limbs was supported by a picture (5.17) within the article which presented Roosevelt as an athletic and healthy-looking man. The image shows Roosevelt shortly before going swimming and is captioned 'Governor Roosevelt on the bank of the outdoor pool in 'Warm Springs,' Georgia.'⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷¹ For the attractiveness of the *contrapposto* pose to a viewer, see Pazhooi et al. 2019.

⁵⁷² Peretti 2012: 84; Stein 2004:33.

⁵⁷³ Stein 2004:34.

⁵⁷⁴ Winter 1996: 63.

⁵⁷⁵ Stein 2004:36.



Figure 5.17 FDR in *Liberty Magazine*.⁵⁷⁶

This highlights a form of deception with which FDR was comfortable, one which referred to the ill health he had suffered, yet presented a man who had overcome that adversity and regained his former good health. Once the ‘race’ for the presidency was under way, however, FDR downplayed both discussion and evidence of his physical impairment. Furthermore, once FDR had won the presidency, he was determined to make a show of standing, and even walking without noticeable physical aids.⁵⁷⁷ Kim Nielsen has coined the idea of ‘civic fitness’ or the ability to serve in public office. She defines the parameters as ‘measured by signs of autonomy, self-determination, and self-government.’⁵⁷⁸

Even though FDR worked tirelessly on the construction of his ‘political’ body, all aspects of his disability could not simply be removed. For example, that FDR has two canes in this gubernatorial image does, at least at first, surprise the viewer. Although the cane is subtly positioned, it is clearly there if one wishes to examine the image closely enough. FDR’s disability was not a secret to which only a few people were privy, it was in fact, an ‘open

⁵⁷⁶ *Liberty*, July 25, 1931, 9. AP/Wide World.

⁵⁷⁷ Stein 2004:36.

⁵⁷⁸ Nielson 2001:269.

secret,' at least in the sense that while the public knew about the President's illness, they were not aware of the extent to which it hampered him.⁵⁷⁹ One of the only times when Roosevelt appeared to have revealed the extent of his illness, was during 1932 when during a speaking engagement, Neal recounts that Roosevelt moved away from the speaker's podium, lost his balance, and fell on the stage. He was helped up and immediately resumed his speech. This also played on the idea that Roosevelt was someone who had tremendous will power and was able to overcome his illness to still hold the office of President.⁵⁸⁰

Kauffman, recording the recollections of his mother, who was just eighteen when FDR became president recalled that, 'she and 'everybody' knew at the time that FDR was crippled.' His mother went on to say that it made no difference to her vote. Peretti notes that 'FDR relied upon the public as well as his inner circle to make a success of his 'recovery.'⁵⁸¹

Both the media and the public at large were to 'suspend their disbelief' and to play along with the most elaborate ruse, that FDR really could walk unaided and was fit to stand for office.⁵⁸² Evidence of this suspension of disbelief can be found in the letters of complaint sent to *Time* magazine as backlash for referring to the President's legs as 'shrivelled.'⁵⁸³ Processing Roosevelt's image through the prism of the 'doctrine of capacities,' he, like Claudius, sought to defend the 'political' body he had constructed. Claudius sought to defend his position as *princeps*. For FDR, his chief concern was to defend the office of the presidency. Both used the process of *dissimulatio* to project a strong and reliable body politic, even as their own, physical, body natural dealt with infirmity and weakness. The institutions both men led become

⁵⁷⁹ Schlesinger et al 2005:11.

⁵⁸⁰ Tebbel and Watts 1985:441.

⁵⁸¹ Peretti 2012: 92.

⁵⁸² For the suspension of disbelief, see Stein 2004:36. Peretti 2004:85.

⁵⁸³ Evidence of this suspension of disbelief can be found in the letters of complaint sent to *Time* magazine as backlash for referring to the legs of as 'shrivelled.' For *Time's* description of the president-elect and readers' responses, see *Time*, December 5, 1932, 9; January 2, 1933, 2-4; and January 16, 1933, 2. *Time* magazine received over five hundred letters of complaint and were more careful in their choice of language when referring to the president thereafter.

inseparable from them the moment they assumed office.⁵⁸⁴ Thus, the ‘political’ body was dependant on the occupant of the office projecting a powerful, unwavering figure. Claudius and Roosevelt moulded their public image to fit this requirement.

Upon reflection, it is clear that Claudius and FDR had several important physical similarities. Both men had a weakness in their legs; FDR was paralysed from the waist down, and his leg muscles were atrophied. Without aid, he could not walk at all. While Claudius could walk, although very short distances, his leg muscles were weak. It would not be a large assumption to say that the legs of the *princeps* were also quite thin and, perhaps, weak looking; perhaps it was a blessing that a toga would have covered this from the eyes of onlookers, much like the trouser legs tailored for FDR.⁵⁸⁵ Another similarity was the effort made to compensate for their disability by conditioning their upper bodies. Claudius is described as a well-built, powerful man by Suetonius, who, it appears, compensated for the weakness of the lower half of his body by strengthening the top half. Similarly, FDR also increased the strength in his upper body though the use of a vigorous workout routine. He worked out on a set of rings mounted above his bed, maintained a physiotherapist who came three days a week to oversee his exercises, swam regularly and exercised using parallel bars on the lawn of his house.⁵⁸⁶ This strenuous routine was so as not to appear weak when in public. In terms of downplaying the seriousness of their condition, both men took some level of precaution. FDR had his tailor make his trousers too long, so that even if they ‘rode up’ his leg braces would not be revealed.⁵⁸⁷ In addition, after his first presidential election victory, FDR began to have his leg braces painted black in order to make them less visible to the public when the President was sitting.⁵⁸⁸ Claudius had

⁵⁸⁴ Kantorowicz wrote ‘the King’s Two Bodies’ thus form one unit indivisible; each being fully contained in the other.’ Kantorowicz 1957:9.

⁵⁸⁵ For use of a toga to hide unsightly physical features, see Marcrob.*Sat* 2.3.9. For FDR’s tailored trousers, see Stein 2004:35.

⁵⁸⁶ Suet, *Claud.* 30.1; for FDR, see Smith 2007:197.

⁵⁸⁷ Neal 2004; Stein 2004:35.

⁵⁸⁸ Stein 2004:35.

used the ‘Greek cloak’ as a young man to hide the worst of his tremors, both of his head and his hands when in attendance at the games.⁵⁸⁹ That both men maintained a powerful upper body is significant; Weber stated that legitimacy is sustained by a leader’s charisma, therefore looking physically capable was important to both men.⁵⁹⁰ Physical power has long been an important tool for a political leader. As Dutton has commented, the appeal of a muscular body ‘lies in the imaginative power of a muscular body to suggest a visible embodiment of strength and power.’⁵⁹¹ Llewellyn-Jones, while studying images of the Persian monarch, has argued that ‘a king represented with powerful arms was therefore endowed with strength from the god; while a broad chest suggested a ruler was imbued with strength and energy.’⁵⁹² We are told by Suetonius, albeit without specifics, that Claudius maintained a powerful upper body, while FDR kept up a rigorous swimming routine to add power to his upper body. Gallagher notes that during his rehabilitation, ‘his arms regained strength, his nervous system was functioning normally, and his stomach and lower back were getting stronger.’⁵⁹³

The iconography of a leader is vital to construct their rule, as most of the viewing public will not have seen a leader in person. The image that leader’s chose to portray, may be the only one on which their subjects or citizens have to construct an idea of their ruler. That the image represented what the leader wanted the public to see was important, especially if the reality was far more politically damaging, such as highlighting an instance where a leader may be physically dependant on another for aid, as was the case for both FDR and Claudius. As we have seen, the lengths to which a ruler would go to maintain the image of their ‘political’ body

⁵⁸⁹ Suet. *Claud.*2.2.

⁵⁹⁰ Weber 1922:58.

⁵⁹¹ Dutton 1995:221.

⁵⁹² Llewellyn-Jones 2015:219

⁵⁹³ Gallagher 1985:23 has also praised the physical fitness regime of FDR and the impressive upper body power he displayed, perhaps even because of his polio diagnosis. Gunther 1950:266-267 believes that Roosevelt’s workout regime gave the president many years of robust health.

were impressive. One particular example (5.18) shows just how comfortable FDR had become with his deception.



Figure 5.18. FDR pictured with his eldest son, Franklin Jr.⁵⁹⁴

A photograph of Roosevelt with his son, Franklin Jr provides a good example of the physical dependence which FDR placed upon all of his sons. Smith noted that Roosevelt had developed the art of ‘walking with a cane in one hand while tightly gripping the arm of a companion with the other.’⁵⁹⁵ Something of that strain is evident on the face of Roosevelt in this photograph with his youngest son, Franklin Jr. Noticeably, FDR’s walking stick is not on the floor, it is not being used to support his weight and thus, he does not look like he depends upon it. Notice though, that the younger Franklin, though doing a passable job of looking fairly relaxed, is actually providing the prop so that his father can retain his balance while writing something

⁵⁹⁴ Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., voting at the polls, New York, November 6, 1936. Image available at <https://pixels.com/featured/2-fdr-presidency-us-president-franklin-everett.html> [date accessed 31.1.2021].

⁵⁹⁵ Smith 2007:220.

down. Smith recounts that FDR was insistent that those who accompanied him during public events maintain a certain calm. He requested that they ‘appear jovial regardless of the tension they felt.’⁵⁹⁶ Interestingly, Claudius used his sons-in-law when he needed physical aid too.⁵⁹⁷

One of the most famous instances is when Claudius, conducting his triumph, needed help to ascend the steps of the Capitol. Dio also states that Claudius ‘did everything according to precedent, including going up the steps of the Capitol on his knees, with his sons-in-law supporting him on either side.’⁵⁹⁸ Dio does not remark that Claudius being supported was unusual; in fact, he appears to suggest that it was, the natural way to conduct a triumph.⁵⁹⁹

Not only on the occasion of a triumph, but more generally too, Claudius attempted to negate or lessen the moments when his physical struggles were obvious. It could be argued that Claudius used this to full effect in order to soften the potential criticism of perhaps the most embarrassing manifestation of his disability. Dio recounts that Claudius was the ‘first of the emperors to use a covered chair.’⁶⁰⁰ This was presumably to aid Claudius when going long distances. Although this could have been a source of potential embarrassment, there are some small precedents for the use of a litter or ‘chair’ to travel in the Roman world. It is well documented that a chair or litter for transport was not unheard of in either the Republic or during the Principate. For a Roman of status, although usually female, the use of a litter was commonplace: it was a mark of both status and wealth.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁶ Smith 2007:221.

⁵⁹⁷ Dio Cass. 60.23.1.

⁵⁹⁸ Dio Cass. 60.23.1.

⁵⁹⁹ For more details of Claudius’ triumph, see Suet. *Claud.* 17.1-2. For a more modern reconstruction, see Champlin 2005:205-210. For triumphs in general, see Beard 2007.

⁶⁰⁰ Dio Cass. 60.2.3. Here Dio is presumably referring to the *sella gestatoria* which was a portable chair in which the occupant sat upright.

⁶⁰¹ To own a litter and the appropriate number of bearers was associated with high status Brannstedt 2016:80. A *carpentum* was one of the earliest types of Roman carriages, it is mentioned by Liv.1.34, 5.25. In the case of Livia, the *carpentum* was also used for private journeys and could be used as a state carriage. Prop 4.8.23; Juv.8.147; 9.132.

On occasion, other forms of transport, both more mobile and more comfortable for the passenger, could be sought. According to the account of Tacitus, Livia had a fall in 22 AD. By now, the dowager empress was in her eighties and was granted a concession by the Senate.⁶⁰² Once she had recovered, she gained the right to travel in a *carpentum* in the city. This was an honour normally reserved for Vestal Virgins until this point, yet it appeared that Livia would be similarly honoured. Coins from 22 and 23 AD depict the *carpentum* surrounded by symbols of victory. The image depicted on a similar series of coins, display not Livia, but the covered *carpentum*.⁶⁰³ The images depicted on the coins are not openly venerating Livia; indeed, they appear more concerned with giving weight to the honour of using a *carpentum*. This does have some interesting links to Claudius, as Dio recounts him using a ‘covered chair.’ Although we have no precise record of this chair, it could be argued that it was similar to a litter, which the wives of senators and indeed, on occasion, senators themselves would use to get around.⁶⁰⁴ Plutarch recounts that Claudius’ famous ancestor, Appius Claudius *caecus* was carried to the senate house on a litter to address the august body about a treaty with Macedonia in the third century BC.⁶⁰⁵ Suetonius also notes that Augustus went about the city either on foot or in a closed litter.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰² For Livia’s illness, see Tac. *Ann.* 3.31.2; 3.64.3. Barrett 2002: 87-94.

⁶⁰³ RIC II 47. For similar provincial coins, see RPC II. 1154, 1567-1568, 1779 and 2840.

⁶⁰⁴ Dio. Cass. 60.2.3.

⁶⁰⁵ Plut. *Pyrh.* 18.5-20.1.

⁶⁰⁶ For Augustus’ use of the covered litter, see Suet. *Aug.* 29.3, 53.2. For Dio’s account, see 47.23.

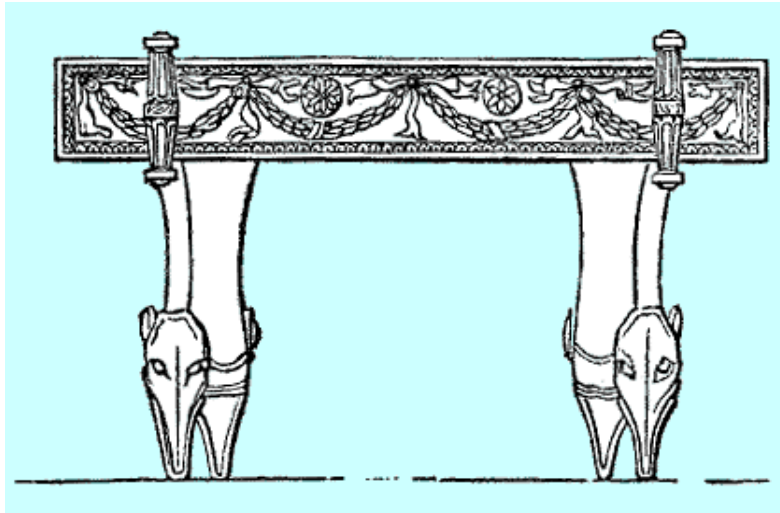


Figure 5.19. An artistic depiction of a *sella*.⁶⁰⁷

If this type of transport was used by Augustus, it would not be inconceivable that Claudius would have chosen to travel in this way.⁶⁰⁸ As the *sella* (5.19) was an accepted mode of transport for people of his class, it appears that Claudius would not have been mocked for its use. Cicero did suggest, however, that it was ‘acceptable, even politically advantageous, to mock disfigurements and disabilities.’⁶⁰⁹ In this case, the use of the *sella* may have saved Claudius from being mocked for his physical frailties rather than how he chose to move around the capital, when long distances were involved.⁶¹⁰ If Claudius could keep his condition hidden inside the *sella* or, at the very least, use the *sella* to minimise his risk of embarrassment or weakness in the eyes of the people, this opportunity was to be seized upon.

The examples of Claudius and FDR reveal much about the length to which it was deemed acceptable to go in order to maintain the image of a ruler’s ‘political’ body. Much like Claudius, FDR was keen to hide his frailties from the public, but like the *princeps*, who used the *sella* when required to hide his physical weakness, the President hid his physical aids from his people

⁶⁰⁷ Image found at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/SMIGRA*/Sella.html [date accessed 28.10.19].

⁶⁰⁸ Plin.*Ep.* 3.5 describes the *sella* as the motion was so easy that one might study without inconvenience.

⁶⁰⁹ Cic. *Orat.* 2.226; 2.239

⁶¹⁰ Plin.*HN.* 28.7.

as often as he could. After contracting polio, Roosevelt found it increasingly difficult to move around, as has already been established; his lower legs were not able to support his weight, as he was paralysed from the waist down. Despite this, the President was keen to appear able to meet the physical demands of the presidency. Perhaps the consequence of his disability he took most trouble to hide, was the fact that he used a wheelchair to move around when in private. The success of FDR's deception was astonishing; many of the world leaders who met Roosevelt were unaware of the extent of the President's disability.⁶¹¹ Part of the success of FDR's ruse was the cooperation of the secret service, who accompanied him wherever he went. Along with protecting the President from any physical harm, they also formed a protective shield around the President when it came to hiding his disability. An article from *Time* magazine dated to 1937, suggests that the secret service would take an active role in protecting the public image of their Commander-in-Chief. As *Editor & Publisher* reported in 1936, 'if agents saw a photographer taking a picture of Roosevelt, say, getting out of his car, they would seize the camera and tear out the film.'⁶¹² A 1946 survey of the White House photography corps confirmed this, finding that anyone the Secret Service caught taking banned photographs 'had their cameras emptied, their films exposed to sunlight, or their plates smashed.'⁶¹³ Due to the diligence of the Secret Service, pictures of Roosevelt in a wheelchair remain rare. Of the photos taken of the President in this manner, only four remain. An image unearthed by Indiana University Professor, Ray Begovich shows the President being transported in his wheelchair. In the image, Roosevelt is being transported down a ramp after visiting the USS Baltimore in Pearl Harbour in July 1944; as he leaves the ship, sailors stand around him to obscure the view. (5.20).

⁶¹¹ Gunther 1950:46.

⁶¹² Pressman 2013:241.

⁶¹³ Pressman 2013:246. Despite the co-operation of the Secret Service, Pressman has suggested that FDR's disability was more of an 'open secret.'



Figure 5.20. This image found by Professor Begovich comes from an eight-second film clip provided by the National Archives. It shows President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, third from right, being pushed in a wheelchair aboard the U.S.S. Baltimore in Pearl Harbour in July 1944.

The reason FDR appeared so determined to hide his disability can be summed up by President Bill Clinton. In 2001, while attending the unveiling of a statue of Roosevelt, in which the former President is depicted in his wheelchair, the then President Clinton declared: ‘he lived in a different time, when people thought being disabled was being unable.’ The implication was that if FDR had had the good fortune to run for president today, his disability would have been no handicap at all.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹⁴ Address by President Bill Clinton given at a dedication of a statue to FDR in early 2001. The committee that designed the memorial had acceded to Roosevelt’s wish that he not be shown in one. Disability rights groups, however, demanded that the biases of his own time not be countenanced in ours. (The possibility that a proud man might have minimized his handicap as much to avoid pity as stigma did not seem to occur to them.) Found online at <http://archive.wilsonquarterly.com/essays/fdrs-hidden-handicap> [date accessed 29.10.2019]

With the apparent stigma attached to being disabled at the time of Roosevelt’s presidency, it is no surprise that he wanted to keep the extent of his condition as secret as possible.

FDR spent a great deal of time honing his deception when in public and what is also clear is that he made several adjustments to the apparatus which were to physically aid him after he first contracted polio. A note from FDR’s doctor (5.21) listed that the future president had ordered leg braces from Dr Linder. The note details the specifics of each leg brace, which highlights amendments such as ‘knee straps and ankle coils.’⁶¹⁵

TELEPHONE PLAZA 7206

Box 23

To ROBERT LINDER, Inc., Br.
MANUFACTURERS OF
Orthopedic Appliances

No. 148 East 53rd Street Near Lexington Avenue

M. Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt
49 East 65 St.,
New York, N. Y.

TERMS CASH. New York, July 5th, 1926

Left Aluminum Drop Ring Brace with Spring Snap at Knee-Stop at right angle-coil Spring to hold toe up	\$ 100 00	
Right Ankle Brace with right angle stop-spring to pull toe up	35 00	\$ 135 00

Braces don't fit - Will keep & alter them when I get back in Sept F.D.R.

Figure 5.21. A note from Dr Linder detailing the requirements for Roosevelt’s braces.⁶¹⁶

The most interesting aspect of the note, however, is that FDR has written a response on the order form for Dr Linder. It reads, ‘braces don’t fit, will take them when I get back in September.’ Not only was FDR keen to see that his leg braces were well-fitted, but this also extended to his use of his wheelchair. Although FDR went to great lengths to ensure that he was seldom photographed in his wheelchair, in private he used it to move about the White

⁶¹⁵ This order form can be found in the FDR Presidential Library under the collection FDR Family, Business, Personal Papers.

⁶¹⁶ FDR Presidential Library under the collection FDR Family, Business, Personal Papers.

House. Despite this, he refused to use an ordinary wheelchair and set about adjusting a chair which suited his life and work. FDR refused to use an ordinary wheelchair of the period, because they were heavy and impractical for the dimensions of the White House.

President Roosevelt created a 'custom made' wheelchair. Instead of using an ordinary wheelchair, FDR fashioned his own from an ordinary dining chair. The only amendment he made was the addition of some small wheels in place of the legs.⁶¹⁷

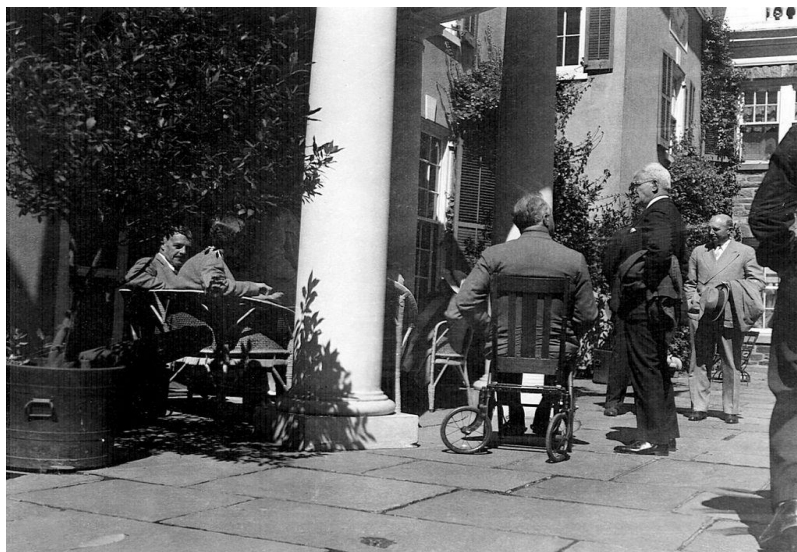


Figure 5.22.2 FDR sitting in his custom-made wheelchair.⁶¹⁸

A rare picture of FDR in his wheelchair, taken from behind the President, shows the small wheels which had been manually fitted to his chair (5.22). It could be argued that if you approached FDR face on, you would not immediately be aware that he was confined to a wheelchair. It may have only been considered obvious if you were looking for it. The fact that FDR was both innovative in his design of his mobility aids and that he was wealthy enough to have them constructed to his specifications, made the deception all the more manageable.

⁶¹⁷ Smith 2007: 197, 212 (see also the footnote on that 197), notes that this was the only model of wheelchair used for the rest of his life.

⁶¹⁸ Roosevelt in his wheelchair with a group on the terrace of Springwood in Hyde Park, New York (1937).

Both Claudius and Roosevelt were adept at using the conventions of their time to full effect to negate any negative connotations. The account of Dio concerning Claudius' celebration of a triumph suggests that walking with aid was something which Claudius, at least occasionally, endured.⁶¹⁹ If Suetonius' account of Claudius reaching his seat in the theatre without aid was remarkable enough to be noted, it could be argued that Claudius may have occasionally required greater levels of physical assistance when navigating difficult buildings or flights of stairs. In fact, like FDR, it appears that Claudius did, on occasion, rely on the physical aid of others to manage his condition. A similar instance can be seen in the fact that Suetonius records that, 'he [Claudius] was unable to walk to the camp when the praetorians made him emperor.'⁶²⁰ The examples of Claudius and FDR using another person for aid do not appear to have hampered their public image in any way; although as has been noted, they did seek to minimise the effect that this would have on anyone who saw them. It appears that these actions were unremarkable enough to warrant no comment from those who witnessed them. In addition, it appears that using aids to downplay the disabilities of either man merely helped to enhance the concept of their 'political' body, especially when it was also reflected in the image people saw in person.

The manner in which rulers sought to create this image was, as we have seen, different in practice. Yet at its heart, it adhered to the concept of the 'doctrine of capacities.' Roosevelt manipulated his image in photographs to seem as though he was mobile and physically fit. Yet the President went further still to hide his ailment. Prior to the 1932 presidential campaign, Roosevelt sought to quash the rumours that he was physically incapable of managing the burdens of the presidency by arranging for the publication of his medical examination as proof that he was physically fit enough for office. Although the note was successful in dispelling

⁶¹⁹ Dio Cass. 60.23.1.

