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“Princes” and Barbarians on the Ara Pacis

CHARLES BRIAN ROSE

Abstract

The two children in foreign dress on the Ara Pacis Augustae are usually identified as Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the sons of Agrippa who were adopted by Augustus in 17 B.C. They are here reidentified as barbarians from eastern and western regions of the Empire who were brought to Rome in 13 B.C., the year in which the altar was voted. The child on the south frieze and the woman standing behind him are identified as Bosporan royalty directly connected to Agrippa's political activities in the East between 16 and 13 B.C.; a Gallic identity is proposed for the child on the north frieze, and he is associated with Augustus's reorganization of Gaul and Spain during the same period. Together these children functioned as illustrations of the *Pax Augusta* brought about through the combined efforts of Augustus and Agrippa.

It is also argued that two youths on the north frieze are identifiable as Gaius and Lucius. It seems as if the designers of the altar deliberately placed the two boys on the north side and Augustus and Agrippa on the south in order to avoid the problems entailed in grouping them with either their biological or natural father. The appearance of Gaius can be compared with the *camillus*, here identified as Iulus, who stands before Aeneas in the Sac-

rifice at Lavinium relief. The presentation of Augustus and Gaius as priest and *camillus* is evocative of the figures of Aeneas and Iulus performing the same actions on the altar.*

The year 13 B.C. marked the return of Agrippa to Rome after his three-year campaign in the East as well as the *adventus* of Augustus from his reorganization of Gaul and Spain.¹ Peace had ostensibly been established in both eastern and western regions of the Empire as a result of the campaigns of both commanders, and their military partnership was emphasized on gold and silver coins struck at the mint of Rome in 13 and 12 B.C.² These included an issue with portraits of Augustus and Agrippa on the obverse and reverse respectively, and also coins of Augustus with a reverse type of two togate men seated on a platform that seems to refer to their joint administrative and political activities. These numismatic issues were, however, balanced by another issue that was specifically dynastic in intent. In 12 B.C. denarii

* Earlier versions of this article were presented in an abridged form at the Canadian Cultural Institute in Rome in 1986, and at the 1986 AIA meetings in San Antonio (*AJA* 91 [1987] 280). I would like to thank the following scholars for their comments and assistance, although they do not necessarily agree with my arguments: Richard Brilliant, Marleen Flory, Barbara Kellum, Diana E.E. Kleiner, Fred S. Kleiner, Gerhard Koepfel, John Pollini, Louise Rice, James Russell, and Russell Scott. I am especially indebted to Ann Kuttner for her generous advice and perceptive criticisms.

The following abbreviations have been used:

- Fullerton M. Fullerton, "The Domus Augusti in Imperial Iconography of 13–12 B.C.," *AJA* 89 (1985) 473–83.
- Gajdukević V. Gajdukević, *Das bosporanische Reich* (Berlin 1971).
- Giard J. Giard, *Le monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon: des origines au règne de Caligula* (Wetteren 1983).
- Kaiser Augustus *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (Berlin 1988).
- Koepfel G. Koepfel, "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit V: Ara Pacis Augustae," *BonnJbb* 187 (1987) 101–57.
- La Rocca E. La Rocca, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome 1983).
- Moretti G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome 1948).
- Pollini 1978 J. Pollini, *Studies in Augustan Historical Reliefs* (Diss. Berkeley 1978).
- Pollini 1987 J. Pollini, *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar* (New York 1987).

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- Roddaz J.M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (BEFAR 253, Rome 1984).
- Rostovtzeff M. Rostovtzeff, "Queen Dynamis of Bosphorus," *JHS* 39 (1919) 88–109.
- Simon 1967 E. Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Greenwich 1967).
- Simon 1986 E. Simon, *Augustus* (Munich 1986).
- Torelli M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor 1982).

¹ Dio Cass. 54.25.1–4; 28.1.

² Fullerton 474, 475, 480; *BMCRE* I, 21, no. 103; 22, no. 107; 23–24, nos. 110–117; 25, no. 121. The issues of 13–12 B.C. are convincingly dated by H. Mattingly (*BMCRE* I, xcvi) and Fullerton to 13–12 B.C., but there is some confusion about the years to which each group of moneyers should be assigned. Both scholars date the issues of C. Antistius Reginus, C. Sulpicius Platorinus, and C. Marius Tro. to 13 B.C., while the issues of L. Caninius Gallus, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, and L. Cornelius Lentulus are assigned to 12 B.C. This arrangement must, however, be reversed. Each of the obverse types from the first group (Fullerton 474–75), features a *lituus* in the obverse field for the first time, and the reverse types consist of a) sacrificing priests, b) *simpulum*, *lituus*, tripod, and patera, c) a priest driving a yoke of oxen, and d) a veiled priest holding a *simpulum*. These types deal directly with priests and sacrificial implements and can most logically be associated with Augustus's elevation to the rank of *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C., rather than 13, when the office was still held, if in name only, by Lepidus. Fullerton and Mattingly's Group I should therefore be moved to 12 B.C. and Group II to 13 B.C.

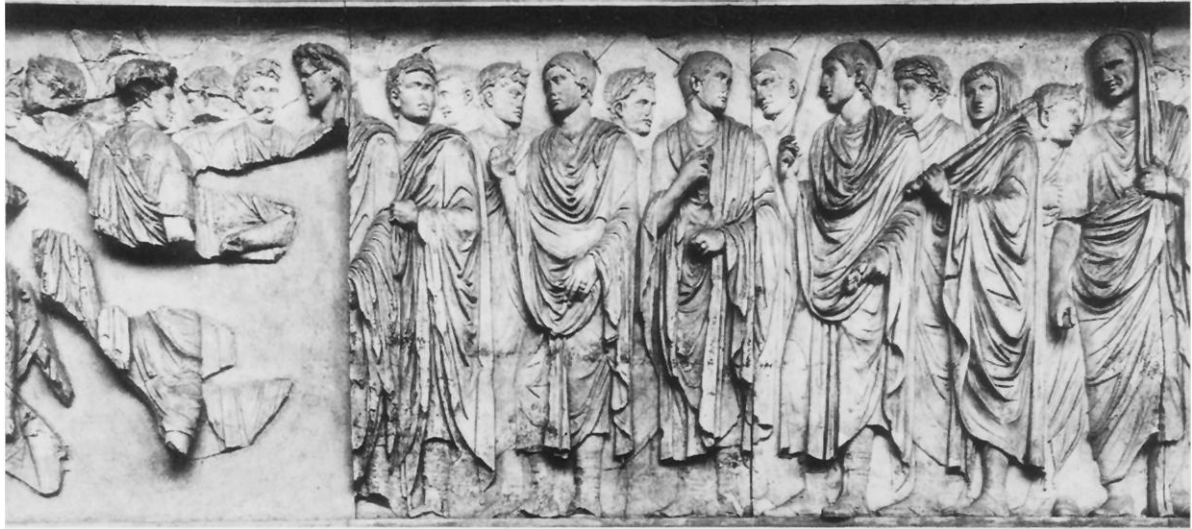


Fig. 1. Ara Pacis, south frieze (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 72.2400)

of Augustus were issued with a reverse type of Julia, his daughter, set beneath a *corona civica* and flanked by portraits of her sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar.³ The *corona civica* had been awarded to Augustus in 27 B.C. and was placed above the entrance to his house on the Palatine;⁴ it seems to have been used in this scene to highlight the position of the two boys within the Julian family and to emphasize Julia as the transitional link between them and the emperor.⁵

The themes advertised in the numismatic issues of 13–12 B.C.—triumph, the partnership of Augustus and Agrippa, and dynastic succession—were repeated and amplified in the decoration of the Ara Pacis Augustae, which was voted in 13 B.C. and completed four years later in 9 B.C.⁶ The relationship among these themes has not, I believe, been sufficiently ex-

plored, and I intend to show that a proper understanding of these issues is directly related to the presentation of children on the altar. In addition to serving as illustrations of Augustan social policy and legislation,⁷ the children were used to signify the establishment and future maintenance of the *Pax Augusta*.

