THE IMAGE OF NERO:
CONTEMPORARY ICONOGRAPHY

by

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ABSTRACT

The intention of this thesis is to examine the image of Nero received from the early literary sources, in the context of his personal iconography. His sculpted portraits and profiles on the coinage contribute the major part of the evidence.

Nero is the only Roman emperor whose appearance is documented in clear-cut stages from early childhood up to the time of his death. His image as Emperor, primarily on the coinage, presents an unprecedented pre-occupation with self-propaganda.

In the course of this study it has been found that the documentation of almost all the sculpted portraits requires further work as does analysis of the coin portraits of the middle period. The problematic subject of whether damnatio memoriae was decreed for Nero also presents itself for further study. Another aspect of Nero's principate under discussion is the significance of the radiate crown, generally associated with apotheosis, but adopted by Nero in his lifetime.

RESUME

L'objet fixe par notre memoire est d'examiner l'image que se faisaient les auteurs anciens du personnage Néron et reci de pair avec son iconographie personelle. A cette fin la grande part de notre évidence est puisée de portraits (sculptés) et profiles frapées sur les monnaies.

Neron est le seul emperuer romain dont l'apparence fut documentee dès l'enfance jusqu'a sa mort. Par le biais de ces pièces donc, nous avons enstatez qu'il avait un grand penchant sans précédent pour la propagande de sa propre personne; d'autre part les sources littéraires témoignent de son désir effréné à augmenter la faveur du peuple.

Au cour de cette recherche nous avons découvert que la documentation des portraits sculptés nécessiterait un travail plus détaillé de meme en ce qui concerne les pièces (de monnaie) de l'époque moyenne.

Nous avons du aussi a border l'intéressante question à savoir si damnatio memoriae lui fut vraiement décreté. Nous avons touche enfin un autre sujet du principat de Néron: quel sens doit on accorder à la couronne radiée qu'il embrassa de son vivant mais qui en ce temps-là signifiait l'apothéose?

MAJOR EVENTS IN NERO'S LIFE AND PRINCIPATE

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This list is partially based on B. H. Warmington, in Nero : Reality and Legend, (London, 1969).

INTRODUCTION

This thesis grew out of the cataloguing of part of the McGill University Collection of Greek and Roman Coins. I was particularly struck by the remarkable sequence of Nero's portraits on his coinage that records the successive changes in his appearance. There are, in fact, quite clearly defined stages in the portraits of Nero, who ruled for the comparatively short period of less than 14 years and died before his 31st birthday.[1] On the coin portraits of Nero these stages encompass the young boy adopted by Claudius in A.D. 50, the accession portraits of A.D. 54, those of a steadily maturing young emperor during the years A.D. 55 to 59, and the coarser images of A.D. 59 to 64. The latter have been succinctly described as exhibiting "a greater thickening and heaviness of the facial features."[2] The final coin images of A.D. 64 to 68 vividly preserve this 'vile' emperor, so familiar to all. In order to avoid confusion it is necessary to point out that the classification of portraits above is only roughly approximate to the system I am using, which is described in detail below (p. 2).

The sculptured portraits or sculpted replicas, as they are frequently termed, follow approximately the same stages as the coin portraits but start, with the depiction of (possibly) Nero, in A.D. 42. The sculptures present a problem

in that they are not all certain identifications of Nero, and quite apart from later restorations, some of the well-known old favourites appear to be the products of later times. Documentation is not always complete for the sculpted portraits, but I am including all the likely and possible Neros. More work clearly needs to be done in this area.

In one of the few recent studies of Nero's portraiture on coins and related sculpted portraits, H. Hiesinger proposed five separate portrait types which appeared in the course of years A.D. 51, 54, 55, 59, and A.D. 64. He found, however, there were three basic coiffure types common to both coin portraits and sculptures and used the broader category of these coiffure types.[3] The present thesis employs, basically, the three classifications used by Hiesinger, i.e.

I. The years A.D. 42 to 59. I have expanded Hiesinger's category of A.D.51 - 59 to include sculpted portraits that may quite conceivably be the 'baby' or 'child' Nero.

II. The years A.D. 59 to 64. This period includes what I describe as a type of 'transitional' coin portrait which conforms on the whole to the second coiffure type but exhibits many variations in facial characteristics (not sufficiently stressed by Hiesinger).

III. The years A.D. 64 to 68. The 'transitional' type of coin portrait which appeared perhaps in A.D. 62 and continued up to A.D. 65 obviously falls within this period too.[4]

This general chronological sequence of sculpted and coin

portraits (in the form of appendices) will also include the extant portrait inscriptions of Nero and his portraits on cameos and gems. These portraits, too, lack sufficient documentation and need more study. Certain coin reverse types will be used in addition to the obverse (portrait) types, both of which furnish an official commentary on the man and his administration. I find that in comparison with the other iconographical evidence the coins, not surprisingly, reveal the most concerning Nero's persona.

Further, I propose to analyse the portrait types of Nero, stressing his extraordinary preoccupation with self, evident in the care taken to portray his changing physical aspect. Three chapters of text (arranged in the same chronological sequence), and based on aspects of his reign discussed by ancient and modern literary sources, will accompany the appendices.

We shall see how he was educated, his various ambitions or poses as artist and charioteer, and most importantly, the image of himself as a 'divine' monarch. This was a display of vanity, unparalleled before and after Nero, to the detriment of the office of *princeps*. (See Ch.III, p. 89.) The 'curious' documentation of Nero's transformation in his portraiture is well expressed by V. Poulsen:

> Il nous paraît cependant curieux qu'un art officiel du cour ait été autorisé a rendre de cette manière l'image d'un souverain en déchéance, mais nous rencontrons ici justement une des particularités d'un caractère comme celui de Neron: la force de la vanité qui peut rendre digne

d'admiration et séduisante la plus repoussante image reflétée par le miroir.[5]

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to define the term 'image'. In its broadest meaning 'image' may be defined as an imitation or representation of the external form of any object, but especially of a person. It may be a statue, effigy, or sculptured figure; a likeness, portrait, picture, carving, or the like. Abstractly it may mean 'appearance', 'form','semblance' and 'likeness'. An image may also be a symbol, example or type, and, figuratively speaking, may be interpreted as a conception, impression or idea. The multifold meanings apply in this thesis since they interrelate so perfectly. On the one hand we will examine the portrait representations of Nero in terms of physical appearance, and on the other hand, the symbols in the form of coin types. The coins are particularly interesting to study in that the obverse portraits give an idea of Nero's physical appearance and the symbols associated with it; the reverse types symbolise the 'impression' he wished to create. Both portrait images and symbols aid in forming an assessment of Nero's character and 'raison d'etre'.[6]

In order to further clarify the approach taken in this thesis, it is now necessary to define 'portrait'. A series of statements by Bernhard Schweitzer provides a useful definition of the 'true' portrait.

1) It must represent a definite person, either living or of the past, with his definite human

> traits. 2) The person must be represented in such a manner that under no circumstances can his identity be confused with that of someone else. 3) As a work of art, the portrait must render the personality, i.e., the inner individuality of the person represented in his outer form.[7]

The 'true' portrait usually emerges when the tendency of the artist is toward a highly specific naturalism in all aspects of representation.[8]

It is generally accepted that naturalistic representation was at a peak during the Neronian period. The wall paintings from Pompeii attest to the painters' preoccupation with the natural appearance of landscape, and fresco fragments reflect accurately observed details of nature rendered in light and shade.[9] Moreover, as E.A. Sydenham remarks, "It is during the Nero period that the coins of the Roman Empire reach their highest point of artistic excellence."[10] He goes on to say, "We find, moreover, an important departure in the art of portraiture, inasmuch as the coins record the successive changes in Nero's appearance from the slender lad of thirteen to the thick-set bearded man of middle age."[11]

The reign of Nero is largely seen as representing a separate phase of Julio-Claudian art, the imperial imagery after A.D. 64 being "beyond anything previously sanctioned for the living head of the roman state."[12] James Breckenridge views this phase as "a temporary aberration - like the emperor himself."[13] It is the flamboyant Hellenism of the late phase of

Nero's portraiture which gives rise to this opinion. However, the apparent truthfulness of the likeness was not totally erased by the idealising Hellenistic tendency,[14] and this extraordinary series of Neronian portraits has always evoked considerable comment from historians, numismatists, and art historians. (See my bibliography below.)

It is thought that the emperor personally chose his coin types and although there is no ancient written evidence to define the authority by which Augustus and his immediate successors produced coinage, "there is nothing to suggest that it was not totally in Augustus' own hands."[15] Nero inherited this perogative, and given his absorbing interest in the arts, it would be surprising if he had not personally supervised the designs produced for the mint of Rome.[16] While making the coinage more beautiful Nero also made it less valuable with his well known monetary reform,[17] - a subject which has provoked a certain amount of controversy (see Ch.III, p.72 below). Certainly a new departure in portraiture is in the evidence of Nero growing up over a period of time

However, although a new departure in coinage may be detected in the evidence of Nero growing up over a period of time (see page 5 above), it cannot be suggested that Nero controlled the mint as soon as his first portraits appeared. Agrippina must have exerted a considerable influence at the time when Nero's portrait emerged on the imperial coinage in A.D. 51, coinciding with his attainment of legal majority, a

year after his adoption by Claudius (see Ch.I, p.22 below). On becoming emperor in October A.D. 54, he was depicted on the coins with his mother Agrippina. At first Agrippina appears in an equally prominent position; she and her young son, the Emperor, face each other. By A.D. 55 Agrippina is relegated to second place, behind Nero, and soon disappears from his coins altogether (see Ch.I,p. 27 below).

The early coin portraits of Nero present quite an agreeable face. Yet, according to C. Neveroff, during the years A.D. 50 to 59 the dramatic character of the young Emperor is already noticeable:

> The mouth, tightly closed, is somewhat deformed into a sneer. The play of light and shade in the modelling gives a disturbing aspect to the face and leaves an impression of unwholesomeness. Guarded and morose, Nero's eyes look out from under their heavy brows and swollen lids.[18]

After the brutal murder of his mother in A.D. 59, a new portrait type (of Nero) appears. Apart from the thickening features, the Emperor is portrayed with a new coiffure which is to become exaggerated in A.D. 64. The hair is arranged rather artificially in stylised rows of curls somewhat Apolline in character, but resembling more the fashion of an auriga. It is safe to assume that Nero could now indulge himself as the protege of Apollo Citharoedus and Apollo auriga.

After the death of Agrippina, Nero did, in fact, make his first appearance as a charioteer, in the palace gardens. He created the Iuvenalia in A.D. 59, where he

performed privately on stage as a lyre-player in Apolline dress, applauded by his newly organised group of supporters, the Augustiani. Surrounded by these young Roman knights, Nero rushed the young men and women of the aristocracy into the "Neronian Society" - a combination of court, academy and private club.[19] Tacitus (Ann. 15) says, "They gave opportunity for debauchery and never were the already corrupt morals so submerged by wicked desires as in that overflow of filth."

It is with the adoption of a new portrait type, sometime after A.D. 64, that the image of Nero, fashioned after the portraits of Hellenistic royalty, takes on an expression of what might be considered the Emperor's 'living apotheosis'.[20] His coiffure becomes more overstated, in that the front row of curls extends across the forehead in a continuous parallel series, lacking the parting over the right eye preserved in the A.D. 59-64 types. This is the style, in all probability, referred to by Suetonius (Nero 51) as "coma in gradus formata."[21] The hair on the neck is longer and somewhat untidy. Along with the 'crest' of curls on the forehead, an upward gaze reminiscent of Alexander may be discerned. Nero has adopted as personal attributes the aegis and radiate crown (later used by Vespasian and every emperor after him).[22]

A special association between Nero and the god Apollo is indicated more than ever. After the great fire of Rome in A.D. 64, Nero undertook his grand rebuilding-programme and, in an endeavour to beautify the world, launched the creation of

his Domus Aurea, marking the reneval of the 'Golden Age'. A great statue, purportedly of Apollo-Helios, perhaps copied after the Colossus of Rhodes, stood at the entrance to the Golden House. The visit of Tiridates in A.D. 66 was an ocasion of untold splendour (and one of Nero's diplomatic victories - the doors of the temple of Janus were closed). Tiridates accepted his royal diadem from Nero under the sign of the sun. Dio (62,6) says an awning was stretched over the proceedings, and in the middle, with golden stars gleaming about him, was Nero-Apollo driving a chariot. The Armenian king compares Nero to the sun god of the Persians (Dio 62,5).

Momigliano remarks:

> The lord of the world now made ready, after these ceremonies at Rome, to give definite convincing proof of his majesty, for after such a prelude he must astonish men by his acts, and now he was in a state of mind to do so. The liberation of Greece, the piercing of the Isthmus of Corinth, not to mention artistic and athletic exhibitions at the most important centres - for this third item was as important to Nero's mind as the other two - were only to be the first acts of this enterprise.[23]

At the Isthmian games on 28 November A.D. 66, Nero announced the gift of freedom to the Greeks. His speech is preserved in the Acraephiae inscription, and he is hailed as the neos helios.[24]

Nero of course 'won' all the prizes at the games and tried to wipe out the memory of all other victors by having their statues destroyed and his own erected. He believed his artistic successes were superior to military successes (see

Ch.II, pp. 51-53). Suetonius (Nero 43,2) tells us that when news of revolts came he planned to present himself unarmed before the troops and to simply weep. He proposed to sing a hymn of victory when his sadness had caused them to repent. Furthermore, carts were to be made in place of artillery to carry the organs whose music would accompany his singing. Certainly the coin portraits of these later years reflect this extravagant, degenerate, and hopelessly vain emperor. Probably not a little mad, and diseased, wearing the radiate crown of Apollo and the aegis of Zeus, Nero's image remains preserved on his coinage, the features engulfed in the massive bulk of his head and neck.

Please note that the style standards followed in this thesis are those recommended in MLA Handbook for Writers. ed. J. Gibaldi & W. S. Achtent. New York: MLA, 1980.

NOTES

1 On the length of Nero's reign, see K.R.Bradley, Suetonius' Life of Nero, (Bruxelles, 1978), pp. 292-93; B.W. Reece, "The Date of Nero's Death," AJP, 90 (1969), 72 ff.

2 Ulrich W. Hiesinger, "The Portraits of Nero," AJA, 79 (1975), 119. Nero's changing features of this period are described in more lurid terms by O. Néveroff (see page 6 below and n.18). A. Hekler, in Greek and Roman Portraits, (London, 1912), p. XXX||, says, "The sensual fullness of the face, and the puffy modelling with its suggestion of dark passions....and the thick pursed lips betray a diseased imagination and secret lusts." Vagn Poulsen comments on the same period, in Les Portraits Romains, II (Copenhagen, 1962), p. 33, "On n'a pas besoin de Sueton ou Tacite pour comprendre que cet homme a subi une profonde transformation, frappante dans le mauvais sens." (Even quite sensible writers tend to rhetorise when it comes to Nero.)

3 Hiesinger, pp. 113-24. E. A. Sydenham's much earlier definitive study, The Coinage of Nero, (London, 1920), also presented three chronological periods. I. A. D. 51-54, II. A. D. 54-63 and III. A. D. 63-68. He was guided by style of portraiture, reverse subjects and, in the case of the gold and silver, weights.

4 Refer to Appendix II-Coins, (commentary) on p.144. The portraits which I term 'transitional' within period II and III, clearly need more study.

5 Poulsen, Les Portraits, pp. 33-4.

6 Part of the title for this thesis, "The Image of Nero," was suggested by Ian Carradice of the British Museum Coin Room, occasioned in turn by the Museum's recent exhibition "Image of Augustus", (1981). The addition of "Contemporary Iconography," was suggested by Prof. J. M.Fossey of the Classics Department at McGill University.