⁶²⁰ Suet.*Claud.*10.2; Dio Cass. 60.1.1; Pollard 2010:217.

some of the rumours, it has been suggested that it was produced at the direction of Governor Roosevelt and that it did not adequately reflect his physical condition.⁶²¹ This note, coupled with the intelligent, stage-managed photos, allowed FDR to hide the true extent of his disability.

For other rulers, a more concrete form of proof was needed. Claudius sought to create the image of a great military conqueror, which he assumed would bolster his reputation once he acceded to the Principate. In his account of Claudius' campaign in Britain, Suetonius notes that the emperor, 'without any battle or bloodshed received the submission of a part of the island.'⁶²² Although this is no doubt an exaggeration, it does present the image of a powerful leader who has overawed his enemy. Much like FDR, for Claudius it was the display of his success which mattered most. We are told that Claudius celebrated a large and lavish triumph upon his return to Rome, one to which many of his provincial governors were invited. Suetonius recounts that he [Claudius] 'celebrated a triumph of great splendour. To witness the sight, he allowed not only the governors of the provinces to come to Rome, but even some of the exiles.'⁶²³ With this display, not only the emperor's subjects but those who helped him govern the empire could witness his success. Perhaps the most important information given by Suetonius is that Claudius rode in a chariot during the triumph, and 'his wife Messalina followed his chariot in a carriage,' indicating that Claudius was able to stand in the chariot for the duration of the journey.⁶²⁴ Although this would appear a simple task, to Claudius it would have been an indication to all those watching that he was physically capable of two things: the first was partaking in and winning a war, the second, that he could endure the physical strain of mounting

⁶²¹ Kiewe 1999: 89. Also note the use of a physician's note seeking to prove the physical fitness of Donald Trump to assume the office of president during the 2016 presidential Campaign. For the letter from Trump's physician, see Hamblin 2017: The Bizarre world of Donald Trump's Doctor, *The Atlantic*, [date accessed 4.9.17] Available online at <https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2016/08/bornstein-trump-linguistics/497840/>

⁶²² Suet.*Claud.*17.2-3.

⁶²³ Suet.*Claud.*17.2-3.

⁶²⁴ Suet.*Claud.*17.3.

the chariot and standing upright while it made its journey. For both rulers, the appearance of physical health and fitness was the most important facet of their public image.

Much of what FDR and Claudius achieved by displaying an image which confirmed the narrative reflected by their ‘political’ body has deep sociological roots. Goffman notes that individuals must ‘highlight and portray confirmatory facts’ when in the presence of others so that they may get across exactly what they wish to convey. Therefore, an individual must exaggerate the qualities that they wish to convey to their ‘viewer’ if they expect those qualities to be considered as fact.⁶²⁵ Goffman also takes the example of two different nurses to illustrate his point: one a surgical nurse, the other medical. Goffman notes that both are highly skilled, important jobs, yet in the eyes of their ‘audience’ (patients and their families) the comparison may not be so kind:

‘A patient will see his nurse stop by his bed and stop for a moment or two with a patient there. He doesn’t know that she is observing the shallowness of his breathing and the colour and tone of his skin. He thinks she is just visiting. So, alas, does his family who thereupon decide that nurses aren’t very impressive. [...] The nurses are wasting time unless they are darting about doing some visible thing.’⁶²⁶

Just as it is important for the people in this example to be *seen* to be doing something useful, lest they are written off as ineffective, it was key for the leaders mentioned in this chapter to be seen as physically capable of the role they held. Therefore, Claudius seen standing in a chariot during a triumph and FDR seemingly walking and not confined to a wheelchair were seen to be completing tasks expected of their position. Just like the patients and families in

⁶²⁵ Goffman 1959:40.

⁶²⁶ For the full analogy, see Lentz 1954:2-3.

Goffman's example, those who viewed both men judged them on what was apparent rather than any truth which was hidden from them.

The examples of Claudius and FDR establish that the concept of the 'doctrine of capacities' has a greater reach or scale than that mentioned by Kantorowicz in *The King's Two Bodies*. The concept itself is far more flexible than it has previously been supposed. Neither Claudius nor Roosevelt were particularly concerned with their age on obtaining office, in fact, Claudius in particular, after his initial accession, was keen to stress that he was not a young man. FDR also had no concerns about hiding his age from the voters. In order to deal with the unique challenges of his reign, Claudius stepped away from the traditional Julio-Claudian image. Unlike previous members of the *Domus Augusta*, Claudius did not seek to craft a 'political' body which displayed eternal youth. Instead, Claudius sought to display his age and experience as factors which would bolster his weak claim to the Principate. In regard to the how Claudius attempted to hide weakness while in public, he adopted the art of *dissimulatio* to show that a 'political' body can be used to hide illness or physical weakness caused by either a contracted or congenital medical condition. In this way, the idea of the 'doctrine of capacities' and the 'two bodies' can be extended to rulers who may not wish to hide their age but seek instead to hide a disability or illness. An extension of the concept shows that disabled rulers can also find great use and benefit from the concept of a 'political' body. In the next chapter I will discuss the iconography of the final member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. By assessing the public image of Nero, it will become clear that the 'doctrine of capacities' can even extend to rulers who are young and in no need of a 'political' body to hide either age or disability. The 'doctrine of capacities' is flexible enough to allow the construction of a political image which bolstered

a ruler's political power. This is what Hekster has called the concept of 'reality gaps' and this will be explored in the next chapter on Nero.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁷ Hekster 2011.

Chapter 6 – Nero and a New ‘Political’ Body

When Donald Strong asserted that ‘the Julio-Claudians are notoriously difficult to identify, because they all subscribe to the basic formula [established in Augustus’ imperial image]’ it appears that he had overlooked the iconography of the final member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.⁶²⁸ Instead of subscribing to the ‘Augustan imperial image,’ Nero boldly stepped away from the iconography which had supported the previous members of the *Domus Augusta*. Rather than focus on the concept of eternal youth within his imagery, Nero played on a new conception of the ‘political’ body. Of all the Julio-Claudians, Nero was the youngest when he became *princeps*; adopted by Claudius in 50 AD, we are told by Suetonius that ‘of his sons-in-law, Nero he adopted.’⁶²⁹ Nero would eventually succeed Claudius to the position of *princeps* in 56 AD. Having become the ruler of the Roman world at only 18 years of age, Nero had no need for a ‘political’ body to hide the weakness which old age can bring. He also had no need of a ‘political’ body to hide a disability. Instead of seeking to hide age or weakness behind an image of eternal youth or physical vigor, Nero chose an image which would enhance the qualities which he already possessed: his youth and his love of luxury and extravagance. Through this, it is arguable that Nero sought to turn his actual image and personality into the ‘political’ body.

An examination of Nero’s iconography and ‘political’ body reveal an entirely new use and application for the ‘doctrine of capacities.’ In this instance, the concept is neither used to conceal age or illness, it is used to enhance an existing image or even create a new image entirely. The image which Nero sought to create was one which allowed his natural body to mirror that of his ‘political’ body. Unlike previous Julio-Claudians, he did not need to use *dissimulatio* in the same way as his predecessors. Previous members of the dynasty had used

⁶²⁸ ed. Toynbee 1976: ii.

⁶²⁹ For Nero’s adoption, see Suet. *Ner.*6.7; *Claud.* 27.2.

dissimulatio in order to craft a natural body which reflected the youth or physical prowess of their ‘political’ body when in public. Nero looked instead to reflect wealth and extravagance through the process of crafting a ‘political’ body, one which could be called the ‘showman.’ This allowed him to feel the power and authority he could not derive from sources such as his age or military accomplishments. Nero’s great achievement was reflecting his extravagant persona within his public image, and this meant attention was diverted from his lack of experience and instead, allowed him to form a much more grand and powerful image; one which reflected his personality and image, but also created an aura of power based around size, luxury and extravagance. More than any other Julio-Claudian, Nero’s use of his own image reflected what Kantorowicz termed the ‘indivisible unit.’⁶³⁰ This indivisible unit was the idea that the ‘political’ body which reflected the institution or office of the ruler, was bound to the natural body of the incumbent for the duration of their reign or tenure. For Nero, the ‘political’ body was built upon the idea of presence and size. This is reflected in all but the earliest of his iconography. Stepping away from the image crafted by previous members of the dynasty allowed him to become, to refute Strong’s claim, distinguishable from his predecessors. Despite the difference in his physical depictions from the material record, what is clear is that Nero did adopt some of the traits which both Augustus and Tiberius had used to bolster their ‘political’ body when they were in public. In order to achieve this, they bolstered their natural body with the costume of the *princeps*.⁶³¹

This chapter will examine Nero’s concept of the ‘political’ body; from his early iconography, which kept to the previous model and image created by Augustus and adapted by Claudius, through to Nero fashioning himself a new, unique image. This was based on the concept of a ‘showman,’ a figure who based their authority on both physical size, their personal charisma

⁶³⁰ Kantorowicz 1957:8-9.

⁶³¹ For Tiberius, see Tac. *Ann.*2.39-40; Suet. *Aug.*34.

and an image of extravagance. In order to fully draw out these conclusions and how effective Nero was in crafting this image, more modern comparisons will be used. The first will be former UK Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, who has spent over a decade crafting the image of a charismatic showman. This comparison will highlight how Johnson, like Nero, sought to make himself relatable to those he led. This is a persona which has propelled him to the very top of the UK political system. The second modern comparison within this chapter will be that of Louis XIV, King of France between 1643-1715. The comparison with Louis will highlight how effectively Nero crafted and maintained his concept of the ‘showman and how he aimed to bind his ‘political’ and natural body. While examining the image of the two rulers to reveal the intricacies of the ‘political’ bodies, the work of Goffman will be used to provide a sociological perspective on the way in which the iconography of a ‘showman’ was harnessed by both monarchs to maximum effect.

Nero’s Portrait Types and Toeing the Party Line

Goldsworthy has claimed that ‘in the popular imagination only Caesar, Antony, and Cleopatra, Alexander the Great, Aristotle and Socrates hold as much name recognition as Nero.’⁶³² The fame which Nero garnered was based on his lavish reputation and extravagance. The early iconography of Nero does not reflect this, however. Instead, Nero’s early iconography follows that of previous members of the *Domus Augusta* and do, as a general rule, support Strong’s claim that in the appearance of their statues and portraits, the members of the Julio-Claudian line looked much like Augustus. This is also true of the young Nero and can in seen in a portrait which may have been commissioned to commemorate his adoption by Claudius.

When Nero was adopted by Claudius in 50 AD, it was felt that a portrait should be created to commemorate that event (6.1). Interestingly, the portrait depicts Nero, then thirteen years of

⁶³² 2010:1.

age, as a child. This could be to suggest the continued stability and fertility of the dynasty. A young child depicted in portraiture suggests that the current *princeps* is likely to reign for many more years, as the child is not yet ready to govern and has not yet absorbed all the wisdom of their father. The image depicts the thirteen-year-old Nero with all the physiognomic marks of a Julio-Claudian ruler. The hairstyle is a trait of Julio-Claudian portraiture, depicted as straight, yet falling forward and drawn into a flick around his ears.⁶³³ Bergmann has argued that this was the traditional physical mould which represented members of the *Domus Augusta* within the Augustan tradition.

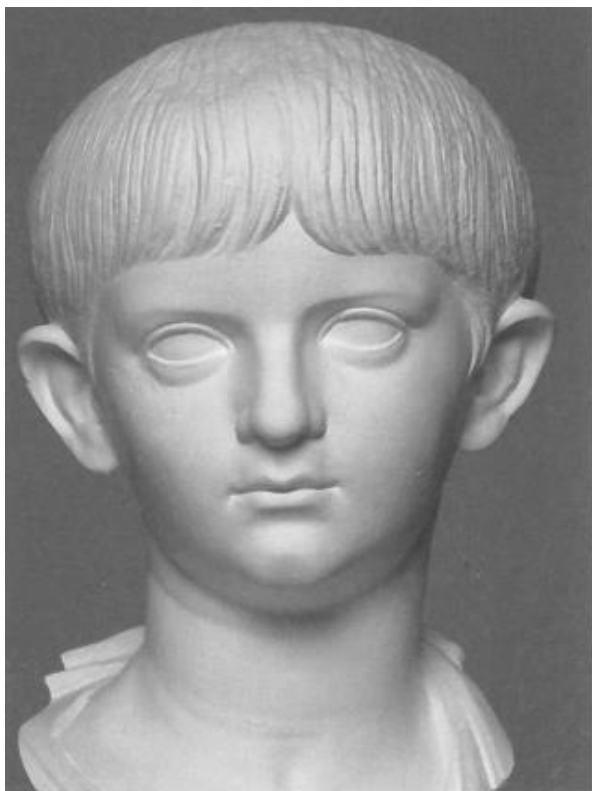


Figure 6.1. A portrait of the young Nero.⁶³⁴

As Nero grew to manhood and it became more likely that he would succeed Claudius, Nero's portraits fell ever more strongly into the Julio-Claudian mould.⁶³⁵ According to Hiesinger, this

⁶³³ Hiesinger 1975:115; Bergmann 2013:333.

⁶³⁴ Image taken from a statue currently housed at the Louvre, Paris. 1210.

⁶³⁵ For Nero's likelihood to succeed Claudius, see Tac. *Ann.*12.2.

is particularly evident in what he calls ‘a profound similarity in the shaping of the head and mouth, and in the deeply set eyes.’⁶³⁶ Not only is Nero’s iconographic depiction as a child a likeness to previous members of the *Domus*, but examples of his early adulthood also follow that path. A fine example depicts Nero in young adulthood (6.2). Where once again, the physical traits of previous members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty are evident: the shape of the eyes and the hairstyle all mirror portraits of Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Lucius.

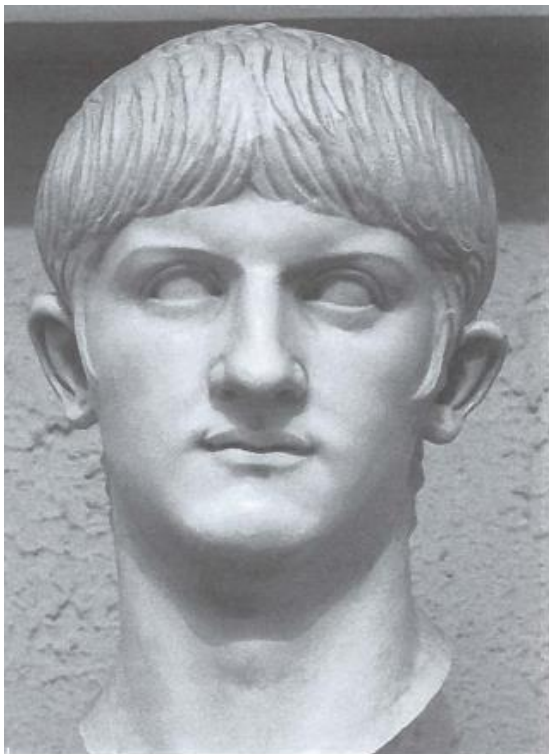


Figure 6.2. Nero in young manhood.⁶³⁷

These images provide us with evidence of Nero’s early ‘political’ body. Either as a child or as the young heir apparent, it is possible that Nero did not have control over his own image and therefore the artistic choices concerning his iconography would have been made for him rather

⁶³⁶ Hiesinger 1975:115-116.

⁶³⁷ Statue currently housed in Cagliari, Museo Nazionale. Inv. 35533.

than by him. The ‘political’ body which Nero had been given prior to his accession can also be seen on Julio-Claudian monuments as well as individual portraits of Nero.

One of the most notable examples of Nero depicted with ‘Julio-Claudian features’ can be found on the *Sebasteion*, the remains of a temple complex located in Aphrodisias in modern-day Turkey. The facial features are recognisably the same: the straight hairstyle and strongly defined nose being particularly prominent. Not only is Nero depicted as physically identical to the previous members of the dynasty, but the *Sebasteion* relief (6.3) also reinforces the traditional ideological narrative of the Julio-Claudians. Nero’s blood link to previous members of the dynasty is made evident by the appearance of his mother, Agrippina alongside him on the monument.



Figure 6.3 Nero, crowned by Agrippina, *Sebasteion*.⁶³⁸

Here, Agrippina presenting Nero with the laurel wreath indicates that the blood of Augustus continues to thrive, despite the turbulent period after the reign of Caligula. The bloodline of

⁶³⁸ Relief currently housed in the North House of Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.

the Julio-Claudian's is also reinforced by Nero's appearance; maintaining a similar image to that of (6.2), Nero is reminiscent of early images of Claudius and Caligula.⁶³⁹ Smith claims that the monument is significant because it symbolises the powers, which Nero was about to receive. These symbols of power include: the crown from his mother, which goes alongside the military *imperium* which was once represented by the spear and the political *imperium* represented by the orb which it is speculated that the statue once held. Ginsburg has suggested that the spear symbolised martial valour while the orb symbolised his new mastery of the world he inhabited.⁶⁴⁰ In addition, the wreath symbolises the 'crowning of a military victor,' according to Smith, which in this instance signifies Nero's accession.⁶⁴¹ One of the most notable aspects of the *Sebasteion* is that it comes from the catalogue of Nero's accession portraits; that is, from 54 AD, before he had broken away from the influence of his mother. The idea that Nero's message was ideological, and therefore bound by the iconography of the earlier members of the *Domus Augusta* is supported by Bergmann, who has suggested that as long as individuals such as Agrippina, Seneca and Burrus retained some influence, Nero's public image was little changed.⁶⁴² This is a sensible assumption and could also be supported by records we do possess of both Nero's appearance and the physical appearance of Augustus. A record of Nero's physical appearance can be found in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* where it is noted that 'the imperial bard with his blue-grey eyes and strikingly blond rows of ringlets sweeping down in the Greek manner [...] resembled gold gleaming Phoebus.'⁶⁴³ As Mratschek has pointed out, this association may have much to do with Nero's physical appearance.⁶⁴⁴ Suetonius also notes that Nero had light blond hair.⁶⁴⁵ Even if we lack the material evidence to

⁶³⁹ For a particularly good example of a portrait of Caligula is currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, Gallery 162. Available online at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248851> [date accessed 22.05.22].

⁶⁴⁰ Ginsburg 2006:89.

⁶⁴¹ Smith 1987:129.

⁶⁴² Bergmann 2013:332.

⁶⁴³ Sen. *Apocol.* 4.25-33.

⁶⁴⁴ Mratschek 2013:50.

⁶⁴⁵ Suet. *Ner.* 51.1

support this, it is still worthy of note as it allows us to see the successful use of a ‘political’ body in Nero’s early reign. It is possible that Augustus’ appearance may have been similar to that of Nero’s as Suetonius recounts that Augustus’ hair was, ‘slightly curly and inclining to golden.’ This is reminiscent of the hairstyles of the Julio-Claudians who adopted the ‘political’ body created by Augustus and adapted by other members of the *Domus*. In regard to the colour of Augustus’ hair, some forensic analysis of official statues of Augustus may be able to shed some light on the subject. Forensic analysis of paint found on official statues of Augustus suggest that his hair was a light brown.⁶⁴⁶ Even if Augustus’ hair was not exactly the same colour as the young Nero, it is clear from the latter’s early imagery that Nero had adopted or been given a ‘political’ body which mirrored that of the previous members of the dynasty.

Up until his accession, it appears that Nero was either happy to adopt the ‘political’ body of the Julio-Claudians, or that he was told that it would be politically valuable to do so. As already noted, Bergmann certainly believed that it was the restraining influences of his mother or advisors which was responsible for his early Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body. I believe that this is perhaps too final of a position, and that as this chapter assesses more of the iconography of Nero, it will become clear that the shift in his iconography does not wait for the removal of the guiding figures of his youth.

A collection of coins dated between 51-54 AD appear to reflect what could be known as the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body within Nero’s iconography, which appear similar to images produced by Nero’s predecessors. An *aureus* dated to 51-54 AD (6.4) shows Nero appearing more boyish and much thinner than his later representations.

⁶⁴⁶ Pazanelli et al 2008:116-117.



FIG. 2. Aureus, A.D. 51-54

Figure 6.4. *Aureus*, 51-54 AD depicting Nero as a young man.⁶⁴⁷

Hiesinger has suggested that the coin type of 54 AD was part of Nero's earliest imperial coinage, until a third coin type, coin type III, which did not feature Agrippina, was introduced in 55 AD.⁶⁴⁸ If this is the case, then this coin type could be said to represent Nero's early 'political' body, which he was either happy to adopt at the time, or he did not yet have the confidence to adapt the 'political' body for his own purposes, as Claudius had previously done. As he settled into the role of *princeps* however, it is clear that Nero's concept of his own iconography, and therefore of his own 'political' body, would differ markedly from the that of previous Julio-Claudian rulers. One of the earliest indications of this can be seen, once again, on coinage. An *aureus* dated to 55 AD (6.5) shows a changed Nero from his earlier images.

⁶⁴⁷ BMCRE 175.

⁶⁴⁸ Hiesinger 1975:112.



FIG. 3. Aureus, A.D. 55

Figure 6.5. *Aureus*, 55 AD, depicting Nero and Agrippina.⁶⁴⁹

The second *aureus* (6.5) depicts Nero alongside Agrippina, but instead of the boyish figure on the previous coin (6.4), Nero is now depicted as much heavier of a figure. For instance, he sports a prominent Adam's apple and a double chin. The new image has been described by Hiesinger as having 'the unmistakable facial traits of his adult years.'⁶⁵⁰ Physically, the difference between the image presented on the *aureus* of 55 AD and that of earlier images is Nero's size. His neck is thicker in this image than previously, perhaps indicating physical power, as it did for his adoptive father, Claudius in some of his imagery. His chin, or 'underchin', as it is described by Hiesinger, is also a prominent feature.

The fact that Nero and Agrippina are depicted in jugate form also offers some insight into their roles at this stage in Nero's Principate. Nero takes precedence here in the foreground of the image; this is in contrast to previous mints where mother and son have appeared in jugate form.⁶⁵¹ This is a change from his public image in the years immediately preceding his accession. As Nero's reign progressed, he became more and more comfortable with stepping

⁶⁴⁹ BMCRE 201, no. 7, pl. 3.

⁶⁵⁰ Hiesinger 1975:113.

⁶⁵¹ BMCRE. 200, no. I, pl. 38,1

away from the ‘political’ body of previous Julio-Claudians and this can be said to have much to do with not only his own political circumstances, but also his desire to assert his independence. Despite the fact that Agrippina is depicted on the *aureus* of 55 AD, I argue that it is possible that the slight alternation of his image from previous iconography was a method by which he asserted his independence from those who had guided the young man to the position of *princeps*. In terms of independence of action, 55 AD appears to have been a significant year for Nero, as Dio recounts that this was the year when Agrippina’s influence on her son began to wane, ‘Agrippina remained in control of her son until 55 AD when he began an affair with an imperial freedwomen called Claudia Acte.’⁶⁵² Griffin has taken this account further and seen it as an episode which was met with ‘great disapproval’ by not only Nero’s mother, but also by his wife, Octavia and his tutor, Seneca.⁶⁵³

Nero’s change in image and the apparent disapproval of those closest to him are inextricably linked to one another. As Nero began to assert himself as *princeps*, it appears that his image moved further away from that of previous Julio-Claudians. This is particularly evident when a cross-section of Neronian coinage is examined.

⁶⁵² Dio Cass. 61.7.1.

⁶⁵³ Griffin 1987:38



FIG. 7. Aureus, A.D. 58



FIG. 8. Aureus, A.D. 59



FIG. 9. Denarius, A.D. 59



FIG. 10. Aureus, A.D. 61



FIG. 11. Denarius, A.D. 61



FIG. 12. Aureus, A.D. 62

Figure 6.6. Plate of Neronian coins from 58-62 AD.⁶⁵⁴

The cross-section of coins depicting images of Nero (6.6), show six different coins from stages of Nero's reign. In these images, we can see a drastic change in his iconography. Within Nero's iconography, there appear to be defined stages in regard to his weight. We have already seen how his weight increases from the coinage minted between 51-54 AD (6.4) and the difference in the image in the *aureus* of 55 AD (6.5). It could be argued that this may reflect a natural change in the emperor's appearance and that Nero simply gained weight as he aged, but I would argue that the images depicted on the coinage also display a sense of physical power and not just the progress of an individual's weight gain. If we consider the images in their entirety, it seems that Nero does develop more of a physical presence as the images progress. In addition, it appears unlikely that the *aureus* and *denarius*, both dated to 61 AD, would show such a discrepancy from natural weight gain. It is perhaps more likely that from around 61 AD, Nero sought to create a public image which depicted him with fuller features than before. This could

⁶⁵⁴ BMCRE 20, 25, 30, 33, 39, 44.

be Nero searching for a more appropriate representation of his own image and ‘political’ body, rather than the ‘political’ body of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. A description of Nero’s physical appearance from Suetonius appears to conform to the images depicted on both the *denarius* of 61 AD and the *aureus* of the same year (the last two coins on 6.6). Suetonius describes Nero as ‘his neck over thick, his belly prominent, and his legs very slender.’⁶⁵⁵ The over-thick neck is certainly in evidence on these two coins, but it cannot really be said that Nero is overweight from this image. If we compare this description to a different coin, dated to between 64-66 AD (6.7), this appears to support the description of Nero as overweight.