The Ara Pacis is the first known monument in the city of Rome in which the imperial family was represented. The majority of the imperial family members on the Ara Pacis are so idealized that identification based on physiognomy alone is extremely difficult, but individualized portrait types have been supplied for two men on the south processional frieze who can be identified as Augustus and Agrippa (fig. 1, sixth from left and far right, respectively).⁸ Their connec-

³ *BMCRE* I, 21–22, nos. 106, 108, 109; Fullerton 475. The moneyer was C. Marius Tro. For the placement of this series in the year 12 B.C. see supra n. 2. Another denarius struck by the same moneyer (*BMCRE* I, 21, nos. 104–105) contains a reverse type of Diana that is commonly identified as a portrait of Julia in the guise of the goddess (Fullerton 476). The features of this numismatic portrait are not individualized nor does the coiffure match the other numismatic and sculptured portraits of Julia. There is absolutely no reason why the type should be regarded as anything other than a representation of Diana.

⁴ Dio Cass. 53.16.4; A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (Bonn 1973) 12.

⁵ This coin was preceded by an issue in 13 B.C. bearing a reverse type of the *corona civica* set above the house of Augustus (*BMCRE* I, pl. 4.15). In viewing the reverse of this coin in comparison with that of Julia and her sons struck in the following year, one sees that the position of the *corona civica* remained constant yet the image of the actual house

of Augustus has been replaced by the portraits of his daughter and adopted sons, the “dynastic household,” in a sense, of the emperor. For the dating of these coins, see supra n. 2.

⁶ For the basic bibliography on the Ara Pacis, see S. Settis, “Die Ara Pacis,” in *Kaiser Augustus* 400–26; La Rocca; Torelli 27–61; Pollini 1987, 21–28, 1978, 75–172, and “Ahenobarbi, Appuleii and Some Others on the Ara Pacis,” *AJA* 90 (1986) 453–60; D.E.E. Kleiner, “The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Greek Sources, Roman Derivatives, and Augustan Social Policy,” *MEFRA* 90 (1978) 753–85; Simon 1967; I. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (Rome 1955) 38–48; Moretti.

⁷ For the connection between Augustan social policy and the representation of children on the Ara Pacis, see Kleiner (supra n. 6) 772–76, and “Private Portraiture in the Age of Augustus,” in R. Winkes ed., *The Age of Augustus* (Providence 1985) 116–18.

⁸ For the portraiture of Augustus, see B. Schmalz, “Zum



Fig. 2. Ara Pacis, south frieze, detail: Agrippa (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 37.1734)

Augustus-Bildnis Typus Primaporta," *RM* 93 (1986) 211–43; K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in der Capitolinischen Museen und der anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*, I: *Kaiser und Prinzenbildnisse* (Mainz 1985) 1–10, nos. 1–9; A.K. Massner, *Bildnisgleichung: Untersuchungen zur Entstehungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte der Augustus Porträts 43 v. Chr.–68 n. Chr.* (*Das römische Herrscherbild* 4, Berlin 1982) 6–41. For the portraiture of Agrippa see Roddaz 613–33, and F. Johansen, "Ritratti marmorei e bronzei di Marco Vipsanio Agrippa," *AnalRom* 6 (1971) 17–48. There has been considerable discussion concerning the object Augustus held in his hand. Pollini 1978, 87–89, has advanced the theory that the emperor originally held a *lituus*, and this proposal has been looked on favorably by Simon 1986, 38; P. Zanker, *Augustus and the Power of Images* (Ann Arbor 1988) 121; and La Rocca 38. There is no evidence, however, that the *lituus* was ever carried openly in a public procession; it seems rather to have

tion to the political significance of the altar has frequently been misunderstood, on the basis of two serious misidentifications. Gaius Caesar has traditionally been identified as a boy in eastern dress on the south side who stands next to Agrippa and pulls on his toga (figs. 2–4).⁹ In spite of the unusual and thoroughly non-Roman costume worn by the youth, scholars have consistently argued that this identification is one of the safest, since the close proximity of the boy to Agrippa implies the connection of a father to his son, and Gaius would logically have been positioned next to his father. As a result of this identification, a smaller boy in similar garb on the northern side of the altar has been identified as Gaius's brother Lucius (figs. 5, 6). The costumes of the two youths, however, are those of barbarian children, and they are directly related to the military exploits of Augustus and Agrippa.

THE BARBARIAN ON THE SOUTH FRIEZE

Since scholars have traditionally assumed that the child next to Agrippa represents Gaius, they have not really analyzed his clothing and portrait type. An

been used by the *pontifex maximus* specifically in the context of an ongoing *tripudium* (R. von Schaewen, *Römische Opfergeräte, ihre Verwendung im Kultus und in der Kunst* [Berlin 1940] 66–68; F. Dick, *Lituus und Galeris* [Diss. Vienna 1973]). It is clear from the appearance of Augustus's hand, however, that he did hold an attenuated object that was separately attached, and therefore undoubtedly made of bronze. A survey of the participants on both the northern and southern processional friezes indicates that each person with his or her hand outstretched in the same manner as that of Augustus carried the laurel branch, especially appropriate for a *supplicatio*. Laurel would be the most likely object to restore in the hand of the emperor, and its bronze appearance would have rendered it the most prominent of the branches carried in the procession. In addition, the members of the imperial family who carry laurel on the Ara Pacis are shown with two branches rather than one. If two laurels were also placed in the hand of Augustus, which seems logical, then a clear connection would have been established between the *Domus Augusti* and the two laurel trees planted in front of the Palatine house of Augustus by the Senate in 27 B.C. (see Alföldi [supra n. 4]). It is also noteworthy that coins struck from the mint of Rome in 13 B.C. featured a reverse type of the two laurel trees flanking the house of Augustus (Fullerton 475).

⁹ This identification appears in most of the studies on the Ara Pacis: Zanker (supra n. 8) 215–18; La Rocca 24–31; Torelli 49–50; Pollini 1978, 106–107 (identification since given up); Moretti 270–71. There are few scholars who have identified this boy and the foreign child on the north side as barbarians. Simon 1967, 18 and 21, proposed eastern princes as a possibility; W. Gerke-Voss, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kinderporträts* (Hamburg 1969) 140; Kleiner (supra n. 6) 757, n. 15; and Pollini 1987, 27, postulated that the two youths were Gauls.

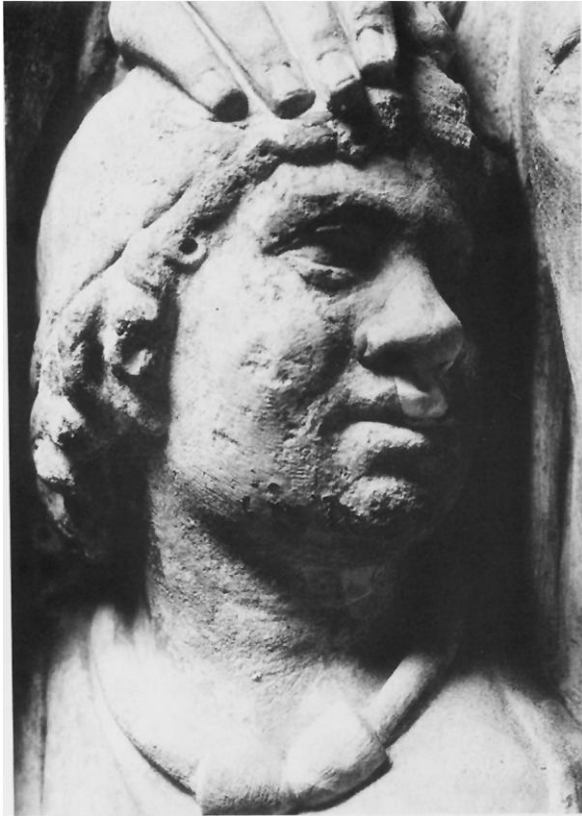


Fig. 3. Ara Pacis, south frieze, detail: Eastern barbarian (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 37.1738)

examination of the child's appearance, together with that of the woman standing behind him (fig. 2), enables one to fix their geographical provenance fairly precisely. The portrait itself (fig. 3) does not in any respect resemble images of Gaius but rather that of an eastern prince:¹⁰ the diadem wrapped tightly around his forehead clearly marks him as the member of a royal family and the hairstyle, which features a series of fairly long corkscrew locks reaching down to his shoulders, is paralleled in portraits of eastern kings, specifically those of the Bosphorus and Parthia.¹¹ The shoes also are distinctively eastern: the tongue of the shoe has been pulled up and over the front, and long laces hang down at the sides. The same type of shoe is worn by the Phrygian god Attis as well as by generic eastern barbarians with Phrygian caps.¹² The

¹⁰ For the iconography of Gaius Caesar see Pollini 1987, 41–75.