7 B. V. Bothmer, Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period: 700 B. C. to A. D. 100, (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1960), p. 117. (This is his translation from B. Schweitzer's Griechische Porträtkunst, (Copenhagen, 1957).

8 James Breckenridge, Likeness, (Evanston, Ill., 1968), p. 7.

9 The 3rd, or Ornamental, Style featured wall frescoes with brilliantly executed naturalistic details. (For a typical example see H. Von Heintze, Roman Art, (London, 1971), p. 126, fig. 117.)

10 Sydenham, p. 34.

11 Sydenham, p. 34. See also Breckenridge, Likeness, p. 488, and Richard Brilliant, Roman Art from the Republic to Constantine (N. Y., 1974), p. 178. (Brilliant is accurate on iconographical details, but careless regarding historical facts. He says that Nero was assassinated and his monuments destroyed.)

12 Hiesinger, p. 121.

13 James Breckenridge, "Imperial Portraiture," ANRW, Vol. II, 17.2 (1981), p. 488.

14 It must be kept in mind that although a particular kind of realism or verism, developed in Roman Republican times, ruler-portraiture really had its beginnings in the coin-portraits of Hellenistic monarchs, which in turn derived from the early Persian coinage. It is a very complicated subject to go into and not properly within the range of this thesis. There are many reference works which discuss the realistic component of Hellenistic portraiture, and the sources for Roman realism. On the development of coin portraiture, within the context of which Nero's portrait evolved, see in particular, J. M. C. Toynbee's Roman Historical Portraits, Ithaca, N. Y., 1978, Breckenridge's Likeness, G. M. A. Hanfmann's "Observations on Roman Portraiture," in Latomus, 11 (1952), pp. 454-65, and Jean, Babelon, Le Portrait dans L'Antiquité après la Monnaie, (Paris, 1950)

15 C. H. V. Sutherland, The Emperor and the Coinage, (London, 1976), p. 21; See also S. Walker and A. Burnett, Image of Augustus (London, 1981), pp. 27-28, and RIC, Vol. 1, p. 3, "His portrait forms the invariable obverse and the coins refer to no authority but himself" (my emphasis).

16 Sydenham, p. 34.

17 Ted Schwarz, "Nero's Coins Hide Lurid Tale to Match the Worst of Fiction," World Coin News, 9 Dec. 1975, p. 76. Despite the 'lurid' title, Mr. Schwarz makes some accurate observations.

18 Neveroff, p. 81, (my translation).

19 G. Charles Picard, Augustus and Nero (London, 1966), p. 138.

20 Hiesinger, p. 121.

21 Hiesinger, p. 120.

22 Jean Babelon, Le Portrait, p. 118. Curiously enough there does not appear to be a clear-cut tradition of the deification of Hellenistic monarchs having been symbolised on the coinage by the radiate crown. Appearances were quite sporadic as evidenced on the coinage of the Ptolemies, etc. On the Roman coinage, the radiate crown is generally associated with the apotheosis or bodily assumption of the later Roman emperors. Regarding Nero's predecessors, Julius Caesar and Augustus did appear with the radiate crown (posthumously) on the coinage. Howevever, there is a possibility that Caesar was granted the right to wear it in his lifetime. Tiberius was not portrayed with radiate crown on the coinage of Rome but he did appear with it on the coinage of Egypt. Gaius was said to have tried it on in private, and Claudius appeared radiate in statues but not on the Roman coinage. The question of policy concerning the radiate crown is obviously very uncertain. The whole subject needs a further study on its own. The only general work, to date, is D. P. d'Orange's, Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture, Oslo & Cambridge, Mass., 1947. Saul Weinstock, in Divus Julius, (Oxford, 1972), has a great deal to say on apotheosis its related symbolism, but mostly in connection

with Julius Caesar.

23 A. Momigliano, CAH, Vol. X, Ch. 22, (Cambridge, 1934), p. 735.

24 IG, Vol. VII, no. 2713 = Dessau, no. 8794 = Dittenberger, no. 814. (See also Ch. III, p.87 of this thesis.) The prominence of Hélios or "Sol" in the Roman Empire clearly had its start during the reign of Nero, although this early symbolism does not have the religious associations of the later emperors. According to G. Karl Galinsky, in "Aeneas' Invocation of Sol (Aeneid, XII, 176)," AJP, 90 (1969), 453-58, Sol figures in the ancestry of the Latins.

CHAPTER I - A.D. 42-59

A.D. 42-59

There is a considerable number of 'royal' children represented in the Roman sculpture of the Julio-Claudian period. One of the most outstanding examples is the Ara Pacis Augustae where, on the south frieze, three togaed children stroll along with their elders. Opinions differ as to their identities. A recent proposal suggests that the two boys were direct forebears of Nero. The smallest boy was Nero's grandfather Germanicus, and the two children behind him in the procession have been identified as Nero's father Domitius and his aunt Domitia.[1] A later sculpture in the round portrays Messalina with the infant Britannicus in her arms.[2] On a cameo portrait, Messalina is presented with two cornucopiae, out of which bud Britannicus and his sister Octavia;[3] and, in a final well known example, the boy Caligula, dressed in military garb, may be detected in the Great Paris Cameo.[4]

On the coinage, Augustus presented his two grandsons, Caius and Lucius, and the title principes iuventutis appears for the first time,[5] echoing Augustus' dynastic ambitions. A sestertius of Tiberius shows the same dynastic hope with its reverse type depicting the two sons of Drusus and Livilla.[6] The next 'royal' child on the coinage is Nero, a year after his

adoption by Claudius.[7] Britannicus,too, makes his appearance on the coinage,[8] but Nero's image soon comes to predominate over that of young Britannicus.

Before going on to discuss the young Nero's portraiture on coins and the sculpted replicas linked to them, we shall examine the sculptures which may be said to portray the child Nero. Sculpted portraits of young princes abound in the period under discussion; some are identified as Nero with a good deal of certainty and others with a rather considerable amount of conjecture. However, an image of the child Nero can be formed from what we know of history and what these selected portraits reveal.

Unquestionably the sculpted likenesses , or replicas of Nero dated to the years between A.D. 51 and 59, reflect contemporary coin portraits, as do the later sculptures (A.D.60-68). There are no very early coin portraits to help verify the images which might represent the "Baby Nero", however, following the precedent of C. Vermeule [9], and others before him, a certain amount of 'informed imagination' must be applied when interpreting some of the sculptural iconography of small children. With the evidence of so much child portraiture (imperial children and others) in the Julio-Claudian period, it cannot be doubted that the child Nero 'had his portrait done'. Why should not some of these extant portraits represent "Baby Nero"?

In imagining the relief head of a child of five,

representing Nero as a somewhat spoiled, petulant, and haughty child,[10] (Appendix I, No.2, fig. 1), Vermeule rather contradicts the evidence of the "Adoption Type" Nero as a boy of about twelve in the "Adoption Type" coin portrait, created before A.D. 51. The latter portrait reveals a very pleasant-faced youth (Appendix II Nos. 1 and 2, Plate IX, Fig.1, Plate x, Fig.1). Indeed, all the "Heir Apparent" type of coin portraits developed between A.D. 51 and 54, reflect this pleasing youth. The sculptures assigned to these periods, on the other hand, exhibit a rather haughty look (Appendix I, Nos. 7 and 8, Figs. 4 & 7). This discrepancy could be explained in two ways. Either the die engravers were not instructed to 'go after' an accurate likeness, or profile portraits of young persons cannot reveal as much of the subject's character as a sculpture in the round.[11] However, as the subject grows older and certain strong characteristics develop, a great deal more can be portrayed by a profile. The coin portraits of Nero as he 'matures' are prime examples of an exposition of character which almost amounts to a caricature of that person (See Chapter III, p. 73).

An exception is the 'modern' Ny Carlsberg sculpted head of a small child (Appendix I, No. 4, Fig. 5), which is close to a caricature of what we expect the emperor Nero to have looked like at an early age - possibly at about six years of age. The relief head mentioned above (Fig.1), perhaps, in the manner of many provincial works, has a rather exaggerated

look of 'royal petulance', but at least it is authentically of the period. The Barracco head (Appendix I, No. 3, Fig. 3) is probably too pretty to be our boy. There remains the bronze head of a child in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Appendix I, No. 1, Fig.2) which appears to be a most reasonable choice for the small Nero; this is a very self-contained little boy. I am reminded of certain bright, saucy five year olds who attend private kindergarten these days - they usually come from single parent families. To judge from photographs taken from similar angles, the bronze head resembles the Parma and Louvre togate statues of Nero at about twelve to thirteen years of age (Appendix 1, Nos. 8 & 7, figs. 7 & 4). The bronze head could vey well be preceded by the relief head mentioned above (No.2). Judging from a rather poor photograph only, the Hermitage cameo (Appendix III, No.4, Fig.8) also looks like an imperious young Nero of this period.

Let us take a brief glance at Nero's life and education during these early years, according to the historical sources and the various interpretations of these sources.

Nero was born just at sunrise, on the 15th December A.D.37.[12] According to Suetonius (Nero 6,1) he was touched by the rays of the sun almost before he could be laid on the ground. This passage might also be translated "so that he was touched by the rays of the sun before the earth was touched."[13] The omen is somewhat different in Dio (61,2,1); the light surrounding the infant is supernatural.[14] One may be sure that

this story was repeatedly related to Nero throughout his childhood, giving him, perhaps, an exalted idea of his 'divine' start in life. An astrologer connected this with other signs and prophesied that Nero would rule and murder his mother, and she, "so bereft of sense" cried out: "Let him kill me, only let him rule!" (Tac. Ann. 14,9,). This statement at the most, guaranteed his becoming a killer, and at the least, imbued him with an overwhelming sense of fear and irrationality which made themselves manifest later in his life when he had to cope with the reality of being ruler. Nor would the declaration of Nero's father, Domitius, that "It is impossible for any good man to be sprung from me and this woman," (Dio 61,2,3-4) have helped in the development of Nero's character.

The Emperor Nero was the first emperor who, after a number of years of specific preparation for the principate, actually reached the throne.[15] This preparation would date from the time of Agrippina's marriage to Claudius early in A.D.49,[16] although if the astrologer's prediction, and Agrippina's reaction, related above, are held to be true, she had this office in mind from the moment he was born. One must remember that there was no legal reason barring the succession of Nero, rather than Britannicus, Claudius' legitimate son by Messalina - an advantage soon to be nullified by Messalina's death.[17] At this stage in the Empire "there was no fixed or even generally recognised rule of succession within the imperial family."[18] Indeed, at the time of Nero's accession there were some other

members of the ruling class who might quite reasonably have been regarded as potential rivals to the throne.[19]

Although the very earliest years of Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus may not have given a hint of the position that fate had in store for him, that circumstance was remedied when his mother was recalled from exile upon the succession of Claudius in A.D.41. Lucius, or Nero, was then four years old. It is generally agreed that he was three years old when his father died, and then, since his mother had been exiled, he was put in the care of his paternal aunt Domitia Lepida. Suetonius (Nero 6,3) delights in the story that the young Nero was in actual want at the house of his aunt, and that she entrusted him to the care of a barber and a dancer, engaged as paedagogi. Nero's stay with his aunt could not have been very long, if we accept the date for his father's death to have been between 15 December A.D.40 (Nero's third birthday) and 24 January A.D.41 (the Emperor Gaius' death). Agrippina was back shortly after that date.[20] With the restoration of his father's property (most of which had fed the greed of Gaius) the young prince's fortunes improved. Agrippina soon married the extremely wealthy and influential Passienus Crispus, and Nero most certainly then began a life of indulgence and luxury close to the court.

Crispus, very conveniently, died sometime between A.D. 44 and 48 [21], leaving his fortune to Agrippina and Nero. Between the ages of four and eleven it is most likely Nero had

Anicetus and Beryllus for *paedagogi*. Beryllus later became Nero's secretary for Greek epistles, Anicetus, coming to hate and be hated by Agrippina, "became Nero's chief instrument in matricide."[22] It was probably after Passienus' death that Asconius Labeo, a man of the highest rank, became *tutor* or guardian to Nero.[23] Nero undoubtedly received the formal education befitting a Roman child of the nobility during these years. His first public appearance was in A.D. 47, when he participated in the "Troy Pageant" along with the younger boy, Britannicus.[24] Tacitus (*Ann.* 11,12) says the greater applause received by the young Nero was regarded as prophetic and notes that his popularity was an inheritance from Germanicus, of whom he was the only surviving male descendant. Pity was increasingly felt for his mother, owing to her persecution by Messalina. Relating a story that serpents had watched over Nero in his infancy, Tacitus (*Ann.* 11, 12) also notes that Nero "who was not over modest" used to say that just one had been seen.[25]

I would suggest that the marble head in the Cabinet des Medailles (Appendix I, No.6, Fig. 10) with its boyish grace and earnest look, represents Nero at this stage in his life. The young prince must certainly have been attractive in appearance, and endowed with considerable charm, to merit his popularity with the people, in addition to being heir to the popularity of Germanicus.

Agrippina's hopes for Nero were fulfilled when

Messalina brought about her own ruin in A.D. 48, and any advantage Britannicus might have had over Nero was soon nullified by his mother's disgrace.[26] With Messalina out of the way, Agrippina, avid for power, and supported by the influential secretary a rationibus, Pallas, married Claudius on New Year's Day A.D. 49.[27] As Empress, she engaged the well-known Lucius Annaeus Seneca to tutor Nero; "Seneca was also to prepare the Senate to accept Nero, when the time should come, as the new princeps." [28] Pressure was then put on Claudius to adopt the boy; the date of the adoption was February 25 A.D. 50. Nero was then twelve years old. (See note 7)

The togate statues in the Louvre and Parma (mentioned above p. 18) represent Nero at the time of his adoption. These images are akin to the later portraits and relate to the coin portraits of A.D. 51. However, the presence of a bulla, included in the costume of these identical togate portraits, dates them just prior to A.D. 51. U. Hiesinger notes that the Louvre example particularly, "demonstrates, as the coin images do not, with what clarity and consistency Nero's physical and temperamental characteristics were already formulated in his earliest representations."[29] The young boy stands confident in his privilege, possibly rather smug. Coached by his domineering mother and clever tutors, the young Nero stands ready to rhetorise for Seneca, or perhaps, to thank Claudius for his good fortune.

In A.D. 51 Nero assumed the toga virilis, "prematurely" (Tac. Ann. 12,41), a decisive stage in his advancement. He now began public appearances, "as a member of the ordo equester and princeps iuventutis; moreover, he was designated consul for his twentieth year (in A.D. 57), and granted proconsulare imperium extra urbem immediately."[30] Donatives were made to the praetorians and a congiarium to the people in Nero's name. These honours were unprecedented and marked the acceptance of Nero by Claudius, the Senate, the Praetorian Guard, and the people, as heir-apparent.[31] "At games held in the Circus he was allowed to attract popular attention by wearing triumphal robes, whereas Britannicus was dressed as a minor...so the crowd could deduce their contrasted destinies" (Tac. Ann. 12,41). This passage would certainly suggest that Nero is a more likely choice for some of the statues, formerly identified as Britannicus as the younger boy by now was eclipsed. Nero was co-opted at this time as a member of all the priestly colleges, an honour among the many commemorated on coins of Claudius.

Nero's portrait appears on the obverse of these coins, "dressed in a military cloak with regular, generalised features that suggest little of his adult appearance."[32] (See Appendix II, Nos.1 & 2, Fig. 1). The marble heads in the Ny Carlsberg are likewise pleasant portraits (Appendix I, Nos.9 and 10). The Detroit togate statue (Appendix I, No. 12 , Fig.11) expresses perfectly, with its air of self-assurance,

the demeanour of the 'Heir-Apparent' in about A.D. 52.