Figure 6.7 *Dupondius*, 64-66 AD.⁶⁵⁶

The portlier figure of Nero does portray a greater level of energy and physical presence than the earlier images and this should be attributed to the ‘size’ of the figure rather than accessories, such as the crown. Nero appears to have openly desired to use the idea of luxury and excess in his public image to bolster his authority. It would appear that Nero had success with this new,

⁶⁵⁵ Suet. *Ner.* 50.1.

⁶⁵⁶ BMCRE.239.

stout public image. So much so that he appears to have been the subject of some imitation according to the account of Suetonius, who suggests that, like Nero, Vitellius was prone to lavish feasts and that his appetite was ‘insatiable.’⁶⁵⁷ This is supported by the fact that on becoming *princeps*, Vitellius was also depicted as overweight in his portrait busts. The stout image displayed by Nero should be seen as his conception of the ‘political’ body and one which he clearly adopted, in part, to move away from the previous Julio-Claudian conception created by Augustus. It is not only Neronian coinage which documents the transformation from the earlier Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body to the form which Nero had crafted.

According to Bergmann, the most significant transformation in Nero’s public image is from the period after 58 AD and was even more starkly defined in 64 AD. Bergmann terms the change as ‘astonishing’ in physiognomic terms, with Nero portrayed as fuller of face with a beard which could indicate the onset of manhood. Nero appears to have taken time to alter and amend his image, this is evident from the eight different depictions on coinage which have been examined in this chapter alone. Not only did this variety reveal itself in the numismatic evidence for Nero’s reign, but it can also be seen in the portrait busts of Nero too. Not only was the face an important aspect of Nero’s public image, but as we have seen, was a vital tool for the art of public performance.⁶⁵⁸ In regard to portraits and iconography, Brilliant would support this assessment when he suggested that ‘the specific identity of the subject, established by the particularised features of the original head, has been conceived as a symbolic addendum without regard for the integrity of the body.’⁶⁵⁹ Stewart has suggested in a similar vein that the body does not define the statue, in his opinion it is the head which is ‘tailor made.’⁶⁶⁰ However, the concept of the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body does challenge this idea. As we have already

⁶⁵⁷ Suet. *Vit.*11.2, for behaviour similar to that of Nero, see 12.1, 13.1.

⁶⁵⁸ Goffman 1959:28.

⁶⁵⁹ Brilliant 1974:166-168.

⁶⁶⁰ Stewart 1979: 47.

seen, the statues which had depicted Caligula were refashioned to depict Claudius; while Suetonius tells us that Tiberius had a man executed for taking the head of a statue of Augustus and replacing it with a head which depicted Tiberius.⁶⁶¹



Figure 6.8. Nero: Type three: Currently housed in Rome in the Palatine Museum.⁶⁶²

The ‘Palatine Nero’ (6.8) is a fine example of Nero’s conception of the ‘political’ body. Not only is it clearly depicting Nero, but there are also stylistic differences from other Julio-Claudian rulers. Bergmann has called this image ‘self-investment’, but I feel this does not go far enough. For Nero, this differing public image is one which looks to free him from his youthful adoption of a more traditional ‘political’ body. Despite the image being reminiscent of previous Julio-Claudians, there are several physical differences within the image. Nero

⁶⁶¹ Art Institute of Chicago, 1991 Cameo 138.

⁶⁶² Portrait bust of Nero, currently housed at the Palatine Museum.

broke with tradition and adopted a coiffure, which was no longer straight but adopted sickle-shaped strands of hair at the front and changed direction at the corner of the right eye.⁶⁶³ After 64 AD a new type of portrait was established, one which corresponds to the heavier set images of Nero provided by the numismatic record. A further removal from the previous ‘political’ body can be seen in a portrait of Nero currently housed at the Glyptothek in Munich (6.9).

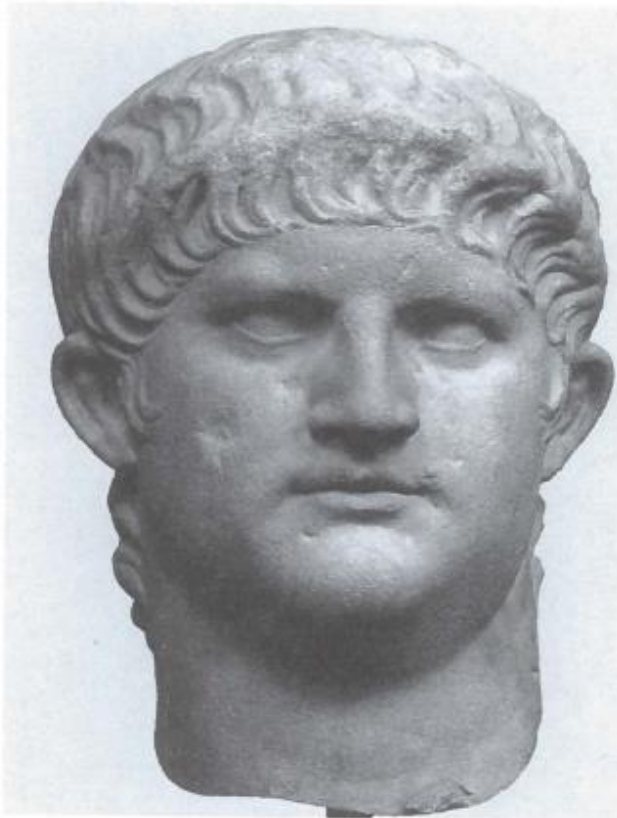


Figure 6.9. Nero, Glyptothek, Munich.⁶⁶⁴

This portrait (6.9) depicts Nero as heavier than in previous portraits and without the Julio-Claudian ‘flick’ mentioned by Hiesinger.⁶⁶⁵ The depictions of Nero on both coins and depicted in portraits after 55 AD show that Donald Strong was incorrect when he claimed that the Julio-Claudians ‘all subscribe to the basic formula [established in Augustus’ imperial image]’⁶⁶⁶ This

⁶⁶³ Hiesinger 1975:119.

⁶⁶⁴ Portrait bust of Nero, currently housed at the Munich Glyptothek, inv.321.

⁶⁶⁵ Hiesinger 1975:115.

⁶⁶⁶ ed. Toynbee 1976: ii.

can be seen by the fact that although Nero is depicted in a similar fashion to the other members of the *Domus Augusta* when he was formally adopted by Claudius and during the first year of his reign, this depiction was slowly, but definitively removed in favour of a Neronian conception of the ‘political’ body; one which depended on size and physical presence to convey the message which Nero required.

Instead of ascribing to the ‘political’ body crafted by Augustus, Nero’s iconography reveals a new conception of the term, one which better suited his political needs. As we have seen, Nero played on ideas of physical presence and size, rather than youth or the concealment of a physical disability. In order to fully understand Nero’s conception of the ‘political’ body, it must be understood in the context of luxury, obesity and the links this creates to authority and power. Of Nero’s public image, Bergman has suggested for Nero, pleasure was the message his portraiture attempted to convey.⁶⁶⁷ It appears that Nero was mocked for some of his actions in regard to his grooming habits, for example, and yet these all play into the idea of luxury and his desire to move away from previous ideas of the ‘political’ body. On the issue of Nero’s beard, which we can see on the Palatine Nero (6.8), Seneca acidly quipped ‘who of them would not rather the state to be in disorder than their hair?’⁶⁶⁸

The Senecan barb, aimed at the effeminacy of excessing grooming, did not stop Nero from adopting both a different hairstyle and the groomed beard seen in the other portraits. The fuller face and unique hair and beard all crafted in his new portrait types suggested that Nero sought a new role and a new conception of what it meant to be *princeps*. Instead of eternal youth or physical fitness, Nero sort to be seen as physically imposing and a figure of presence. The idea of a figure who was larger or overweight as a person of power and authority does carry some

⁶⁶⁷ Bergmann 2013:339.

⁶⁶⁸ Sen.*Br. Vit.*12.3.

credence.⁶⁶⁹ Linguistically there is some reason to believe that the concept of possessing a fuller frame could also have connotations of power. For example, the adjective *pinguis* (and its various compounds) meant fat/plump and rich as well as prosperous; and was regularly used to describe someone who was overweight.⁶⁷⁰ It should be noted though, there is evidence to suggest that in a traditional Roman context they were dismissive and even, some might say, disdainful of individuals who were overweight, and this appears in the material record. Hallett notes that there are few statues which are openly in contrast to the ‘pseudo-athlete’ statue, which are seen as the ideal body type. He goes on to suggest that ‘heavy and corpulent bodies of middle-aged men which accompany the heavily lined features of mature men are unusual.’ One such example of this more unusual type can be seen in the Vatican Museum, as possessing, a ‘thicker neck, a somewhat deeper chest, and heavy, drooping breasts.’⁶⁷¹ Even those statues which possessed an idealised physique could occasionally be depicted in a more honest light, for example, Kleiner notes of a ‘pseudo-athlete’ example from Delos, now housed in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, where the tilt of the head and shoulders are ‘a realistic rendition of a man past his prime.’⁶⁷² In light of some of these more honest depictions, we can see that Nero is also refusing to shy away from less traditionally masculine or heroic aspects of his physique. Literary evidence appears to be less kind to those who were overweight; with several republican authors noting that obesity could be a sign of moral degeneracy or a lack of desirable qualities. Cicero used the term *adepts/ adipatus* as a way of calling the co-conspirator in the Catalinarian conspiracy, Cassius, lazy.⁶⁷³ Pliny the Elder who lived and composed his work during the reigns of Nero, Vespasian and Titus suggests that

⁶⁶⁹ Hallett 2005:295.

⁶⁷⁰ For example, Catullus describes the Etruscans as an overweight people in Carmen 39.11. Members of the Egyptian royal house were also described in this manner Ptolemy III, IV, VIII, and IX as pot-bellied. Plin. *HN*.7.208.

⁶⁷¹ Hallett 2005:295.

⁶⁷² Kleiner 1992:36.

⁶⁷³ *Sal.Cat*.3.16. In the same passage he talks about all the followers of Cataline being ‘slaves to gluttony and sloth.’

obesity is a moral failing, noting that ‘men are more prone to greed than other species due to the length of their small intestine, hence the likelihood of an ‘obese belly’⁶⁷⁴ The idea that being overweight is considered a moral failing or a failure of duty can be seen in Plutarch’s *Life of Cato*, where in one episode, the overweight magistrates are accused of incompetence. The major evidence against the magistrate appears to be his physical appearance.⁶⁷⁵ In addition, Plutarch has Cato address the subject of a general who was too fat to perform effectively on the battlefield: ‘how can such a body be useful to the city, when everything between its throat and its groin is occupied by belly.’⁶⁷⁶ While Plutarch was only an adolescent and a young man at the end of Nero’s reign, he reflects the typically republican and austere ideals of his subject in his *Life of Cato*. It may even be the case that Nero’s image had some bearing on the idea that to effectively perform your public duty, you could not be overweight. Lucan, a contemporary of Nero and author of the epic poem the *Pharsalia* also mocks Nero’s weight in the lines of his epic. He recounts:

‘But choose your seat neither in the northern sphere nor where the torrid sky of the opposing south sinks down: from these positions you would view your Rome with star aslant. If you press on either side of the boundless ether, the sky will feel the weight: maintain the mass of heaven poised in the sphere’s mid- point; let that part of the clear ether be wholly empty, let no clouds bar our view of Caesar.’⁶⁷⁷

These lines appear to present a negative view of Nero’s weight, suggesting that the *princeps* was too heavy to lean either one way or the other in his chariot and that if he were to do so, he may cause the vehicle to crash. This could be a possible reference to the fact that we are told that Nero did actually fall from his chariot during a sporting event. Suetonius describes how

⁶⁷⁴ Plin. *HN*. 11.200; 11.213 on sterility.

⁶⁷⁵ Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 9.5.

⁶⁷⁶ Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 34.3.

⁶⁷⁷ Luc. *Phars.* 45-59.

Nero competed in the chariot race at the Olympics in 67 AD and despite falling from his chariot during the race and failing to finish, he was still awarded first place by the judges.⁶⁷⁸ Writing about the connotations of excess weight in regard to tyrannical rulers, Forth has suggested that ‘the flesh that Nero relished was grist to the mill of critics eager to reduce deeds to physiques.’⁶⁷⁹ Despite the negative comments of some contemporary and later critics, it is important to note that the insults directed at Nero’s weight did not appear to have an impact on how the new *princeps* wished to portray himself in his official iconography. As the coins and busts assessed so far reveal, a physique which appeared to be fuller than those of his predecessors were the unique characteristics on which Nero would choose to base his own conception of the ‘political’ body. For Nero, his idea of a ‘political’ body diverged from that which Roman authors would see as traditional. In the next section, we will set the literary evidence of Nero’s image alongside that of the material evidence examined thus far in order to create a thorough image of Nero’s ‘political’ body. For now, let us focus on the reason why Nero adopted the idea of size into his iconography.

Nero’s depictions as far more corpulent than previous Julio-Claudians in his iconography is a sign that he sought a new type of ‘political’ body. In order to move decisively away from the previously discussed ‘political’ body of Augustus and Tiberius and because he had different concerns to those of Claudius, he needed his own, unique image. An examination of Nero’s public image earlier in the chapter reveals that the *princeps* became increasingly corpulent throughout his reign. Forth has noted that ‘his [Nero’s] final portraits were even modelled on Ptolemaic styles in which fleshy faces were intended to convey royal abundance and beneficence.’⁶⁸⁰ We can see a definite link between Nero’s image and a desire to be seen as luxurious, while also displaying echoes of this kind of iconography and public persona in other

⁶⁷⁸ Suet. *Ner.*24.2.

⁶⁷⁹ Forth 2019. Available online at <https://www.laphamsquarterly.org/roundtable/fat-tyrants> [date accessed 16.4.2020].

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

ways too; in particular, the idea of being ‘fat.’ In addition, when we review Nero’s public image provided by the literary sources, it shall become clear that he also made use of a type of Dionysian excess and luxury, for which the Ptolemies were also known. Despite the negative connotations which existed with being considered overweight, Nero appears to have accepted this as a key facet of his iconography. It can be argued that he saw more of himself in this manner of representation than he did in that which represented the traditional model of Roman *virtus*. Mouratidis has argued that ‘the emperor did not conform with the Roman standards and various efforts were made to get him to conform; but neither counsel of caution nor fear deterred him.’⁶⁸¹ Although Mouratidis was not referring to the use of luxury or body weight to create a ‘political’ body for Nero, I believe that he was correct when he argued that the *princeps* wanted nothing to do with a representation which could be easily recognisable as a restatement of the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body, when viewed by those he ruled. Nero’s ‘political’ body was one crafted by influences outside of the Roman norm. An examination of the literary accounts will reveal that Nero fused the idea of luxury and size gained from Greece and the East and added his own unique character. This led him to create a unique ‘political’ body, one which could be identified as the ‘showman.’

Nero and the ‘Political’ Body of the ‘Showman.’

It is clear that Nero envisioned a new image for himself, one which did not replicate the previous images of Julio-Claudian rulers, but instead, set him apart from them, displaying his own unique image. As we have seen earlier in the chapter, Nero’s image was built upon the idea that the new *princeps* was an individual of physical size and presence, but also one of wealth and extravagance. Uniqueness as a sign of authority does appear to have some

⁶⁸¹ Mouratidis 1985:7.

significance. Barker, when discussing the legitimacy of a ruler, has suggested that ‘rulers appear to need to legitimate their power, to demonstrate constantly by rituals both spiritual and secular their unique prestige.’⁶⁸² Not only has Nero’s image on coins and in portrait busts supported the idea of a unique ‘political’ body, but the legend on one particular coin highlights just how far Nero wished to remove himself from the traditional mechanisms of the *princeps*.



Figure 6.10 *Dupondius*, 64-66 AD.⁶⁸³

If we return to the example of this *dupondius* (6.10), examined earlier in the chapter, an examination of the legend of the coin offers some insight into Nero’s desire to establish his own image and power base. On the coin, Nero is crowned by a laurel wreath, and this is a prominent part of the image. Thornton has suggested that the addition of the laurel wreath to Nero’s image is a sign of his ‘new concern for power.’⁶⁸⁴ I argue that the laurel wreath itself is not an outright display of concern for power but more likely to be an attempt to gain status. It is a statement about image, rather than one concerning any new power the *princeps* may have possessed. If we consider that Julius Caesar wore the laurel wreath on public occasions as sign

⁶⁸² Barker 2001:41.

⁶⁸³ BMCRE. 239.

⁶⁸⁴ For further analysis of the coin, see Thornton 1971:623.

of status, not outright power, it is possible that Nero looked to do something similar.⁶⁸⁵ As Nero had never achieved a military victory, which was the usual method of winning a civic crown such as the one worn by Caesar, it is unlikely that the young man would tie this accolade to any specific event. Therefore, I believe it is more likely that Nero merely conceived of the possession of a laurel wreath in the sense of what Augustus and Tiberius may have recognised as the ‘costume of the *princeps*’.⁶⁸⁶

The most unique facet of Nero’s creation of a ‘political’ body was that he was not only concerned with the use of iconography. Despite the fact that his coins and busts do display his concept of the unique ‘political’ body, more than his predecessors Nero placed himself at the forefront of fashioning his own image. In order to alter his image and move it away from previous iterations of the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body, Nero filled what Hekster has termed ‘reality gaps.’ This can be defined as the idea that ‘sole rulers regularly broadcast images which often bear only little relation to reality.’⁶⁸⁷ While Augustus and Tiberius, at least when seen by others, could be said to have played their role as *princeps*, Nero appears to have lived the role. In other words, Nero did not have a ‘reality gap’ in the same way that other members of the *Domus Augusta* examined in previous chapters had. Hekster himself suggests that Nero presented himself as a ‘theatrical autocrat’ and while I believe this is true, the image Nero presented was wider; one based on wealth and luxury, which did include the elements of a performer.⁶⁸⁸

In this section I shall argue that alongside his iconography, Nero aimed to establish a ‘political’ body through his actions, as well as through his imagery. Taken together, these elements meant that what Hekster has termed ‘reality gaps’ are less pronounced for Nero than they were for

⁶⁸⁵ Suet. *Jul* 45.2-3.

⁶⁸⁶ On the costume of the *princeps*, see Chapter Three, pp. 139-141, Chapter Five, p. 211.

⁶⁸⁷ Hekster 2011:1.

⁶⁸⁸ Hekster 2011:7.

other individuals who assumed the role of *princeps*. Nero adopted the role of the *princeps* and decided to ‘live’ it to a greater extent than any of his predecessors. The model which Nero chose for his ‘political’ body was that of excess and luxury and Tacitus suggests that the young man harboured a taste for acclaim. One of the most open examples of this was the pageantry of a triumph, even when he played no part in the military campaign. On one occasion we are told that Nero dressed in a purple toga with gold, a chalmys with golden stars and crowned with an olive wreath.⁶⁸⁹ Nero also displayed his image as a lover of culture and luxury by displaying what Hekster called the ‘theatrical autocrat,’ reciting poems of his own composition, both in his home and at the theatre. This was not an isolated event by Nero, as he attended many festivals and participated in many public events. A couple of examples display the ardour with which Nero bought into his own conception of his role. Nero is believed to have made his debut in Naples in 64 AD, where both Tacitus and Suetonius state that he ‘received loud and sustained applause.’⁶⁹⁰ The fact that Nero wished to be seen performing onstage supports the idea that he wanted to be a focal point for his rule; while other Julio-Claudians were less visible, at least in terms of their natural bodies, Nero wanted to be visible to those he ruled. Therefore, he put himself on public display. Beacham notes that when it came to public occasions ‘the emperor was the star of the show, which began with a ritual homage to him, and all that followed was expected to be worthy of his magnificence.’⁶⁹¹ I believe this can be taken even further in order to analyse how Nero conceived his own image. It can be argued that not only was Nero to be considered the star of the show on public occasions, but in his own mind at least, he was the show. Seeking to reflect the ‘political’ body when in public, the *princeps* looked to display his artistic abilities while also displaying his wealth and power. Manning has suggested that Nero offered the people ‘magnificent *spectacula*’ or events at which he was the

⁶⁸⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 13.13.

⁶⁹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 15.37. Suet. *Ner.* 20.2.

⁶⁹¹ Beacham 2005:161.

star. This allowed him to become, in the words of Manning, the ‘idol of the populace.’⁶⁹² This kind of spectacle allowed Nero to craft his own ‘political’ body. As well as using the concept of his weight to display his wealth and luxury, Nero also acted as a showman and philanthropist when in public. When considered through the prism of the ‘doctrine of capacities,’ Nero’s image is the closest to creating a symbiosis between the natural body of the *princeps* and the ‘political’ body expressed by his iconography. Here we see the ‘doctrine of capacities’ performing its most flexible and difficult role. Instead of hiding weakness or age, as it had done previously, the concept actually created legitimacy for Nero by allowing him to fashion a completely new political identity for himself. Having discarded the previous models created by the previous Julio-Claudians, the ‘doctrine of capacities’ allowed Nero to create an image and not only adopt it for his iconography but also display it by adopting the ‘costume of the *princeps*.’

The reinforcement of Nero’s own conception of his role as *princeps* can be seen in several examples from his public performances. His position and power were such that the normal practice of dramatic convention ceased. Dio recounts that, one soldier, on observing his emperor in chains onstage, rushed to release him.⁶⁹³ Suetonius also claims that on one occasion, while performing onstage, ‘Nero would not leave the stage until he had finished his song, despite the onset of an earthquake.’⁶⁹⁴ The desire to display his talent, but also his ability to put on magnificent events was key to Nero’s conception of his Principate. Alston suggests that Nero was ultimately unsuccessful in his attempts to be an artist because the crowds were not spellbound by his performances. ‘Even when acting, Nero remained Nero’ and that when watching Nero’s performance, ‘the crowds saw their emperor, not the play.’⁶⁹⁵ This is also

⁶⁹² Manning 1975:169.

⁶⁹³ Dio Cass. 63.9.4;10.2.

⁶⁹⁴ Suet. *Ner.*20.2.

⁶⁹⁵ For Alston’s comments, see Alston 1998:113.

borne out by the account of Dio, who notes that ‘Nero was sometimes accompanied onstage by the Praetorian Prefects or when the role demanded that Nero be bound, chains made of gold rather than iron were used.’⁶⁹⁶ It should be noted that Tacitus was writing after the events he describes and as such, is commenting on his own perception of the *princeps*. Nero wished to fuse the idea of the artist and the emperor, and while both Tacitus and Alston suggest that he was ultimately unsuccessful, it can be argued that he was more successful than they imagined. What Nero’s image of an artist and performer did do was to further detach Nero’s image from that of the traditional Roman *virtus*, and this allowed him to outline his own conception of his image more clearly.

If Nero’s iconography and image are considered as a way of building a ‘political’ body for himself and one which overtly stepped away from the previous Julio-Claudian model, it can be argued that he achieved this with astonishing clarity. Even though it appears that those he ruled did not forget he was emperor when they saw him perform, that is indicative of the fact that his image, vastly different from the previous members of the *Domus Augusta*, had made him instantly recognisable. Not only that, but his tales of performances on the stage further enhanced his reputation. Macrobius suggests that ‘Roman citizens were prohibited from appearing onstage under pain of losing their citizenship’⁶⁹⁷ This was again a display of Nero’s position and status, as was wearing the laurel wreath. It signified that the constraints, which applied to others, did not apply to him. As Hobbes noted, power and image were intertwined for the impact it had on a ruler’s reputation.⁶⁹⁸

I contend that the reason why Nero’s iconography and ‘political’ body differs so markedly from previous Julio-Claudians is as much situational as it is to do with personality. Nero was

⁶⁹⁶ Suet.*Ner.*21.3; Dio Cass. 63.9.4;10.2.