¹¹ Parthia: Tiraios II and Attambelus I (R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* [Oxford 1988] pl. 78.6–7); Bosphorus: Asander (Smith, pl. 77.17) and Rhescuporis II (*BMC Pontus and Bosphorus*, pl. 12.3 and p. 54, no. 1).

¹² For the shoes of Attis see *LIMC* III, 1, nos. 46, 90, 115, 117, 216, 261, 262; for the Oriental barbarians see R.M.



Fig. 4. Ara Pacis, south frieze, detail: Eastern queen (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 32.1737)

torque necklace that he wears would be appropriate for either an eastern or western barbarian, but considering the clear eastern components of the youth's dress it seems likely that the torque is used here as an indication of eastern provenance.¹³

Behind the child appears a woman in low relief who rests her hand on the child's head and looks down toward him (figs. 2, 4). She also wears a royal diadem and is consequently identifiable as an eastern queen, yet the diadem is bound at the top of the forehead, rather than circling the hair, and it thus differs from the traditional practice. Such a placement of a diadem or fillet is paralleled only in representations of Dionysus, Ariadne, and the maenads, and it seems as if the designers wanted to indicate that this queen's kingdom or family was in some way connected to Dionysus.¹⁴ These two figures are therefore marked as eastern royalty, probably a mother and son, judging

Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren* (Heidelberg 1986) catalog entries KO 1, 2, 3, 9, and 11.

¹³ On the subject of torques, see Moretti 270–71; G. Beccati, *Oreficerie antiche* (Rome 1955) 104–105; *DarSag* 5, 375–78; *RE* 2.12 (1937) 1800–1805, s.v. torques (E. Schuppe).

¹⁴ A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst* (Hösel 1968) 114–18.

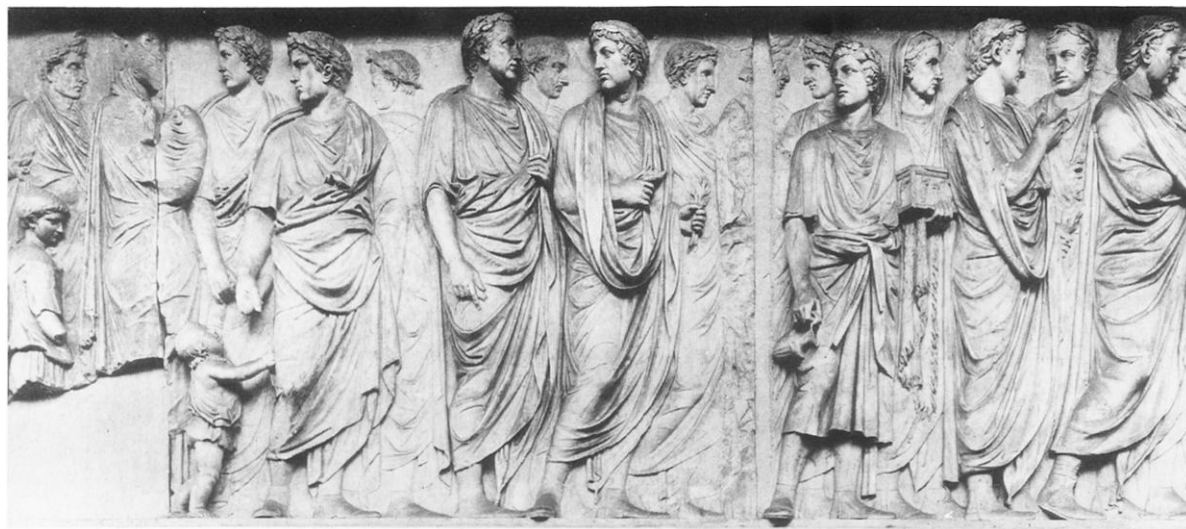


Fig. 5. Ara Pacis, north frieze (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 72.2402)



Fig. 6. Ara Pacis, north frieze, detail: Western barbarian (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 37.1727)

¹⁵ For Agrippa's travels in the East, see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 476–79; Roddaz 419–75; H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum* (Stuttgart 1986) 163–66.

¹⁶ The exact date of Agrippa's return to Rome from the East is uncertain. The accounts of Josephus (*AJ* 16.3.3.[86]) and Dio Cassius (54.28.1) indicate that Agrippa spent the winter of 14/13 B.C. on the island of Lesbos after which he returned to Rome with Antipater, the son of Herod; at the beginning of winter in 13 B.C. he set out to command the armies in Pannonia. It is likely that he was present in Rome

by their interaction. Both of them are overlapped by the body of Agrippa and the boy grasps the folds of the commander's toga, thereby establishing an unmistakable link between the two. The historical identities of these two eastern figures are difficult to establish, although an investigation of Agrippa's activities prior to the *constitutio* of the Ara Pacis in 13 B.C. provides a potential solution.

In late 17 or early 16 B.C., after having received a five-year renewal of his proconsular imperium and a grant of *tribunicia potestas* of equal duration, Agrippa and his wife Julia set out for a three-year tour of the Greek East;¹⁵ he returned to Rome in 13 B.C., probably at or around the same time Augustus arrived in Rome from Gaul.¹⁶ Many of the details of this tour are unknown, but it is clear from the accounts of Josephus and Dio Cassius that Agrippa's travels were fairly extensive, encompassing Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Judaea, and when Agrippa returned to Rome in 13 B.C. he brought with him Antipater, the eldest son of Herod the Great.¹⁷

One of the most important of Agrippa's activities during this period was his intervention in the affairs

at least by the end of June, 13 B.C., when his powers of *tribunicia potestas* and proconsular imperium were voted and renewed, respectively, along with those of Augustus: Roddaz 477, n. 1; M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa* (Geneva 1933) 122, 124, n. 1; P. Grenade, *Essai sur les origines du principat* (*BEFAR* 197, Paris 1961) 194; *RE* 9A1 (1961) 1266, s.v. Vipsanius (P. Hanslik).

¹⁷ Josephus, *AJ* 16.3.3; D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King* (London 1984) 10.

of the Cimmerian Bosphorus in 14 B.C., which is described in some detail by Dio Cassius:

And the revolt among the tribes of the Cimmerian Bosphorus was quelled. It seems that one Scribonius, who claimed to be a grandson of Mithridates [Eupator] and to have received the kingdom from Augustus after the death of Asander, married Asander's wife, named Dynamis, who was really the daughter of Pharnaces and the granddaughter of Mithridates and had been entrusted with the regency by her husband, and thus he was holding Bosphorus under his control. Agrippa, upon learning of this, sent against him Polemon, the king of that part of Pontus bordering on Cappadocia. Polemon found Scribonius no longer alive, for the people of Bosphorus, learning of his advance against them, had already put him to death; but when they resisted Polemon through fear that he might be allowed to reign over them, he engaged them in battle. But although he conquered them, he was unable to reduce them to submission until Agrippa came to Sinope with the purpose of conducting a campaign against them. Then they laid down their arms and were delivered up to Polemon; and the woman Dynamis became his wife, naturally not without the sanction of Augustus. For these successes sacrifices were offered in the name of Agrippa, but the triumph which was voted him was not celebrated.¹⁸

The marriage of Polemon and Dynamis effectively unified the kingdoms of Pontus and the Bosphorus, and the triumph voted to Agrippa by the Senate commemorated the apparent establishment of peace in the former kingdom of Mithridates.¹⁹ Our knowledge of Dynamis is not as complete as one would wish, but it is generally accepted that her union with Polemon lasted not much longer than a year;²⁰ in 13 or 12 B.C. Polemon married another woman named

Pythodoris, and there is no record of Dynamis in the area again until 8 B.C. when her monogram reappeared on Bosphoran coinage.²¹ After Polemon was killed by a neighboring tribe called "Aspurgiani," Dynamis resumed control of the Bosphoran kingdom and seems to have ruled until A.D. 7–8.²² The location of Dynamis between the breakup of her marriage in 13 B.C. and her reappearance in 8 B.C. has never been easy to explain. Rostovtzeff thought that she might have sought refuge with neighboring Sarmatian tribes although he could produce no documentation in support of this.²³ Another scenario is possible, one that has a direct bearing on the iconography of the Ara Pacis: she may have accompanied Agrippa to Rome in 13 B.C., like the son of Herod, and remained there until Polemon's death. The year that marks the beginning of her absence from the area coincides with the time when Agrippa left Asia Minor to return to Rome. Moreover, following her return to the Bosphorus, Dynamis honored the Augustan family in several significant ways. She dedicated three statues to Augustus and Livia as her saviors and benefactors and issued a series of gold staters bearing the portraits of Augustus and Agrippa; in addition, the city of Phanagoreia was renamed Agrippia.²⁴ The figures of the eastern queen and prince represented on the Ara Pacis may therefore be depictions of Queen Dynamis and her son, and their position next to Agrippa would consequently be explained by the fact that they were directly related to his activities in Asia Minor.²⁵

Such an identification would also explain the use of a Dionysian diadem for the Ara Pacis queen. Dynamis was the granddaughter of Mithridates Eupator, who

¹⁸ Dio Cass. 54.4–10, trans. E. Cary, Loeb edition, [1917] 1980.