Sometime in the period between A.D. 51 and 53, Nero's training by Seneca was put into effect in the 'fluent' speeches he delivered (locally) for the citizens of Bononia, Ilium, and Rhodes.[33] M.P.O. Morford says the choice of these communities was shrewd: Nero was carrying out his duty as patronus for Bononia, "while Ilium and Rhodes (for whom he spoke in Greek) gave him scope for antiquarian and historical matter." Most importantly, "these speeches served to identify Nero with the peoples of his future empire as their champion and protector."[34] A matter for speculation - how might the young man have been affected on this occasion by the beautiful city of Rhodes and its noteworthy cult of Helios? Did he identify himself with the Colossus of Rhodes, and did the later solar-imagery of his reign spring from this source? His noted passion for all things Greek may, indeed, have been sparked by this contact made at an impressionable age. Tacitus Ann. 13,3) tells us that from early boyhood Nero directed his mind to, "carving, painting, singing, and riding. Sometimes, too, he wrote verses, and thereby showed he possessed the rudiments of culture." Nero's real enthusiasm for poetry, however, appears to date from A.D. 59.[35] During the pre-accession years, other interests, deemed unworthy of a prince, absorbed Nero. His delight in horseback riding led to a deep absorption in chariot racing. Suetonius (Nero 22,1) relates that the young Nero would chatter incessantly to his fellow students about the

chariot races and charioteers at the Circus.[36] Nero's later 'image' or portrayal of himself, wearing the 'tiered' coiffure strikingly similar to that of the auriga, relates to these adolescent yearnings.

Tacitus (Ann. 13,2) tells us that Afranius Burrus, Nero's tutor in military matters,[37] and Seneca, who stressed elegant manners and oratorical eloquence, both "collaborated in controlling the Emperor's perilous adolescence; their policy was to direct his deviations from virtue into licensed channels of indulgence. Agrippina's violence, inflamed by all the passion of ill-gotten tyranny, encountered their united opposition."

> Agrippina spared no effort in preparing her son to be a ruler, although she herself intended to be, as for a time she was, the power behind the throne. The effect of her eager "pushing" upon his artistic nature should not be forgotten in a consideration of the adult Nero. She was emotionally unstable, and periods of great disciplinary rigor may have alternated with periods of lenience."[38]

Moreover, Nero's aunt, Domitia Lepida,[39] vied with Agrippina in influencing the prince. Tacitus (Ann. 12,64-65) says, "Lepida sought to seduce his youthful character by kind words and indulgence. Agrippina, on the other hand, employed severity and menaces - she could give her son the empire, but could not endure him as emperor." In view of Nero's early artistic leanings, the pressures placed upon him when he actually reached the throne must have been very heavy. He was

obviously not inclined to the military life and was extremely fortunate that his advisors were such capable men. However, Nero was not exactly loathe to accept the office of emperor; it will be seen how the character of his government (which, according to A. Momigliano, "was the first to give to his subjects the feeling of imperial authority as something supereminent and above the law, sometimes terrible but sometimes beneficient"),[40] and his own character came to be reflected in the iconography of his person.

Claudius died on 13 October, A.D. 54,[41] and the new ruler was greeted with optimism. In Seneca's Apocolocyntosis 4, a new Golden Age was confidently announced, where Apollo himself says:"mihi similis vultu similisque decore nec cantu nec voce minor." M.P.O. Morford remarks: "The new ruler was, like Phoebus Apollo, to shed the rays of his light upon the dark Roman political scene, and the basis of his policy was to be co-operation with and respect for the Senate."[42] We may deduce from this that the identificaton of Nero with Apollo started right at the beginning of his reign. It is generally accepted that the Apocolocyntosis was written about A.D. 54-55.[43]

It will take some years for Nero's image to develop a pronounced reflection of himself as Phoebus Apollo. In the meantime, this earliest stage of his reign was dominated by Agrippina. She could now aspire to real power in the Empire through her influence over her son. "At first Agrippina

managed for him all the business of the empire...she received embassies and sent letters to various communities, governors and kings" (Dio 61,3). The earliest coins of Nero's reign present the pair virtually as co-regents, in the manner of the Hellenistic kings and queens. Agrippina had already appeared with Claudius on the coinage, but at least she was placed behind him. At the beginning of her son's reign, they are portrayed facing each other, as equals. (see Appendix II, No. 3, Plate IX, Fig.2). She may even be regarded as superior, since Nero's title is relegated to the reverse. Pressures were soon exerted (most likely from Seneca and Burrus), and in A.D. 55 her portrait is subordinated ; she appears behind Nero and her title is relegated to the reverse (Appendix II, No.4, Fig. 3). It should be noted that there was not really a new portrait when Nero became emperor, a fact which testifies to Agrippina's 'hold' on Nero at the time. (See Appendix II - Coins, p. 140).

It seems most likely that all concerned agreed Nero's gold and silver would bear the complimentary formula EX SC, contrary to the precedent set by Augustus.[44] Senatorial flattery was cultivated at the start of Nero's regime, and harmony between the Senate and the Emperor continued right down to A.D. 62. [45] Flattery of the previous emperors on the other hand, appears to have been scrupulously avoided.

Nonetheless,undoubtedly prompted by his advisers, Nero duly saw to it that Claudius was given the appropriate

funeral and enrolled among the gods. Although Claudius was the first emperor since Augustus to be deified, he is, curiously enough, not represented radiate on Nero's coinage, as would have appeared proper according to the precedent established by Tiberius and Claudius for Augustus. It must be noted that Nero received the title of divi claudi f. on the coinage; a priesthood was established for Claudius and a temple begun, but although the title divus claudius is dutifully presented, his head remains laureate on Nero's coinage. However, on the reverses of aurei and denarii depicting Nero and Agrippina jugate, Claudius receives the compliment of being portrayed radiate and riding along with the deified Augustus in an elephant quadriga.[46]

B. H. Warmington suggests that the main object of the Apocolocyntosis was to degrade Claudius and his deification but, "there was no question of a serious attack on deification as such (which would have involved discrediting Augustus)."[47] Furthermore, Warmington thinks the deification of Claudius would have enhanced the position of Britannicus, hence this unfortunate boy was disposed of shortly before what would have been his fourteenth birthday on 12 February A.D. 55.[48] We are told, too, that Agrippina's power over Nero was waning (Tacitus Ann. 13, 12, 1); she became angry and menacing. "She let the Emperor hear her say that Britannicus was grown up and was the true and worthy heir of his father's supreme position - now held, she added, by an adopted intruder, who used it to

maltreat his mother", and she threatened to present Britannicus to the Praetorians (Tacitus Ann. 14,3-6).

It is not necessary to retell the gruesome and familiar tale of Nero's 'disposal' of Britannicus. There were plenty of precedents for the removal of rivals,[49] but the action must have considerably brutalised the Emperor. It is said that Seneca "had early forebodings of Nero's cruelty,"[50] and that he dedicated the De Clementia to Nero in A.D. 55-56,[51] in order to teach Nero publicly what had been impossible privately.[52]

It would appear that Seneca's methods were fairly permissive; his teaching consisted of rhetoric with a good dose of more relaxing subjects such as poetry and history. These were artes amoenae suitable for hot-tempered persons, whose spirits needed to be soothed (Seneca De Ira 3,9). In the De Clementia (1,1b) he uses as an analogy of the merciful ruler the gentle teacher who prefers persuasion to the rod. M.P. O. Morford says,

> It is small wonder that the young Nero developed such a mixture of cruelty and aesthetic sensibility, subjected as he was to the pressure of an ambitious, powerful, and intensely political mother and, on the other hand, tutored by an egotistical preceptor, who only encouraged his initiative in those very directions where the firmest discipline and control were needed.[53]

Suetonius tells us that soon after his accession, Nero sent for Terpnus, the greatest lyre-player of the day, to sing to him. Nero then began to study and practise, himself,

with great devotion and zeal. "He was pleased enough with his progress to nurse theatrical ambitions" and developed a desire to perform in public and would quote to his friends the Greek proverb: "Unheard melodies are never sweet" (Suet. Nero 20,1). His interest in the races also to set his heart on driving a chariot in a regular race at the Circus (Suet. Nero 22). These ambitions were all to be realised after the death of Agrippina.

In the meantime, Seneca and Burrus allowed Nero to lead La dolce vita, the object being, as B.H. Warmington suggests, "to reduce his interest in the government to the minimum required by the necessities of formal business."[54] Although judgement on how far Nero was acting autonomously or under the influence of others during the first part of his principate must be "subjective," Warmington goes on to say, "Nevertheless it is clear that Nero's concern with public business was spasmodic, and that Seneca and Burrus were the men largely responsible for the day to day running of affairs for some eight years."[55] Since it was the general view that Nero was vicious and cruel from the start, an explanation had to be found for the relatively good beginning of his principate.[56]

Let us now examine how Nero's imagery in sculpture and coins developed during these years. Among the group of sculpted replicas, Hiesinger's "Accession Type" portrait created after A.D. 54 and used until A.D. 59, corresponding to his "Coin Type III", is best exemplified by the Cagliari and

Mantua heads (Appendix I, Nos. 26 & 27, Figs.13 & 12 respectively). A precise comparison can be made of these and and the portraits on denarii dated to A.D. 58 (Appendix II, No.6, Plate X, Fig. 3).

> After A.D. 55 Agrippina's image was removed from the coinage, and Nero's portrait bust alone was shown...This coin issue, revised to give Nero greater prominence, also introduced a new portrait that shows him for the first time with the unmistakable facial traits of his adult years. Fleshy cheeks, neck and underchin are prominent features, as is the distinctive formation of the mouth which recedes between the slight overhang of nose and rounded chin. The coiffure of this portrait type with the hair swept to one side from a central part is the same worn on the previous coin types.[57]

He further notes that Coin Type III, "constitutes a quite explicit and individualised portrait, "being the first to allow absolutely certain "identification of a number of sculptured replicas as Nero."[58] The Cagliari and Mantua heads are unquestionable likenesses of Nero at this time.

We can see that already the young Emperor has thickened about the chin and jaw in the coin portrait (No. 6), cited above. He has definitely matured in comparison with the earlier sculptures. Unfortunately, according to Hiesinger, the transitional period between later pre-accession portraits and the first imperial ones falls into a somewhat ambiguous category. He feels the Detroit statue (Fig. 11), while definitely later than A.D. 51 (on the basis of its <u>toga virilis</u>), "is of little help in clarifying the sculptured type used after the Parma and Louvre 1210 portraits since it is a

loosely interpreted replica, itself only marginally accepted as Nero."[59]

There is no evidence that coin portrait types and sculptured replicas originated at the same time. It seems reasonable to suppose that mint officials relied on a readily available portrait to prepare new types for the mint. The comparatively plentiful number of inscriptions recording portrait dedications of Nero, scattered throughout the Roman world, attests to the availability of new portraits of the Emperor. Most likely more inscriptions and portraits still remain to be discovered and identified to fill in the chronological gaps. Even a headless statue, such as the Tralles example (Appendix I, No. 54, Fig. 19) with its identifying inscription, can serve to give an idea of the stature and physique of the mature Emperor.

It remains a matter for conjecture whether the pleasant young emperor appearing on the coinage with his mother in A.D. 54, reflects the younger prince of the pre-accession portraits (such as the Parma and Louvre 1210 statues), or whether, in fact, he remained fairly pleasant in demeanour a little longer. In any case it may be stressed that the coin portraits after A.D. 55, along with the Cagliari and Mantua sculptures, present certain psychcological changes, in addition to the physical ones. The gaze is 'set' - perhaps Nero was already somewhat removed from reality, as most of his biographers suggest. A later period of his life is usually

cited for this divorce from reality, but surely it began when Seneca and Burrus were handling the affairs of the Empire for Nero, and possibly aiding Nero in his struggle to throw off his mother's manipulating power. There is a hint of uncertainty detectable in the Cagliari, Mantua, Terme and Louvre 3528 group of portraits (Figs. 13, 12, 15, and 14 respectively). This is combined with an air of sensuous indulgence, particularly noticeable in the frontal view of the Cagliari head.

We now come to that act of Nero's, which remains in popular memory, the distinguishing mark of his principate, namely, the matricide, narrated at length by all ancient sources. Tacitus, in his powerful account of the murder, failed to indicate any major effect it had on public opinion and merely showed that it removed a restraint on Nero's actions.[60] The story does not need retelling here. Warmington summarises very well when he says:.."the matricide remains inexplicable except in terms of a desperate act of Nero to liberate himself from the psychological domination of his mother and enjoy, as we read his friends advised, the fruits of autocratic power."[61] The degree to which Nero's actions and imagery changed, following this foul deed, will be seen in the subsequent years of his reign.

NOTES

1. C.C. Vermeule, "The Ara Pacis and the child Nero: Julio-Claudian commemorative reliefs in Italy and elsewhere", AJA, 86 (1982), 243 (hereafter "child Nero"). See also D.E.E. Kleiner, "The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae", Mél Rome, 90 (1978), 735-85, Figs. 1-13; J.M.C. Toynbee, "The Ara Pacis Reconsidered and Historical Arts in Roman Italy", Proc. Brit. Ac., 39 (1935), 86, Pl. 18. Another section of the frieze has a small boy tugging on a young man's cloak. This is the young Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Augustus' niece Antonia, and the young Domitius is holding the paludamentum of his uncle, Augustus' younger stepson Drusus. See S. Walker & A. Burnett, Image of Augustus (London, 1981), p. 35, Fig. 36.

2. J. Babelon, "L'Enfance de Néron", Rev Num S. 5, Vol. 17 (1955), page 136, No. 15; R. West, Römische Porträtplastik (München, 1933), Pl. lxi, 263.

3. Babelon, "L'Enfance," p. 137, No. 16; J.J. Bernoulli, Rom Ikon II, 1 (Berlin, 1896), new ed. 1969, page 358.

4. Babelon, L'Enfance, p. 137, No. 17; L. Curtius, Röm Mitt (1935) J. Charbonneaux, "Le Grand Camée de France", Mélanges Charles Picard Vol. 1, (1949), 170-166.

5. H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, RIC Vol. 1 (London, 1923, repr. 1968), 76, No. 166, Pl. ii, 19. Their busts appear on each side of Julia's; all three faces are right-facing. Page 90, No. 350, Pl. iii, 47 - Gaius and Lucius appear standing, togate, each holding spear and shield, etc. B.C. 2 -.

6. RIC, p. 186, No. 28, Pl. vi, 105 - facing heads of Gemellus and Drusus (as infants) mounted on cornucopiae. A.D. 22.

7. Nero was adopted by Claudius on 25 February A.D. 50. For discussion of the date see B. H. Warmington, Suetonius, Nero (Bristol, 1977), 57-58, and P.A. Gallivan, 'Suetonius

and Chronology in the 'De Vita Neronis'," Historia 23 (1974), 301 (hereafter "Suet. Chron.") For the circumstances refer to Suet. Nero 7, 1; Tac. Ann. 12, 25, 26; Dio, 60,33,22. P.A. Gallivan, "Historical Comments on Suetonius," Latomus 33 (1974), 388 (hereafter "Hist. Comments"), discusses the form of the adoption. K. R. Bradley, Suetonius' Life of Nero (Bruxelles, 1978), 53-55, discusses the adoption date and form of adoption.

8 RIC, Vol. I p. 133, No. 87 (obverse bust of Britannicus, A.D. 51-54 - a sestertius struck at Rome), and on p. 128, No. 59 (reverse depicting the three children of Claudius, standing to front, Britannicus in centre, Octavia l., Antonia r., - didrachm struck at Caesarea in Cappadocia).

9 C.C. Vermeule, "child Nero," pp. 242-44.

10 Vermeule, "child Nero," p. 243.

11 There are obvious differences in the materials and methods of working which must be taken into account when comparing coins and sculpture. See B. Ashmole, "The Relation Between Coins and Sculpture", Transactions of the International Numismatics Congress 1936 (1938), 17-22. (A very interesting study.) In this context, is C. C. Vermeule's "Some Notes on Ancient Dies and Coining methods," Numismatic Circular, October (1953), Col. 398, February (1954), Cols. 53-58, and March (1954), Cols. 101-103.