⁶⁹⁷ Macrobius, *Sat.*2.7.1-9 has Caesar force the playwright Decimus Liborius to perform on stage, which cost the man his citizenship. Macrobius notes that Caesar restored Liborius citizenship as a display of his generosity.

⁶⁹⁸ Hobbes, *Leviathan*.1.10 ‘reputation is power.’

both young and healthy when he assumed the role of *princeps*, therefore he did not need to hide disability or age like Claudius or Tiberius, nor, unlike Augustus, did he need to create a model on which to found the iconography for a potential new dynasty. Therefore, the idea of an image which was eternally youthful was also unnecessary. Instead, as we have seen, Nero relied on a new public image built on size and a fuller frame than those which had preceded him. It is possible that this merely portrayed a more honest representation of Nero's body, but as I have suggested, it also has connotations of both luxury and authority. Nero's 'political' body was built on Marin's assertion of the 'reciprocal nature between the viewer and the 'viewed' the material, human body of the monarch is connected to the ideological body of the Kingdom.'⁶⁹⁹

Shadi Bartsch, when looking at the role which the ordinary people would expect an emperor to play and its relation to the role that the ruler actually chooses to play is interesting, noting that the emperor was to be someone to whom they felt connected.⁷⁰⁰ Alston believes that Nero failed because the audience did not see Nero as an actor, they could only see him as the *princeps*. I argue that Nero could not have succeeded more completely in crafting himself a non-Roman, non-Julio-Claudian 'political' body. In order to achieve this, Nero tapped into a new and largely untried strand of the relationship between the people and their *princeps*. As Mratschek noted, 'his [Nero's] claims to power were reflected in a far-reaching realignment of the communicative relations between emperor and people.'⁷⁰¹ Once again, the sociological perspective of Park is informative when seeking to understand the nature of Nero's 'political' body. Park notes that human beings spend most of their time in the 'roles' which they have assigned for themselves, and this translates to the relationship which people have with one another. In adopting the 'showman' as his 'political' body, Nero had, in effect, turned himself into the show. This desire for display can be seen in the account of Tacitus, who refers to Nero's

⁶⁹⁹ Marin 1997:211.

⁷⁰⁰ Bartsch 1994:5-6.

⁷⁰¹ Mratschek 2013:50.

chariot racing as something which became a public spectacle. Although originally used as a private enclosure to indulge his love of chariot-racing, Tacitus recounts that ‘soon the public were admitted, even invited and they approved vociferously.’⁷⁰² Tacitus underlines the fact that the people enjoyed seeing Nero indulge in pursuits, which they were also passionate about. Yavetz has asserted that the people wanted a ruler who not only arranged spectacles for the enjoyment of their subjects, but also performances which they themselves enjoyed.⁷⁰³ In Nero’s actions and by examining both material and literary sources, we can see the two, intertwined aspects of Nero’s ‘political’ body. On the one hand, the image relied on power, size and magnificence and can be seen in his wealth. This is indicative of a method which rulers have often used to reflect their power and authority. Yet this was only one facet of his image. Perhaps the most unique aspects of Nero’s ‘political’ body, and his designation as the ‘showman’ was the nature of his visibility. Holt- Parker has distinguished several ways in which the notion of power is transmitted to a ruler’s subjects. One of the most effective ways is visibility, with Holt-Parker noting ‘the more powerful the man, the more visible he is.’ Holt-Parker suggests that when a ruler is powerful, the most prominent sign of that power is by ‘being visible and larger than life.’⁷⁰⁴ This is nowhere more clearly expressed than in the case of Nero’s image. He desired visibility through his performances on the stage and even allowed spectators into watch him chariot racing, in what was originally a private space. Not only were the people invited to see Nero, but they were also invited to dine with him.⁷⁰⁵ As Griffin has stated, Nero was not a man to deny his public and thus he held a banquet at which ‘he extended to the people pleasures normally confined to the few.’⁷⁰⁶ Tacitus recounts the scale of the banquet, saying,

⁷⁰² Tac.*Ann.*13.13.

⁷⁰³ Yavetz 1969:62. For accounts of Augustus as a spectator at the games, see Suet.*Aug.*45.1.

⁷⁰⁴ Parker 1999: 167.

⁷⁰⁵ For literature on the idea that the consumption of food was linked to power and wealth, see Fernandez-Armesto 2002. Bullough suggests that ‘concomitant conspicuous waste’ was a sign of aristocratic prestige and behaviour. 1974:98-99. For a wide-ranging discussion of food and power throughout antiquity, see Nicholson 1987.

⁷⁰⁶ Griffin 1987:140.

‘he used the whole city as his house.’⁷⁰⁷ This reflects both aspects of the ‘showman’ ‘political’ body. Not only did it display Nero’s wealth and power, making him the star of the event, but it also showed the people that he enjoyed the same pastimes as they did, such as chariot-racing, the theatre and public feasts. Nero astutely identified a new conception of the image of the *princeps* and sought to craft an image which could be used to bolster his position. In a far more visible manner than any of his predecessors, Nero constructed an image which was nearly as dependant on his actual physical presence as it was his iconography. While other members of the Julio-Claudians can be said to have crafted, adopted and maintained a ‘political’ body, it is arguably the case that Nero sought to turn his actual image and personality into a ‘political’ body. In order to do this, the *princeps* had to create an image which would appeal to those he ruled. The idea of image construction is one which is supported by the work of Richard Dyer on modern celebrity. Known as the ‘star theory,’ his work suggests that celebrities are constructed, artificial images, even if they are represented by aspects or facets of the ‘real people’ behind the image. Dyer has suggested that: ‘a star is an image, not a real person that is constructed (as any other aspect of fiction is) out of a range of materials such as advertising and magazines as well as films.’⁷⁰⁸ The ‘star theory’ applies to Nero but can also be seen as something which fits other members of the *Domus Augusta*. Dyer suggests that the theory does not represent real people, just a constructed image, yet I would argue that this is to think too narrowly about the construction of image. In many ways a celebrity persona is simply an overexaggerated version of the private person they are when not performing their public role. This applies to Nero’s ‘political’ body and allowed him to display all the unique aspects of himself and craft a ‘political’ body which did not rely on previous Julio-Claudian images or narratives.

⁷⁰⁷ Tac.*Ann.*15.37.

⁷⁰⁸ Dyer 1998:35.

The ‘Showman’ as a Political Persona.

The crafting of Nero’s ‘political’ body required not only a change in iconography from previous Julio-Claudians, but also a more present and visible *princeps* in terms of active public appearances. Together, these two elements helped Nero firmly establish his new ‘political’ body. One of the facets of the showman; that is, the leader who is somehow relatable and enjoys the same things and has many of the same foibles as those he leads can be seen in a modern, current political example. Former UK Prime Minister, Boris Johnson exemplifies the traits of the ‘lovable’ political leader through his public persona. Johnson has made a career of playing the affable buffoon or the lovable rogue. This has gained him great popularity and a broad enough base to secure the premiership of the United Kingdom. Yet, there are times when Johnson’s public mask has slipped and revealed the performer beneath. Having used bluster and humour throughout his career as a distraction, Johnson has often ‘gotten away’ with many actions which would have finished the career of a less outrageous performer. Johnson’s first brush with performing came in 1988, when as a young, fresh-faced reporter, he was sacked from *The Times* for making up a quote in one of his articles. Had he been a more convincing liar, Johnson may have escaped the consequences of his actions. Still, this was not his only ‘half-truth’ as one colleague at *The Daily Telegraph* has dubbed his penchant for half-bungling the facts.⁷⁰⁹ Nearly twenty years later, Johnson’s human failings were once again on display when in 2004, he was sacked from his role as shadow arts Minister by then Conservative party leader, Michael Howard for lying publicly about an extra-marital affair.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁹ Stubbley 2019 See the full article at <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/boris-johnson-lies-conservative-leader-candidate-list-times-banana-brexit-bus-a8929076.html> [date accessed 23.6.2020].

⁷¹⁰ For Boris’ sacking see Gimson 2016:222. For the events leading up to Boris’ sacking, see Gimson 2016:209-221.

Despite Johnson's ability to be dishonest about both his work and personal affairs, this seems to do little to his standing with voters. In fact, it seems to only increase their desire to see him succeed. Indeed, Conrad Black, former newspaper editor and Conservative party backer organised a party in 2001 in order to celebrate what was known as the 'Boris phenomenon.'⁷¹¹ This stated phenomena appeared to be merely about the fact that Johnson was apparently so popular with the average voter. Simon Walters, in *The Spectator* in March 2020, declared that Johnson's ability to resonate with people is the reason behind the first majority since Cameron, and the first dominant majority since Thatcher in 1983. Furthermore, Walter notes 'one of the reasons Jeremy Corbyn's Labour was so shocked by the scale of its defeat at the last election is because they just don't understand Boris Johnson's appeal.'⁷¹² Whatever the political leanings of many voters in ordinary circumstances, it appears that Johnson retains the ability to connect. Once dubbed 'Heineken Tory' by the *Mail on Sunday's* Tim Montgomerie for his appeal to non-traditional Tories, it is clear that Johnson is liked by the public in a way other Conservatives cannot manage.⁷¹³ Much of this appeal, however, appears to be part of a carefully constructed narrative. Johnson, like Nero, has fashioned an image and iconography for himself and like Nero, Johnson's 'political' body can be dubbed the 'showman.'

In an insightful article written in late 2019, several noted comics, actors and stage performers wrote on the subject of Johnson's art of performance. The impressionist John Culshaw noted that Johnson has a gift for distraction 'sending the focus elsewhere the way a magician does.'⁷¹⁴ Johnson's gift for deception and distraction is often successful yet has sometimes been exposed. Jeremy Vine, the journalist, radio and television presenter recalls a story which

⁷¹¹ Bower 2020:77.

⁷¹² Walter 2020 available online at, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/why-boris-johnson-s-popularity-ratings-remain-so-high> [date accessed 24.6.2020].

⁷¹³ The reference to Boris as the 'Heineken' Tory can also be found in an article for the Sun written by Domenic Rabb in 2016. Cited in Gimson 2016: xl.

⁷¹⁴ Culshaw et al 2019 available online at <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2019/sep/06/boris-johnson-pm-performs-house-of-commons-westminster-brexit> [date accessed 23.6.2020].

indicates the extent to which everyone sees Johnson as a showman. However, the tale also indicates that Boris also sees himself in that mould. Vine recalls being at two separate awards dinners eighteen months apart, where Johnson was the after-dinner speaker. His account of both nights reveals much about Johnson, the public performer. Late for his slot as the after-dinner speaker at an awards dinner in 2006, Johnson arrived appearing both flustered and ill-prepared. Seating himself next to Vine, a flustered Johnson enquired, “Jeremy, where exactly am I?” After being informed as to the purpose of the awards ceremony and apparently gaining some sense of his bearings, Johnson demanded paper and a pen. Vine watched in equal parts horror and fascination, as with a minute to go until his speech was due, Boris Johnson sketched a plan which appeared to include the words, ‘SHEEP and SHARKS.’ The rest of the story is as expected, with little or no time to prepare, and with no seemingly relevant material, Johnson crafted and delivered a speech which brought the audience to their feet by the end.

The most interesting part of the story is that Vine recalls a separate awards dinner nearly eighteen months later in which Johnson once again arrived late, flustered, and ill prepared. He again asked for paper and again scribbled down ‘SHEEP and SHARKS.’ Vine relates that the speech Johnson gave was exactly the same, down to the pitch and speed of delivery, even to the extent that he intentionally forgot the punchline to the same joke in both speeches. Far from being a performer who makes his performances up as he goes along, Johnson is an example of a leader whose seemingly natural performances are, in fact, works of great political calculation. Although Johnson clearly has some gifts as a performer, he is not indestructible. He has suffered some tremendous losses, sacked twice for lying, a failure during his tenure as Foreign Secretary and a disastrous 2016 leadership bid, which all point to the imperfect nature of his

act. Yet he continues to survive, even thrive under the spotlight of the public. As Vine wisely noted, ‘people who fake car crashes tend not to get hurt in them.’⁷¹⁵

Often, exposed or found out, Johnson continues to reconfigure his act. If there was an Academy Award for bluster, Johnson would surely take home the gong. Chris Riddle, the political satirist for the *Observer*, produced this image of Johnson in February 2020 (6.11)

The cartoon depicts Johnson accepting an Oscar for ‘bluster, lies and hiding in plain sight.’ The image is notable on two counts. The cartoon makes clear that Johnson is known for his bluster and dishonesty and that despite his well-known showmanship and bluster, he still receives the love and adulation of the people.



Figure 6.11. ‘If there was an Oscar for Boris Johnson’s Performance’ by Chris Riddle.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁵ Vine 2019. The entirety of the story involving the speeches made by Johnson can be found at, <https://reaction.life/jeremy-vine-my-boris-story/> [date accessed 23.6.20].

⁷¹⁶ Cartoon by Chris Riddle entitled, ‘If there was an Oscar for Boris Johnson’s Performance’ image originally found in the *Observer*’s *Comment Cartoon* section 2020. Available online at <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/picture/2020/feb/08/if-there-was-an-oscar-for-boris-johnsons-performance-cartoon> [date accessed 23.6.2020].

Stephen Bush, writing for the *New Statesman* has stated that Johnson has a clever oratorical trick, which he deploys when speaking, particularly to live audiences.

‘Michael Gove once told Andrew Gimson, Boris Johnson’s biographer, that Johnson’s great gift as a speaker was his ability to emulate a ‘child in a nativity play’, by appearing to struggle to get the words out. The audience, as with a child, wills him to succeed and shares in his triumph.’⁷¹⁷

Much like Nero’s image being based on his contact with his audience as part of his ‘political’ body, Johnson can be said to use the same concept. Further to his comments on Johnson’s oratorical style, Gove has described Johnson as ‘playing to the gallery the whole time,’ when he delivers a public speech.⁷¹⁸ As part of Nero’s ‘political’ body was crafted by his proximity to those he ruled, and his public performances, Johnson has the same concept of showmanship. Jesse Norman, now MP for Hereford and South Herefordshire and a school friend of Johnson’s, notes Boris’s love of acting and his excellent performance as Brabantio from *Othello* while at school.⁷¹⁹ Another of Johnson’s contemporaries, this time at Oxford, Jessica Pulay also notes his quality as a performer. She notes of Boris that, ‘he was a great showman – without doubt the best showman of his generation.’⁷²⁰

Not only do his public appearances depict Johnson as a showman, but his appearance also has a part to play. Sonia Purnell, who worked with Boris during his time as a columnist at the *Telegraph*, has claimed that Johnson’s hair was not always the disheveled mop which voters have come to know since he began his political career. Purnell notes that during that period ‘his hair was pretty much the only neat thing about him’⁷²¹ Purnell has also alleged that ‘the

⁷¹⁷ Gimson 2016: xxxiv.’

⁷¹⁸ For the most recent full length biography about Johnson, see Bower 2020.

⁷¹⁹ Gimson 2016:52.

⁷²⁰ Cited in Gimson 2016:72.

⁷²¹ Casalicchio 2021 available online at <https://www.politico.eu/article/how-boris-johnsons-hair-defined-britain/> [date accessed 26.3.22].

further up the greasy political pole he climbed, the messier his hair got to be.’⁷²² Hallpike, an expert on the symbolism of hair, especially concerning public figures, notes that for the average voter, Johnson’s hair was ‘against the conventions, but gives an impression of honesty and authenticity.’ But he noted that the former Prime Minister was ‘in a privileged position when it came to flouting the norms.’⁷²³ Despite the impression that Johnson’s hairstyle creates, it has been suggested that it is a carefully constructed part of the former Prime Minister’s image. If we consider this to be true, then Johnson has also learnt the benefit of adopting a costume, with which to play his role. Johnson is the most recent political example of a figure who has attempted to craft an image based on his personality, engagement with voters and his personal appearance. The comparison with Nero is informative.

Despite existing in very different political circumstances, the example of Nero and his comparison with Boris Johnson allows us to infer much about the political persona and motives of the young *princeps*. The main aim being to create a bond with those he ruled, one which none of the earlier Julio-Claudians could lay claim to having done. It is through this comparison that we can observe in action, the political persona of Nero. As Bloch has suggested, comparisons ‘allow us to take a real step forward in the exciting search for causes.’⁷²⁴ The comparison with Nero is informative as it allows us to understand the aims of the Julio-Claudians and to borrow Bloch’s phrase, it allows us to reveal the cause of his ‘showman’ persona. Just as Johnson was dubbed the ‘Heineken Tory’, for his ability to connect with ordinary voters, Nero by comparison, is the common man’s *princeps*. Putting on great banquets at which people could dine with him, or allowing them to see him race chariots on his private track, showed that he enjoyed the same pastimes as those he ruled. Despite being far removed from the ordinary citizens of the empire in reality, part of Nero’s concept of the *princeps* was

⁷²² *Ibid.*

⁷²³ *Ibid.* For Hallpike’s most detailed work, see 1969:256-64.

⁷²⁴ Bloch 1967:101.

to establish some manner of relatability with his people. The comparison with Johnson allows us to see this more clearly because of the differing political systems, the former Prime Minister allowed himself (by accident or design) to be seen making mistakes, some of which the voting public could relate to. In essence, Nero aimed to appear relatable to those he ruled, having none of the traditional qualifications for the role of *princeps*, he sought the reliability to and popularity with, the citizens of the empire.⁷²⁵

Part of the appeal of the ‘political’ bodies crafted by both Nero and Johnson was that the concept of the ‘showman’ required them to have an immediate and powerful bond with those that they ruled. In the final example of this chapter, the image of Louis XIV will be examined to draw out comparison and contrast with the image which Nero sought to create and how this further supported his conception of the Principate, while being different and complementary to his method of creating a bond between himself and those he ruled. Louis XIV, King of France from 1643-1715 was one of history’s most elaborate showmen and, much like Nero, used displays of extravagance and great wealth to protect his position. Similarly, to Nero, Louis acceded to his position before he was of an age to rule, being crowned King of France at the age of five, and could provide few of the traditional requirements for the role. In the early years of his reign, the business of government was carried out by his ministers. Yet, on reaching the age of majority, Louis sought to rule alone.

‘Up to this moment I have been pleased to entrust the government of my affairs to the late Cardinal. It is now time that I govern them myself. You [he was talking to the secretaries and ministers of state] will assist me with your counsels when I ask for them.

I request and order you to seal no orders except by my command . . . I order you not to

⁷²⁵ For the banquets, see Tac.*Ann.*15.37. For the public viewing Nero’s private chariot races, see Tac.*Ann.*13.13.

sign anything, not even a passport . . . without my command; to render account to me personally each day and to favour no one.⁷²⁶

This has echoes of Nero's actions concerning the removal of his mother, Agrippina from her influential position among his advisors. Much like Nero, Louis also had a plan for building his 'political' body. In order to achieve this, the king adopted the image of a god, but also of a showman. As early as 1654, when he was only 16, a ballet known as *Pelé et Thétis* was danced at the king's court, with Louis in the rôle of Apollo.⁷²⁷ The portrait (6.12) by Gissey dated to 1653 depicts a young Louis as Apollo. The costume was commissioned for the, *Ballet Royal de la Nuit* where Louis was asked to play the god.



Figure 6.12. *Ballet Royal de la Nuit*, Gissey. 1652.⁷²⁸

⁷²⁶ Spielvogel 2002: 73.

⁷²⁷ Burke 1992:41. The ballet was by Isaac Benserade.

⁷²⁸ *Ballet Royal de la Nuit*, Gissey. 1652. Image available online at, <https://andrelenotre.com/apollon-mythe-et-representation-dans-les-jardins-de-versailles/> [date accessed 23.6.2020].

As the king was only a young man at the time of this painting, there was no need to make himself appear younger than he was. What the image does do, however, is display the wealth and magnificence of Louis. In his detailed and engaging study of the image of Louis XIV, Burke noted that, ‘magnificence had a political function.’⁷²⁹ Burke defines this as *éclat*, a word with numerous and varied meaning in the seventeenth century. He suggests meanings which range from ‘flash of lightening’ to a ‘clap of thunder’, though each time the use of the word refers to something impressive.⁷³⁰ This ‘magnificence’ formed a central part of the power of a monarch, as Montesquieu noted, ‘the magnificence and splendour which surround kings form part of their power.’⁷³¹ This phrase has a particular resonance with the reign of Louis XIV and the *Ballet Royal de la Nuit* is a particularly prominent example of it. The image contains all the hallmarks of what Burke has termed *éclat*. The overly large headdress draws the eye, while also giving the king extra height, making him a more imposing figure, while the high-heeled shoes add to the effect. The king’s added height would merely play on the magnificence of his attire. Being presented in this way highlights Louis’ wealth and flair for presentation, while always reinforcing the central message, that he was at the centre of all decisions and the seat of power in France.

Like Nero, Louis displayed a talent for performance, and like the young *princeps*, used that as part of his public image; for instance, by having made for him the imposing wig depicted in the *Ballet Royal de la Nuit* (6.12) which formed part of his costume when onstage. Of the king’s performances, courtiers noted that the king had a talent for ballet and this talent for performance appears crucial for the creation of Louis’ ‘political’ body. Nero had relied on an iconography which depicted his size and presence, much of this involved him being depicted with heavy set features. The image adopted by the King of France was different in composition,

⁷²⁹ Burke 1992:5.

⁷³⁰ Burke 1992:5.

⁷³¹ Montesquieu, *Oeuvres* cited and translated in Burke 1992:5.

yet still aimed to display an imposing physical presence. Instead of weight, Louis adopted height as his way to depict himself as imposing. The headdress and the high-heeled shoes allowed him to appear taller than those around him. As we have seen in a previous chapter, height was also a feature which Augustus had been particularly keen to manage in his public image. For Louis, his height and the magnificence of his appearance was about making himself the centre of attention. As with Nero's stage performances, performing in the ballet enabled the king to maintain a unique connection with those he ruled. The concept of this grandeur and magnificence was one, which Louis would implement for the rest of his life and one which can be seen in other portraits and images of the king. In a previous chapter we briefly highlighted William Thackeray's caricature of Louis XIV, it seems apt to return to it again in order to more coherently examine some of the features of the 'political' body of Louis. Thackeray understood that the attire of a monarch was important in creating and maintaining their public image.

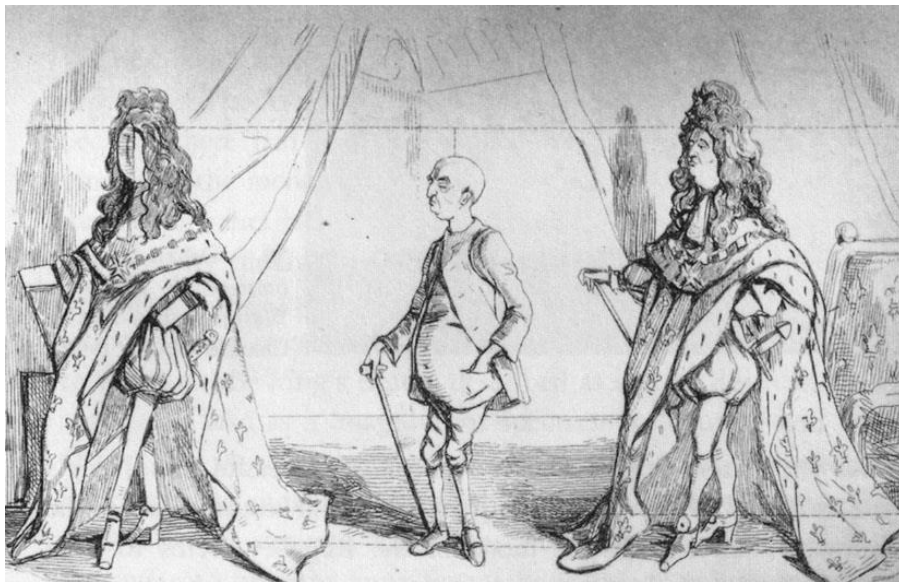


Figure 6.13. Thackeray, *Ludovicus Rex*.⁷³²

William Thackeray, beneath his caricature of Louis XIV (6.13) noted, 'you see at once, that majesty is made out of the wig, the high-heeled shoes, and cloak.... Thus, do barbers and

⁷³² Thackeray 1868:290.

cobblers make the gods that we worship'.⁷³³ Upon viewing the image, Thackeray's meaning is clear. It is not that all monarchs are magnificent physical specimens, but that they are all given the clothes, lighting, and makeup to create the appearance of an almost flawless figure. This allowed Louis to create his 'political' body. Note, for example, that both the wig and the high-heeled shoes which are notable in the *Ballet Royal de la Nuit* portrait are also visible in Thackeray's caricature. Therefore, it could be argued that Louis' 'political' body was so well established that it had become the subject of satire among those who were not his subjects.