¹⁹ Dio Cass. 54.24.7; Roddaz 463–68.

²⁰ The only extensive treatment of Dynamis has been that of Rostovtzeff. See also R.D. Sullivan, "Dynasts in Pontus," *ANRW II* 7.2 (1980) 919–20; Gajdukević 327–32; G. Macurdy, *Vassal Queens* (Baltimore 1937) 29–33.

²¹ Rostovtzeff 100–102; Gajdukević 327–32; E. Olshausen, "Pontus und Rom," *ANRW II* 7.2 (1980) 911; A. Barrett, *Historia* 27 (1978) 438; Roddaz 468; D. Kienast, *Augustus, Prinzeps und Monarch* (Darmstadt 1982) 281–82; *CAH X*, 266–70. The chronology of Polemon's marriage to Pythodoris has been disputed (Magie [supra n. 15] 1341, n. 32), but Rostovtzeff's analysis of the situation still seems the most convincing. For the marriage between Polemon and Pythodoris see Strabo 12.3.29.

²² Rostovtzeff 100–105.

²³ Rostovtzeff 103. Rostovtzeff 88–95, pl. 3 has convincingly argued that a bronze female portrait bust found in the Crimea represents a member of the Bosphoran royal family. The woman depicted wears a diadem and a Phrygian cap decorated with stars, and her hairstyle is composed of long

corkscrew curls that fall to the shoulders. Rostovtzeff's attribution of this portrait to Dynamis is, however, questionable. The features and hairstyle of the portrait are much closer to the coin portraits of Gepaepeyris, daughter of Cotys VIII and Antonia Tryphaena (*BMC Pontus-Bosphorus* 51 and pl. 11.8). The bust is now in the Hermitage, inv. no. 1726; G. Sokolov, *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast* (Leningrad 1974) 117, no. 120.

²⁴ *IGR I*, 875, 901, 902; Rostovtzeff 100–101. In each of these inscriptions, Dynamis is called "philorhomaioi." See B. Funck, "Das bosporanische Reich und Rom zur Zeit des Kaisers Augustus," *Das Altertum* 32 (1986) 27–35, and Braund (supra n. 17) 120, n. 92.

²⁵ The only secure portrait of Dynamis is preserved on a gold stater minted in the Bosphorus in 17/16 B.C. (Rostovtzeff pl. 4.4). The coin is unfortunately rather worn and the portrait is in profile; it is therefore difficult to compare the physiognomy of the numismatic portrait with the frontally posed queen on the Ara Pacis. There is no evidence regarding the date of her birth or her marriage to Polemon, and her age in 13 B.C. is consequently impossible at present to determine.

had emphatically stressed his connection with Dionysus,²⁶ and an important sanctuary of Dionysus was located in the Bosporan capital of Panticapaeum.²⁷ The use of this particular type of diadem therefore marked the queen as a member of a family with strong Dionysian associations. It is noteworthy that a personification of the Bosporan people was featured among the "*simulacra gentium*" panels in the Aphrodisias Sebasteion, and one of the reliefs discovered in that complex features a woman wearing a diadem in exactly the way the Ara Pacis queen does.²⁸ In his article on these reliefs, R.R.R. Smith proposed the Bessi as a possible attribution for this panel, although in light of the theory proposed above, the relief should perhaps be connected with the Bosporus instead.

The presence of Dynamis and her son on the Ara Pacis is perfectly compatible with the central theme of this monument. The wars between Rome and Mithridates Eupator had been among the fiercest of the late Republic; in 88 B.C. Mithridates ordered the slaughter of all Romans and Italians in Asia Minor, and the death toll reportedly reached 80,000.²⁹ The inclusion of his descendants marching in an official Roman procession and mixing freely with the participants would have served as a concrete indication that peace between Rome and the Bosporan/Pontic kingdom had been definitively achieved. Their presence on the Ara Pacis would also have functioned as visual references to a passage in the *Res Gestae*, where Augustus enumerates the foreign rulers and members of their families who sought refuge or residence with him in Rome.³⁰

Although the historical sources inform us that Dynamis was married three times, they are silent on the issue of her children, and it is therefore impossible at present to compare the presentation of the boy on the Ara Pacis with any biographical information on

the descendants of Dynamis. The *communis opinio* is that she gave birth to a son named Aspurgos while married to her first husband Asander,³¹ yet this assertion is extremely problematic. The evidence rests entirely on one inscription where Aspurgos, ruler of the Bosporus in the late Augustan and Tiberian periods, is described as "ἐκ βασιλέως Ἀσανδροχού."³² "Asandrochou" is admittedly close to "Asander" and for this reason it has been assumed that the father's name in the inscription is merely a scribal error for "Asandrou." This theory, if correct, would pinpoint Aspurgos as a son of Dynamis and Asander and supply a name for the eastern prince on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis. The genitive "Asandrochou" would, however, be an unusual mistake for the correct "Asandrou," and until more conclusive evidence appears, it is difficult to subscribe to this thesis. One can nevertheless safely conclude that the iconography of the barbarian mother and son on the Ara Pacis indicates their association with the East, specifically Asia Minor, and the attributions proposed for them above would fit well with Agrippa's political activities immediately prior to the *constitutio* of the altar.

THE BARBARIAN ON THE NORTH FRIEZE

On the north processional frieze (fig. 5), the small child traditionally associated with Lucius Caesar (fig. 6) can also be identified as a barbarian. The portrait type features long curly locks centrally parted and bears no relationship to the portraits of Lucius.³³ Furthermore, the child has been posed so that his uncovered buttocks are clearly visible to the spectator, and such a presentation of a member of the imperial family is unprecedented at any time during the Roman Imperial period.³⁴ The child is also the only figure on the north and south friezes who wears no shoes. Like the Bosporan prince on the south proces-

²⁶ B.C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus* (*Mnemosyne* suppl. 89, 1986) 55, 102, 95–97; M.J. Price, "Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysus, and the Coinages of the Black Sea," *NC* 1968, 4; O. Neverov, "Mithridates as Dionysus," *Soobscenija Dosud. Ermitaza* 40 (1973) 41–45; Smith (supra n. 11) 123–24.

²⁷ Gajdukević 175, 182.

²⁸ R.R.R. Smith, "Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 78 (1988) 55, no. 5, and 66–67. On the inscriptions accompanying the provincial personifications in the Sebasteion, see J. Reynolds, "New Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias," *ZPE* 43 (1981) 317–27, and "Further Information on Imperial Cult at Aphrodisias," *StClass* 24 (1986) 109–17.

²⁹ Val. Max. 9.2.ext. 3; Memnon 31.4; McGing (supra n. 26) 113; Magie (supra n. 15) 216–17.

³⁰ *Res Gestae* 32. The most complete treatment of foreign

royalty in Rome during the Augustan period is Braund (supra n. 17).

³¹ *IGRR* I, 879; V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae* (St. Petersburg 1890) 2, no. 36; *RE* 4 (1896) 1739–40, s.v. Aspurgos (P. von Rohden); Gajdukević 328, n. 69; L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Prague 1955) 363–64. The identification was questioned by Rostovtzeff 103, n. 27, who proposed instead that Dynamis married Aspurgos following Polemon's death, but the inscriptions and coins do not support this.

³² *IGRR* I, 879.

³³ Pollini 1987, 77–87.

³⁴ For the traditional dress of Roman children, see Gercke-Voss (supra n. 9) and H. Gabelmann, "Römische Kinder in Toga Praetexta," *Jdl* 100 (1985) 497–541, esp. 522–27.



Fig. 7. Boscoreale Cup, Augustus and Celtic chieftans (after *MonPiot* 5 [1899] pl. 33,2)

sional frieze this child wears a torque, although the two torques are not the same in design.³⁵ The necklace here is twisted rather than plain and it seems as if the designers wanted to indicate that these children were associated with two different regions in which torques formed part of the traditional costume.