12 On Nero's date of birth - For A.D. 37 see Suet. Nero, 6, 1; Dio 61,29; Tac. Ann. 13, 6, 2 (and PIR Vol. III, D129). These literary sources make statements on his age at later dates, suggesting from A.D. 35 to A.D. 39, but there is little doubt A.D. 37 is the correct year. See also R.M. Geer, "Notes on the Early Life of Nero," TAPA 48 (1931) 58; P. A. Gallivan, Hist. Comments," p. 386; B.H. Warmington, Suetonius Nero (Bristol, 1977), p. 55 and Bradley, pp. 45-46.

13 Geer, p. 58.

14 Warmington, Suet. Nero p. 56.

15 M.P.O. Morford, "The Training of Three Roman Emperors", Phoenix, 22: 1 (1968), 57.

16 On the date of Agrippina's marriage to Claudius see Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 53 - he says Suetonius has omitted to mention the marriage "which was the essential preliminary to the adoption of Nero, however it is mentioned in Suet. Claudius, 26,3; 29,2 (where New Year's Day is cited). In Tac. Ann. 12,1-7, the whole affair is discussed, Claudius having requested the Senate to pass a decree legalising marriages between uncles and nieces.

17 Morford, p. 58.

18 B.H. Warmington, Nero : Reality and Legend (Bristol, 1969), p. 11.

19 See H.S. Rogers,"Heirs and Rivals to Nero," TAPA, Vol. 86 (1955), pp. 190-202. This is an excellent paper on the subject. Most interestingly, Rogers points out that although his readers would not be surprised by Nero destroying all his potential rivals sooner or later, it is surprising to learn "how very late rather than soon the end came for most of them"(page 197).

20 On the subject of the date of Cn. Domitius' death, Agrippina's time in exile and subsequently the length of Nero's stay with his aunt, see Geer, pp. 59-61; E.R. Parker, "The Education of Heirs in the Julio-Claudian Family," AJP, 67 (1946), page 44; Gallivan, "Suet. Chron," p. 300; Warmington, Suet. Nero, pp. 56-57. Bradley comments on Domitius' death (p. 48), Agrippina's exile (p. 49), and Nero's stay with his aunt (p. 50). Bradley says that Agrippina went into exile in late autumn of 39, before her husband's death - hence Nero must have been sent to his aunt while the father was alive.

21 See Geer, p. 62; Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 57; Gallivan, "Suet. Caron.," p. 301; Bradley, p. 51 - rumour said Agrippina did away with Crispus.

22 Parker, p. 45. See also Bradley, p. 285 (on Anicetus and Beryllus), and Gallivan, "Hist. Comments," p. 391.

23 Parker, p. 45; Gallivan, "Hist. Comments," pp. 391-2. Bradley (p. 50) thinks Labeo was appointed tutor earlier i.e. on Domitius' death - the majority view says it was on Crispus' death).

24 Geer, p.62; Warmington , Suet. Nero, p. 57, and Bradley, p. 53 (on the Troy games).

25 Suetonius (Nero 6) says that Messalina had sent assasins to strangle the child in his sleep but the would-be murderers were driven away in terror by a snake which darted out from under Nero's pillow. But, Suetonius goes on, "this was a mere surmise based on the discovery of a sloughed snake-skin nearby." Nero was persuaded to have the skin set in a gold bracelet, "which he wore for a long time." This would have been a very real reminder of attempts on Nero's life, making him fearful when still a child - if there is any truth in the story. Bradley, p. 52, remarks that the snake represented friction between Messalina and Agrippina.

26 Morford, pp. 57-58.

27 Refer back to note 16 above.

28 Morford, page 58. See also Bradley, p. 56, on the appointment of Seneca and his early life about which "surprisingly little" is known.

29 U. Hiesinger, "The Portraits of Nero," AJA, 79 (1974), 116. See also this chapter page and note 11.

30 Morford, p. 63 and Bradley, pp. 58-59, on the toga virilis and decursione.

31 Morford, p. 63

32 Hiesinger, p. 114.

33 The orations are placed in A.D. 51 by Suetonius (Nero 7,2) but for Tacitus (Ann. 12,58,1), A.D. 58 appears to be the most acceptable date. For discussions see: Geer, pp.

64-5; Gallivan, "Suet. Chron.," p. 302; Warmington, Suet. Nero, pp. 59-60; Bradley, p. 60, and Ph. Fabia, "Néron et les Rhodiens," Rev. de. Phil., N.S. 20 (1896), 120-45. There is a fragmentary inscription from Bolcgna (CIL II, 720) which unfortunately can be restored to agree with either date. The ill-fated Claulia Octavia was married to Nero in A.D. 53; Suetonius (Nero 7,2) mentions this event in connection with the orations. See also Tacitus Ann. 12,58 and Dio 61,33,11. Octavia had been adopted into another family in order to avoid "uniting in marriage a brother and sister" (Dio 60, 33,9). On confusions concerning the age of Octavia, see Gallivan in "Hist. Comments," pp. 116 ff.

34 Morford, op cit, page 64.

35 See Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 116 (commenting on Suet. Nero 53,1, regarding Nero's poetry). Tacitus (Ann. 14,10,1-8) lists poetry along with the other tastes or interests which Nero attacked with tremendous enthusiasm after the death of Agrippina. Bradley, p. 287, remarks that perhaps Nero turned to poetry because he was not allowed to study philosophy seriously.

36 Gallivan, "Suet. Chron.," p. 307, suggests that this "anecdote should refer to the period before Seneca became Nero's tutor, i.e.A.D. 49". Bradley, p. 135, says that only charioteering is indicated and not horseback riding (contrary to other opinions).

37 Nero's military training was not complete. At the age when he should have been sent off for military service in the field, he was presented, instead, to the Praetorians' camp to be acclaimed emperor: the lack of military experience was to prove disastrous in his reign. See Morford, p. 62.

38 Parker, p. 48.

39 Lepida was accused by Agrippina of attempting to bring about the latter's death by magic spells. See Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 59, on the passage in Suetonius' (Nero 7,1). Suetonius says Nero testified in public against Lepida, but Tacitus (Ann. 12,64-65) doesn't mention it. In any case, it was a very nasty affair, certainly detrimental to Nero's character. Bradley, p. 57-58, says

the trial was the "climax of a struggle between Lepida and Agrippina for influence both at court and with Nero."

40 A. Momigliano, CAH Vol. X (1934), page 741.

41 See Warmington (1977), Suet. Nero, p. 60, on the date and time of Claudius' death. (in Suet. Nero 8,1; Tac. Ann. 12,69; Seneca, Apocolocyntosis 2). See also Gallivan, "Suet. Chron.," p. 302 and Bradley, pp. 62-63.

42 Morford, p. 61. This Apolline aspect is supported by Suet. Nero 20: "Soon after his accession, he summoned Terpnus, the greatest lyre-player of the day..." Bradley, p. 122, notes that Terpnus survived Nero and later became associated with Vespasian.

43 This date has always been accepted. J.M.C. Toynbee, "Nero Artifex: The Apocolocyntosis Reconsidered," CQ, (1942), pages 83-93, 'tentatively' suggests a later date. A. Momigliano, "Literary Chronology of the Neronian Age", CQ, (1943), 96-100, rejects the suggestion, saying "the case for 54-5 seems to me to remain beyond any reasonable doubt."

44 On the puzzle of gold and silver with this formula (and aes without it) see: D. MacDowall, The Western Coinages of Nero, N. Y., (1979), pp. 37-73; K. Kraft, "S(enatus C(onsulto)", JNG, (1952), 7-49; C.H.V. Sutherland, Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy, London, (1948), and Sutherland, "The Mints under Julio-Claudian Emperors", in AJP, (1947), pages 61-62.2.

45 B.H. Warmington (1969), Nero: Reality and Legend, (London, 1969), Ch.4, "Cooperation between Emperor and Senate 54-62".

46 RIC Vol.1, p. 145, No.10, Pl.IX, No. 140, describes the reverse as Divus Claudius and Divus Augustus, etc. MacDowall, p. 157, agrees. M. Grant, Roman Anniversary Issues (Cambridge, 1950), p. 79, suggests Livia and Augustus.

37 Warmington, Nero: Reality, p. 45.

48 Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 90. In Suet. Claudius 43, it is suggested that Claudius was preparing to re-establish Britannicus. See also Dio 60,34,1. Bradley, p. 198, says "as long as Britannicus lived he represented a potential focal point of opposition to the Neronian regime..."

49 Refer back to note 19 above. For the story of the murder: Suet. Nero 33,2; Tac. Ann. 13,15,1-17; Dio 61,7,4. According to Josephus (Ant. Iud. 20,153), however, few people at the time knew that the death was actually murder. An inscription from Amisus (AE (1959), No. 224) dated to A.D. 63-65 mentions Nero, Poppaea and Britannicus. The people of Amisus, says Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 90, didn't even know he was dead. Gallivan, "Suet. Chron.," p. 311, on the other hand, says that this suggests Nero's version of the death of Britannicus (epileptic seizure) "was officially accepted at the time".

50 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 27.

51 This appears to be the accepted date for De Clementia, according to Momigliano, "Lit. Chron.," p. 96. P. Grimal makes it New Year's Day A.D. 56 in "Le De Clementia et la Royauté Solaire de Néron," REL, 49 (1971), p. 214.

52 Bradley, p. 286. Morford, p. 59, expresses the same thought.

53 Morford, pp. 60-61.

54 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 44.

55 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 28.

56 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 27.

57 Hiesinger, p. 114. (I find this description accurate.)

58 Hiesinger, p. 114.

59 Hiesinger, p. 114.

60 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 46.

61 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 47.

CHAPTER II

A.D. 59-64

If Nero's 'desperate act of matricide' lingers on in popular memory as the most despicable act of his reign, it is amazing to consider that, at the time, Nero's official story of his 'escape' from an attempt on his life was acceptable. It would appear, however, that Nero's responsibility was known, "but Agrippina's own past was not such as to win her any sympathy."[1] In any case sacrifices were made for the 'deliverance' of the Emperor and he was joyfully greeted on his return to home.[2] Dio (62,14,4) tells us that in spite of what Nero told the Senate, "his conscience was so disturbed at night...he would leap from bed terror-stricken." Tacitus (Ann. 14,10,1) says "Nero only understood the horror of his crime when it was done. For the rest of the night, witless and speechless, he alternately lay paralysed and leapt to his feet in terror - waiting for the dawn which he thought would be his last."[3]

After lingering in the cities of Campania, and, on being urged to return in triumph to Rome by a hypocritical public, Nero then plunged into the wildest improprieties, in which, according to Tacitus (Ann. 14,10) vestiges of respect for his mother had, "hitherto not indeed repressed, but at

least impeded". Curiously enough, Tacitus (Ann. 12,57) suggests that Nero's infatuation for Poppaea prompted the crime in the first place, and that he was goaded by the incessant nagging and mockery of his ambitious mother.

It would appear that Nero's earlier liaison with the freedwoman Acte had aroused Agrippina's ire, but Tacitus relates that she changed her tactics and subsequently indulged Nero. He was urged by his friends "to beware of the tricks of this always terrible and now insincere woman" (Tacitus Ann. 13). All sources hint at an incestuous relationship between Agrippina and her son. However one considers the plausibility of the relationship, there would appear to have been plenty of reasons for Nero to wish himself rid of such a parent.

In view of the uncertainty regarding the origin and progress of Nero's afair with Poppaea, the more acceptable motive for the crime would seem to be psychological freedom.[4] Most certainly, Agrippina's removal provided Nero with the freedom of action he needed to plunge headlong into activities dear to his heart - chariot racing and singing to his own accompaniment on the lyre. The former was carried out on the private race-course of Gaius in the Vatican valley, now enlarged and called the Circus Gai et Neronis.[5] Both Suetonius (Nero 22,2) and Tacitus (Ann. 14,14,) imply that ordinary Romans were invited to watch.

Nero then celebrated the first shaving of his beard by the institution of Ludi Iuvenales (or Iuvenalia), held

informally in his own gardens across the Tiber.[6] At these games Nero indulged his other desire and competed in the singing contests along with other men and women of the Roman 'peerage'. This essentially private theatrical show appears to have been repeated annually, at least up to A.D. 64 (Tac Ann. 14,15,1 and 15,33,1). It must be remembered that Nero's first truly public appearance did not occur until A.D. 64, in a Greek setting.

"As early as A.D. 57 Nero had tried to alter the character of the Roman games to bring them as near as possible to the Greek."[7] Two years later, A.D. 59, he established a corps of young wealthy Romans called the Augustiani - an innovation based on Hellenistic tradition. "This body was to be part bodyguard, part club of enthusiasts for the new games, and part claque for Nero."[8] Suetonius (Nero 20,3) says they were eventually more than 5,000 in number, who learned to applaud their Emperor with a type of rhythmic clapping and loud humming noise learned from the Alexandrians.

In A.D. 60 Nero went further in expressing his love for things Greek and instituted the Neronia or certamen quinquennale, in imitation of the Olympic games[9] - "a festival to include music, gymnastics and horsemanship" (Suet. Nero 12,3), to be held every fifth year.[10] The emphasis placed on music, poetry, and declamation was a novel feature for Rome. At the same time Nero's propaganda for athleticism continued;[11] he built a gymnasium in Rome and distibuted oil "to senators

and knights on a truly Greek scale of extravagance" (Tac. Ann. 14,47).[12]

The games were commemorated on the coinage in a series of copper semisses, possibly struck as late as A.D. 62.[13] (See Appendix II, No.7, Plate IX, Fig. 14.) Coins struck to commemorate a particular event were not always struck at the exact time of the event. For example, Nero's first congiarium was given in A.D. 57, but sestertii commemorating it appeared from A.D. 63.[14] Likewise, dupondii of A.D. 63 use the reverse type of macellum Augusti which was opened in A.D. 56/57,[15] and sestertii issued in A.D. 64 have a triumphal arch, "which was erected in 62 and had been decreed as early as 58."[16]

It is not the intention of this thesis to dwell on the reverse types of Nero's coinage, but rather to trace the development of his character through the changes reflected in the imagery of his person. However, as Sydenham remarks:

> It will be noticed that many of the reverse types unmistakably reflect the personal tastes of Nero to a far greater extent than is the case with the coins of other emperors. For example such types as the Decursio and Certamen quinquennale give a remarkably clear indication of Nero's taste in the matter of what particular subjects were worthy of being publicly recorded on the coinage. No less significant is the omission of allusions to events of political importance. Why, for example, do we find no direct allusion to the Parthian campaigns or the war in Britian and only the most meagre allusion to Armenia? The answer is to be found in the character of Nero himself. He was no soldier and took but small interest in military matters. Any such allusions would have reflected honour on Corbulo or the Roman legions rather than on himself; and Nero was far too self-centred and selfish to risk any such detraction from his own glorification.[17]

During the period of A.D. 59-64, the image of Nero, presented on his coin portraiture, and on the only certain sculptured replica of the time (the Terme head, Appendix I, No.47, Fig. 16) reveals a not entirely unpleasant personage - notwithstanding the interpretation by O. Neveroff quoted in my introduction (page 5, above). The image of the megalomaniacal Nero, known to popular history, did not emerge in full force until well into his later years (A.D. 64-68). It must be emphasised here that this image appears to have been projected mainly through these late coin profiles and the sculpted replicas which we believe were produced after Nero's lifetime. The entire series of coin portraits, nevertheless, does reveal the developments in Nero's physiognomy, personality and politics and, most importantly, it is in the period now under discussion that Nero's connotations of divinity, and special association with Apollo come to light.[18] (This will be further discussed.) In view of the lacunae in the sculptured replicas, the coin evidence will be subject to close scrutiny in the present section.