The 'political' body of Louis XIV was one based on extravagance and showmanship and as Thackeray's image shows, the facets of the image appear to have been used throughout the king's life. In the caricature, Louis is an older man, at around sixty-two years of age when this portrait was painted. The image does not appear to make a conscious effort to obscure or hide the age of the king, instead, it appears to emphasise the opulent and magnificent nature of his appearance. In fact, it appears that Louis was happy to depict himself as ageing and even with physical imperfections, such as the hint of missing teeth in the later Rigaud portrait (6.14). In the portrait a sunken jawline is visible, and this has been seen as a result of the loss of several of the king's teeth.⁷³⁴ In addition, although the use of a wig can be seen as a method of hiding sparse or thinning hair, in this instance, it appears to be performing a more important function. The voluminous nature of the wig both increases the height of the wearer and also reflects their majesty. In reality, Louis was relatively short, at only five-foot three. As we can see from figures (6.12), (6.13) and (6.14), great efforts were made to disguise this fact. This led to Louis developing what Burke has called the king's 'social height', or that which is shown in his court media.⁷³⁵ In order for his 'social height' to be maintained when he was in public, members of the court were strategically placed to make the king appear taller

⁷³³ Thackeray 1868: from his drawing *Ludovicus Rex*.

⁷³⁴ Hatton 1972:101.

⁷³⁵ Burke 1992:125.

than he was in reality. In this effort, his son, the Grand Dauphin played a leading role. The Dauphin was usually placed as to not be ‘obtrusive’ in the words of Burke, and this was especially true in paintings and engravings, as he was taller than his father.⁷³⁶ Size can be seen as one of the key elements of Louis’ ‘political’ body, because as Thackeray points out, it is the overall aura of the image which is most important.

Most interesting of all is the idea that the ‘political’ body of Louis was one based on physical representation. Even as an elderly man, the king still paid close attention to his self-presentation; as in 1704 he caught a cold after spending too long deciding what wig he wished to wear.⁷³⁷ It should be noted however, that Louis did begin to withdraw from public view once the magnificence of his image was harder to sustain. For example, Burke outlines that the *coucher* (the ceremonial act of the king being woken and dressed before the court) was abolished in 1705.⁷³⁸ Therefore, it is arguable that as Louis could no longer represent the magnificent figure he had crafted during his reign, he preferred not to be seen at all. The 1701 portrait by Rigaud (6.14) provides a key example that it was the majesty of the image, not the age at which he was depicted, which was important to Louis XIV. As noted earlier, there are signs of an ageing king in the portrait, yet the image still looks to retain its majesty. One aspect of particular interest are the legs of the king in the portrait. Blunt has suggested that they are ‘a reminder of the king’s dancing days.’⁷³⁹ They certainly appear elegantly shaped for a man who appears quite heavy-set in this portrait, they are also positioned as if he was about to perform in some way. This further suggests that Louis’ main concern was not with age, but with majesty and performance. The voluminous cloak and the elegant cane only add to the image of the grand showman. Once again, Goffman can provide an insight into the ‘political’ body crafted

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁷ Le Roi 1862:271.

⁷³⁸ Burke 1992:107.

⁷³⁹ Blunt 1953:401.

by Nero and Louis, when observed from a sociological perspective. Goffman deemed the manner in which an individual portrayed themselves before an audience (no matter the size) as ‘front,’ in this image of Louis XIV, we can see the monarch’s attempts to personify this. In Goffman’s work there are two notions: the first, is the concept of stage front, or the manner in which the performer acts before an audience. The second, is the concept of what Goffman has called, ‘personal front’. Personal front refers to the ‘items of equipment needed to perform.’ This can be seen in the wig and high-heeled shoes which Louis chose to adopt as part of his image as the ‘showman.’⁷⁴⁰



Figure 6.14, *Louis the Great or the Sun King* (1638-1715), A 1701 portrait of Louis XIV, by Rigaud.⁷⁴¹

The ‘older’ image of Louis also shows us that the idea of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ can be applied to rulers who were not hiding their age, nor masking a disability. Instead, the example

⁷⁴⁰ Goffman 1959: 22-23.

⁷⁴¹ The original work is currently on display in the Louvre, Paris.

of Nero, and the more modern examples of Johnson and Louis XIV suggest that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ is mouldable and can be shaped to fit the image required by the particular ruler.

As the comparison with Johnson allowed us to view Nero’s idea of the *princeps* as one to which those he ruled could relate and therefore gain him much needed popularity, the comparison with Louis allows us to see the second facet of Nero’s ‘political’ body. This second aspect can be seen in Goffman’s concept of ‘front’. Nero, like Louis, had none of the traditional qualifications for the role upon his accession to the throne. Yet, Nero found a way to use majesty, extravagance and wealth to create what I have termed ‘the showman.’ The example of Louis allows us to see that Nero was seeking to make his own personality and appearance the ‘political’ body which would give him legitimacy as a ruler. Louis had a greater range of iconographic choices (such as painted portraits) but what is clear is the extent to which Nero applied the concept of being the living embodiment of the ‘political’ body to all facets of his rule. Just as the example of Johnson showed us how Nero looked to be relatable to those he ruled, the example of Louis shows us how Nero wished to display a power, prestige and majesty which supported his rule, displayed his wealth and obscured his youth and inexperience. More than any other example, the comparison with Louis allows us to see Nero as wearing the costume of the *princeps*. His images show that even as he aged, Louis maintained the magnificence of his appearance. This helps us to see Nero’s image for the politically astute creation that it was. Other members of the *Domus Augusta* had had success with the idea of the ‘costume of the *princeps*’; Augustus had his robes by his bed, ready to step into the role of *princeps*, while Tiberius was exposed by the slave who broke into the imperial palace as not crafting a sophisticated enough costume to fool everyone into believing he carried himself as the *princeps*. Nero was the only member of the *Domus Augusta* who made the ‘political’ body a reflection of their own personality and inhabited the idea at all times.

In the case of Nero, this relied upon both the evidence of his change in iconography, provided by his portraiture, and the literary evidence, which describes how he fashioned an image based on his visibility as *princeps*. Nero became the visual symbol of his own rule. It is arguable that an image based on size (in one form or another), or majesty of appearance and the visibility of a monarch shows us that there was a further method to adopting the ‘political’ body. One that was unique to the circumstances in which Nero and Louis found themselves in. In essence, the ‘political’ body of Nero does not seek to obscure but instead, it allowed Nero to create.

Previous members of the *Domus Augusta* used the ‘doctrine of capacities’ to separate their natural body from their ‘political’ one, to hide either age or illness or make their gender a non-factor in their rule. Nero created a different ‘political’ body, one which was a mirror of his strengths, not as a shield against his weaknesses. In many ways, Nero’s ‘political’ body is the most flexible of the Julio-Claudians. The idea of size, magnificence and showmanship is one which can help create an image where one did not exist previously. At eighteen, Nero had little by way of a ‘political’ body and that which he possessed was a reproduction of the Julio-Claudian iconography previously discussed. In order to craft something of his own, Nero moved away from the previous model and produced an image which, as Goffman in sociological terms suggests, should be referred to as ‘front.’ The durability of this concept can be seen in the way in which the more modern examples in this chapter also adopted elements of ‘front’ within their image. What makes this ‘political’ body so flexible is that all three examples have the elements of the ‘showman’ but are from vastly different time periods and are rulers in extremely different ways. As in a previous chapter, Henry VIII and the image of his ‘political’ body crafted by Holbein, taught us much about the durability of image; Nero’s ‘political’ body highlights that not only image, but persona are key elements of rule, and these can be supported by both iconography and the concept of Goffman’s ‘front.’ This concept can be seen throughout the *Domus Augusta* when referring to the ‘costume of the *princeps*.’ The

major difference is that Nero's 'costume' did not hide, instead it propelled his image of the *princeps* further towards the glare of those he ruled. Only by examining the iconography and literary accounts of Nero can we understand that the 'political' body which he adopted was perhaps the most concerned with being actively seen by his audience and allowed him to at least in part, to personally craft his conception of his 'political' body.

The final section of the thesis will summarise the conclusions made and draw together the iconography of the Julio-Claudian rulers into an overarching framework for viewing their public image. Alongside this, the conclusions will also draw together what can be learnt about iconography and power when examining images through the lens of the 'doctrine of capacities.'

Conclusions

It is possible to perceive that the Julio-Claudian dynasty created a ‘political’ body. By exploring both the material and literary evidence of the reigns of the members of the *Domus Augusta*, we can uncover the fact that those who assumed the role of *princeps*, as well as those who were part of the immediate family, adopted or crafted a ‘political’ body. This means that Kantorowicz's ideas, developed for medieval kingship, can also be used to understand image management in the early Principate. Not only is the creation of a ‘political’ body apparent, but as the different rulers are assessed, so is the versatility of the framework they created. As each chapter progresses, it is clear that different members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty adopted different ‘political’ bodies, not only for their own physical and political requirements, but also as a method of projecting their conception of the Principate.

This thesis has shown that while there is no single formula for the ‘political’ body, there was a notion of the idea of a ruler possessing two bodies with which to help craft and shape a ruler’s public image. Each took the concept of a distinct natural and ‘political’ body and were able to shape the notion to their own circumstances and iconography. By doing this, I have suggested that we can see a framework for the iconography of the Julio-Claudians as a method of securing and then maintaining their image, authority and power.

One of the fundamental questions posed by this thesis is why image matter and in particular, why it was so vital for the Julio-Claudians. In addition, one of the most crucial questions which I set out to answer is ‘what was a political body’ and why did having one appear to matter so much. In order to attempt to answer these questions I have not merely examined the members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, but also other leaders from different periods and in different political circumstances. By doing this, I have sought to understand what the ‘political’ body is and how it was used so effectively by the members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

When considering the iconography of more modern leaders, we can see the concept of the ‘political’ body within their imagery and those comparisons have allowed us to reveal the motivations and choices behind how the Julio-Claudians presented their ‘political body; from the ageless figure of Livia in comparison to Elizabeth to Nero and his comparison to Louis XIV and the desire to turn his actual image into the ‘political’ body, one based on luxury and extravagance. Overall, the use of comparisons with more modern leaders have allowed for both the ‘political’ body of the dynasty as a whole and the choices made by individual members of the dynasty to be more clearly revealed and better understood.

Throughout the thesis, one of the most pressing questions being addressed by the examination of the Julio-Claudian image was ‘why does having a ‘political body’ matter?’ Perhaps the answer to this question lies in the words of Overmeire, which I referred to in the methodology section in Chapter One. He noted that public image was important because ‘through careful management of their image, they (rulers) create a public identity that seemingly becomes reality.’⁷⁴² This is perhaps the crux of why a ‘political’ body and the possession of one mattered to the Julio-Claudians, and seemingly, still matters to political leaders today. The possession of a ‘political’ body matters because it allows leaders to shape their own reality. Instead of being depicted as they were and with all the potential imperfections and ailments described by Plowden’s natural body, whether that be age, disability, youth or in some cases gender, those who rule can attempt to craft their public image and present an image which they were happy for those they ruled to see. Not only does the iconography of the Julio-Claudians demonstrate

⁷⁴² Overmeire 2012:755. One of the most recent volumes on image and power in the Roman world is that of Beard 2021. The seminal work on images and the power they possess is of course, Zanker 1989, for the power of images on coins, see Crawford 1974; on the use of divine lineage and image making, see Wiseman 1974. For the impact of the images of a Livia Drusilla, see Bartman 1999. For works which take a more general approach to image and leadership, see Cheles and Giacone 2020. Millar 1992:379. Nodelman has perhaps the most accessible article on this where he examines a portrait of the late Roman republic and the veristic style in an attempt to ‘read’ a meaning from it. 1975:26. Millar asks what we can learn about how rulers wished to be portrayed from viewing their public image, while Nodelman has asked similar questions of late republican portraiture

the ideal image for each particular leader, but also the base from which each of them chose to work. As was established in Chapter Three, Augustus created several different images throughout his reign, but once he had created one which suited his particular needs, he sought to reproduce this into the ‘reality’ he wished for his subjects to see. This was most clearly expressed in the idea of the centre-periphery model supported by Stewart and Pollini, amongst others; which proposed that the centre produced a model on which to base reproductions of the image of the *princeps* which was sent to be reproduced in the provinces.⁷⁴³ This allows us to establish an idea of the way in which not just Augustus, but subsequent Julio-Claudians sought to establish a model which could be used as a base case for imperial portraiture.

While the idea of a ‘political’ body helps us to understand the level of care which the Julio-Claudians took in crafting their image, it also allows us to see the differences and similarities of the ‘political’ bodies of rulers. For example, when Donald Strong claimed that all members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty ‘are notoriously difficult to identify, because they all subscribe to the basic formula [established in Augustus’ imperial image].’⁷⁴⁴ He was misguided about the degree to which each of the Julio-Claudians looked alike and perhaps could be said to have not appreciated the nuance of the depictions of the individual rulers.

As each individual chapter sets out, the ‘political’ body which Augustus established was adapted and altered by subsequent members of the dynasty. Therefore, the use of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ to assess Julio-Claudian iconography allows us an insight into which facet of the ‘political’ body a particular member of the dynasty sought to emphasise or avoid highlighting.

In order to assess iconography from a fresh perspective, I have adopted the use of a different prism through which to view the material and literary evidence provided by the Julio-Claudians; the prism of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ has provided a different way to view the

⁷⁴³ Stewart 2008:88; Pollini 1987:2-3.

⁷⁴⁴ ed. Toynbee 1976: ii.

iconography of the Julio-Claudian dynasty'. Viewing the images of the members of the *Domus Augusta* in this way, throughout individual chapters, has, I hope, given a fresh insight into the way in which the dynasty crafted and adapted their image.

An examination of the iconography of several members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty through the prism of the 'doctrine of capacities' demonstrate that the rulers can be seen as tailoring their iconography to suit their particular political purpose. Within this imagery, we can see the crafting and creation of a new 'political' body for the rulers of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. This is what Kantorowicz called the 'King's Two Bodies'. Yet what is really being assessed in his work is the concept of the 'doctrine of capacities', that is, the idea that the monarch had 'two bodies', one natural and one 'political'. As Plowden noted, the 'two bodies' created a symbiosis between the two. Kantorowicz suggests that the individual is transformed by acceding to the throne, and by undergoing the (coronation) rituals required, the person would become the office.⁷⁴⁵

As discussed in the methodology, Plowden noted, the natural body of the ruler was susceptible to 'all infirmities that come by Nature of Accident, to the Imbecility of Infancy or old Age, and to the like defects that happen to the natural Bodies of other people.'⁷⁴⁶ This accounted for the real, natural body of the individual ruler. According to Plowden, the natural body could both age and become weak. This was in contrast to the 'political' body, where Plowden suggests that a ruler's 'Body politic is a Body [...] utterly void of Infancy and old Age, and other natural Defects and Imbecilities.'⁷⁴⁷

Although it would be anachronistic to suggest that the Julio-Claudians were aware of the 'King's Two Bodies,' it is certainly plausible to suggest that they understood what would later

⁷⁴⁵ Kantorowicz 1957:9. Schnepel (2021) examines the nature of 'King's Three Bodies.' This volume examines the importance of ritual and the extension of the number of bodies applicable to the monarch.

⁷⁴⁶ Plowd. *Reports*, 212a.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid*

come to be defined as the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and this can be seen in the images of the Julio-Claudian rulers assessed in this thesis. Each member of the *Domus Augusta* examined was acutely aware of the iconography of their rule. From Julius Caesar onwards, it is clear that the dynasty understood the change in leadership structures, which occurred as the republic gave way to the principate. As the position of *princeps* found itself at the head of the new political order, it was vital that the position had an image with which it could be associated. As seen in Chapter Two, while the iconography of the republican era favored a veristic and aging image, that of the principate was markedly different. On defeating Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, Augustus created a public image which was the subject of trial and error, but which was eventually perfected to meet his political needs. Conceiving of himself as a veiled, yet autocratic ruler, Augustus needed an image which could be seen as a permanent fixture. The creation and reproduction of the Prima Porta portrait type was the solution on which Augustus settled. Produced around 30 BC, the image depicted an ageless and classically handsome young man; with the creation of this portrait type, Augustus had fashioned his ‘political’ body. For the remainder of his life, this same image was reproduced to reflect Augustus as the *princeps*, Augustus as the ‘political’ body. The use of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ for Augustus was to remove the weakness of ageing and old age from his public image. This was achieved so successfully that other members of the *Domus Augusta* adopted the same ‘political’ body, while Augustus was still alive. In particular, Augustus’ grandsons, Gaius and Lucius. The example of Augustus shows that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ is certainly present in the iconography of Augustus and in his case, is used to eliminate the weakness associated with old age. This coupled with his position as *princeps* and the unique circumstances in which he assumed the role, allowed him to become the founder of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Augustus was not the only member of the dynasty to successfully craft and adapt the notion of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and fashion it into the ‘political’ body depicted in his iconography.

Indeed, this thesis has shown that there is a model for how the Julio-Claudians present themselves and this is similar across all the members of the *Domus Augusta*, but there are specific points and details in which the individual members differ. What this thesis suggests is that viewing Julio-Claudian iconography through the prism of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ has given us a new model with which to view, understand and assess the public images of the Julio-Claudian rulers.

Gaius and his Omission

The members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty are amongst the most famous figures of the ancient world. Each of their reigns and personal antics are well documented by the account of Suetonius, who describes the reigns and personal lives of the first twelve rulers of the principate. Not only that, but several of the Julio-Claudian rulers have also been the subjects of films, books or tv series made for popular culture in more modern times. It would be odd therefore to not mention the one striking omission from the catalogue of Julio-Claudian rulers.

The omission of Gaius (Caligula) from a study which assesses public image of the Julio-Claudian dynasty may, initially, come as a surprise.⁷⁴⁸ Despite being a prominent member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, Caligula and his public image fall outside of the parameters of this thesis.⁷⁴⁹ Even though Caligula’s image does resemble that of other members of the dynasty, his image is not crafted for the same political purpose.⁷⁵⁰ Other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty sought to hide frailty or weakness in one form or another. Nero is something of an exception, but he too sought to adapt the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body. Both Caligula’s

⁷⁴⁸ For the best biography of Caligula, see Barrett 1993.

⁷⁴⁹ For works on Caligula’s iconography, see Pollini 2005.

⁷⁵⁰ For the *Gemma Augustea*, where Caligula resembles his father, Germanicus, see Megow, 1987: 8–9 and pl. 6.5–6; Pollini, 1993: 26. Pollini 2020: 71 points out that these resemble what is known as Germanicus’ ‘adoption’ type, created around 4 AD. For further comment on Caligula’s public image, see Poulson 1958, Kleiner 1992:128. For a fine assessment of the myth and reality of Caligula’s public image, see Pollini 2020:70–90.

predecessors and successors sought to mitigate various issues or weaknesses, but Caligula had no such concerns. Rather than seeking to eliminate age as a factor within his image, Dio records that Caligula was sensitive about his youth.⁷⁵¹ This is a diversion from the conception of the ‘doctrine of capacities,’ which sought to remove weakness or create a new image, which could represent the ‘political’ body. Where other members of the dynasty conformed to the idea of a body natural and a body politic, Caligula looked to declare his own divinity while still alive. Alston suggests that Caligula’s development of divine aspiration, and the subsequent representation of those aspirations within his imagery were crafted in order to secure his reign. Alston notes that this concept certainly possessed political capital as ‘the great advantage of divine status was that it allowed the development of new ways of representing imperial power.’⁷⁵² Therefore, in order to secure his reign, Caligula placed his divinity on public display, dedicating temples to his own ‘divine spirit’ and instituting his own priesthood.⁷⁵³ If this thesis focused on the use of divinity, Caligula would be the first to be examined, yet under the parameters of this discussion, Caligula has not featured.

When considering the ‘doctrine of capacities,’ it appears that Caligula did not conceive of such a strategy being necessary. Instead, he appeared to create a type of divine monarchy. For example, Gradel takes Caligula’s quest for divinity as a serious expression of how he considered himself politically and how this impacted his iconography. Both Dio and Suetonius recount that Caligula had temples dedicated to his ‘divine spirit’ and that he ‘took over the temple of Castor and Pollux as his own vestibule.’⁷⁵⁴ In other ways he was also open about his divine intentions. Suetonius states that Caligula had statues of gods, ‘known for their religious

⁷⁵¹ Dio Cass. 59.19.1-6.

⁷⁵² Alston 1998:63.

⁷⁵³ Dio Cass 59.28.5. For further representations of Caligula as divine, see Philo, *Legat.* 198-207. For commentary on Caligula dressing like the Gods, see Wardle 1994:336-341; Gradel 2002:146-149, takes the expression of divinity far more seriously.

For a chapter on the divine honour of Caligula, see Barrett 1993:140-153.

⁷⁵⁴ For the temples dedicated to his ‘divine spirit,’ see Suet. *Cal.* 22.; Dio Cass 59.28.5

and artistic importance, including the statue of Zeus from Olympia brought to Greece in order that their heads be removed and replaced with copies of his own.’ It could be argued that Caligula had no need of a ‘political’ body because he sought to see himself as divine. Barrett has suggested that this should not be taken as a serious policy objective. Instead, Barrett believes that Caligula’s use of divine imagery was more likely an elaborate joke, which he played at the expense of others, particularly the Senate.⁷⁵⁵ Whichever theory is the more credible, I contend that Caligula did not adopt a ‘political’ body because he saw himself in a different context to that of other members of the *Domus Augusta*. In giving himself divine honours, the need for a second, ‘political’ body was eliminated, because he, in effect, ceased to recognise the concept of a natural body. It is because of this that Caligula has not formed part of the investigation of this thesis.

Presenting What They Want You to See

Augustus is of course, one of the best exponents when it comes to this type of legacy building. He is most recognisable as the figure from the Prima Porta statue and other variations of that type.⁷⁵⁶ If you were to instead offer the equestrian statue of Augustus, currently housed in Athens as the model which represents Augustus, it is likely that many observers would not be able to identify the *princeps*. This is in contrast to the Prima Porta type, which is far more recognisable as Augustus and one which is often used in books on Augustus and his principate, particularly when studying the ancient world at A level.⁷⁵⁷ The viewing of the iconography through this prism allows us to pinpoint what each leader wanted us to see; for Augustus, he sought to avoid the frail and thin looking youth which can be seen in some statues. Instead, he

⁷⁵⁵ Barrett 1993:146-148.

⁷⁵⁶ For an example of this type, see Chapter Three p.93, figure 3.4.A statue of Augustus. Currently housed in the Museo Capitolino of Rome, Italy.

⁷⁵⁷ One of the most prominent examples is that provided by the OCR syllabus for the module entitled Imperial Image. Chapter One p.43 figure 1.5 provides an excellent example.

sought the ageless image, for which he is now more famously associated. This builds the concept of legacy, but it also allows us an insight into what was considered acceptable in regard to the Julio-Claudian public image. The comparison in Chapter Three with the painting of Henry VIII by Hans Holbein reveals that a carefully crafted public body, can become the reality for a ruler, at least in the minds of the populace they rule.⁷⁵⁸ It is only from later examination by historians that the curtain of each individual ruler is finally drawn back to reveal the individual behind the ‘political’ body.

In regard to crafting the perfect ‘political’ body, Chapter Five is perhaps the most informative. Claudius hid disability rather than age with the crafting of his ‘political’ body, and the material record suggests that he had success in doing so. Apart from the Rochester bust (5.7), his iconography depicts a physically capable and energetic leader. It is important to note that this suggests a flexibility to the ‘doctrine of capacities’ which enables it to be used by different leaders. The problems of Augustus and Claudius were markedly different and despite their solution not being the same, it is clear they both devoted time to using the same mechanism in order to create a workable solution for themselves. They both fashioned a ‘political’ body which met their own needs and circumstances.