The child grasps the hand of the man standing behind him and, like the child on the south frieze, tugs at the toga of the man beside him. There are fortunately two iconographic parallels for this boy that aid considerably in his identification. The first and most important occurs on one of the so-called Boscoreale Cups formerly in the Rothschild collection (fig. 7).³⁶ Augustus is shown seated on a *sella castrensis* and faces three bearded Celtic chiefs all of whom are accompanied by their young sons. Two of these Celtic men push their children toward the emperor and appear to be offering them to Augustus. As H. de Villefosse noted in 1899, the Celtic children on the

Boscoreale cups bear an unmistakable resemblance in both pose and appearance to the long-haired child on the north frieze of the Ara Pacis, and he connected this scene to the Celtic campaigns of Augustus, Drusus the Elder, and Tiberius between 16 and 13 B.C.³⁷ De Villefosse's analysis of the cups has now been expanded in a magisterial study by A. Kuttner, who views this scene as a representation of a visit to Lugdunum by Augustus on the occasion of the inauguration of the cult of Roma and Augustus in 10 B.C.³⁸ A shorthand version of the same scene appears again on coins from the mint of Lugdunum in 8 B.C. (fig. 8).³⁹ The implication here is that Celtic chieftains offered their sons to Augustus as expressions of loyalty between their regions and Rome; the children would have received a Roman education and would then presumably pursue a pro-Roman policy once they returned to their homes in Gaul or Germany.⁴⁰

³⁵ The torque worn by the boy on the south frieze is partially restored but its original design is nevertheless quite clear.

³⁶ *BMCRE* I 84–85, nos. 492–95. For the Boscoreale cups see H. de Villefosse, "Le Trésor de Boscoreale," *MonPiot* (1899) 133–68; L. Polacco, "Il trionfo di Tiberio nella tazza Rothschild da Boscoreale," *Atti e memorie dell' Accademia patavina di scienze lettere ed arti* 67:3 (1954/1955) 3–20; A. Kuttner, *The Boscoreale Cups* (Diss. Berkeley 1987) and "Lost Episodes in Augustan History: The Evidence of the Bosco-

reale Cups and the Ara Pacis," *AJA* 91 (1987) 297–98; K. Schumacher, *Germanendarstellungen* (Mainz 1935) 36, no. 146.

³⁷ De Villefosse (supra n. 36) 150–56, and 162, n. 1.

³⁸ Kuttner (supra n. 36).

³⁹ *BMCRE* I, 84–85, nos. 492–95; Giard 41–42, 93–95.

⁴⁰ The other issue from the mint of Lugdunum in 8 B.C. featured a reverse type of Gaius Caesar on horseback (Giard 96–97; J. Pollini, "The Meaning and Date of the Reverse Type of Gaius Caesar on Horseback," *ANSMN* 30 [1985]



Fig. 8. Denarius of Augustus (after J. Giard, *Le monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon: des origines au règne de Caligula* [Wetteren 1983] pl. 64.2a)

While the Bosphoran prince and queen on the south frieze served as an illustration of Agrippa's role in securing peace in Asia Minor, the child on the north side functioned as an evocation of the peace Augustus had established in the western regions of the Empire during his reorganization activities in Gaul between 16 and 13 B.C.⁴¹ Although the altar was ostensibly vowed in honor of Augustus's safe return to Rome, it in fact functioned as a testament to the diplomatic activities of both the emperor and Agrippa prior to

119–23). This is clearly a reference to Gaius's participation in military exercises in Gaul at that time, and the coins may well have been distributed to the soldiers as donatives on the occasion of the exercises. These two gold and silver issues were undoubtedly planned to complement each other: one type focused on a Gallic child about to be taken by Augustus to Rome, and the other concerned the son of the emperor who had left Rome for exercises in Gaul. The free movement of children between Rome and Gaul was in itself an indication of the *Pax Augusta*.

⁴¹ The success of Augustus's activities in Gaul was also advertised on denarii minted in Rome by L. Caninius Gallus in 13 B.C., which featured a reverse type of a kneeling Gallic barbarian holding a *vexillum* (*BMCRE* I, 27, nos. 127–30). Fullerton 477, n. 35, hesitates in assigning a significance to this coin, but the issue of a Gallic type in the year after Augustus's return from Gaul was surely intended as an indication of the emperor's achievements there.

⁴² For a stimulating article regarding attitudes toward war and peace in the Augustan period see E. Gruen, "Augustus and the Ideology of War and Peace," in *The Age of Augustus* (supra n. 7) 51–72.

⁴³ Smith (supra n. 28) 72–73; Koeppel 148–51; R. de

13 B.C. These two foreign children were associated with regions and peoples who had caused significant military setbacks to the Romans throughout the Republic; their participation in the Roman *supplicatio* indicated that peace with these regions had finally been achieved through the efforts of Augustus and Agrippa.⁴²

This juxtaposition of East and West would accord well with the relief decoration of the inner altar of the Ara Pacis, which seems to have contained a relief with provincial personifications,⁴³ and other Augustan monuments stress the same East–West theme. Alternating masks of Egypt and Gaul decorated the Forum of Augustus,⁴⁴ the Parthian soldier on the breastplate of the Prima Porta Augustus was flanked by personifications of Gaul and Spain,⁴⁵ and on the Grand Cameo of France a seated Oriental captive with Phrygian cap is placed above a register filled with Celtic prisoners.⁴⁶ This motif is also used by Vergil in the *Aeneid*: the shield that Aeneas received in Book VIII featured an image of the battle of Actium juxtaposed with the defeat of the Gauls in 387 B.C.⁴⁷

The advertisement of the joint diplomatic efforts of Augustus and Agrippa on the Roman coinage of 13–12 B.C. was therefore directly related to the visual commemoration of their achievements on the Ara Pacis. The iconography of the Aeneas relief on the southwest side of the altar may also be associated with their political partnership (fig. 9). The identity of the man standing behind Aeneas is problematic yet his placement next to Aeneas as well as the near join of their staffs indicates a close connection between the two men.⁴⁸ There are only two likely possibilities:

Angelis Bertolotti, "Materiali dell'Ara Pacis presso il Museo Nazionale Romano," *RM* (1985) 230–34; H. Kähler, "Die Ara Pacis und die augusteische Friedensidee," *JdI* (1954) 89–100.

⁴⁴ P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum* (Tübingen 1968) 12–14; J. Ganzert and V. Kockel in *Kaiser Augustus* 192–94. Similar masks have been discovered in Spain at Tarraco and Augusta Emerita: see M. Squarciapino, "Ipotesi di lavoro sul gruppo di scultura da Pan Caliente," in *Augusta Emerita* (Madrid 1976) 55–62, and A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid 1949) 414–16, nos. 416 and 417.

⁴⁵ H. Kähler, *Die Augustusstatue von Prima Porta* (Cologne 1959); T. Hölscher in *Kaiser Augustus* 386–87, no. 215.

⁴⁶ W.R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus* (*AMUGS* 11, Berlin 1987) 202–207, no. A85.

⁴⁷ *Aen.* 8.652–713; G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus* (Meisenheim 1971) 185–258; H. Gabelmann, "Zur Schlusszene auf dem Schild des Aeneas," *RM* 93 (1986) 281–300. See also Horace, *Odes* 4.14.41–52, who describes Roman victories over eastern and western regions of the empire.

⁴⁸ The head of the young man that appears above this figure has been incorrectly restored, and probably belongs to the "Roma" panel on the northeast side of the altar.