Yet, it must be noted that the Terme head, (the one indisputably authentic sculpture for the middle period), quite clearly portrays Nero at this time. As well as the change in coiffure pattern which corresponds to a similar change evident in the right-facing profile coin portraits, the features are thicker and heavier. (Compare Plate VI, Fig. 16 with Plate X, Fig.7). There is a close resemblance to the Nero of the

preceding period. And although the Terme head obviously represents a more mature model, exhibiting a more intense and moody expression, the manner in which the eyes are set, and the somewhat indolent sensuous mouth, show that this is the same young man as portrayed by the Cagliari head from Olbia, the Louvre No. 3528, and earlier Terme-veiled heads. (Figs. 13, 14 and 15 respectively.)

The coin portraits of A.D. 59-64 also show a close resemblance to the Nero portraits on the earlier coins (A.D. 55-59). However there are considerable variations in the coin portraits of the years A.D. 59-64, and while one can point out examples which correspond to the coiffure of the Terme head (of this period), there are others which hark back more to issues of A.D. 57 and 58. U. Hiesinger notes:

> Features common to the entire series from Adoption to Accession portrait are made more emphatic and intense at each stage, but they are not essentially changed in kind...This sense of formal continuity also underlies the transition from the early portrait types to those introduced in the years A.D. 59 and 64.[19]

The similarities in facial expression and detail occurring right through the series evidence an important component of realism in Nero's portraits.[20] It shall be seen in the last period of Nero's portraiture that, although we are confronted by coin profiles which have become exaggerated to project an intense and powerful presence, it is unquestionably the same man as on the earlier coins who confronts us.

Returning to the question that the series of coin

types for this middle period reflects more than one model as was the case with the earlier period, U. Hiesinger suggests that numerous "variations in individually cut coin dies is the rule in imperial coinage rather than the exception," and the variations found within this period (Coin Type IV) are simply too inconsistent and numerous "to inspire much confidence in the existence of multiple portrait models."[21] D.W. MacDowall says that minor variants of obverse legend shortening "were certainly due to individual die engravers," and other small variants, "must have been slips or mistakes that passed unchecked."[22] He suggests that individual engravers, again, were most likely responsible for the variant of right and left-facing portraits found concurrently in all the aes issues; the direction of the head has no chronological significance, "but the use of both right and left-facing heads will have facilitated the work of a number of die engravers working from a limited number of sculptural imagines."[23]

Another factor to be considered in the puzzle of coin portrait variations arising from what is assumed to have been one sculptured portrait type, is that the die engravers must have been allowed a certain amount of leeway in the matter of individual style, interpretation, and, perhaps, skill. It seems ridiculous to expect anything like the lack-lustre sameness of modern, mass produced coinage from an age of hand work. However, it would appear that the mint of Rome, under Nero, demanded higher artistic standards than the Lugdunum

mint. The Roman portrait usually appears in high relief and is finely executed. On coins in excellent (or mint) condition, the hair is carefully treated. For the most part, the Lugdunum portraits are somewhat flatter, and the hair more disordered; coins I examined presented a heavier style of portrait, but more uniform on the whole than at Rome.[24]

All portraits on the gold and silver are right-facing, and although there are also some variations (as discussed above), there are plenty of portraits which reflect the change in Nero's coiffure, sometime after A.D. 59; this change corresponds to the style evident in the Terme head of this period. On the undated gold and silver (post-reform coinage - after A.D. 64) the coiffure develops into the full "in gradus formata" style described by Suetonius (Nero 51). This will be discussed at length in the Chapter to follow.

The left-facing portraits, used concurrently with right-facing ones at all stages of the aes issues (both at Rome and Lugdunum),[25] show Nero's hair in a fringe, curling downwards and towards the front. (See Plate IXx, Fig. 12.) This was very puzzling, for the right-facing hair profile is different, it seemed as if there were two different types of portrait. An explanation was provided by the sculpted replicas, and confirmed by MacDowall's commentary.[26] The hair is curled or combed differently on each side of the head and the aforementioned Terme head clearly shows this difference. Most certainly, "This is the clearest possible evidence that

the die engravers used three dimensional imagines as their models for the emperor's head."[27] This difference also makes possible the identification of Nero with sculpted replicas, quite apart from other physical characteristics.

U. Hiesinger presents aurei of A.D. 61/62 and 62/63 as being good examples of the "greater thickening and heaviness of the facial features," and presumably the changing coiffure. There are, indeed, other earlier examples. An aureus in the British Museum Collection (No. 21, dated TRP VI -A.D. 59/60),[28] (Appendix II, No. 13, Plate IX, Fig. 5) shows the thicker neck and jowl as well as the parting in the hair over the right eye, with the front fringe raised slightly in a crest. A denarius in the Ashmolean Collection (Appendix II, No. 14, Plate IX, Fig. 6), dated TRI VII - A.D. 60/61, also well reveals the double chin, thick neck, and changing coiffure of this period; it is, in fact, quite a grim portrait. This type continues on gold and silver up to TRP X - A.D. 63/64 (Appendix II, No. 15, Plate IX, Fig. 7). It appears on the aes coinage starting with Nero's first issue of asses in A.D. 62. (See Appendix II, No. 16, Plate IX, Fig. 12.)

To return to what can be discerned of Nero's character or image during the years A.D. 59-64, judging from the history of this period, above all he appeared to desire popularity.

> He attempted to fulfil himself by activities that were to his taste, and to satisfy his longing for popularity and immortality by becoming the idol of the populace... Nero's interest in the stage and

> in the giving of magnificent <u>spectacula</u> offered him a way out.[29]

He had found a way to indulge his tastes and avoid too much involvement in goverment administration.

Several reverse types of coins issued during this period definitely emphasise Nero's consuming interests. In addition to the gaming table reverses mentioned above (page 45 and note 13), there are several issues of asses with reverse of Apollo, or as more commonly assumed, Nero as Apollo, dressed in flowing robes, standing and singing to his own accompaniment on the lyre. (Appendix II, Nos. 16 & 17, Plate IX, Fig. 12 & X, Figs. 7 & 8.)

Suetonius (<u>Nero</u> 25,2) remarks that Nero had a coin struck of himself playing the lyre. This is mentioned in the context of the visit to Greece (A.D. 66-68), but the first issue of copper asses with this reverse type was in A.D. 62.[30] It was followed by issues of orichalcum asses in A.D. 63 and 64 (with the same Apollo type), some obverses of which portray Nero with the radiate crown. The Apollo coins possess "an equivocal significance, such as occurs frequently on Nero's coins. That is to say, while it ostensibly emphasises the emperor's devotion to Apollo, it is at the same time highly flattering to Nero personally as a musical performer."[31]

The Victory type may be regarded as another equivocal expression on Nero's part. It is quite natural to suppose that this type refers to military conquests, and it probably

signified this in the minds of the Roman people. But the 'Victory' coins lack specific references to any military conquest and, hence, "form part of the considerable evidence which shows us that Nero accounted the contests of the arena or stage of far greater consequence than any success of Roman arms in Parthia, Syria or Britain."[32]

To digress a little, it may even be suggested that the omission of any direct rererence to the supression of the revolt in Britain in A.D. 61 was a direct expression of policy in Nero's principate. It had been a crisis in which it seemed that the Roman armies might easily have been annihilated;[33] the situation had been tactfully settled in the end[34] - what profit to Nero in drawing further attention to it? For he did not personally play a part in the military success. Just as drawing attention to Parthia and Armenia would have meant publicly honouring Corbulo, Nero avoided recording any successes that were not his own personal achievement.

C.E. Manning puts forward the theory that Nero's stage performances were not entirely devoid of political meaning. They were a deliberate cultivation of the plebs of Rome and the empire. By seeking popularity among them, "Nero, if he had lived longer, would have effected a considerable change in the political relationship between the princeps and the various groups in the empire he governed."[35] He achieved popularity amongst the urban plebs - which indeed continued after his death.[36] However, Nero fell in A.D. 68 because he

lacked the support of his armies; it was "impossible to rule with the support of the people alone."[37]

Nero's coins of the Victory type "were struck in large quantities and over a considerable period,"[38] and it may be assumed that both the public and Nero were satisfied by these coins with a 'two-fold' purpose. The earliest date for an issue of Victory type dupondii is A.D. 63.[39] (See Appendix I, No. 18.) The portrait of Nero agrees with that of the A.D. 59-64 period, and as with the 'Apollo' reverse type asses of this year, Nero is portrayed radiate on the obverse. 'Victory' appears on the dupondii through A.D. 64 and then appears on asses from A.D. 65 to 67. In A.D. 68 she makes a final appearance on the sestertius, and this is a direct reference to Nero's theatrical success (which will be discussed in more detail in the next Chapter).

Surprisingly, we find a radiate Nero during this 'middle' period when he is still portrayed as a fairly pleasant looking man. The radiate crown is usually associated with his final period of megalomania, and is interpreted as evidence of Nero's apotheosis as Nero-Helios, or at the very least, his imitation of Hellenistic royalty.[40]

It would be well, at this point, to examine briefly what Nero's conception of his position as princeps may have been, apart from the policy discussed above, of deliberately courting favour among the plebs. In the first chapter I emphasised Nero's careful training (mostly by Seneca) for the

position. Let us now examine what Seneca's views on kingship were, and assess how much Nero might have been influenced by them. Certainly something positive had been learned, for even Tacitus (Ann. 14,4) admits that Nero's government had some good qualities.[41]

It, indeed, Seneca's philosophical work De Clementia was an attempt to teach the princeps publicly what could not be taught privately (due to Agrippina's purported disapproval of philosophy),[42] it wasn't without precedent. It was, in any case, a tactful way of approaching a novice king.

> During the Hellenistic period there was much philosophical discussion of the kingly office. For example Demetrius Phalerus is reported to have said to Ptolemy the king that he ought to prize and read books "περὶ Βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας." "For what friends do not dare to say to kings they write in books."[43]

In the Apocolocyntosis (4) Seneca announces that Nero will give prosperous years to the weary (world) - felicia lassis saecula praestabit and imagines his Emperor in the guise of Apollo - flagrat nitidus fulgure remisso vultus et adfuso cervix formosa capillo. During this period (A.D. 59-64), Nero's coiffure does indeed begin to appear thus. Lucan, too, alluded to the Golden Age of peace and poetry which Nero was bringing, and identifies Nero with Phoebus Apollo (in Pharsalia 1), published at the time of the Neronia in A.D. 64. Nero was emerging at this time as patron and member of a circle of poets. The Carmina Einsidlensia, the Bucolics of Calpurnius Siculus, and the epigrams of Lucilius all make references to

Nero as Apollo and poet's patron, and describe the new Golden Age of their times.[44]

Although the De Clementia was written for Nero's education, at an earlier date (A.D. 56), Seneca's words in it are clearly the precursors of the praises poured forth by these other men a few years later. J.M.C. Toynbee says:

> In the De Clementia Nero is the gods' vicegerent - "electussum qui in terris deorum vice fungerer"; he is the 'clarum et beneficium sidus' to which men fly; he, no less than the sun, is the cynosure of every eye - 'tibi non magis quam soli latere continuit. multa contra te lux est'; and the cult of Divus Augustus is described as a spontaneous growth - 'deum esse non tanquam iussi credimus'. In these phrases do not imply direct deification of the living ruler, they certainly tend at least to blur the frontier between the human and the divine.[45]

It would appear that the most overwhelming message to Nero in De Clementia is the suggestion that he has been granted power over the human race by the gods; "they have found Nero pleasing and have chosen him to rule."[46] However, Nero is accountable to the gods, and Seneca makes this clear in his discussion of the clement ruler (De Clementia 1,19,8). J.R. Fears suggests the adjectives maximus and optimus (in this passage),

> after which Nero should strive, clearly invite comparison with Jupiter. The likening of the princeps with Jupiter re-occurs in the simile 'Atque non alia facies est quieti moratique imperii quam sereni caeli et nitentis' and the comparison of the vengeance of the princeps to the thunderbolts of the gods.[47]

The De Clementia "begins with an imperial panegyric in the form of a soliloquy placed in the mouth of the young princeps."[48] The young prince has the fortunes of men and commonwealths in his hands. Without his good will nothing can prosper, yet given all this power he governs well and justly and is prepared to provide a reckoning of himself to the gods.[49] Furthermore, clemency is fitting in an emperor (De Clemntia 1,5,2), "and it is in the merciful exercise of his power that an emperor best deserves the title which denotes his unique position in the state, Pater Patriae (De Clementia 1.16.2). Such an emperor earns the love of his fellow citizens and needs no other protection."[50]

Nero 'cautiously' accepted the title Pater Patriae in A. D. 56[51] (the same year as De Clementia's publication) and, as has been mentioned, by all accounts, managed the affairs of the Empire extremely well, aided by his excellent advisers. Gradually his personal desires (perhaps a deliberate policy - see page 10 above) and awareness of his own sovereign power after Agrippina's death, took ascendancy over the day-to-day governing of the Empire. He became a tyrant and not the ideal Hellenistic king he apparently wished to emulate. He ruled according to his own wishes and not the laws.[52] It would seem that Seneca's De Clementia overpraised the grandeur of the princeps, who ignored its precept of clemency and only took to heart its notion of glorious sovereignty.

As Nero grew older he increasingly avoided Seneca's

company. Tacitus (Ann. 14,52) suggests that Nero "listened to more disreputable advisers," who urged him to discharge his old tutor. Seneca was aware of these attacks and eventually proceeded to request retirement from his office. The event which probably hastened his desire for withdrawal from Nero's court was the death of Burrus in A.D. 62.

Suetonius (Nero 35,5), in his only mention of Sextus Afranius Burrus, says that the Emperor poisoned him, a story believed by Dio (62,13,3) but viewed as uncertain by Tacitus (Ann. 14,51,1-3). Tacitus elaborates on the poison story by adding that Nero visited the old soldier on his deathbed, inquiring how he was. Burrus is reported to have said, "How am I, do you ask? I am quite well, thank You." Thus Burus died greatly.[53] The partnership of Nero's two principal advisers for thirteen years now came to an end, and Seneca's political power was broken. He obtained permission to retire from public life.[54]

Nero appointed two men to succeed Burrus as Praetorian Prefect, "one was Faenius Rufus who was popular because of his honest management of the corn supply; the other was Ofonius Tigellinus who was the more influential with Nero because, it was said, of his depraved character."[55] Tigellinus was to aid Nero in the next crisis; the disgraceful affair of his divorce from Octavia. Burrus, according to Dio (62,13), had been strongly opposed to the idea of divorce for political reasons. Burrus' death obviously facilitated the divorce

procedure. Octavia was popular "as one of the few entirely inoffensive ladies of the imperial family."[56] When Nero married Poppaea twelve days after the divorce (Suet. Nero 35,3), popular discontent was such that he had Octavia removed from Italy and put to death on a trumped up charge.[57]

The marriage to Poppaea took place in May A.D. 62, and a daughter was born about 21 January A.D. 63.[58] Tacitus (Ann. 15,23) relates that Nero's "joy exceeded human measure, and mother and child were both named Augusta." The child, Claudia Augusta, however, died in infancy and was promptly deified by Nero. At a much later date - the death and deification of Poppaea herself in A.D. 65 - Claudia was commemorated (with her mother) on a bronze coin issued at Corinth or Patrae.[59] "The excess of joy and sorrow on Nero's part at the birth and death of the child is explicable not least in political terms given the need sooner or later to make succession arrangements."[60]

The only allusion to any question of the succession to Nero is mentioned by Tacitus (Ann. 14,47,1) on the occasion of the first of Nero's three illnesses during his reign, referred to by Suetonius (Nero 51). This was sometime before A.D. 61, and Rubrius Regulus appears to have been prepared for the succession.[61] Regulus died a year later of natural causes and Tacitus expresses some amazement that Nero had allowed him to live on to a natural death. However, there had been, and were to be, other rivals "potentially far more dangerous."[62]

Apparently, Nero's anxieties were played upon by his new 'helper' Tigellinus, who assured Nero "that he, unlike Burrus, was single-mindedly devoted to the Emperor."[63] Fear, indeed, when reinforced by the words of others, seems to have motivated Nero quite frequently, as in the case of Agrippina's hints back in A.D. 55 which hastened the removal of Britannicus. Now in A.D. 62, Tigellinus urged the removal of Cornelius Sulla and Rubellius Plautus. Back in A.D. 60, the appearance of a comet portending an imminent change of ruler caused Rome to speculate on the possibility of Plautus as Nero's successor.[64] At that time Nero only worried to the extent that he asked Plautus to retire to Asia "to withdraw from malevolent gossip" (Tac Ann 14,22). Sulla had been involved in a fabricated plot to elevate him to the throne in A.D. 56; he was acquitted (Tac. Ann 13,23), but he fell under suspicion again in A.D. 58. Again he was falsely accused (Tac. Ann. 13,47); this time he was implicated in a plot to attack Nero, and received orders to leave Rome and reside in Marseilles.