In regard to the ‘political’ body becoming reality however, Chapter Five examined both Claudius and FDR to show two masters of the art of deception. In terms of crafting reality, there was no finer exponent of the ‘political’ body than Franklin Roosevelt. Despite suffering from a potentially debilitating condition, FDR was able to present to the world a picture of health and physical fitness while guiding the American people through the Second World War and three full terms as President. Both Claudius and FDR highlight how, when managed well,

⁷⁵⁸ The painting is currently on display at the Walker Museum, Liverpool, [dated accessed 10.2.19]. For an analysis of the image, see Chapter Three, pp.23-24. Figure 3.10.

the ‘political’ body can become the reality for a ruler. In regard to public appearances, both the President and the *princeps* were keen to minimise and downplay their physical frailties and produce a symbiosis between their natural and ‘political’ bodies which allowed them to appear strong and physically capable. Part of this process included the use of physical aids or even what we would now call ‘stage-managed’ events. The success of this process was remarkable, especially in the case of Roosevelt. Despite not being able to walk at all and being paralysed from the waist down, President Roosevelt convinced the nation and much of the world that he was physical capable, indeed, even physically robust. Claudius also performed the same task with his own iconography. Despite the literary sources providing a record of his physical disability, the material record presents a strong and physically capable ruler. This is what both desired; to display to those they ruled, and for the most part, they appear to have done so successfully.

The Durability of the Theory – Women, Disabled, Old and Young

It has been argued throughout that each chapter of the thesis also identifies the durability of the theory of the ‘doctrine of capacities.’ Not merely useful for hiding the age of a ruler, as has been shown in the previous scholarship on Elizabeth I, but the concept of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ is far more adaptable when considering the iconography of rulers and the blemishes, issues or ailments which the crafting of their ‘political’ bodies would seek to hide or moderate. The thesis has examined issues of age, physical disability, gender and youth when considering the adaptability of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and the success of the ‘political’ body. The masking of age was examined in Chapter Three with the example of Augustus, while the concept of hiding a physical disability was dealt with in Chapter Five with the comparison of Claudius and Franklin Roosevelt. Not only age and disability are applicable to the ‘political’ body, but so too are issues such as the gender of a ruler.

While studies on the ‘political’ body of Elizabeth I have been conducted for several decades, there has been no such study of the female members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in relation to their image and political authority. Chapter Four places Livia in the context of her ‘political’ body, not only assessing her iconography, but placing it in the wider political context of her marriage to Augustus and his own use of the ‘political’ body. As the *princeps femina*, Livia was also capable of using the notion of the ‘doctrine of capacities’ to represent herself. Rather than merely being an addition to the rule of Augustus, Livia demonstrates that the concept can be applied to female rulers other than Elizabeth I and can be used to evade separate problems than those encountered by the Virgin Queen. Livia already had sons, and despite not being the natural sons of Augustus, she had already secured her line. Therefore, her iconography was not merely about the appearance of fertility, because this had already been evidenced by the birth of her sons. Instead, Livia adopted a ‘political’ body because she was vital to the public image of the *Domus Augusta*. Depicted alongside Augustus as young, energetic and in rude health, together they represented the new dawn for the principate and the promise that they would remain at the head of the Roman world for many decades. In addition, when contrasted with the iconography of Livia’s sister-in-law, Octavia, it is clear that Livia was given a ‘political’ body which mirrored that crafted by Augustus, while Octavia was not. This suggests that not only is the ‘doctrine of capacities’ applicable to female rulers other than Elizabeth I, but that in regard to Livia, it should be seen as part of the ideological program crafted by the *princeps* and *princeps femina*.

The ‘political’ body is clearly a method by which rulers could obscure, hide or expunge a weakness or frailty and this was firmly established in chapters two to five. The most testing case study of all the Julio-Claudians surveyed when examining the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and public image was that of Nero. This was not due to a problem of either material or literary evidence, but the chapter brought with it a new application for the theory. The application of

the theory in regard to Nero was both the most interesting and also the most challenging; in that it stretched the limits of the doctrine further than the other members of the dynasty. The previous use of a 'political' body had shown what could be hidden. However, Nero and his public image allow us to ask an altogether different question. If the 'doctrine of capacities' and the 'political' body can be used to destroy and obscure, can it also be used to create? Nero did not need a concept which destroyed or hid unpalatable facets of his physical health. He possessed none of the disabilities, age related weaknesses or even gender assumed weaknesses of the other members of the dynasty. At only eighteen and in good health, the previous application of the 'political' body held no obvious advantages for him politically. Instead, Chapter Six details Nero's adoption and transformation of the previous Julio-Claudian 'political' body. Abandoning the facets of the images of his predecessors, Nero sought to create a new 'political' body based on not only his physical characteristics but also his personality.

In examining Nero's iconography, along with his literary representation, it is clear that his use of the 'political' body was to create a new conception of the *princeps*. For Nero, the creation of a 'political' body allowed him to establish what he believed his role should be. In order to achieve this, it is arguable that he tailored his political image as closely as possible to what Plowden would have called his natural body. In effect Nero is as close as any Julio-Claudian ruler comes to assuming what Kantorowicz saw as the 'indivisible unit.' That is, the natural body of the ruler and the 'political' body which represented his office as indistinguishable from one another. While other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty can be said to have crafted, adopted and maintained a 'political' body, it is arguably the case that Nero sought to turn his actual image and personality into a 'political' body itself. As noted in the chapter concerning Nero, when viewed from a sociological perspective, Nero's iconography and actions fit perfectly into the concept Goffman defined as adopting 'roles'. These 'roles', he suggests are those which people play in their interactions with one another. In addition, it is clear that Nero

understood the concept of adopting a role and the impact of his physical visibility. His ‘political’ body was one of a ‘showman’ and this was outlined by the fact that his exploits, and physical presence built him a reputation for power and extravagance. Not only does Nero’s ‘political’ body stand out among the Julio-Claudians as one which doesn’t hide any perceived weaknesses, it is also clear that his Neronian image is markedly different from his predecessors. By virtue of appearance alone, Nero’s would be the most unique ‘political’ body of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The fact that the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and the ‘political’ body allow Nero to create rather than obscure also shows the versatility of the concept and its use in regard to ruler iconography.

Legacy Building

The idea that an image can be created as well as obscured by the crafting of a ‘political’ body is a particularly powerful conclusion. Here, we consider what a ruler’s iconography can tell us about what they are attempting to do in the present, but also what they may see as their legacy, or at least the legacy that they wish to establish for themselves. Indeed, we have only to look at the work of historians to see that iconography and its ability to shape the legacy of an individual is as pertinent as it has ever been. Consider the most recent publication by Mary Beard, in which, when discussing the fascination for Roman emperors, asks the question ‘what do the faces of long-dead autocrats, many more with a reputation for villainy than heroism, *mean* to a modern audience?’⁷⁵⁹ The answer, perhaps, lies in the concept of legacy. Of the individuals examined in this thesis, all of them have left a legacy, many of them have clearly had at least some hand in the shaping of that legacy. In regard to the Julio-Claudians, this can be seen in the material evidence, which has allowed us to view the difference between their ‘political’ body, and those examples which remain from the material record; examples which

⁷⁵⁹ Beard 2021: x.

members of the *Domus Augusta* may have found less palatable. When a modern audience considers the image of Augustus, it is more than likely that they will be drawn to the image of a Prima Porta statue type (3.4), rather than the less flattering Mallorca portrait bust (3.2), which is currently part of a private collection. Furthermore, this could be argued for other members of the dynasty, too. Nero, for example, is often seen as the mad emperor, but is also known to have been overweight in the popular imagination. This has borne itself out in the various film portrayals of Nero when played by actors of a stockier physique.⁷⁶⁰ That is not to say that these depictions should be taken at face value, but rather that they highlight how the legacy of a figure from the ancient world can make their way into the minds of a more modern audience.

If we turn to examples of the comparative figures in this thesis, the concept of legacy building is just as, if not even more, stark. When considering the images of the more modern rulers examined it is clear that their image has created a legacy for them. As argued in Chapter Three, the most famous and enduring image of Henry VIII remains the Hans Holbein portrait (3.10), despite the fact that many other portraits of Henry were produced. The Holbein portrait is the image which has endured and the one which members of the public, at least in Britain, would be most likely to recognise as the king. President Roosevelt performed a similar act of legacy building, although his was perhaps the more pressing in terms of what he sought to achieve while in office. Even though FDR moved around the White House in a wheelchair, this was something which was closely guarded by the secret service. Of all the images of FDR, only four exist which show him in a wheelchair and of those four (5.20), one is the image from the USS Baltimore, in which the wheelchair itself is obscured from view. Louis XIV was also a ruler who sought to build a legacy for himself. As the ‘Sun-King’ and possessing the ‘political’ body of the ‘showman’ he sought to create an image which not only bolstered his image but

⁷⁶⁰ In the 1950 epic *Quo Vadis*, Peter Ustinov portrayed Nero. For a review of that performance, see Crowther 1951.

projected the might and power of France. If we consider one of the most famous images of Louis, alongside one which is a less favourable depiction and also less well known, it is clear which of the images has the greater cultural capital as a depiction of the king. One of the most famous images of the king, the portrait by Rigaud (6.14) was examined in Chapter Six and this image displayed the magnificence of Louis as a monarch yet did not shy away from depicting the king as ageing. Therefore, it is clear that Louis was interested in projecting an image of majesty, but not one of eternal youth.

The concept of legacy is present in the example of the Rigaud portrait when we consider that Louis did take exception to certain depictions done by artists at his court. In 1706, Antoine Benoist produced a waxwork portrait of Louis (7.1). This can be considered a less than flattering image: the king is depicted with smallpox scars and his hair, made from a real wig of the period, depicts Louis with grey hair. This is in contrast to the mane of black hair which he is given in the Rigaud portrait.



Figure 7.1 *The Ageing Louis*, Benoist 1706.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁶¹ *The Ageing Louis*, Benoist 1706, currently on display in the Palace of Versailles.

Benoist was hailed by Louis as creating images which were so life-like that it was like seeing the person themselves. Yet, it is clear that his designs were not so admired by everyone who viewed them. Abdallah ben Aïsha, the Moroccan ambassador was taken to see the Benoist waxworks on his visit as an envoy in 1699. Upon viewing the exhibition, he declared ‘if following the Law of Mohammed, portraiture is a crime, those made in wax are an abomination, and M. Benoist will be more damned than all other painters.’⁷⁶² This outrage may well have been shared by the artistic community, as despite having an extremely successful commercial career, Benoist was not inducted into the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture until late in his career. Even then, he was inducted for his paintings rather than his catalogue of waxwork portraits.⁷⁶³

The 1706 portrait is in fact, the only waxwork of Benoist which depicts Louis XIV. Given that his work appears to have lacked the respect of the artistic community and did not portray Louis in the most flattering manner, it is perhaps unsurprising that this is a lesser known image of the sun-king. When the Rigaud and Benoist portraits are compared, it is clear that one maintains the majesty of its subject and one portrays the natural image of the individual.

Without the use of the modern comparisons used throughout the thesis, the way in which the ‘doctrine of capacities’ and therefore the ‘political’ body works would be far less clear. By using the more modern leaders as comparators, it allows us to understand just how the ‘political’ body worked and how it could be adapted to fit differing time periods, circumstances and even, technological advancements. In using these modern comparisons, I have sought to highlight the ‘circumstantial echoes’ of each leader and their particular situation. For Augustus and Henry, the need to appear youthful and preserve their dynasty. For Claudius and FDR, it was the need to downplay and obscure their physical frailties and for Nero and Louis XVI, it

⁷⁶² *Mercure galant* 1699: 62.

⁷⁶³ Stanić and Maral 2009:225-227.

was their desire to display a new conception of their rule, to present their love of showmanship, extravagance and physical power as a form of legitimacy. As previously stated, I do not suggest that there is a linear progression of the ‘political’ body from the Julio-Claudians to the modern comparisons which I have examined. What is clear though is that the concept of the ‘two bodies’ has found itself able to adapt to even the most modern questions of image and power and so, without the use of comparison, we could not as successfully gauge the efforts of the successes and failures of the Julio-Claudian ‘political’ body.

Much like the images of Augustus, FDR and Henry VIII, it is once again clear that the most flattering and politically advantageous image is the one which has played the greater part in building the legacy of the individual ruler. This is what the Julio-Claudians have done in the crafting of their ‘political’ body. Each one of the major members of the *Domus Augusta* is recognisably distinct. Creating an image which portrays them as they wished to be seen and most importantly, addressing any weaknesses, ailments or frailties through the fashioning of a ‘political’ body, which was applicable to the physical and political circumstances of each of them in turn. Each chapter has surveyed the distinct differences between the images, the political context and the reasons behind their decisions. Not only that, but I believe examination of the Julio-Claudian iconography has shown whether each member was successful in the crafting of their particular ‘political’ body, and it successfully achieved the aim for which it was created. Furthermore, it is clear that when taken together, the Julio-Claudians did have a notion of the concept of the separation of the individual who held an office and the office itself, this can be seen in their careful and for the most part, extremely successful crafting of a ‘political’ body which they were able to adapt and tailor as the dynasty progressed. In reading Julio-Claudian iconography through the prism of the ‘doctrine of capacities’, it allows us to ascertain just how shrewd their political construction was and how malleable it was required to be. When much has already been written on the Julio-Claudian image, the concept of the

‘doctrine of capacities’ as a method of reading their image once again opens up fresh debates and perspectives on the subject.

Within the parameters of the thesis, I have examined the use of the ‘political’ body in regard to the iconography of the Julio-Claudians. I believe, however, that there are many other uses and applications for the framework which I have set out. One such example is that of the iconography of the republican politician and general, Gnaeus Pompey. As a leading figure during the final years of the republic, Pompey is a fascinating case study in the use of ‘political’ body, and while he falls outside of the timeframe of this thesis, it is notable that his iconography changes from veristic and traditionally republican when he returns from the East in 62 BC, to that of the more youthful and idealised images at the time of the civil war, which possess similarities to the ‘political’ body crafted by some of the Julio-Claudians surveyed in this thesis. As a subject for study through this framework, Pompey would prove a fruitful example. In addition, more work can be done using this framework and it can be used by those working in several different areas. The concept of a ‘political’ body can find relevance in the study of image and power for both the historian (ancient, medieval and modern) but also in politics. Within the study of politics, both for the academic and the reporter or journalist, the notion of a ‘political’ body could be applied to politicians of the present as well as the past. That which commentators of politics have called ‘spin’ can be looked at differently when considering a politician’s physical appearance or even, as the example of Johnson shows in Chapter Six, the political persona of a politician.⁷⁶⁴ Using the framework of a ‘political’ body, new methods for examining the process behind the image and public persona of those who lead are possible. The Julio-Claudian dynasty may have been exceptional at crafting their iconography, but they

⁷⁶⁴ For an analysis of Johnson’s image and persona, see Chapter Six, pp.260-263.

are not the only rulers who had found the ‘political’ body to be a suitable foundation for their power and authority.

Bibliography

Abbott, W.C. 1947, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Page | 292

Albertson, F.C. 2001 'Zenodorus's 'Colossus of Nero', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 46, pp.95-118.

Alessandra, T. 1998, *Adapted from Charisma: Seven Keys to Developing the Magnetism that Leads to Success*, London, Business Plus Publishing.

Alston, R. 1998, *Aspects of Roman History: AD 14-117*, London, Routledge.

Alston, R. 2015, *Rome's Revolution: Death of the Republic and Birth of the Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Agamben, G. 1998, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, translation by D. Heller-Roazen, Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Angelo, S. 1969, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Arena, V. 2007, 'Roman Oratorical Invective.' In W. Dominik and J. Hall, (eds), *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp.149–60.

Armstrong, K. 2103, *Emperor Claudius I: the man, his physical impairment, and reactions to it*, London, <https://www.academia.edu/> [date accessed 14.7.20].

Arnold, T. W. 1962, *The Symbols of Government*, San Diego Harcourt.

Astin, A.E. 1958, 'The Lex Annalis before Sulla', Brussels collection, *Latomus* 32, pp.32-4.

Atkinson, J.M. 1984, *Our Master's Voices: The Language and Body Language of Politics*, London, Routledge. Ball, M. R. 1990, 'Professional Wrestling as Ritual Drama in American Popular Culture'. *Mellen Studies in Sociology*, pp.127-145.

Balmer, J.M.T. Greyser, S.A. Urde, M. 2006, 'The Crown as a Corporate Brand: Insights from Monarchies.' *Journal of Brand Management*, Vol. 14, pp.137-161.

Balsdon, J.P.V.D. 1969, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*, London, The Bodley Head Ltd.

Baring-Gould, S. 1923, *The Tragedy of the Caesars*, London, Methuen and Co.

- Barjamovic, G. 2011, 'Pride, Pomp and Circumstance: Palace, Court and Household in Assyria 879-612BC.' In J. Duindam, M. Kunt and T. Artan, (eds.) *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, pp. 27-63.
- Barrett, A. 1998 'The Date of Claudius' British Campaign and the Mint of Alexandria', *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 48, pp. 574-577.
- Barrett, A. 2002, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Barthes, R. 1986, (reprinted 2009), *Mythologies*, London, Vintage Press.
- Bartleson, J.D and Gordon-Deen, H. 2009, *Spine Disorders: Medical and Surgical Management*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bartman, E. 1999, *Portraits of Livia: Imaging Imperial Women in Augustan Rome*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bartman, E. 2001, 'Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 105, pp.1-25.
- Bartsch, S. 1994, *Actors and the Audience, Theatricality and Doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian*, Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press.
- Beacham, R. 2005, 'The Emperor as Impresario: Producing the Pageantry of Power' in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 151-175.
- Beard, M. North J. and Price, S. 2000, *Religions of Rome, Vol. 1: A History*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Beard, M. 2007, *The Roman Triumph*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Beard, M. 2021, *Twelve Caesars: Images of Power from the Ancient World to the Modern*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Beck C. H. 2002, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Munich Glyptothek München.
- Bedoyere, G. D.L. 2017, *Praetorian: The Rise and Fall of Rome's Imperial Bodyguard*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Benham, J. 2022, *International Law in Europe, 700-1200*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

- Bergmann, M. 1978, *Marc Aurel Liebieghaus Monographie*, Frankfurt am Main.
- Bergmann, M. 2013, 'Portraits of an Emperor Nero: the Sun and Roman Otium' in E Buckley and M. Dinter, (eds), *A Companion to the Neronian Age*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp.332-363.
- Berkel, M. and Duindam, J. (eds) *Prince, Pen and Sword: Eurasian Perspectives*, Leiden, Brill.
- Bieber, M. 1964, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*, Chicago, Argonaut.
- Blaisdell, Jr, T.C. et al. *The American Presidency in Political Cartoons: 1779-1976*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Blake, S. 2012, 'Now You See Them: Slaves and Other Objects as Elements of the Roman Master', *Helios*, Vol. 39, pp. 193-211.
- Bloch, M. 1967, 'A Contribution Towards a Comparative History of European Societies,' in *Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe: Selected Papers* by Marc Bloch, translation by. J. E. Anderson, London, Routledge.
- Borner, S. 2012. 'Coins' in Van Ackeren, (ed), *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp.278-294.
- Boschung, D, 2001. "Überlegungen zum Denkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi," in C. Evers and A. Tsingarida (eds) in *Rome et ses Provinces: Genèse and diffusion d'une image du pouvoir* (Lucernae Novantiquae), pp.59-72.
- Boschung, D. 2012, 'The Portraits: A Short Introduction,' in Van Ackeren, (ed), *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp.294-305.
- Bower, T. 2020, *Boris Johnson: The Gambler*, London, Random House.
- Bowerstock, G. 1990, 'The Pontificate of Augustus,' in K. Raaflaub and M. Toher (eds). *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, London, Routledge, pp.380-394.

Bradley, M. 2011, 'Obesity, Corpulence and Emaciation in Roman Art' *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol 79, pp.1-41.

Brännstedt, L. 2016, *Femina Princeps: Livia's Position in the Roman State*, Lund.

Page | 295

Brian-Rose, C. 1990, 'Princes and Barbarians on the *Ara Pacis*', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 94, pp.453-67.

Brian-Rose, C. 1997, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Brian-Rose, C. 2005, 'The Parthians in Augustan Rome', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol.109, pp. 36–44.

Brian-Rose, C. 2008, 'Forging identity in the Roman Republic: Trojan Ancestry and Veristic Portraiture', in S. Bell and I.L. Hansen (eds.), *Role Models in the Roman World: Identity and Assimilation*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, pp. 97-131.

Brilliant, R. 1969, 'An Early Imperial Portrait of Caligula,' *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, Instituti Romani Norvegiae* 4, pp. 13-17.

Brilliant, R.1974, *Roman Art: From the Republic to Constantine*, London, Phaidon.

Brilliant. R. 1993, 'Hairiness: A Matter of Style and Substance in Roman Portraits', in R.T. Scott and A.R. Scott(eds), *Eius Virtutis Studiosi, Classical and Postclassical studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908-1988)*, pp.302-312.

Brilliant, R. 1999, *Portraiture*, London, Reaktion Books.

Brooke, X. and Crombie, D. 2003, *Henry VIII Revealed: The Legacy of Holbein's Portraits*, London, Paul Holberton Publishing.

Broughton, T.R.S. 1952, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, New York, American Philological Association.

Brownlow, L. 1950, *The President and the Presidency*, Chicago, Public Administration Service.

- Bruce, B. 2013, *On the Origin of Spin*, London. Independent Publisher.
- Brunt P.A. and Moore, J.M. 1967, *Res Gestae: Commentary and Translation*, Oxford. Oxford University Press.
- Bullough, D.A. 1974 'Games People Played. Drama and Ritual as Propaganda in Medieval Europe', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 24, pp.97-122.
- Burnett, A. 1977, 'The Authority to Coin in the Late Republic and Early Empire', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 17, pp. 37-63.
- Buxton, B.A. 2014, 'A New Reading of the Belvedere Altar', *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 118, pp. 91–111.
- Canning, J. 1996, *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300-1450*, London, Routledge.
- Casalicchio, E. 2021, 'Boris Johnson's Hair Shows He's Too Posh to Fail', *Politico*, <https://www.politico.eu/article/how-boris-johnsons-hair-defined-britain> [date accessed 23.6.22].
- Cassirer, E. 1946, *Myth of the State*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Carcopino, J. 1969, *Cicero: The Secrets of His Correspondence. 2 Vols.* New York, Greenwood Press.
- Carroll, M. 2015, 'Projecting Self-Perception on the Roman Frontiers: The Evidence of Dress and Funerary Portraits,' in D.J. Breeze, R.H. Jones and I.A. Oltean (eds), *Understanding the Roman Frontiers: A Celebration for Professor Bill Hanson*, Edinburgh, John Donald, pp.154-166.
- Carson R.A.G. and Mattingly, H. 1923, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum: Volume 1: Augustus to Vitellius*, London. Facsimile Publishers.
- Cels, Saint-Hilaire. 2011, *La République romaine: 133-44 av. J.-C.* Armand Colin.
- Chamoux, F. 1950, 'Gaius Caesar', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 74, pp.250-264.
- Champlin, E. 2003, 'Nero, Apollo and the Poets,' *Classical Association of Canada*, Vol. 57, pp.276-283.
- Champlin, E. 2003, *Nero*, Massachusetts. Harvard University Press.
- Chaplin, J. D. 2000, *Livy's Exemplary History*, Oxford. Oxford University Press

Charles-Picard, G. 1966, *Augustus and Nero. The Secret of Empire*, London. Phoenix House Press.

Charlesworth, M.P. 1933, Some fragments of the Propaganda of Marc Antony, *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 27, pp.172-177.

Cheles, L. and, Giacone, A. 2020, 'Introduction' in L. Cheles and A. Giacone (eds) *The Political Portrait: Leadership, Image and Power*, London, Routledge, pp.1-25.

Clapham, J. 1951, *'Elizabeth of England: Certain Observations Concerning the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth'*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Clark, T.J. 1985, *The Painting of Modern Life*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Clark, C.A. 2014, 'Masculinity, Nonverbal Behaviour and Pompey's Death in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*' in C. Clark, E. Foster, and J. Hallett (eds), *Kinesis: The Ancient Depiction of Gesture, Motion and Emotion*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, pp.143-159.

Clausen, C. 2005, 'The President and the Wheelchair', *Wilson Quarterly*, Vol.29, pp.24-29.

Clinton, B. 2004, *My Life*, London, Hutchinson.

Coale, J and Demeny, P, 1983, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*, New York. Imprint.

Coarelli, F. 1971-72, *Il complesso pompeiano del campo marcio e la sua decorazione scultorea* RPAA 44:99-122.

Cobb, H. 1990, *Representations of Elizabeth I: Three Sites of Ambiguity and Contradiction*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford. <https://ora.ox.ac.uk> [date accessed 15.8.21].