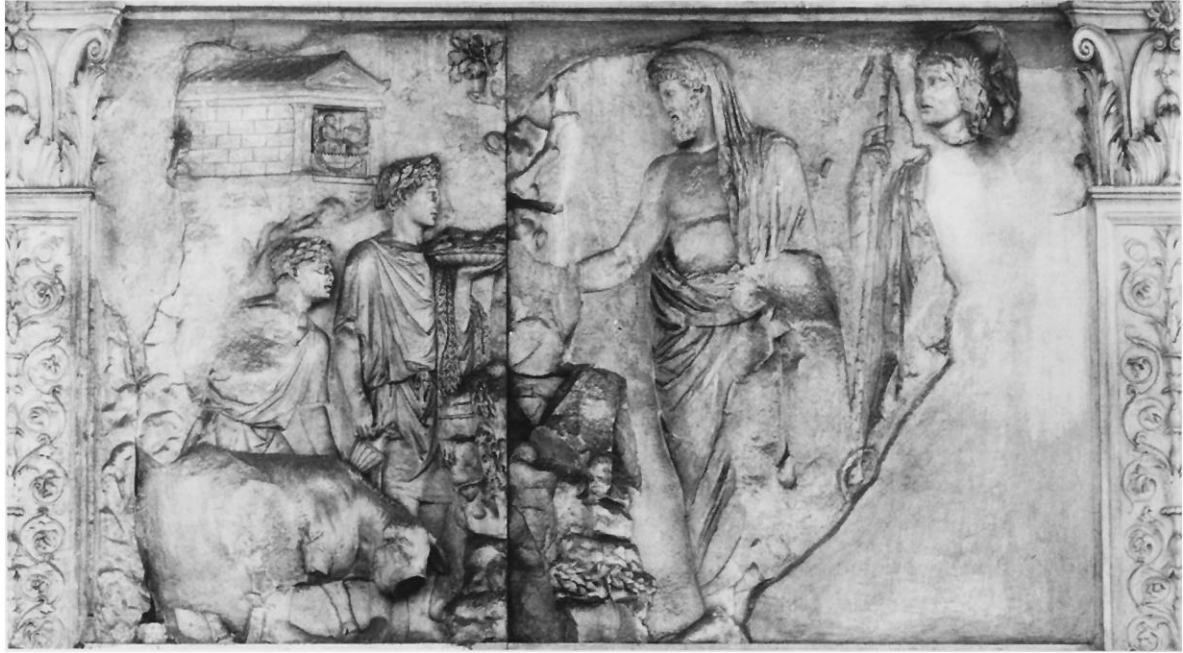


Fig. 9. Ara Pacis, Sacrifice of Aeneas relief (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 77.648)

Anchises and Achates.⁴⁹ The mythological tradition concerning the life of Anchises is somewhat varied: although in the *Aeneid* Anchises died before the Trojans reached Latium, Dionysius of Halicarnassus recorded that he remained alive until the fourth year after the founding of Lavinium.⁵⁰ Anchises, however, is never shown in Latium in any of the surviving representations of the Aeneas story; moreover, according to the literary tradition, Anchises was lame and he is always shown as such in the scenes where he does appear.⁵¹ Only part of the figure in the Aeneas relief is preserved, but he seems to be a robust man with no apparent physical infirmity.

An identification of this man as Achates, the faithful companion of Aeneas, is much more attractive.⁵² The only securely identifiable images of Achates appear

in the Late Antique Vatican Vergil: Achates is always dressed in Trojan costume, holds a spear, and stands to the side of Aeneas.⁵³ Although the manuscript is considerably later than the Ara Pacis, the iconography of Achates in the Vatican Vergil conforms closely to the figure in question on the Aeneas panel. Achates assisted Aeneas in the exploration of foreign territories, fought by his side in battle, and served in general as his confidant. He appears to have been a Vergilian creation,⁵⁴ and scholars of the *Aeneid*—which was published ten years before the construction of the altar—have noted that the character and actions of Achates are so close to those of Agrippa that the latter seems to have served as a model for the former.⁵⁵ The Ara Pacis marks the first known appearance of Achates in Roman art, and considering the prominence accorded

⁴⁹ An identification of this figure as Iulus is highly unlikely. See *infra* p. 465.

⁵⁰ Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.64.5; *LIMC* I, 1, 762 (F. Canciani).

⁵¹ *LIMC* I, 1, 386–96, 761–64 (F. Canciani); *Aen.* 2.647–49. The possibility of an Anchises identification was mentioned by Koeppl 111.

⁵² For a discussion of Achates see W. Lossau, “Achates, Symbolfigur der ‘Aeneis,’” *Hermes* (1987) 89–99. The Achates identification was first proposed by F. Studniczka, “Zur Ara Pacis,” *AbhLeip* 27 (1909) 923, and was followed by Moretti 153, and J. Toynbee, “The Ara Pacis Reconsidered and Historical Art in Roman Italy,” *ProcBritAc* (1953) 78. It was first altered, without explanation, by S. Weinstock,

“Pax and the Ara Pacis,” *JRS* 50 (1960) 57, who stated that the individual was Iulus. This identification, again without discussion, has been repeated by Simon 1967, 23, Torelli 37, and La Rocca 40. The figure of Iulus or Ascanius is, however, to be found in front of Aeneas; this is discussed *infra* p. 465.

⁵³ J. de Wit, *Die Miniaturen des Vergilius Vaticanus* (Amsterdam 1959) pls. 6, 7, 18.

⁵⁴ *RE* 1 (1894) 211–12, s.v. Achates (O. Rossbach). See also M. Lossau (*supra* n. 52) 89–99.

⁵⁵ D.L. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (Oxford 1927) 85–87; M. Lee, *Fathers and Sons in Vergil's Aeneid* (Albany 1979) 106–108; Lossau (*supra* n. 52) 90.

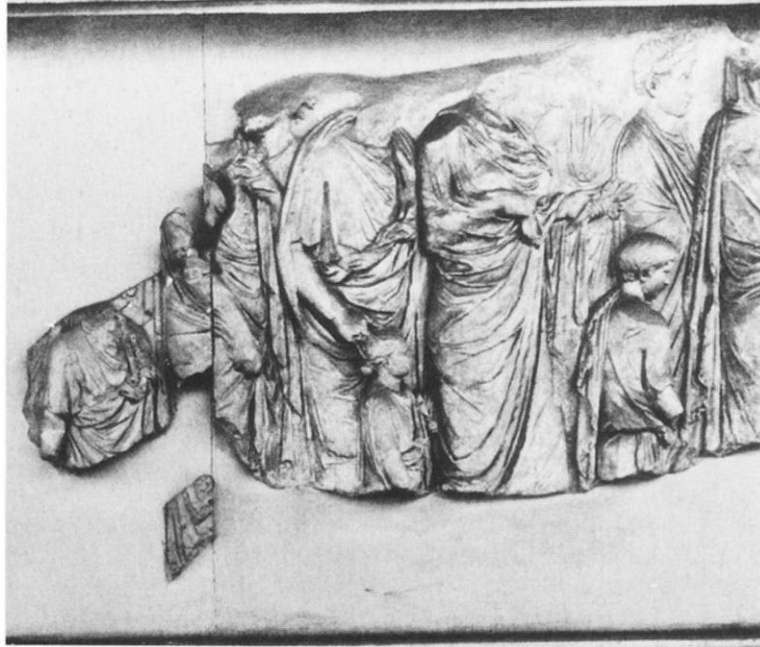


Fig. 10. Ara Pacis, north frieze (after M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* [Ann Arbor 1982] pl. II. 23)

to both Augustus and Agrippa in the altar's program, it seems likely that the juxtaposition of Aeneas and Achates in the western panel was intended as a mythological evocation of the two generals. It is noteworthy that the *adventus* of Aeneas and Achates as depicted in this scene would have neatly echoed the comparable *adventus* of Augustus and Agrippa in the year in which the altar was voted.

THE PLACEMENT OF GAIUS AND LUCIUS CAESAR

In addition to Augustus and Agrippa, an individualized portrait type has been supplied for a male youth on the northern side of the altar (figs. 10, 11). The proportional structure of this portrait, and in particular the two pincer-like locks over the right eye, duplicate the portrait type of Gaius Caesar, the elder of the adopted sons of Augustus, as he appears on the altar from the Vicus Sandalarius dedicated in 2 B.C. to commemorate the inauguration of his eastern campaign.⁵⁶ There are, in fact, a considerable number of replicas of this portrait type, several of which have been discovered together with portraits of Augustus in dynastic group monuments.⁵⁷

A *mappa* or fringed cloth has been draped over Gaius's shoulder, and this marks him as a *camillus* or acolyte who assists at an offering—presumably the offering that would have been performed by Augustus himself at the time when the altar was dedicated. Although the object he originally held in his right hand is broken, the surface of the break on the lower part of the relief indicates a pitcher as the most likely attribute, and the *camillus* in front of Gaius holds a pitcher in the exact way (fig. 5).⁵⁸ Gaius is the only child on the processional frieze to have been presented as an actual participant in the official ceremony, and his presence is further highlighted by the figures flanking him. The woman behind Gaius (fig. 10), perhaps Octavia Minor, holds her two laurel branches almost directly over the head of Gaius; this was possibly an allusion to the two laurel trees that flanked the Palatine house of Augustus. Moreover, both she and the woman in front of Gaius, probably his mother Julia, wear fringed shawls organized in such a way that they hang directly in front of and behind Gaius, thus in a sense constituting formal parentheses around the boy and highlighting his

⁵⁶ This identification was first suggested by E. Fabbrini, "Di un ritratto inedito di giovinetto nei Musei Oliveriani di Pesaro," *RendLinc* (1955) 478–80, and has been followed by R. Syme, *AJA* 88 (1984) 588, A. Stavridis, *RM* 92 (1985) 336, and Pollini 1987, 22–25, although these scholars have not analyzed the significance of his placement or his costume.