Tacitus (Ann. 14,55-59) says that "studying Nero's fears," Tigellinus found he dreaded these two men - evidently fearing their reaction to his marriage with Poppaea. Tigellinus proceeded to convince Nero that "the dictator Sulla's name has excited the Gauls," and "for the people of Asia Drusus' grandson is just as unsettling." They were both presently executed. Tacitus goes on to say that Nero wrote to

the Senate denouncing Sulla and Plautus (without admitting that their murder had taken place). The Senate voted a "thanksgiving, and the two men's expulsion from the Senate". Tacitus concludes; "Hearing of their decree, Nero concluded that all his misdeeds were accounted meritorious."[65]

Possibly there were sound reasons for Nero's fears,[66] and we shall see how he attempts to cope with them during the next five years. As we perceive the growth of Nero's megalomania reflected in his portraiture after A.D. 63/64, increased fears for his security, perhaps, drove him to 'escape' in the indulgence of his artistic self, to an excess - for which he is condemned by all our sources.

NOTES

1 B. H. Warmington, Nero, Reality and Legend, (London, 1969), p. 48.

2 See Tac Ann 14,10; Suet Nero 34,4; Dio 62,16-19. Dio (62,16,1) says, "people paid him reverence in public, but in private, so long at least as any could speak their minds with safety, they tore his character to shreds." K.R. Bradley, Suetonius' Life of Nero, (Bruxelles, 1978), pp. 203-206, has a lengthy note on the festival, proposing sacrifices for the safety of Nero as the purpose of the Arval sacrifice. See M. Smallwood, Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero, (Cambridge, 1967), No. 22. See also Warmington, Suetonius: Nero, (Bristol, 1977), p. 93.

3 D.C.A. Shotter, in "Two Notes on Nero," CQ, 64 (1969), pp. 109-111, discusses Tacitus' attempt to record the psychological outlook of Nero after the crime: immediate fear, a returning veneer of confidence, but over all the reminder of what he had done. He is depicted as hiding out as a hunted animal, fearing the day. His courage returned when he found his support had not evaporated. G. Charles-Picard, in Augustus and Nero, (London, 1966), has constructed an entire biography around Nero's fearful attitude.

4 See Warmington, Nero Reality, pp. 46-48. He notes that there are no less than five versions of Nero's affair with Poppaea (Tacitus providing two), and supports the view that Poppaea did not attract Nero's attention until A.D. 62, Tacitus (Ann 13,45,4-46), being wrong in stating that Nero was incited by Poppaea to get rid of Agrippina in A.D. 59. Suetonius avoids the episode of Poppaea's marriage to Otho, but treats it in the biography Otho 3 - saying that Nero asked Otho to protect Poppaea (saving her for himself Otho falls in love with her, hence Nero sends him off to Lusitania in A.D. 58 - has the marriage of convenience annulled and finally marries her himself in A.D. 62. Momigliano in CAH, 10 (1934), pp. 715-716, accepts Tacitus' account of Poppaea motivating the crime.

5 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 114, and Suet. Nero, p. 81.

6 See Momigliano, p. 718, and Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 79. Also Pliny Nat Hist 37,19.

7 Momigliano, p. 717.

8 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 115. See also Momigliano, p. 717, and Bradley, pp. 127-28.

9 J.D.P. Bolton, "Was the Neronia a Freak Festival?" CQ, 82 (1948), p. 82, suggests they were more like the Pythian Games.

10 See also Dio 61,21,1-2; Tac Ann 14,20,1; Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 66. For the controversy on the date of the Neronia, see Bolton, pp. 82-90, and D.K. MacDowall, "The Numismatic Evidence for the Neronia," CQ, 92 (1958) pp. 192-94.

11 Momigliano, p. 718.

12 The dedication of the gymnasium took place in A.D. 61, but Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 68, says it is hard to believe that the gymnasium was not already in use during the Neronia. In addition, the famous thermae of Nero must also have been built about this time too.

13 On the date and issues of semisses see: Bolton, pp. 87-89; E.A. Sydenham, Coinage of Nero (London, 1920), p. 71; RIC Vol.1, pp. 110, 140, 143, 171-74, 177; BMCEmp Vol. 1, pp. clxxxi, 128, 250-54, 277-78; MacDowall, "Evidence," and The Western Coinages of Nero, (N. Y., 1979), pp. 182-44, 203-204.

14 MacDowall, "Evidence," p. 192 and Coinages, p. 165, Cat. nos. 87, 98.

15 MacDowall, Coinages, pp. 171-73, Cat. nos. 180, 184, 186, and for A.D. 64 - Cat. Nos. 189, 192, 197, 202, 203, 207.

16 MacDowall, Coinages, pl. 165-67, Cat. Nos. 90, 95, 101, 102A, 111, 117, 126, 134. The decursio type, as well, didn't appear on sestertii until A.D. 63 (see MacDowall, Cat. No.75, etc. R. N. Geer, "Notes on the Early Life of Nero," TAPA, 62 (1931), p. 64, says the 'decursio' coins of Nero "belong to the last years of his reign," and have nothing to do with the first 'decursio' of A.D. 51; but the later coins do demonstrate the fact that Nero continued the practice (of leading a mounted parade of the praetorians).

17 Sylloge, Coinage, pp. 36-37.

18 Hiesinger, p. 121, says this is after A.D. 64. I disagree (see note 30 below).

19 Hiesinger, p. 123.

20 Hiesinger, p. 123.

21 Hiesinger, p. 119. I have noticed variations within all periods of Nero's portraiture on the coinage. It would seem as if, in addition to 'slips' or 'mistakes', some engravers worked from old models while others had a more recent portrait. It certainly could be possible that the changeover didn't take place at exactly the same time for all concerned. See also the commentary accompanying Appendix II, pp. 144-45 and note 25 below.

22 MacDowall, Coinages, p. 131. Refer again also to note 21, above.

23 MacDowall, Coinages, p. 131.

24 See P. Wynearson, "The Aes Coinage of Nero: A Stylistic Comparison of the Mints of Rome and Lugdunum," SAN, (1973/74), pp. 40-42. For the sake of clarity, all discussion of Nero's portraiture on coins in the present thesis is being restricted to those struck at Rome. As well as the peculiarities of Lugdunum portraits, there are too many variations in portraiture which are characteristic of other mints for these to be included in the present study. The coinage of Rome is generally more uniform in character and of a remarkably fine quality. We

can be fairly certain that the Roman issues best conveyed precisely what Nero preferred. However, some reverse types from other mints are cited when they are deemed necessary to support a particular argument. It must be remembered that up to A.D. 62/63 only gold and silver was produced under Nero. MacDowall, Coinages, p. 9, states, "The evidence of finds clearly shows that Rome was the sole mint for the issue of precious metals in the west, but that there were two principal mints, Rome and Lugdunum, for the aes coinages." MacDowall's corpus establishing a chronological sequence of successive issues, has provided dates (hitherto uncertain) for many of the coins examined in this thesis. A similar kind of study (to MacDowall's) remains to be undertaken regarding the other mints under Nero.

25 It is the later coin portraits (from A.D. 64/65 on) which most clearly show this difference in right and left-facing coiffure profiles. Lugdunum started striking dupondii under Nero, in A.D. 64, and sestertii in A.D. 66. The earliest sestertii and dupondii at Rome were struck in A.D. 63; asses and semisses started in A.D. 62. Obviously there must have been a flurry of confusion when additional dies were needed for increased production. It isn't known when one portrait type was changed for a new one and it seems obvious that under the circumstances portrait types for the aes during this period (A.D. 62 to 65/66) would overlap considerably. See also commentary in Appendix II, and note 21 above.

26 MacDowall, Coinages, p. 128. This is somewhat difficult to explain, as there are, unfortunately, no left-facing photographs available of the Terme and Worcester (Appendix I, nos. 47 and 53) sculptured heads, which are the best examples for the later hairstyle. However, it is apparent in the frontal view as well.

27 MacDowall, Coinages, p. 128.

28 There has been some difficulty reckoning TRP dates for Nero. Refer to Ch. III, note 50.

29 C.E. Manning, "Acting and Nero's Conception of the Principate," Greece and Rome, 2nd Ser. Vol. 22 (1975), p. 169.

30 This is the date established by MacDowall, Coinages, p. 170. RIC, p. 169, had suggested possibly as early as A.D. 61. Sydenham, pp. 75-76, remarked that the style of portraiture on the copper asses, in particular the ones without S.C., (which have to be dated to before A.D. 64) markedly resembled the aurei and denarii portraits of A.D. 60-63, while that on the brass (orichalcum) is characteristic of the later period. He concluded that the Apollo series fell into two groups - "i.e. the copper asses begin about the year A.D. 60....and the brass asses should be placed in A.D. 65 and the following years". As far as the western mints go, Rome issued 'Apollo' reverses from A.D. 62-64, with an issue of (pre-reform) brass or orichalcum in A.D. 63. Lugdunum produced an orichalcum issue in A.D. 64 and a copper (issue) in A.D. 65. There would seem to be several portrait variations on the Rome issues, but they all pretty well resemble the general type of pre-reform likeness; however a copper ass of A.D. 65 from Lugdunum (MacDowall Cat.No. 457 = RIC no. 304 = BMCRE Nero, no. 376) portrays the later Nero. It looks as if there was a 'transitional' portrait exemplified by MacDowall Cat.No. 272 = RIC 373= BMCRE Nero, no. 256 - an orichalcum radiate ass dated A.D. 64. By contrast the copper ass of A.D. 62 (MacDowall Cat.no. 242 = RIC no.375) definitely looks like the earlier Nero. Nevertheless they appear to have the same coiffure type, i.e. the beginning of the 'crested' style - (Hiesinger's Type IV). Sydenham probably noted a variation such as this, but his proposed dating was out (according to MacDowall's new chronology).

31 RIC, p. 169.

32 Sydenham, p. 37. In the end Nero believed 'art could conquer' - see Suet. Nero 43 and thesis introduction p. 10.

33 CAH, p. 802.

34 I.A. Richmond, Roman Britain (1963), page 33.

35 Manning, p. 167.

36 For Nero's popularity, even in A.D. 65, see Tac Ann 16,4.

37 Manning, p. 173.

38 An exception would be Nero's earliest 'Victory' type which was a gold quinarius struck in A.D. 55/56 - hostilities had barely begun in Armenia and Parthia and the type is perhaps alluding to some early successes in the campaign. (Another exceptional coin is a double denarius, referring to Armenia, and struck in A.D. 56-58 at the mint of Caesarea.) See Sydenham, Coinage, pp. 103-104. MacDowall, Cat. no. 34; RIC, no.17; BMCRE Nero, no. 11.

39 (Actually Fig 18 is not the earliest example but is quite typical.) See also MacDowall, Coinages, p. 171.

40 In truth, radiate crowns were the exception rather than the rule among the Hellenistic rulers. See Introduction n. 22. On Nero-Helios - H.P. L'Orange's "Le Néron Constitutionel et le Néron Apotheose," in Likeness and Ikon, Odense, 1973), pp. 278-291, F. Cumont's "Iniziazione di Nerone da Parte di Tiridate d'Armenia," in RFIC, N. S. 11 (1933), pp. 145-54, P. Grimal, "Le De Clementia et la Royaute Solaire de Neron," RLL, (1971), pp. 205-17, J. Gage, "Apollon imperial," ANRW Vol. II, No. 17.2 (1981), pp. 502-82. See also Appendix II, p. (commentary on A.D. 59-64).

41 See Morford, p. 61,; CAH, pp. 741-42.2. L. Casson, "Nero Unmaligned," Horizon 18, 4 (1976), pp. 49-55, presents an interesting case for the accomplishments of Nero's reign.

42 Refer to Chapter I, p.29.

43 E. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," Yale Classical Studies I (1928), p. 58 - this is an excellent and stimulating study on the body of evidence in early sources relating to the conception of royalty in Greek civilisation, including Persian and Egyptian ideas.

44 J.M.C. Toynbee, "Nero Artifex: The Apocolocyntosis Reconsidered," CQ, October (1942), p. 90.

45 Toynbee, "Apocolocyntosis," p. 84.

46 J. Rufus Fears, "Nero as the viceregent of the Gods in Seneca's De Clementia," Hermes, 103 (1975), p. 490.

47 Fears, "Nero as vicegerent," p.491.

48 Fears, "Nero as viceregent," p. 486.

49 Fears, "Nero as viceregent," p. 486-87.

50 Morford, op cit, p. 61.

51 The title P P appears on coinage with TRP II - A.D. 55/56. (Nero was still only eighteen years old).

52 Goodenough, p. 61, refers to Xenophon representing Socrates as "distinguishing between a king and a tyrant by the fact that a king rules according to the laws, a tyrant not according to the laws, but according to his own wishes," and on p. 69, from Diotogenes discussing the 'king's' character- "wherefore the king must not be conquered by pleasure, but must himself conquer it..." Nero falls short of these standards, indeed.

53 W.H. Alexander, The Tacitean 'non liquet' on Seneca (Berkely, 1952), p. 328.

54 For the long story of the interview see Tac Ann 14,53-56.

55 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 49.

56 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 50.

57 The full story is told in Tac Ann. 14,59-64. Suet. Nero 35,2, is a 'muddled' version of the same story. See Bradley, pp. 210-11, and Warmington, Suet. Nero, pp. 94-95. Octavia was divorced for barreness and killed for adultery. Her popularity was such that she appeared on the coinage of provincial mints. See BMC Alexandria, (Nero) p. 16; Corinth, p. 68f, Ionia, p. 319f, Lydia, p. 254. Dio 62,13,1-2, mentions the divorce but deals more with Burrus' opposition.

58 Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 95.

59 Sydenham, p. 55, no. 1; Smallwood, Documents, No. 148.

60 Bradley, p. 213.

61 Bradley, p. 284.

62 R.S. Rogers, "Heirs and Rivals to Nero," TAPA, 86 (1955), p. 195.

63 Rogers, "Heirs," p. 203.

64 Refer to R. S. Rogers, "The Neronian Comets," TAPA, 84 (1953), pp. 237-249.

65 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 50 and Bradley, p. 185. (But above all, see Rogers for a full discussion of the affair.)

66 D. McAlindon, 'Senatorial Opposition to Claudius and Nero", AJP Vol.77, 2 (1956), pp. 113-32, suggests there may have been some truth behind the accusations. This very interesting study points out the reality of traditional hostility between certain noble families and the emperors.