Cockayne, K. 2003, *Experiencing Old Age in Ancient Rome*, London, Routledge.

Cornell, T, 1995, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c.1000-264BC)* London, Routledge.

Cooley, A. 2009, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Crawford, M. 1974-1975, *Roman Republican Coinage in Two Volumes*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Crawford, M. 1992, *The Roman Republic*, London, Fontana Press.

Crowther, B. 1951, *The Screen: Two New Movies Shown Here; 'Darling, How Could You!' From Play by James M. Barrie*.

Culshaw J, *et al*, 2019, 'Cracked Actor: Stage Stars review Boris Johnson's debut as PM'. *The Guardian*.

D'Ambra, E. 1998, *Art and Identity in The Roman World*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Dallek, R. 1995, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Daehner, J. and Lapatin, K. 2015, 'Introduction: Reframing Bronze in the Hellenistic Age.' In J. Daehner and K. Lapatin, (eds), *Power and Pathos: Bronze Sculpture of the Hellenistic World*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, pp. 1-25.

Davies, J.C. 1967, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II: Its Character and Policy, a Study in Administrative History*, London, Routledge.

Davies, P.J.E, 2017, *Architecture and Politics in Republican Rome*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Davillé, L. 1913, 'Comparison and the Comparative Method, Particularly in Historical Studies,' in *les études historiques*, " *Revue de synthèse historique* 27, nos. 79–80 (1913): 4–33.

J. R. Dasent, 1901, *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 25, 1595-1596*, London.

Daube. D 1969, *Roman Law: Linguistic, Social and Philosophical Aspects*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Davis, S.K. 1974, *Invincible Summer: An Intimate Portrait of the Roosevelts based on the Recollections of Marion Dickerman*, New York, Atheneum.

De Monaco, G. 1965, *Oral History Transcript*, 19th June 1965, www.jfklibrary.org [date accessed 02.05.22].

Detweiler, R. 1970, 'Historical Perspectives on the Death of Agrippa Postumus,' *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 65, pp. 289-295.

- Dittmer, L. 1977, 'Political Culture and Political Symbolism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis': *World Politics*, Vol. 29, pp. 552-583.
- Doran, S, 2003, *Queen Elizabeth I*, London, The British Library.
- Dover, K.J. 1989, *Greek Homosexuality*, 2nd edition, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.
- Draycott, J, 2019, 'Introduction' in J. Draycott (ed), *Prostheses in Antiquity*, London, Routledge, pp.1-29,
- Duncan-Jones, R. 1990, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Duindam J. 2011, 'Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires.' In J.Duindam, M. Kunt, and T. Artan, (eds.), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, , pp.1-27.
- Duindam, J. 2011, 'Versailles, Vienna and Beyond: Changing Views of Household and Government in Early Modern Europe' in J. Duindam, M. Kunt, and T. Artan, (eds.) *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Brill, pp.401-432.
- Duindam, J, 2015, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power: 1300-1800*, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Duindam J .2019, *Dynasty: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Dupont, F. 1993, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell.
- Dutton, K.R. 1995, *The Perfectible Body: The Western Ideal of Physical Development*, London, Continuum.
- Dyer, R. 1998, *Stars*, 2nd Edition. London, Continuum
- Earl, D. 1967, *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome*, London, Thames and Hudson.
- Eck, W. 2007, *The Age of Augustus*, 2nd edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.
- Eckstein, A. 1987, *Senate and General: Individual Decision Making and Roman Foreign Relations, 246-194BC*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

- Eckstein A.M. 1995, *Moral Vision in the Histories of Polybius*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Eden, P. T.1984, *Seneca Apocolocyntosis*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Eder, W. 1995, 'Augustus and the Power of Tradition,' in K.Galinsky, (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.13-33.
- Edmondson, J. 2008, 'Public Dress and Social Control in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome,' in J. Edmondson and A. Keith (eds), *Roman Dress and the Fabric of Roman Culture*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, pp.21-47.
- Edwards, C. 1993, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Elsner, J. 1991, 'Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the *Ara Pacis Augustae*,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 81, pp.50-61.
- Elsner, J. 1995, *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Elsner, J. 1998, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Erim, K.T. and MacDonald, D.J. 1974. 'A Hoard of Alexander Drachmas,' *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol 14, pp. 174-176.
- Erim, K. T. 1989, *Aphrodisias: A Guide to the Site and its Museum*. Istanbul, Turistik
- Evans, E. 1969, *Physiognomics in the Ancient World*, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. 1948, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Evans, R.J. 1994, *Gaius Marius: A Political Biography*, Pretoria, University of South Africa Press.
- Evans, R.J. And Kleijwegt. M. 1992, 'Did the Romans like Young Men? A Study of the Lex Villia Annalis: Causes and Effects' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bd. 92, pp.181-195.

Evans, R. J. 1999, 'Displaying Roman Scars: An Honourable Gimmick', *Acta Classica*, Vol. 42, pp.77-94.

Everitt, A. 2001, *Cicero: A Turbulent Life*, London. John Murray Press.

Eyben, E. 1981, 'Was the Roman Youth an Adult Socially?' *L'antiquité classique*, Vol. 50, pp.328-350.

Eyben, E. 1993, *The Restless Youth in Ancient Rome*, London, Routledge.

Fant, C and Reddish, M. 2008, 'The Roman Period' in C. Fant. And M. Reddish, (eds) *Lost Treasures of the Bible: Understanding the Bible Through Archaeological Artefacts Found in World Museums*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 299-403.

Fantham, E. 2004, 'The Performing Prince,' in E. Buckley and M. Dinter, (eds.) *A Companion to the Neronian Age*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.17-29.

Fejfer, J. 2008, *Roman Portraits in Context*, Berlin, De Gruyter.

Fernandez-Armesto, F. 2002, 'Food, Glorious Food' *The Sunday Times*, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/food-glorious-food-stznh2xfc3c> [date accessed 30.4.22].

Finley, M. 1981, 'The Elderly in Classical Antiquity', *Greece and Rome* 28, pp.156-177.

Fittschen, K. R. 1977, Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach. *Archaeologische Forschungen* 3, Berlin, Mann.

Fittschen, K. Zanker P. 1985, Katalog der römischen Portrats in den Capitoli- nischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom I, Mainz, Von Zabern.

Fittschen, K. 1999, *Prinzenbildnisse antoninischer Zeit*, Mainz. Von Zabern.

Flory, M.B.1993, 'Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome'. *The American Philological Association*, Vol.123, pp.287-308.

Flory, M. B. 1996, 'Dynastic ideology, the domus Augusta, and imperial women: A lost statuary group in the Circus Flaminius', *TAPA* 126, pp. 287-308.

Flower, H. 1996, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Forth, C. 2019, *Fat: A Cultural History of the Stuff of Life*, Chicago, Reaktion Books.

Fortes, M. 1962. 'Ritual and Office,' In M. Gluckman (ed), *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 83-88.

- Fortes, M. 1967, 'Of Installation Ceremonies', *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropology Institute*, pp.5-20.
- Fowler, A. 1967, *Spenser's Images of Life by C.S. Lewis*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Fratantuono, L. 2012, *Madness Triumphant. A Reading of Lucan's "Pharsalia"*, Lanham, Lexington Books.
- Frazer, A. 1973, *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Frazer, J. 1922, *The Golden Bough*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Freedberg, D. 1989, *The Power of Images: Studies in History and Theory of Response*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Frier, B.W. 2000, 'Population,' in A. Bowan, P. Garnsey, and D. Rathbone (eds) *Cambridge Ancient History Volume 11, The High Empire, 70-192AD*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 811-817.
- Galassi, F.M. and Ashrafian, H. 2015, 'Has the Diagnosis of a Stroke been overlooked in the Symptoms of Julius Caesar?' *Journal of Neurological Sciences*. Vol.36, pp.150–152.
- Galinsky, K. 1996, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Gallagher, H.G. 1985, *FDR's Splendid Deception*, Arlington, Dodd Mead.
- Galasso, L. 2009, 'Epistulae ex Ponto', in P.E. Knox (ed), *A Companion to Ovid*, Oxford. Wiley & Sons, Ltd, pp. 194–206.
- Ganz, P. 1921, 'A Portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 38, pp.210-221.
- Gairdner, J. (ed) 1891, Henry Tudor, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 12 Part 2, June-December 1537*, London.
- Gardener, H. 2004, 'The Roman Empire,' in F. S. Kleiner and C. J. Mamiya, (eds), *Gardeners' Art through the Ages: A Global History*, London, Wadsworth Publishing. pp.242-268.

- Garland, R. 1995, *The Eye of The Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman Word*, London, Duckworth.
- Geertz, C. 1983, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, New York, Basic Books.
- Gelzer, M. 1968, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.
- Gelzer, M. 1969, trans Seager, *The Roman Nobility*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.
- Gera, D.L. 1993, *Xenophon's Cyropaedia: Style, Genre, and Literary Technique*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Gibbon, E. 1906, *The Decline and Fall of The Roman Empire*, Vol.1. New York, Random House.
- Gilliver, K. 2011, 'The Augustan Reform and the Structure of the Imperial Army' in P. Erdkamp (ed.) *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.183-201.
- Gimson, A 2016, *Boris: The Making of the Prime Minister*, London, Simon & Schuster.
- Ginsburg, J. 2006, *Representing Agrippina: Constructions of Female Power in the Early Roman Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Gladhill, B. 2012, 'The Emperor's No Clothes: Suetonius and the Dynamics of Corporeal Ecphrasis' *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 31, pp. 315-348.
- Gleason, M.W. 1995, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-presentation in Ancient Rome*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Goody, J. 1966, 'Introduction: Succession in High Office,' J. Goody, (ed), *Succession to High Office*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.1-56.
- Goffman, E. 1959, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*, London, Penguin.
- Goldsworthy, A. 2006, *Caesar: Life of a Colossus*, London. Phoenix Books.
- Goldsworthy, A. 2010, *Antony and Cleopatra*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

Gotter, U, 2017, 'The Tyrant with His Back to the Wall: Nero's Artistic Self-Expansion,' in K. Kaminskij and A. Koschorke, (eds), *Tyrants Writing Poetry: The Art of Language and Violence*, Budapest, Central European University Press, pp.1-35.

Gradel, I. 2002, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Grant, M. 1970, *Nero*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Graubard, S. 2004, *The Presidents: The Transformation of The American Presidency from Theodore Roosevelt to George W. Bush*, London, Penguin.

Graves, R. 1934, *Claudius the God and his Wife Messalina*, London, Penguin.

Green, P.1998, 'Sex and Classical Literature,' in P. Green, (ed), *Classical Bearings: Interpreting Ancient History and Culture*, California, University of California Press, pp.130-151.

Greenhalgh, P.1980, *Pompey: The Roman Alexander*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Griffin, M. 1987, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*, London, Routledge.

Grillo, L. 2012, *The Art of Caesar's Bellum Civile: Literature, Ideology and Community*, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Gross, W. 1962, *Julia Augusta: Untersuchungen Zur Grundlegung Einer Liviaikonographie*. Göttingen, Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht.

Grueber, H.A. 1910, *Coins of the Roman Republic in The British Museum*, London, British Museum.

Gruen, E.1974, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, California, University of California Press.

Gruen, E,1992, *Culture and National Identity in The Rome Republic*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Gunther, J, 1950, *Roosevelt in Retrospect*, New York, Harper and Brothers.

Hackett, H. 2015, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I: The Three Goddesses Theme in Art and Literature,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 77, no. 3, pp.225-256.

- Hallett, C.H. 2005, *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200BC-AD300*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Hallpike, C.R. 1969. 'Social Hair'. In *Man* Vol.9, pp. 256-64.
- Hamilton, N. 2011, *American Caesars: Lives of the US Presidents from Franklin D. Roosevelt to George W. Bush*, London, Vintage.
- Hannah, R. et al, 2016, 'Nero's 'Solar Kingship and the Architecture of the Domus Aurea,' *Numen*, Vol. 63, No. 5/6, pp.511-524.
- Hanson, C. and F.P. Johnson, 1946, 'On Certain Portrait Inscriptions', *AJA* 50, pp.389-400.
- Harkness, A.G. 1896 'Age at marriage and at death in the Roman Empire', *American Philosophical Association*, pp.35-72.
- Harlow, M and Laurence, R. 2002, *Growing up and Growing Old in Ancient Rome: A Life Course Approach*, London, Routledge.
- Harrison, E. 1953, *The Athenian Agora. I. Portrait Sculpture*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Harris, W.V. 1979, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327-30BC*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, T. 2011 *The Visual Representation of Livia on Coins of the Roman Empire*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Alberta, <https://era.library.ualberta.ca/> [date accessed 13.3.19].
- Hebel W.J. and Hudson H.H. (eds). 1947 *Poetry of the English Renaissance*, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Hiesinger, U.W. 1975, 'The Portraits of Nero', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 79, pp. 113-124.
- Hillard, T. W. 1992, 'On the Stage, Behind the Curtain: Images of Politically Active Women in the Late Roman Republic,' in B. Garlick, S. Dixon, and P. Allen (eds), *Stereotypes of Women in Power: Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views*, New York, Praeger Publishers, pp.37-64.

Hildebrandt, F. 2013, 'The Emperor Claudius in Western Asia. Portraits, Statues, and Inscriptions' in M. Aurenhammer (ed.), *Sculpture in Roman Asia Minor: Proceedings of the International Conference at Selçuk*, Vienna, Holzhausen Verlag GmbH, pp.219-228.

Hillard, T.W. 2013, 'Livia Drusilla', *Groniek*, Vol. No. 198, pp. 5-22.

Page | 306

Hekster, O. 2011, 'Imagining Power. Reality Gaps in the Roman Empire', *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*, Vol. 86, pp.177-190.

Hekster, O and Fowler, R. 2012, 'Imagining Kings from Persia to Rome,' in O. Hekster and R. Fowler (eds), *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*, Vienna, Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, pp. 9-38.

Hekster, O. Manders, E. and Slootjes D, 2014, 'Making History with Coins: Nero from a Numismatic Perspective,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 45. pp. 25-37.

Hekster, O. *et al*, 2015, 'Nero's Ancestry and the Construction of Imperial Ideology in the Early Empire. A Methodological Study'. *Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology*, Vol.4, pp.1-27.

Hemelrijk, E. A. 1999, *Matrona Docta: Educated Women in the Roman Elite from Cornelia to Julia Domna*. New York, Routledge.

Hemelrijk, E. A. 2005, 'Octavian and the Introduction of Public Statues for Women in Rome' in M. Reinhold (ed), *From Republic to Principate*, Atlanta, American Philological Association, pp.309-317.

Henfrey, H.W.1873, *Numismata Cromwelliana: or the medallic history of Oliver Cromwell*, London, Faber and Faber.

Hoak, D, 1995, 'The Iconography of the Imperial Crown,' in D. Hoak (ed), *Tudor Political Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.54–103.

Højte, J. M, 2003, 'The Statue Bases of Claudius A Reassessment of The Portraiture of Claudius by Meriwether Stuart,' in P. Guldager Bilde, J. M. Højte and V. F. Stolba, (eds), *The Caludron of Ariantas: Studies presented to A.N. Scegllov on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, Denmark, Aarhus University Press, pp.365-388.

Hölkeskamp, K.J. 1993, 'Conquest, Competition and Consensus: Roman Expansion in Italy and the rise of 'Nobilitas,' *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 42, H. pp.12-39.

Hopkins, K. 1983, *Death and Renewal*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

- Hopkins, L. 2011. *Drama and Succession to the Crown: 1561-1633*, London, Routledge.
- Hornblower, S. Spawforth, A. Eidinow, E (eds), 2003, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Houck, D.W. and Kiewe, A. 2003, *FDR's Body Politics: The Rhetoric of Disability*. Texas, A and M University Press.
- Howarth, P. 1987, *George VI*, London, Hutchinson.
- Ioppolo, A.M. 1990, 'Presentation and Asset: A Physical and Cognitive Problem in Early Stoicism,' *Classical Quarterly* 40. 2. pp.433-49.
- Isayev, E. 2007, 'Unruly Youth? The Myth of Generation Conflict in Late Republican Rome,' *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* Bd. 56, H. 1, pp. 1-13.
- Jacquemin, A. and Laroche, D. 1982. 'Notes sur trois piliers delphiques,' *BCH* 106, pp. 191–218.
- Jackson, D. 1987, 'Verism and the Ancestral Portrait,' *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 34. No.1, pp.32-47.
- Jenkins, E. J. 2009, 'Livia the *princeps*: Gender and ideology in the *Consolatio ad Liviam*,' *Helios* 36, pp. 1-25.
- Jewitt, J.R. 2014, 'Eliza Fortuna': Reconsidering the Ditchley Portrait of Elizabeth I', *The Burlington magazine*, pp.293-298.
- Jurecic, Q. 2017, 'Body Double: What Medieval Executive Theory Tells Us About Trump's Twitter Account', *Lawfare*.
- Kahler H, Der Fries Vom Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi *Monumenta Artis Romanae*, 1965, Berlin, Gerbr Mann.
- Kahn, E.J. JR. 1954, 'Closings and Openings,' *New Yorker* 13 and 20, pp.40-41.
- Kahn, V. 2009, 'Theology and Fiction in the King's Two Bodies', *Representations*, Vol.106, pp.77-101.
- Kantorowicz, E. 1957, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

- Keaveney, A. 1982, *Sulla: The Last Republican*, London, Routledge.
- Kellum, B. 1994, 'What We See and What We Don't See: Narrative Structure and the *Ara Pacis Augustae*', *Art History*, Vol. 17, pp.26-45.
- Kertzner, D. 1988, *Ritual Politics and Power*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Keynes, M. 2005, 'The Personality and Health of King Henry VIII (1491–1547)'. *Journal of Medical Biography* 13, pp.174–83.
- Kirk, G.S. Raven, J.E. and Schofield, M. 1983, *The Presocratic Philosopher: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Klein J. 2002, *The Natural: The Misunderstood Presidency of Bill Clinton*, London, Broadway Books.
- Kleiner, D. 1978, 'The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Greek Sources, Roman Derivatives, and Augustan Social Policy', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome Année 90-2*, pp. 753-785.
- Kleiner, D. 1992, *Roman Sculpture*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Kleiner, D. 2005, 'Semblance and Storytelling in Augustan Rome,' in K. Gallinsky (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.197-234.
- Knoppers, L. L. 2000, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print, 1645-1661*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Knudsen, S.E. 'Cat. 138 Cameo Portraying Emperor Claudius as Jupiter: Curatorial Entry,' in *Roman Art at the Art Institute of Chicago*, Chicago University Press.
- Kocka, J. 2003, 'Comparison and Beyond.' *History and Theory*, Vol. 42, pp. 39-44.
- Kousser, R. 2010, 'The End of The Macedonian Monarchy and the Origins of the Provincia Macedonia' in J. Roisman and I. Worthington (eds), *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia*, Oxford, Wiley- Blackwell, pp.522-543.
- Kozloff, A.P. 1987, The Cleveland Bronze: The Emperor as Philosopher, *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Vol. 74, pp.84-99.
- Kragelund, P. 2002, 'The Emperors, the Licinii Crassi and Pompey'; in M. Hojte (ed) *Images of Ancestors*, Aarhus, University of Aarhus Press, pp.185-222.

Kron, G. 2012, 'Nutrition, Hygiene and Mortality: Setting Parameters for Roman Health and Life Expectancy Consistent with Our Comparative Evidence', In E. Lo Cascio (ed), *L'impatto della 'pesta antonina,'* Bari, Edipuglia, pp.193-252.

Laehn, T.R. 2013, *Pliny's Defence of Empire*, New York, Routledge.

Laurence, R. 2005, 'Health and the Life Course at Herculaneum and Pompeii,' in H. King (ed), *Health in Antiquity*, London, Routledge, pp.83-96.

Leaming, B. 1989, *If this was Happiness: A Biography of Rita Hayworth*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Legg, L. G. W. 1901, *English Coronation Records*, London, Kessinger Publishing.

Leigh, M. 1997, *Lucan: Engagement and Spectacle*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Lentz, E. 1954, *A Comparison of Medical and Surgical Floors*, New Haven, Cornell University Press.

Leon, E.F. 1948, 'The Imbecillitas of the Emperor Claudius', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 79, pp.79-86.

Lerner, M. 1937, Constitution and Court as Symbols, *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 46, pp.1290-1319.

Le Roi, J.A. (1862) *Journal de la Sante du Roi Louis XIV*, Charleston, Nabu Press.

Levick, B. 1999, *Tiberius the Politician*, Revised Edition, London, Routledge.

Levick, B. 1993, *Claudius*, Oxford, Taylor & Francis Ltd.

L'Hoir, F.S. 1994, 'Tacitus and Women's Usurpation of Power' *The Classical World*, Vol. 88, pp.5-25.

Linderski, J. 2007, *Roman Papers II: Selected Papers*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Lintott, A. P.1967, 'Clodius Pulcher: Felix Catilina?' *Greece and Rome*, Vol. 26, pp.160-169.

Lintott, A. 1991, *The Constitution of The Roman Republic*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Lipscombe, S. 2006, *1536: The Year that Changed Henry VIII*, London, Lion Books.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2015, 'That My Body is Strong: The Physique and Appearance of the Achaemenid Monarchy', in D. Boschung, A. Shapiro, and F. Waschecke, (eds), *Fluide Körper-Bodies in Transition*, Cologne: Centre for Advanced Studies, pp.211-248.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2018, *Designs on the Past: How Hollywood Created the Ancient World*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Lorant, S. 1969, *The Glorious Burden: The American Presidency*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.

L'Orange, 'Le Neron' cited in Manning C.E. 1975, 'Acting and Nero's Conception of the Principate', *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 22, pp.164-175.

Lowndes, J. 2013, 'Barack Obama's Body: The Presidency, the Body Politic, and the Contest over American National Identity', *Polity*, Vol. 45. No. 4, pp. 469- 498.

Macgowan, J. 1908, *Sidelights on Chinese Life*, London, K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & co., limited.

MacMullen, R. 1990, *Changes in the Roman Empire: Essays in the Ordinary*. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

MacNalty A. S. 1952, *Henry VIII: A Difficult Patient*, London, Johnson.

Maitland, F. W. and Pollock, F. 1898, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Marcus, L. Mueller, J. and Rose, M. 2000, (eds) *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, Chicago, Chicago University Press.

Marin, L. 1997, *Food for Thought*, New York, Baltimore.

Martin, D. 1999, *The Corinthian Body*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

Marriott, M. 1990, 'Constructing an Indian Ethnosociology.' In M. McKim (ed), *India Through Hindu Categories*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, pp. 1-39.

Masters, J. 1992, *Poetry and the Civil War in Lucan's Bellum Civile*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Mattingly, H. Carson, R. A. G. and Hill, P.V. 1923-62, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 6 vols. British Museum.

Mattingly, H. and Sydenham, E.A. 1923, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 1, Augustus to Vitellius* Spink and Son.

Mattingly, H. and Sydenham, A. 1926, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 2, Vespasian to Hadrian*, London, Spink and Son.

McCall, J. B. 2001, *Cavalry of the Roman Republic*, London, Routledge.

McClure, N.E. 1930, (ed.) *The letters and epigrams of Sir John Harington*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

McDonnell, M. 2005, 'Aristocratic Competition, Horses, and the *Spolia Opima* Once Again' in J. Aubert *et al* (eds), *A Tall Order. Writing the Social History of the Ancient World*, Berlin, De Gruyter, pp. 145-160.

McGinnis, J. 1968, *The Selling of the President*, London, Trident Press.

McKenna, J. 1967, 'The Coronation Oil of the Yorkist Kings,' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 82, pp.102-104.

Migliore, S. 1993, 'Professional Wrestling: Moral Commentary Through Ritual Metaphor,' *Journal of Ritual Studies*, Vol. 7, pp.65-84.

Milburn, O. 2017, 'Disability in Ancient China' in C. Laes (ed), *Disability in Antiquity*, London, Routledge, pp. 108-119.

Milnor, K. 2005, *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus: Inventing Private Life*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Milnor, K. 2009, 'Women and Domesticity' in E.V.Pagán (ed), *A Companion to Tacitus*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.458-476.

Milnor, K. 2009b 'Women in Roman Historiography' in A. Feldherr (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Historiography*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.276-287.