⁵⁷ See C.B. Rose, *Julio-Claudian Dynastic Group Monu-*

ments (Diss. Columbia Univ. 1987) catalog entries Ocriculum 01, 244–47; Corinth 01, 376–79; Rome 03 (Altar from the Vicus Sandalarius), 280–84.

⁵⁸ For the implements carried by a *camillus* see von Schaewen (supra n. 8) 65–66. I have examined this relief in the Louvre, and it is clear that this broken area relates in no way to the drapery folds of the woman in front of Gaius.

own fringed cloak, which identified him as a *camillus*.⁵⁹

The size of the boy would not be inconsistent with the age of Gaius at the time the altar was erected, although this raises an interesting issue concerning the presentation of children on the monument. Since the altar was vowed in 13 B.C. and not dedicated until 9 B.C., the ages at which the children could be presented were quite flexible. The size of a particular child could be governed by his or her age in 13 B.C., or the designers could increase the height of the child in anticipation of the more advanced age that he or she would have reached at the time the altar was dedicated. Born in 20 B.C., Gaius would have been seven when the altar was voted and eleven at the time it was finished; the size of Gaius as presented in the relief is therefore perfectly compatible with the age range of the boy during the period in which the altar was being constructed.

Behind the figure of Gaius on the north frieze are two children, a boy about the same height as Gaius, clad in a toga and wearing a *bullā*, and a girl considerably younger than either of the two boys who, like many of the other figures in the frieze, carries two laurel branches (fig. 10).⁶⁰ In every Julio-Claudian dynastic group I have surveyed, when the children of an individual are included in a monument they are always presented together in a closely knit group.⁶¹ It would seem logical that the remaining children of Agrippa—Lucius Caesar and Julia—were represented here, with the infant Agrippina I possibly included in the missing section of the frieze at the left. The presentation here also requires a remark con-

cerning the height of the boy identified as Lucius, since he was three years younger than Gaius and yet both are essentially the same height. This practice of presenting two princes of slightly differing ages as basically the same height is not uncommon in the Julio-Claudian period; it is also used for representations of Britannicus and Nero, sons of Claudius.⁶² In fact, on a coin struck in Rome one year after the altar was voted, Gaius and Lucius appear on the reverse with their mother Julia and their portraits are of identical size.⁶³ The presentation of Gaius and Lucius as the same height would also have underscored the fact that Augustus adopted both youths at the same time, not one by one.⁶⁴

In this arrangement, then, Gaius and Lucius were presented on the north side of the altar while Augustus and Agrippa, their adoptive and natural fathers, respectively, appeared on the south side.⁶⁵ In dealing with the issue of why the fathers were separated from the sons, one must view the Ara Pacis in the context of other monuments in which the families of Agrippa and Augustus were featured. First, however, a few words regarding the adoption of the two boys in 17 B.C. are necessary. Since Augustus had no sons of his own, the emperor adopted Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the sons of his daughter Julia by Agrippa. While adoption or *adrogatio* played a significant role in the Roman Republic, this was the first known instance in which all of the sons of a *paterfamilias* had been adopted by another, thereby leaving no one to continue the family or *gens*. The designers of imperial statuary groups faced the problem of how to reconcile the visual representation of these two boys with the

⁵⁹ While the fringed shawl may have had some significance aside from its use as a formal device, it would be wrong to identify it as a *vicinium*, or dress appropriate for Roman widows, as does Simon 1967, 21. Julia was betrothed to Tiberius shortly after Agrippa's death, and had already been his wife for two years at the time in which the altar was inaugurated.

⁶⁰ For the identification of this child as Julia, sister of Gaius and Lucius, see Pollini 1987, 24, n. 28.

⁶¹ The 125 extant Julio-Claudian statuary groups have been catalogued and analyzed in Rose (supra n. 57), currently being revised for publication. On the subject of early Imperial statuary groups see also C. Hansen and F.P. Johnson, "On Certain Portrait Inscriptions," *AJA* 50 (1946) 389–400; G.-C. Picard, "Groupements statuaire pour familles impériales," *RA* 17 (1941) 110–11; C. Pietrangeli, "Principali gruppi di ritratti giulio-claudi rinvenuti nel mondo romano," in *Studi Siciliani di archeologia e storia antica* 3 (1949) 30–34.

⁶² In the unpublished dynastic group from Rusellae now in Grosseto, the statues of Nero, Britannicus, and Octavia as children are all of identical size: see Rose (supra n. 57) 316–

21. The two Julio-Claudian princes in a relief from Aphrodisias, probably representing Nero and Britannicus rather than Gaius and Lucius, are also the same height. See R.R.R. Smith, *JRS* 77 (1987) 123–25.

⁶³ *BMCRE* I, 21, no. 106. Gaius and Lucius are also shown as the same size on an issue of aurei and denarii that was first minted in 2 B.C.: *BMCRE* I, 88–91, nos. 513–43.

⁶⁴ Pollini 1987, 22–28, has argued that the togate boy behind Gaius was too large for Lucius, and suggested that he was originally represented in the missing area of the north frieze. His argument, however, is based upon contemporary growth charts for children and this does not seem applicable to Roman art, where figures were regularly enlarged or diminished in size based upon their importance in the scene.

⁶⁵ It seems to me likely, as Pollini 1978, 78–80, has argued, that the north and south friezes were meant to indicate two sides of one procession. Nevertheless, the friezes were placed on opposite sides of the altar and are consequently *perceived* by the spectator as two individual scenes, not as a unified group.

fact that there were two fathers involved—one biological and the other legal.

While there is no shortage of dynastic monuments in which Gaius and Lucius were represented with their adoptive father Augustus, there is only one extant group in which they were included with their natural father Agrippa. A large statuary group was set up at Thespieae in Central Greece between 16 and 13 B.C. that featured Livia, Agrippa, and Julia, and their children Gaius, Lucius, and Agrippina.⁶⁶ During the period in which the group at Thespieae was erected, Agrippa was actually present in the Greek East with full proconsular power. The town of Thespieae apparently intended to honor Agrippa by erecting a monument featuring him with his family, but in composing the honorific inscriptions the designers faced a problem. Gaius and Lucius could not have been listed as sons of Agrippa since the title was no longer valid, yet describing them as sons of Augustus would have highlighted the fact that Agrippa's sons were no longer legally his own, nor were there any additional sons at this time who could have carried on the Vipsanian *gens*. The name "Caesar" has been used in the inscriptions to Gaius and Lucius, thereby indicating that they had been adopted into the Julian *gens*, yet the father's name has been omitted from their inscriptions although it has been supplied for everyone else in the group. The lack of instances in which Gaius and Lucius were associated with their natural father Agrippa, coupled with the evidence from the monument at Thespieae, suggests that there was considerable concern in the Augustan period with the diplomatic difficulties occasioned by the adoptions of 17 B.C., when the sons of Agrippa legally became children of the emperor.