CHAPTER III

A.D. 64-68

It is, perhaps, an oversimplification to suggest that Nero indulged his artistic aspirations solely in order to escape the responsibilities and the fears associated with his position. For, in fact, many events took place in the last five years of his reign which proved him to be quite in touch with reality. Nero's monetary reform, for instance, "marks an epoch in the history of the coinage of the Roman Empire."[1] The results were permanent in the case of the gold and silver, and the whole magnitude of the conception is hardly the accomplishment of an irrational man.

Other enterprises, such as Nero's building schemes for Rome, and engineering projects for the cutting of canals from Lake Avernus to Ostia, and through the Isthmus of Corinth, are of equal magnitude.[2] The final settlement of the Armenian-Parthian problem, punctuated by the spectacular event of Tiridates' visit to Rome (see p.83 below), and the closing of the temple of Janus (a rarely used symbol of general peace on land and sea),[3] were major successes of the years A.D. 64-68. Voyages of exploration to the Baltic in quest of amber, and up the Nile to discover its source,[4] had already been undertaken earlier in Nero's reign, and towards the end of his principate,

Nero was planning an expedition to the Caucasus.

For this journey to the 'Caspian Gates' Nero raised a "new legion of Italian-born recruits, all six feet tall, whom he called 'The Phalanx of Alexander the Great'" (Suet Nero 19). It would seem that "like many emperors he succumbed to the magic of the great conqueror's name and wished to tread in his footsteps."[5] A bronze statuette of Nero as Alexander (Appendix I, No. 61, Fig.20) if not dating from this period precisely, certainly refers to this scheme.[6] His death prevented the expedition from taking place.

Nero's enthusiasm for projects of exploration, no doubt, owed much to Seneca's passionate interest in the physical sciences. Indeed, Seneca's philosophy of kingship, combined with an attitude of scientific curiosity, might be said to have produced "the closest equivalent to a 'Renaissance man' to come out of the ancient world."[7] L. Casson continues:

> The year 64 was climactic. Nero's handling of events reveals the extraordinary mix of traits in his make-up - his sure hand in directing the affairs of his realm, his yearnings to be recognised as a concert star, his feelings for art, his technological bent, and his brutal cruelty.[8]

We shall see how the portraits of this period reflect 'the extraordinary mix of traits' in Nero's personality. But first let us look at three major events of A.D. 64 - the great fire of Rome (which has made Nero's name a household word down through the centuries), the monetary reform, and Nero' first truly public appearance on the stage in Naples.

The great fire of Rome broke out on 19 July A.D. 64 and was the worst in Rome's history.[9] It is an important feature of all the (traditionally hostile) ancient literary sources, and the subject of much discussion among modern historians.[10] Most extraordinary is the degree of culpability (for various reasons) assigned to Nero by the ancient writers. It would appear that popular public opinion, pertaining to Nero's character, added up to the fact that any rumour regarding Nero could be believed - no matter how disgraceful. It is not necessary to go into all the details of the fire and the motives assigned to Nero, yet some are interrelated with other events of A.D. 64.

Tacitus (Ann. 15,33,1) tells us that in this year Nero planned to visit Greece, "to win the glorious and long-revered wreaths of its Games, and thus increase his fame and popularity at home". The first stop was Naples, selected for its predominantly Greek character; he then went to Beneventum to attend a gladiatorial show and returned to Rome.[11] The length of Nero' stay in Naples is not known, only ibidem saepius et per complures cantavit dies, (Suet Nero 20,2).

The tour of Greece was put off for unknown reasons, and he planned instead to "visit the eastern provinces, particularly Egypt" (Tac ann. 36,1-3). Tacitus goes on to say that this, too, was cancelled (for superstitious reasons), yet it seems more likely that the fire intervened.[12] Nero's

anticipation of, and preparation for, either of these two tours is surely the strongest evidence against his personal responsibility for the fire.

Nero's regulations for a better planned city after the fire, and the construction of the splendid Domus Aurea, "easily led to the proposition that he had set fire to the city because he disliked its old fashioned inconvenience."[13] This motive, too, is ridiculous. His earlier sumptuous Domus Transitoria was still under construction when the fire occurred, and it is unlikely that Nero would have wished to destroy it.[14]

The rebuilding of Rome incurred a great deal of expense; hence it would be best to examine Nero's monetary reform in this context.

> There has been considerable dispute about the motive for altering the weight standards. The reform has often been regarded as the device of a financially embarassed administration when its resources had been depleted by the personal extravagance of the emperor, expensive foreign wars and the disastrous fire at Rome.[15]

However, Nero's experiment with the aes coinage had begun before the fire, towards the end of A.D. 63, or early 64.[16] It was not until the following year (A.D. 64/65) that the gold and silver was 'tampered with'. D.W. MacDowall says;

> The interval between the Great Fire in July 64, and the reduction of the gold and silver standard with its profitable recoinage of the gold is indeed just the interval one would expect before the administration could assess the full extent of the increased financial burden it would have to face and could devise and implement measures to

meet it.[17]

In the initial year of the changed standards the mint mainly concentrated on a hurried recoinage of the gold. "It was content to leave the replacement of pre-reform silver until the middle years of Vespasian."[18] It would appear that there was a large profit from recoining the gold. "From the bullion of every 25 old aurei, the mint could produce 26 new ones, and enjoy a profit of 4 to 5 %.... and it seems to have been able to recoin a large number of the already in circulation."[19] This profit undoubtedly aided Nero in his lavish projects, both public and private. It must be remembered that the original experiment (involving the aes) does not appear to have been motivated by greed or necessity.

Nero's new portrait most clearly identifies the first post-reform issues of aurei and denarii. Compare a typical pre-reform aureus (Plate IX, Fig. 5) with a post-reform example (Fig. 8). The portraits on the aes coinage vary a good deal (as in earlier years), and the new type does not really appear to be firmly established before A.D. 65/66.

The new coin portrait of the third and final coiffure type, in its most expressive interpretation (see Plate IX, Fig. 13.) is exaggerated almost to the point of caricature, with the thickened neck and jowl, mean, determined mouth, and fixed gaze of the eye. Although the hair style conforms with that of the only authentic sculpted portrait for this period (the Worcester head, Appendix I, No. 53, Fig. 23 & 25), the image of

Nero does not agree in these two types of portraiture.[20] Judging from the photographs, the Worcester head is somewhat gentler in comparison with the coin profiles. It bears a strong resemblance to the Terme portrait of the middle period (Plate VI, Fig. 16). On the other hand, the many so-called 'modern' sculpted replicas agree more with the characterisation of Nero on the later coins.[21] The theory that ancient models for these baroque, emotional, sculpted Neros existed cannot presently be substantiated by any evidence. More studies and new discoveries, of course, can still alter our understanding of Nero's portraiture. However, the well-characterised coin portraits, even on their own, and albeit somewhat exaggerated, clearly reflect Nero's 'persona' or 'image', as it developed.

It must be emphasised that, in any case, two different forms of art are being compared, each with its own conventions and techniques.[22] Quite apart from the technical difference between sculpture in the round and relief profiles, cut by a die-engraver, is the concept of profile portraiture. We may note that the oldest representations which have come down to us are the animals painted some 15,000 years ago in caves of Spain and France. They are profile views. Profile reliefs and paintings were the convention of the earliest art in Egypt and elsewhere. In order to be easily recognised, the most characteristic angle for animals and humans was presented, and this was, normally, the profile view. The most sharp and 'telling' characterisations of people, throughout the history

of art, have been profile portraits in the various mediums.

The art of coin portraiture peaked in the Hellenistic period, in terms of realism attempted and technical skill. Although there was, indeed, a strong component of realism or 'verism'[23] already present in the art of the Romans, it is safe to assume that Nero was more influenced by the Hellenistic ideal. We know that he had a very strong inclination to things Greek, and his agents looted Greece and Asia for works of art to satisfy him.[24]

Priding himself on his aesthetic taste, Nero selected as the appropriate vehicle for his dramatic representation on the coinage of Rome, a type modelled after Hellenistic royalty. Quite apart from other examples which are stylistically similar, the coin portrait of the eunuch Philetaerus of Pergamum (282-263 B.C.) resembles Nero in physical type as well (see Plate IX, Fig. 15). "The startlingly realistic portraits of Philetaerus clearly suggest the flabbiness of a eunuch and, from the medical point of view, they perhaps indicate that he had a large goitre, but they also show the determined expression of this ambitious man."[25] It has been suggested that Nero, too, had a goitre, or thyroid problem, which accounts for the thick neck.[26]

We have already remarked that the early portraits of Nero and Agrippina were presented in the style of Hellenistic rulers (in Chapter I, p. 27). Although this was probably Agrippina's choice, the continued influence of Hellenistic

coinage (in Nero's reign), in view of his education and tastes, is therefore not surprising. What is unexpected in these late coin 'images' of Nero is that he allowed himself to be portrayed with such a great degree of realism.[27] I have suggested (p. 74 above) that the strong characterisations of the coin portraits may perhaps be accounted for by the difference between the art of the die engraver and that of the sculptor. It appears that Nero was content to allow sculpted portraits of himself to be worked in a more classical style. Perhaps he was simply less interested in the sculpted portraits; the coins, after all, were to be seen and handled by more people, and in his craven desire for popularity, Nero recognised the greater audience.

It has been remarked in the abstract (pp. iv-iv) that Nero used the coinage for personal propaganda to an unprecedented extent; I believe he was more aware (than his predecessors) of the propaganda <u>potential</u> of coinage. As to his likeness, one must note that there is always the possibilty that, due to his various excesses, Nero may actually have looked worse (to our perception) than the coins lead us to believe. All we can see is that his appearance has coarsened considerably during the period now under discussion, but, it is unquestionably the same man.

There remains one more suggestion, which may be offered with confidence, as to why this art-loving emperor allowed such unflattering likenesses of himself to be

distributed: his much-discussed megalomania - the insanity of self-exaltation. Nero was blind to any unfavourable aspects of his person. It appears that he was impervious to insults in the form of lampoons (Suet. Nero 39). He was unconventional about his dress, although, according to Suetonius (Nero 24,1) and Tacitus (Ann. 16,4), he observed the flute conventions for appearance on the stage. Suetonius (Nero 51,1) says "he did not take the least trouble to dress as an emperor should, but always had his hair set in a row of curls, and when he visited Greece, let it grow long and hang down his back...." and "He often gave audiences in an untelted silk dressing-gown, slippers and a scarf."[28] Dio (62,13,3) tells us that he "wore a short flowered tunic and a muslin neck-cloth; for in matters of dress, also, he was already transgressing custom, even going so far as to wear ungirded tunics in public." Nero's casual attitude to dress contrasts strangely with his 'kingly' image on the coinage. One might go so far as to say he is a mass of contradictions.[29] Certainly, by all accounts, he seems to have been seized alternately by fear and bravado, as at the time of Agrippina's murder (Ch. II, p. 42), after the conspiracy of Piso (p. 81 below), and in the final crisis (p. 91 below). If, on the one hand, Nero took advantage of his official position to further his career as a performing artist, he tried to be modest and observe artistic conventions. Again, if he engaged in extravagant forms of debauchery, he also undertook projects quite worthy of an emperor (such as the monetary reform and the

engineering undertakings). Earlier in his [illegible] had even called for less extravagant banquets (see Suet. Nero 4).

Nero's personal extravagance, however, was legendary. Suetonius (Nero 31) says that Nero's wastefulness showed most of all in the architectural projects. In connection with the magnificent 'Golden House', Nero exclaimed that he could now "begin to live like a human being."[30] A colossal statue "of himself (120 feet high) stood in the entrance hall" (Ibid). Pliny (Nat Hist 34,45) mentions that it was of bronze and made by the sculptor Zenodorus. In Nat Hist 34,46, Pliny goes on to say that he saw a model of the colossus, and that it caused surprise because of its outstanding resemblance to Nero. None of the sources provide any further description of this statue; it has been subject to much controversy by modern historians as evidence, pro and con, of its depiction of Nero as Helios.[31] I shall discuss this more in the conclusion.

We must turn to Suetonius (Nero 51) once more, for a description of Nero's physical appearance. In all likelihood the reference is to the Emperor during the period now under discussion, since Suetonius lists cervice obesa and vente projecto. His staura fuit prope iusta has already been commented on in cornection with the Tralles statue (p. 32 above). Bradley notes that it is unrealistic to assume that Suetonius was totally uninfluenced by statues that were most likely still standing in his day (and he had the coinage in addition), but it has been suggested that Suetonius relied more

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Moving on to other events of A.D. 64 we find that Suetonius (Nero 21,1), records that an instalment of the Neronian Games was held in Rome (probably before the fire).[34] Nero competed in a contest of citharoedi, singing Niobe until two hours before dusk, and thus allowing "the remaining competitors no chance to perform." The rest of the Neronia took place, it would seem, in the following year.[35]

The Pisonian conspiracy was a prominent event of A.D. 65, but Suetonius' (Nero 36,1) account of it is surprisingly brief. Bradley suggests:

> The reason lies in the irrelevance of the details of the plot to the conception of biography in general and the theme of cruelty in particular. Suetonius, it would seem, realised that the penalties enacted after the conspiracy were justifiable while those people who were not punished at all cannot have been of any use for illustrative purposes here."[36]

Tacitus' account of the plot, (Ann. 15,48-74) on the other hand, is long and detailed. Warmington summarises:

> Its object was to kill Nero and replace him by C. Calpurnius Piso, a member of an old Republican family but not the originator of the plot. Various motives, good and bad, are given by Tacitus for the participation of various individuals, but a general anger at the degradation of the imperial position by Nero's theatrical activities seems to have been the most prominent.[37]

Joined with the senators and knights who may have hoped for a restitution of Republican forms, were intellectuals, "brought up on Stoic thought and taught to regard hatred of tyranny and the cult of freedom as ends in themselves."[38] A military group,

too, joined the conspiracy. It apparently supported Seneca who was implicated in the plot and was obliged to take his own life.[39]

It is worth noting at this point that for the first eight years of Nero's principate there had been no executions of senators and knights. By contrast, Suetonius (Claudius 29) reports that Claudius (during his reign) executed 35 senators and 300 roman knights." In connection with the Pisonian conspiracy, there were 19 deaths and 13 exiles. Nero's earlier victims "had all been members or connexions of the imperial family, always its own worst enemy.....and their deaths did not arouse the violent hostility of the senate."[40]

The near success of the plot frightened Nero very badly. Tacitus (Ann. 15,57,4) remarks mitis magisque pavido Neroni, "and it is therefore quite understandable if Nero's attitude toward his rivals appears less generous, or even vindictive, in the remainder of his reign."[41] After the conspiracy Nero struck out at various men thought to be dangerous due to their high social standing or positions as commanders of the army, "or even because they had personal qualities which made them unafraid to show disapproval of him."[42]

In the immediate aftermath of the Pisonian conspiracy, however, there was still enough support in the Senate to offer Nero "abundant congratulation" (Tac Ann. 15,73-74). Tacitus goes on to report that "thank offerings

were decreed to the gods for miraculously discovering the conspiracy: and particularly to the Sun - who has an ancient temple in the Circus Maximus (where the crime was planned).... The month of April was to take Nero's name", and most interestingly,

> I find in the senate's minutes that the consul-designate Gaius Anicius Cerealis proposed that a temple should be erected as a matter of urgency to the Divine Nero. The proposer meant to indicate that the emperor had transcended humanity and earned its worship. But Nero himself vetoed this in case the malevolent twisted it into an omen of his death. For divine honours are paid to emperors only when they are no longer among men. (Tac Ann. 15,74)

It is curious that Nero would turn down one offer of divine status, but give himself another, namely, his portrayal on the coinage with the radiate crown, which had already appeared on an issue, dated to A.D. 63, of early post reform orichalcum dupondii.[43] One can only assume that although the radiate crown had appeared posthumously (on the coinage of Rome), in the case of Julius Caesar and Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius were not commemorated thus; hence the public would be uncertain as to the significance of the radiate crown. But this does not take into account what the Senate might have thought. Did Nero have a canny sense of how far he could go? Was he, perhaps, as superstitious as Tacitus says, or is this just another example of contradictory behaviour?