Minois, G. 1989, *A History of Old Age*, translation by S. H. Tenison, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Momigliano, E. 1932, *Claudius: The Emperor and his Achievement*, translated by, W. D.Hogarth. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

- Montrose, L.A. 2006, *The Subject of Elizabeth. Authority, Gender, and Representation*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Moreno, P.1994. *Scultura Ellenistica II*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. pp. 426-427.
- Morgan, G. 2006, *The Year of Four Emperors*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Morton, G. W. and O'Brien. G.M. *'Wrestling to Rasslin': Ancient Sport to American Spectacle*. Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Mouratidis, J. 1985, 'Nero: The Artist, the Athlete and His Downfall', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 12, pp. 5-20.
- Mrarschek, S. 2013, 'Nero the Imperial Misfit: Philhellenism in a Rich Man's World' in E. Buckley and M. Dinter (eds), *A Companion to the Neronian Age*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp.45-62.
- Mundt, F. 2012 'Einleitung' in: F. Mundt (ed.), *Kommunikationsräume im kaiserzeitlichen Rom*, Berlin, De Gruyter, pp.7-18.
- Murad, A. 2010, 'A Neurological Mystery from History: The Case of Claudius Caesar', *J Hist Neurosci*; 19, pp.221–227.
- National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Strokes, Cerebral Palsy: Hope through Research. found online at <https://www.ninds.nih.gov/Disorders/Patient-Caregiver-Education/Hope-Through-Research/Cerebral-Palsy-Hope-Through-Research> [date accessed 3.8.19].
- National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Strokes, Riding for the Disabled Association, available online at <https://www.rda.org.uk/now-we-are-50/> [date accessed 31.1.21].
- Nelson, M. 2012, 'Ratifying the Constitution,' in M. Nelson (ed), *A Guide to the Presidency and Executive Branch*, Washington, Sage Publications, pp.38-42.
- Newlands, C. E. 2015, *Ovid*, California, Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Nicholson, M. 1987, 'Food and Power: Homer, Carroll, Atwood and Others', *Mosaic*, Vol.20, pp.37-55.
- Nicolet, C. 1991, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Nielsen, K. 2001, 'Helen Keller and the Politics of Civic Fitness,' in P. K. Longmore and L. Umansky (eds), *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, New York, New York University Press, pp. 268-290.

Nobles, W. S. 1955, 'A Rhetorical Study of the Public Speaking of Harold L. Ickes in the 1936 Presidential Campaign.' *LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses*. 127.

Nock, A.D. 1930, 'The *Diis Electa*: A Chapter in the Religious History of the Third Century'. *Harvard Theological Review*. 23 (4), pp. 251–74.

Nodelman, S. 2002, 'How to Read a Roman Portrait' in J. C. McEnroe and D.F. Polinski (eds), *Critical Perspectives on Art History*, New Jersey, Pearson, pp. 39-45.

Norbrook, D. 1984, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Norton, A. 1993, *Republic of Signs: Libera! Theory and American Popular Culture*, Chicago University of Chicago Press.

Novak, M. 1974, *Choosing our King: Powerful Symbols in Presidential Politics*, New York, MacMillan Co.

O’Gorman, E. 2000, *Irony and Misreading in the Annals of Tacitus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Oliver, J.H. 1941, 'The Sacred *Gerusia*'. *Hesperia Supplement*, Vol. 6, pp.1-212.

Osinsky, P. and Eloranta, J. 'Comparative Historical Analysis: Some Insights from Political Transitions of the First Half of the Twentieth Century', *Research in Economic Affairs*, pp.1-21.

Osgood, J. 2011, *Claudius Caesar: Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Osgood, J. 2012, 'Suetonius and the Succession to Augustus,' in A Gibson (ed), *The Julio-Claudian Succession: Reality and Perception of the 'Augustan Model'*, Leiden, Brill, pp.19-40.

Pape, M. 1975, *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom. Von der Eroberung von Syrakus bis in augusteische Zeit*, Hamburg.

Parker, H. 2013, 'Loyal Slaves and Loyal Wives: The Crisis of the Outsider-Within and Roman *Exemplum* Literature,' in S.R. Joshel and S. Murnaghan (eds), *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations*, London, Routledge.

Parkin, T. 2003, *Old Age in The Roman World*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press.

Paschalis, M. 2006, Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and Petronius' *Satyricon*, *Ancient Narrative Supplements*, Vol.12, pp.103-112.

Payne, M.J. 1984, *Areatas Eneken: Honours to Romans and Italians in Greece 260-27BC*. Michigan State (diss).

Park, R.E. 1950, *Race and Culture*, Illinois, The Free Press.

Patterson, C. 1985, 'Not Worth the Rearing: The Causes of Infant Exposure in Ancient Greece,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 115 pp. 103-123.

Paulus. H. 1905, *Itinerarium Germanise, Gallia, Anglia, Italia. Norinbergae*, 161 2. Translated by Lord Orford, New York, John Lane Company.

Pazanelli, R. Schmidt, E. Brinkmann, V. *et al.* 2008 'The Color of Life: Polychromy' in *Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present*, New York, Getty Publications.

Peppas-Delmousou, D. 1979, 'A Statue Base for Augustus', *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 100, pp.125-132.

Peretti, B.W. 2012, *The Leading Man: Hollywood and the Presidential Image*, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press.

Pettinger, A. 2012, *The Republic in Danger: Drusus Libo and the Succession of Tiberius*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Piper, D. 1958, 'The Contemporary Portraits of Oliver Cromwell', *The Walpole Society*, Vol.34, pp.27-41.

Planter, S.B. and Ashby, T. 1929, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Pollard, A. F. 1915, *History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth I*, Reading, McIntosh Press.

Pollard, N. 2010, 'The Roman Army', in D. Potter (ed), *A Companion to The Roman Empire*, Oxford. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.206-228.

Pollini, J.1987, *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar*, New York, Fordham University Press.

Pollini, J.1993, 'Man or God: Divine Assimilations and Imitation' in K. A. Raafaub and M. Toher (eds), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley, University of California Press, pp.334-364.

Pollini, J. 1993, 'The Gemma Augustea: Ideology, Rhetorical Imagery, and the Creation of a Dynastic Narrative', in P. J. Holiday (ed), *Narrative Event in Ancient Art*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.258-298.

Pollini, J. 2005, 'A New Marble Head of Tiberius: Portrait Typology and Ideology.' *Antike Kunst*, 48. Jahrg, pp. 55-72.

Pollini, J. 2012, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion, and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Pollini, J. 2020, 'The Image of Caligula: Myth and Reality', in P. Schertz and B. Frischer (eds) *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, Leiden, Brill, pp.70-90.

Pollitt. J.J. 1974, *The Ancient View of Greek Art*, New Haven. Cornell University Press.

Pollitt. J.J. 1988, *Art in The Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Pollitt, J.J. 1989, *The Art of Ancient Greece*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Poulsen, F. 1951, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the NY Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen., Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Poulsen, V. 1946, 'Studies in Julio-Claudian Iconography', *Acta Arch.* Vol. 17, pp.1-48.

Poulsen, V.1958, 'Portraits of Caligula', *Acta Arch.* Vol.29, pp.175-90.

Poulsen, V. 1973, *Les Portraits Romains: République et Dynastie Julienne. Volume I. Texte*, Copenhagen.

Pressman, M. 2013, 'Ambivalent Accomplices: How the Press Handled FDR's Disability and How FDR Handled the Press', *The Journal of the Historical Society.* Vol. 13, pp.274-413.

Price, S. 1984, *Rituals and Power: The Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Purcell, N. 1986, 'Livia and the Womanhood of Rome', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Vol. 212, pp.78-105.

Purcell, N. 2009, 'Livia and the Womanhood of Rome', in J. Edmondson (ed), *Augustus*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, pp.78-105.

Quigley, D. 2005, 'Introduction: The Character of Kingship', in (ed) D. Quigley, *The Character of Kingship*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.1-25.

Raymond, J. 1997, 'An Eyewitness to King Cromwell', *History Today*, Vol.47, pp.35-41.

Reay, B. 2003. 'Some Addressees of Virgil's Georgics and Their Audience'. *Vergilius* Vol. 49, pp.17-41.

Renan, D. 2020, 'The President's Two Bodies', *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 120, pp.1119-1214.

Renan, D. 2020, 'Mazars, Vance and the President's Two Bodies', *Lawfare*.

Richmond, J. A. 1981, 'Doubtful Work Ascribed to Ovid', *ANRW II* pp. 2773-2782.

Richter, G.M.A. 1955, *Ancient Italy*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Richter, G.M.A. 1962, 'How Were the Roman Copies of Greek Portraits Made?' *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archdologischen Instituts, Romische Abteilung*, Vol.69, pp.52-58.

Reynolds, J. 1982, *Aphrodisias and Rome: Documents from the Excavation of the Theatre at Aphrodisias* Conducted by Professor Kenan T. Erim, Together with Some Related Texts, *Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies*.

Rice, J.E. 2000, 'The Emperor with the Shaking Head: Claudius' Movement Disorder', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 93, pp.198-201.

Ridgway, B. 1984, 'Introduction' in B.Ridgway (ed), *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: the Problem of the Originals*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Ripollès, P.P. et al, 2015, 'Roman Provincial Coinage', *Consolidated Literary Supplement*: 1-3.

- Rogin, M.P. 1979, 'The King's Two Bodies: Abraham Lincoln, Richard Nixon, and Presidential Self-Sacrifice', *The Massachusetts Review*, Vol. 20, pp.553-573.
- Roosevelt, F. D. 1950, *His Personal Letters: Volume 1: 1928-1945* E. Roosevelt (ed), New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce.
- Roosevelt, J. and Shalett, S. 1959, *Affectionately, F.D.R. A Son's Story of a Lonely Man*. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Rothe, U. 2020, *The Toga and Roman Identity*, London, Bloomsbry.
- Roth, L. M. 1993, *Understanding Architecture: Its Elements, History and Meaning*, London, Westview Press.
- Roth, J. and Roth, J.P. 1999, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War: 264BC-AD235*, Leiden, Brill.
- Rowan, C. 2013, 'Imagining the Golden Age: the Coinage of Antoninus Pius', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol.81, 211-46.
- Rowan, C. 2014, 'Iconography in Colonial Contexts. The Provincial Coinage of the Late Republic in Corinth and Dyme' in N.Elkins and S.Krimnicek (eds), *Art in the Round: New Approaches to Coin Iconography*, Tübingen, Verlag Leidorf GmbH, pp.147-158.
- Rowan, C. 2019, *From Caesar to Augustus: c.49BC-AD14 Using Coins as Sources*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Rowe, G. 2013, 'Reconsidering the *Auctoritas* of Augustus', *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 103, pp.1-15.
- Rudich, V. 1993, *Political Dissidence Under Nero. The Price of Dissimulation*, London, Routledge.
- Rundell, W. 1979, 'Cicero and Clodius: the Question of Credibility', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, pp.301-328.
- Russell, D.A. 1973, *Plutarch*, London, Duckworth.
- Russell, J. 2020, 'Boris Johnson is Not Cut Out for this Crisis', *New York Times*.
- [Ruth, T. DeC. 1916, *The Problem of Claudius*, John Hopkins \(diss\).](#)

- Ryberg, S.I. 1949, 'The Procession of the *Ara Pacis*', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. 19, pp.77-101.
- Ryberg, S.I. 1955, 'Rights of The State Religion in Roman Art', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. 22, pp.65-89.
- Samuel, A.E.1993, 'The Ptolemies and the Ideology of Kingship,' in P. Green (ed), *Hellenistic History and Culture*, Berkeley, University of California Press, pp.168–210.
- Sanford, E.M. 1937, 'Contrasting Views of the Roman Empire', *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 58, pp. 437-456.
- Schlesinger Jr.A. Roosevelt, C. *et al*, 2005: 'FDR's Wheelchair', *The Wilson Quarterly*, Vol. 29, pp.7-11.
- Schoonhoven, H. (ed.), 1992, *The Pseudo-Ovidian Ad Liviam de Morte Drusi (Consolatio ad Liviam, Epicedium Drusi). A Critical Text with Introduction and Commentary*. Groningen, Egbert Forsten Publishers.
- Schramm, P.E. 1937, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. L.G.W. Legg, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Schrijvers P. H. 1988, 'A propos de la datation de la Consolatio ad Liviam', *Mnemosyne* 41, pp.381- 384.
- Schulte, R. 2006, 'Conceptual Approaches to the Queen's Body', in R. Schulte (ed) *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World*, New York, Berghahn Books, pp.1-19.
- Scullard, H.H. 6th edition, 1982, *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133BC-AD68*, London, Routledge.
- Scruton, R. 2009, *Beauty*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Seager, R. 2002, *Pompey: A Political Biography*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell.
- Seager, R. 2013, 'Perceptions of the *Domus Augusta*, AD 4-24', in A. Gibson (ed), *The Julio-Claudian Succession*, Leiden, Brill, pp.41-57.
- Sear, F. 2006, *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Sebesta, J.L. 2002, 'Women's Costume and Feminine Civic Morality in Augustan Rome', *Gender and History*, Vol. 9, pp.529-541.

- Severy, B. 2003, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, New York, Routledge.
- Sharpe, K. 1992, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Sharpe, K. 1998, 'An Image Doting Rabble' The Failure of Republican Culture in Seventeenth Century,' in K. Sharpe and S. N. Zwicker (eds), In *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution*, Berkeley, University of California Press, pp.25-56.
- Sharpe, K. 2000, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth Century Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Shepsle, K.A. 1992, 'Congress Is a "They," Not an "It": Legislative Intent as Oxymoron', *International Rev. Law. and Economics*, Vol. 12, pp. 239-256.
- Sherwood, R. 1989, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, London, Willingham Press.
- Slater, D and Ziblatt, D. 2013, 'The Enduring Indispensability of the Controlled Comparison.' *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 46, pp.1301-27.
- Small, J. P. 1982, 'Verism and the Vernacular: Late Roman Republican Portraiture and Catullus', *Parola del Passato* 37, pp.47-71.
- Smith, R.R.R. 1981, 'Greeks, Foreigners, and Roman Republican Portraits', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 71, pp. 24-38.
- Smith. R.R.R. 1987, 'The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,' *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol.77, pp.88-138.
- Smith, R.R.R. 1988, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Smith, R. R. R. 1996, 'Typology and diversity in the portraits of Augustus'. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*. Vol.9, pp.30–47.
- Snell, B.1953, *The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought*, trans.T.G. Rosenmayer, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.
- Spielvogel, J.J. 1991, *Western Civilisation*, St. Paul, West Publishing Co.
- Spencer, D. 2002, *The Roman Alexander: Reading a Cultural Myth*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.

- Squire, M. 2011, *The Art of the Body: Antiquity and its Legacy*, London, I B Tauris & Co Ltd.
- Starr, R.J. 2010, 'Augustus as *Pater Patriae* and Patronage Decrees', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bd. 172, pp. 296-298.
- Stein, S. 2004, 'The President's Two Bodies: Staging and Restaging of FDR and the New Deal Body Politic', *American Art*, Vol. 18, pp. 32-57.
- Stemmer, K. 1988, ed. *Marc Aurel und seine Zeit. Das Römische Reich im Umbruch*, Berlin.
- Stevenson, T. 1998, 'The Problem with Nude Honorific Statuary and Portraits in Late Republican and Augustan Rome', *Greece and Rome*, Vol. 45, pp. 45-69.
- Stevenson, T. 2007, 'Roman Coins and Refusals of the Title *Pater Patriae*' *The Numismatic Chronicle*. Vo. 167, pp. 119-141.
- Stewart, A. 1979, *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, London, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.
- Stewart, P. 2003, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Stewart, P. 2008, *The Social History of Roman Art*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Stewart, P. 2012, 'The Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius' in M. Van Ackeren (ed), *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 264-278.
- Strong, E. 1937, 'Terra Mater or Italia?' *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 27, pp. 114-126.
- Strong, R. 1963, 'Elizabethan Painting: An Approach Through Inscriptions – III Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 105, pp. 150-159.
- Strong, R. 1973, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theatre of Power*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin.
- Strong, R. 1977, *The Cult of the Virgin Queen*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- Strong, R. 1983, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520-1640*, London, Victoria & Albert Museum.
- Strong, R. 1987, *Gloriana: Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, London, Thames & Hudson Ltd.

Stuart, M. 1936, 'The Date of the Inscription of Claudius on the Arch of Ticinum,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 40, pp. 314-322.

Stuart, M. 1938, *The Portraiture of Claudius – Preliminary Studies XII*, New York, Columbia University Press.

Stuart, M. 1939, 'How Were Imperial Portraits Distributed Throughout the Empire?' *AJA* 43, pp.601-617.

Stubbley, P. 2019, Boris Johnson: The Most Infamous Lies and Untruths by the Conservative Leadership Candidate, *The Independent*. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics> [date accessed 23.6.2020]

Suhr, E.G. 1955, 'A Portrait of Claudius', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 59, pp. 319-322.

Swift, E. H. 1921, 'A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth. III. Gaius and Lucius Caesar.' *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 25, pp. 337–363.

Syme, R. 1939, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Syme, R. 1964, *Sallust*, Berkley, University of California Press.

Syme, R. 1986, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Syme, R. 1982, 'Tacitus Some sources of His Information', *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 72 pp. 68-82.

Tanner, J. 2000, 'Portraits, Power and Patronage in the Late Republic', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 90, pp.18-30.

Tebbel, J. and Watts, S.M. 1986, *The Press and The Presidency: From George Washington to Ronald Reagan*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Thackery, W.M. 1868, *What Makes the King? From "Rex-Ludovicus-Ludovicus Rex: An Historical Study*. London, Smith Elder.

The Stuttering Society, 2021, <https://www.stutteringhelp.org/content/singing-and-stuttering-what-we-know-0> [date accessed 16.01.2021].

Thompson, S. 1955-1958. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: a Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, Bloomington, University of Indiana Press.

Thompson, J.B. 1984, *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Page | 322

Thorne, M. 2011, 'Memoria Redux. Memory in Lucan,' in P. Asso (ed), *Brill's Companion to Lucan*, Leiden, Brill, pp. 363–383.

Thornton, M.E.K. 1971, 'Nero's New Deal', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 102, pp. 621-629.

Thornton, M.K. 1989, 'Nero's Quinquennium: The Ostian Connection', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 38, pp. 117-119.

Torelli M. 1982, *Typology and Structure in Roman Historical Reliefs*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Tortora, G. J. et al, 1990, *Principles of Anatomy and Physiology*, New York, John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Toynbee, J.M. 1942, 'Nero Artifex: The Apocolocyntosis Reconsidered', *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol 36, pp.83-93.

Toynbee, J. M. C. 1957, 'Portraits of Julius Caesar', *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 4, pp. 2–9.

Tougher, S. 2008, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*. London, Routledge.

Townend, G.B. 1967, 'Suetonius and His Influence,' in T. A. Dorey ed., *Latin Biography*, pp.79–111, London, Basic Books.

Tracy, J. 2014, *Lucan's Egyptian Civil War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Treggiari, S. 2005, 'Women in the Time of Augustus', in K. Gallinsky (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.130-151.

Trencsényi, B.2021, 'Comparisons, Transfers, Entanglements: A View From East Central Europe', in B. Trencsényi, C. Iordachi and Péter Apor, *The Rise of Comparative History*, Budapest, Central European University Press, pp.1-28.

Tuchelt, K. 1979, *Fruhe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien: Beiträge zur archiologischen Überlieferung aus der Zeit der Republik und des Augustus*. Tiub.

- Valente, C. 2003, *The Theory and Practice of Revolt in Medieval England*, London, Routledge.
- Valente, W. et al, 2002, 'Caveat Cenans', *The American Journal of Medicine*, Vol.112, pp.392-398.
- Van Der Bloom, H. 2014, 'Character Attack and Invective Speech in the Roman Republic: Cicero as Target in Character Assassination Throughout the Ages', in M. Icks and E. Shiraev (eds.) *Character Assassination Throughout the Ages*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp.37-59.
- Van Lommel, K. 2015, 'Heroes and Outcasts: Ambiguous Attitudes Towards Impaired and Disfigured Roman Veterans', *Classical World*, Vol. 109, pp. 91-117.
- Van Overmeire, S. 2012, 'According to the Habit of Foreign Kings: Nero, Ruler Ideology and the Hellenistic Monarchs', *Latomus*, Vol. 3, pp. 753-779.
- Varner, E.R. 2004, *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture*: Leiden, Brill.
- Vine, J. 2019, *Jeremy Vine: My Boris Johnson Story*, <https://reaction.life/jeremy-vine-my-boris-story/> [date accessed 23.6.20].
- Vlassopoulos, K. 2014, 'Which Comparative Histories for Ancient Historians?' *Synthesis*, 21, pp.2-14.
- Vout, C. 2013, 'Tiberius and the Invention Succession', in A. Gibson (ed), *The Julio-Claudian Succession: Reality and Perception of the Augustan Model*, Leiden, Brill, pp.59-77.
- Wace, H. 1905, 'Claudius and his Image', *Journal of the British and American Archaeological Society of Rome* Vol.3, 47.
- Walbank F.W. 2002, *Polybius, Rome, and the Hellenistic World: Essays and Reflections*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Walker, S. 1995, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, London, Trustees of the British Museum Press.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1983, *Suetonius: The Scholar and His Caesars*, London, Duckworth.
- Walters, J. 1997, 'Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought', in J.P. Hallett and M.B. Skinner (eds), *Roman Sexualities*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, pp.29-47,

Walters, S. 2020, Why Boris Johnson's Popularity Ratings Remain So High, *The Spectator*, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/why-boris-johnson-s-popularity-ratings-remain-so-high> [date accessed 24.6.2020].

Walzer, M. 1967, 'On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 82, pp. 191-204.

Wardle, D. 1994, 'Suetonius' Life of Caligula', *Latomus* 25, pp. 203-341.

Wardman, A.E. 1967, 'Descriptions of Personal Appearance in Plutarch and Suetonius, the Use of Statues as Evidence', *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 17, pp. 414-420.

Warmington, B. H. 1969, *Nero: Reality and Legend*, London, Chatto & Windus.

Weber, M. 1922, *Economy and Society*, London, Bedminster Press.

Weil, R. 1999, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England 1680-1714*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Weinstock, S. 1971, *Divus Julius*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Wellington, R. 2017, 'Antoine Benoist's Wax Portraits of Louis XIV', *Journal 18*, Vol. 3 <https://www.journal18.org/1421>. DOI: [10.30610/3.2017.6](https://doi.org/10.30610/3.2017.6) [date accessed 15.4.22].

Weiss, P. 2000, 'The Cities and Money', in C. Ando (ed), *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

Whitelock, A. 2013, *Elizabeth's Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen's Court*, London, Bloomsbury Publishing.

Wickham, C. 2009, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', in P. Skinner (ed) *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History. The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, Begijnhof, Brepols Publishers, pp. 5-28

Wilson, L.M. 1938, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press.

Wilson, D. 2009, *A Brief History of Henry VIII: King Reformer and Tyrant*, London, Robinson.

Winkes, R. 1996, 'Livia Portrait and Propaganda', in D. Kleiner, S. Matheson, (eds.) *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. 29-42.

Winter, I. 1996, 'Sex, Rhetoric, and the Public Monument': in Natalie Kampen (ed), *The Alluring Body of Naram-Sin of Agade: Sexuality in Ancient Art*, New York, Cambridge University Press, pp.11-26.

Wiseman, T.P. 1971, *New Men in The Roman Senate 139B.C.-AD.14*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Wood, S. 1999, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Image 40 BC- AD68*, Leiden, Brill.

Woodman, A.J. 1989, 'Tacitus' Obituary of Tiberius', *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 39, pp. 197-205.

Wolters, R. 2002, 'Gaius und Lucius Caesar als designierte Konsuln und principes iuventutis.' *Die lex Valeria Cornelia und RIC I, 205ff, Chiron 32*: pp. 297-323.

Woytek, B.E. 2014, 'Heads and Busts on Roman Coins. Some Remarks on the Morphology of Numismatic Portraiture', *Revue Numismatique*, Vol.171, pp.45-71.

Yavetz, Z. 1969, *Plebs and Princeps*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Yavetz, Z. 1984, 'The Res Gestae and Augustus' Public Image,' in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp.1-36.

Zanker, P. and Vierneisel, K. *et al.* 1979, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*, Herrscherbild und Politik in Kaiserlichen Rom. Munich.

Zanker, P. 1988, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor University of Michigan Press.

Zanker, P. 2009, 'The Irritating Statues and Contradictory Portraits of Julius Caesar.' In M. Griffin (ed), *A Companion to Julius Caesar*, pp.288-315.