The Ara Pacis is unique among dynastic groups in being the only known monument in which Gaius and Lucius were represented with both their natural and

adoptive fathers. This was a state monument of high visibility, and the designers of the altar consequently faced the problem of where to position the two boys with respect to their two fathers. The placement of the children in close proximity to Augustus would have highlighted the fact that Agrippa died with no male heir to succeed him, and their inclusion in the vicinity of Agrippa would have visually negated the legal paternity of Augustus. It seems that the designers of the Ara Pacis deliberately placed Gaius and Lucius on the north side specifically to avoid the problems entailed in grouping them with either their biological or legal father at the south. Conceptually, this solution is not far removed from the Thespians' decision to omit the names of Augustus and Agrippa from the two boys' inscriptions.⁶⁷

Although Gaius was separated from his adoptive father Augustus in terms of their placement on opposite sides of the altar, there are formal evocations of both father and son in the Aeneas relief by the western entrance (fig. 9). While scholars have often pointed out the similarity in pose and gesture between the figure of Augustus and that of the sacrificing Aeneas (cf. figs. 1 and 9),⁶⁸ no one has noted the similarities between Gaius Caesar and the *camillus* of Aeneas in the sacrifice at Lavinium relief (figs. 11 and 12).⁶⁹ Considering the iconographical traditions associated with the Aeneas legend, the safest identification of this figure is Iulus, the son of Aeneas. Scholars of the Ara Pacis have generally assumed the presence of Iulus in the Aeneas panel, especially considering the pronounced emphasis on children in the altar's decorative program.⁷⁰ F. Studniczka first identified this youth as Iulus and such an identification is perfectly in accord with the representations of Aeneas and Iulus in Italy.⁷¹ In scenes of the flight from Troy, arrival in Latium, and the sacrifice of the Lavinium sow, Iulus always appears as a child, about the same

⁶⁶ See the catalog entry for Thespieae 01 in Rose (supra n. 57) 415–20, and A. Plassart, "Inscriptions de Thespieae," *BCH* (1926) 447–51.

⁶⁷ There are two specific instances in the Julio-Claudian dynasty in which dual paternity was acknowledged. Augustus erected an arch in honor of his natural father Gaius Octavius that featured a statuary group of Apollo and Diana in a quadriga (Pliny *HN* 36.36; F.S. Kleiner, "The Arch in Honor of C. Octavius and the Fathers of Augustus," *Historia* 37 [1988] 347–57), and at the beginning of his reign Nero paid high honors to his natural father Gn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (Suet. *Nero* 9) and asked the Senate to erect a statue of him (Tac. *Ann.* 13.10). But neither of these instances involved a monument that represented the emperor together with his natural father, and there are no examples in the Julio-Claudian period in which a member of the Imperial family was shown with his biological and legal fathers. J.

Pollini has attempted to reidentify the cuirassed commander on the Ravenna relief as Domitius Ahenobarbus ("Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and the Ravenna Relief," *RM* 88 [1981] 117–40), yet his new attribution is based on no firm iconographic or archaeological evidence.

⁶⁸ Simon 1986, 36; Simon 1967, 24; S. Settis in *Kaiser Augustus* 418; K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 195.

⁶⁹ Koepfel 110, no. 2.

⁷⁰ Iulus has usually been identified as the adult male behind Aeneas, but this does not conform well with the iconographic comparanda. For the identification of this figure as Achates, see supra p. 462.

⁷¹ Studniczka (supra n. 52) 923. The representations of Aeneas and Iulus after the Trojan War are now conveniently assembled in *LIMC* I,1, 386–96 (F. Canciani), and *LIMC* II,1, 860–63 (E. Paribeni).



Fig. 11. Ara Pacis, north frieze, detail: Gaius Caesar (Alinari 22686)

age as Gaius Caesar in the north frieze, and Vergil specifically notes that after Iulus's arrival in Italy he took part in the *ludus Troiae*, which was intended for children seven or eight years of age.⁷²

Unlike Aeneas and Achates, Iulus wears contemporary Roman garb and this was probably intended to highlight his connection to Gaius. Although they are not of identical size, both are dressed as young *camilli* with the fringed *mappa* and they each would have held the sacrificial pitcher in their lowered right hands. The similarities in pose between the two *camilli*



Fig. 12. Ara Pacis, Sacrifice of Aeneas relief, detail (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 77.648)

as well as between Augustus and Aeneas do not seem to be accidental, and the designers appear to have structured the iconography of the Aeneas panel as a deliberate reference to Augustus and his elder adopted son. Even though Augustus and Gaius—priest and *camillus*—were separated on the processional friezes, their combined presence was formally evoked in another sacrifice scene featuring the Trojan founders of the Julian family. It seems likely that Gaius would have served as an acolyte to Augustus just as Iulus assisted Aeneas, and this is probably the

⁷² For the *ludus Troiae* see J. Neraudau, *Être enfant à Rome* (Paris 1984) 234–36. The only known instance in which Iulus appears as a young man occurs on a second-century A.C. child's sarcophagus from the Via Cassia in Rome, now in the Terme Museum: *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le sculture* I,1 (Rome 1979) 318–24, no. 190; Helbig III, 4, no. 2162; *LIMC* I,1, 391, no. 161; II,1, 861, no. 11. The front of the sarcophagus features two scenes from the *Aeneid*. At the left

side, Aeneas and Dido prepare for the hunt in front of her palace in Carthage; the center and right side are devoted to an episode in Book 7, where Iulus and his dogs wound the stag of Tyrrhus (7.475–502). The sarcophagus was intended for a seven-year-old child who was discovered within it at the time of excavation, and this may explain the emphasis in the decoration on the son of Aeneas rather than the Trojan hero himself.

reason why Gaius is the only *camillus* in the procession who is not shown in the company of a pontifical college. This association between Gaius Caesar and Iulus was especially appropriate since Gaius had participated in the *ludus Troiae* in 13 B.C., presumably shortly after Augustus's *adventus*.⁷³ Also relevant in this context is the iconography of the Venus/Terra Mater scene on the east side of the altar.⁷⁴ This is the first example in which the goddess is shown with two children rather than one, and it is contemporary with a unique passage in Ovid in which Venus is described as "*geminorum mater amorum*."⁷⁵ The emphasis on two children in the Ara Pacis panel as well as in Ovid's poem would in a sense have constituted another reference to Romulus and Remus, yet the fact that the artistic and literary imagery begins to appear at this time suggests that it was conditioned by a specific event. The most logical motive would have been the appearance of the two heirs of the emperor.

In discussing the Ara Pacis, one can therefore speak of an assimilation between historical and mythological figures, yet the connection is not as pronounced as scholars have assumed. The mode of presentation could more effectively be classified as subliminal advertising rather than explicit statement. The similarities in appearance between Aeneas/Augustus and Iulus/Gaius are readily apparent if one views these figures side by side and segmented from the rest of the *supplicatio* participants. Yet such an immediate comparison would not have been possible for the Roman spectator. The historical and legendary figures are placed on different sides of the monument and Gaius and Augustus are not significantly isolated from the rest of the procession. The Trojan/Roman iconographic assimilations were presented in subtle fashion and would probably have registered only subconsciously in the mind of the viewer. Augustus was in the process of creating a dynasty, yet his plans and innovations were always carefully balanced by a keen sense of political realities. The blatant advertisement of his sons as Trojan princes on a major public mon-

ument would have created the appearance of kingship, and the use of a diadem for Gaius less than 20 years after Actium would have fostered politically damaging associations between the Augustan family and eastern royalty. There is no attempt to confer a legendary status on any of the *supplicatio* participants through the use of Trojan costumes; instead, the two attendants at the sacrifice of Aeneas have been dressed as contemporary Romans, and the Trojan past is consequently assimilated to the historical present.

In conclusion, the first representation of the imperial family in Rome was placed in the context of a monument that celebrated the fruits of peace in both the eastern and western regions of the Empire as a result of the campaigns of both Augustus and Agrippa. On a secondary level, the designers focused attention on the two heirs of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius, who were carefully segregated from both their natural and adoptive fathers yet subtly connected to Augustus through the agency of the mythological panels. The central message of the Ara Pacis was closely tied to the "princes" and barbarians who figure in the decoration of the altar. Rome's bellicose relationship with past Celtic and Bosporan/Pontic rulers would now be eradicated through the Romanization of their descendants, and pacific relations would consequently prevail in the future. By the same token, the Pax Augusta achieved through the combined efforts of Augustus and Agrippa would now be continued by their sons. The concept of peace itself therefore acquires a temporal structure here—as if several tenses were conflated in one image. Toward the close of a century of incessant war—both civil and foreign—the hope for the future maintenance of peace lay with the children.

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⁷³ Dio Cass. 54.26.1.

⁷⁴ Koeppl 111–13; La Rocca 43–48; Simon 1967, 26–29. Here I follow the identification proposed by K. Galinsky (supra n. 68) 191–241. For an attempt to identify this goddess as Ilia see L. Berczelly, "Ilia and the Divine Twins: a

Reconsideration of Two Relief Panels from the Ara Pacis Augustae," *ActaAArtHist* 5 (1985) 89–149.

⁷⁵ Ov. *Fasti* 4.1; A. Wlosok, "Geminorum Mater Amorum," *Monumentum Chiloniense: Studien zur augusteischen Zeit, Festschrift E. Burck* (Amsterdam 1975) 514–23.