In a sense, Nero's inconsistent behaviour, quite apart from any intrinsic personality traits, could be said to

result from his 'feeling his way' along the path by which the principate was turned into a monarchy. The submission and the repression of all activity that was not at its service was demanded by the Empire, but, "owing to the lack of all moral sense in Nero submission to the Empire too soon became submission to the personal caprices of the Emperor."[44] Lost to the dazzle of his own power, exercised without constraint, Nero's conception of his own greatness grew, aided by his personal propaganda (e.g. the coinage) and the honours paid from outside Rome.

The glorification of Nero climaxed in A.D. 66, when the Parthian prince, Tiridates, came to Rome to make his submission and receive the crown of Armenia from Nero. The reception of Tiridates was a very special and impressive spectaculum as recorded by Suetonius (Nero 13) and Dio (63,1-7); Tacitus' account is in the lost part of his work. Although the journey which took nine months and was financed by Rome, and subsequent festivities were extremely expensive, Suetonius includes the event amongst the commendable acta. [45]

Although Nero typically appeared at the military ceremonial as a triumphator, the 'hero' was the general Cn. Domitius Corbulo, who had, in A.D. 63, brought about a settlement or 'compromise' in an eight year long series of complicated military and diplomatic manouevres.[46] It is interesting to note that, "in all his years in the East, Corbulo never had to fight a major battle. His strength was in

his patience...."[47] E.H. Warmington suggests that Nero deserves credit for continuing to back Corbulo with reinforcements, remarking that "still more notable" was the position Corbulo was allowed to retain for eleven years - "the command of more troops and a wider territory than had been allowed to any one not of the imperial family since the days of Augustus."[48] Eventually, however, Corbulo received the order to die (in A.D. 67) in connection with a plot against Nero, led by the general's son-in-law Annius Vinicianus.[49]

To return to the celebrations of A.D. 66, Suetonius (Nero 13) states that the closing of the temple of Janus took place on this occasion. But coins recording the event were issued at least a year before. "The first issue may have been designed for circulation on January 1st - the feast of Janus - A.D. 65", and "there is no doubt that they continued to be struck right down to the end of the reign."[50] In view of Suetonius' statement, it is entirely possible that, "amongst other extravagant compliments lavished on the Parthian king, he (Nero) closed the Temple a second time."[51]

After meeting Tiridates at Naples, Nero conveyed him to Rome, "and set the diadem upon his head" (Dio 62,4,2). Dio's description of the city, decorated with lights and garlands, the throngs of citizens clad in white and carrying laurel branches, soldiers glittering in shining armour, and the obeisance of the Parthian to the Emperor, creates a powerful impression. Dio (62,6,9) says that the people gave to the day

itself the epithet "golden". Not merely the stage but the whole interior of the theatre had been gilded. In the centre of a purple awning stretched over them was an embroidered figure of Nero driving a chariot, with golden stars gleaming all about him. On receiving the diadem from Nero and sitting beneath the emperor's feet, Tiridates acknowledged that he had come to worship Nero as he did Mithras.

This scene has led to the theory, held by some modern scholars, that Nero embraced the religion of Mithraism. F. Cumont, in particular, argues the case for Nero's conversion to Mithraism very persuasively.[52] H.P. L'Orange is also very convincing with his theory of Nero-Helios as (Sun)-Cosmocrator or the Cosmic God of Fate, based on the evidence of "the Persian prince Tiridates (who) did obeisance to him as the royal God of Fate (66 A.D.). In the very guise of Sun-Cosmocrator Nero appears to us in the huge statue in the vestibule of the Golden House." The cenatio or main room of the house was carefully described by Suetonius (Nero 31) as circular, with a roof that revolved day and night, in conjunction with the sky. It is construed by L'Orange to signify a ceremonial room or 'Nero's Cosmic Hall'. The coins featuring a building on the reverse, generally assumed to be the Macellum of Nero, have been suggested (on F. Gnecchi's proposition) as possibly representing a section of the Domus Aurea with domed central part.[53] This suggestion was mentioned and rejected, with a "shadow of a doubt" by E.A. Sydenham,

who, incorrectly it would seem, placed the Macellum types after the Great Fire, saying "they were probably struck about 65 or 66 A.D.."[54]

From evidence of Nero's portrait on the obverse, supported by MacDowall's recent views on Nero's monetary reform, the Macellum coins (orichalcum dupondii) may be dated with certainty to A.D. 63 and 64 at the mint of Rome (see Appendix II, Nos. 10 & 11, Fig. 10 - for A.D. 63). The earlier Macellum types bear a 'transitional' type of portrait which is close to the type for the middle period (A.D. 59-54). The Macellum type was also issued at Lugdunum in A.D. 64 and 65, bearing the later portrait type. There do not seem to be any issues of this reverse type after these later dates. This evidence would definitely rule out any possibility of the coins depicting the Domus Aurea, since construction started after the fire of A.D. 65.

Evidence for Nero's involvement with Mithraism is very scanty, but the lavish Apolline - Heliolatrous imagery of his reign certainly must have sown the seeds for the later acceptance of Mithraism and the cult of sol invictus in Rome.[55] B. H. Warmington says that Nero "was as much of a dilettante in religion as in other things."[56] Suetonius (Nero 56) says quite emphatically that Nero despised all religious cults except that of a Syrian goddess. This did not last long in any case, and he subsequently sacrificed to a good luck charm "sent him by an anonymous commoner."

Nero's almost obsessive preoccupation with Apollo is quite understandable. "As the ancestral god of the Julii, Apollo had been brought into special prominence by Augustus;....but as patron of the arts Apollo was also the deity with which a natural association might develop on the part of an aspirant musician...."[57] Certainly in the later years of Nero "the tendency towards deification was becoming more openly expressed,"[58] but Nero, as has been mentioned, did refuse the offer of a temple at Rome to himself as Divus Nero. The fact that he was called theos on some coins of Asia Minor was a compliment also paid to Tiberius and Claudius. Nero, who had taken the attribute of the aegis of Zeus on sestertii issued as early as A.D.63 (in Rome) was associated with Zeus on the coins of Sicyon, and in the inscription from Acraphiae.[59] Nero's role as Saviour of the World had already been expressed (A.D. 60-62) in the name of an Alexandrian tribe. Increasingly, indeed, he became acclaimed as nĕos Hĕlios and the 'New Apollo', in the Greek world.[60]

We have seen that Nero's coinage of A.D. 63, exalted him as Apollo- citharoedus.[61] Suetonius (Nero 25,2) also attests to his erecting statues of himself playing the lyre. K. R. Bradley remarks:

> The statues of Nero as Apollo must often have been spontaneously produced in provincial regions, not at the instigation of Nero, and even to offset those cases where the hand of Nero himself does appear, for instance in the coinage and the colossus....[62]

In any case the survival of such statues is rare. A possible example of this type is an idealised sculpture in the Vatican (Appendix I, No. 63, Fig. 17).[63]

Even if a "constant progression towards theocratic despotism"[64] may be seen as having developed in Nero's reign, it had been steady and easily detectable from the beginning. However, a distinction must be preserved between "divinity and the association with the divine."[65] We are told that Nero regarded his voice as divine (Suet Nero 21,1),[66] and in September of A.D. 66 he set out to display it to the Greek world.[67] Leaving Rome in the charge of his (apparently efficient) freedman Helius, Nero was accompanied by several thousand Augustiani, and praetorians under the command of Tigellinus.[68] An emperor of a truly religious or 'divine' character would surely not have journeyed thus. Nero may have viewed his expedition as a 'foreign campaign' (Dio 63,8,3), but it was basically a theatrical show on tour. One is tempted to make comparisons with popular showmen-singers of our day such as Elvis Presley and Mick Jagger. Perhaps it would be kinder to compare Nero to Luciano Pavarotti who is on a higher level of artistry, but is acclaimed by large enthusiastic crowds. Ph. Fabia says:

> Quand il fit enfin le fameux voyage d'Achaie, qui fut sans doute la plus grand joie de son existence, il accomplit un projet des longtemps caresse.[69]

Even as affairs in Rome began to look so dark towards the end of A.D. 67 that Helius asked Nero to return to Rome, (and seeing him hesitate, went in person to Corinth, urging the Emperor to return); Nero nonetheless insisted on a triumphal entry into Rome.[70] It would appear that the Greek tour took precedence over his duties as emperor and he became totally blind to the decline of his authority.

Undoubtedly "the tendency of the Greek world to exalt the person of the emperor as a quasi-divine being,"[71] contributed to Nero's 'blindness'. In the East particularly, the imperial cult was expressed extravagantly in association with Nero's later years "if not his visit to Greece."[72]

His first appearance in Greece was as a singer at Corcyra, followed by his participation in the games, founded by Augustus, at Actium. This was climaxed by the Isthmian games at Corinth, where on 28 November A.D. 67, Nero restored the freedom of Greece.[73] He also initiated the work of cutting the Isthmus canal (see p. 69 above). "In the intervals between these enterprises, towards the end of 67, Nero toured all Greece, visiting famous places, collecting works of art, taking an interest in local life and imposing taxation on the rich to maintain himself and his suite."[74]

In the meantime, Helius 'efficiently' disposed of the foremost men at Rome, according to Dio (63,18,2), and Momigliano says "the loathing of the aristocracy, cut off from the Emperor by a sea of blood, began to have an effect on the

loyalty of the troops."[75] When Helius finally prevailed on Nero to return, about January A.D. 68, he first made a victory appearance at Naples.

Eventually Nero reached Rome where the same ceremony (as at Naples) had been prepared for him. He was hailed by the crowds, as he rode in the chariot of Augustus, preceded by men bearing the crowns he had won. According to Dio the city was again decked with garlands and ablaze with lights.

> The whole population, senators themselves most of all (my emphasis) kept shouting in chorus: 'Hail, Olympian Victor! Hail Pythian Victor! Augustus! Augustus! Hail to Nero, our Hercules! Hail to Nero, our Apollo! The only Victor of the Grand Tour, the only one from the beginning of time! Augustus! Augustus! O, Divine Voice!....' (Dio 63,20).[76]

Whereupon, Dio (63,21) goes on to say, he carried his 1808 crowns into the Circus and placed them around the Egyptian obelisk.[77] The 'victory' is firmly commemorated on an unusual sestertius of A.D. 68 (Appendix II, No. 25). On the obverse Nero's bust is draped and his crown is composed of bay-leaves, perhaps intertwined with wild olive and pine. Sydenham interprets the composite crown as symbolising the three great Greek contests; the Pythian, Olympian and Isthmian.[78] The date TRP XIV places the coin in the last year of Nero's reign, (and the last issue of sestertii).[79]

After the 'pageant' Nero returned to Naples and it was there that he heard of the revolt in Gaul, (sometime between the 19 and 23 March). Dio mantains that it was just

after luncheon, as Nero was viewing a gymnastic contest. He didn't hurry back to Rome, but merely sent the Senate a letter asking them to excuse his not coming, pleading a sore throat, "implying he would like, even at this crisis to sing to them". He summoned:

> The foremost senators and knights in haste, and announced new ideas for the water-organ. But when he heard about Galba having been proclaimed emperor by the soldiers.... he fell into great fear" (my emphasis) and sent some men against the rebels.... On learning that Petronius, whom he had sent ahead against the rebels with the larger portion of the army, had also espoused the cause of Galba, he lost hope in arms. And now that he'd been abandoned by everyone, he formed plans to kill the senators, burn down the city, and sail to Alexandria (Dio 63,26-27).

As to his future, his 'little' talent would support him.[80]

The rest of the story is all too familiar. Both Dio and Suetonius abound in stories which in general represent what Nero was thought "capable of doing, not what he actually did. The outrageousness of the proposals readily shows this."[81] The accounts of Nero's fall in Dio, Suetonius' Nero, and Galba and Plutarch's Galba, are largely similar, and it is a great pity Tacitus' section is lost as it might have provided another point of view. Suetonius' biography is particularly frustrating to historians because it consists almost entirely of Nero's reactions to events.[82] Yet for the purposes of this study it completely supports Nero's intense preoccupation with himself as evidenced by his 'images'.

Among other plans Suetonius reports that Nero

intended to bring a force carrying stage equipment with him to Gaul, where he would present himself unarmed before the enemy, and weep. "This would soften their hearts and win them back to loyalty; and on the next day he would stroll among his joyful troops singing paens of victory" (Nero 43-44). B.H. Warmington comments that the details lack unconvincing, "again being part of the picture of Nero's hopelessly emotional and impractical attitude in the final crisis."[83]

Surely even this admittedly preposterous scheme is not that much more outrageous than the fact of an emperor taking off on a singing tour abroad, hesitating to return to the capitol in time of crisis, and insisting on a victory celebration on his final return. Since he was greeted by a joyful crowd on that occasion, why would not similar tactics work again? Indeed Nero's famous last words, Qualis artifex pereo (Suet Nero 49, 1), consistent with Dio's

" ὦ Ζεῦ, οἷος τεχνίτης παραπόλλυμαι."

63,29,2) attest to the seriousness of Nero's pre-occupation with his 'art'.[84]

It would appear that Nero wanted the best of both worlds: recognition as an artist, and the enjoyment of absolute power as a monarch, employing each desire to serve the other. The imagery of his coinage clearly demonstrates the two aims. On the one hand, it has been demonstrated that reverse types promoted the 'artistic' aspects of his reign, yet his choice of a portrait type modeled on the Hellenistic monarchy was

designed to impress the Romans with its connotations of power - perhaps divine.

If the coinage reflects a consistent and clear 'image' of Nero, the evidence of the sculpted portraits is less revealing. Apart from the paucity of authentic extant sculptures, those works which are now considered 'unquestionable' reflect a less 'flamboyant' Nero. (For example, compare the Worcester head -Figs.23 and 25, with the head in the Louvre - Fig. 24). This might be explained on the basis of the difference between coins and sculpture, or, much less probable, by the possibility of many late portraits of Nero having been destroyed as the consequence of his damnatio memoriae.

The damnatio memoriae of Nero cannot be taken for granted.[85] In our ancient sources there is no mention of damnatio memoriae having been voted by the Senate for Nero. Suetonius (Nero 49,2) does say, however, that Nero was declared hostis and condemned to death. In Nero 57 Suetonius notes that after Nero's death, faithful friends had statues made of him which they put up on the Rostra. This could not have happened if Nero had been subject to Damnatio memoriae. Dio (64,6,2) states that Otho "added Nero's name to his own", also indicating the doubtfulness of a damnatio for Nero. In his biography of Otho (7) Suetonius records that Otho didn't protest when the crowd called him Nero, and says, furthermore, "Indeed, some historians record it as a fact that he replaced

some of Nero's statues." One would presume that they had been removed by Galba. If the condemnation had been official, surely Suetonius would have happily recorded it in his biography of Nero. For he is certainly explicit in Domitian (23), noting that the Senate (posthumously, as was the custom) "smashed Domitian's images, and decreed all records of his reign obliterated".[86]

It was no doubt due in part to the success of Nero's propaganda and 'image' on the coinage that he enjoyed so much popularity with the plebs. He was thought by some to still be alive during the reign of Trajan, and several false Neros were welcomed up to about A.D. 96.[87]

NOTES

1 Sydenham, p. 15.

2 On the Ostia to Lake Avernus canal see: Bradley, pp. 181-82; Warmington, Suet. Nero, pp. 72 & 87. CAH, p. 724; Sydenham, p. 16. For the canal through the Isthmus see: Suet. Nero 19,2; Bradley, pp. 115-16; Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 77; CAH, 736-37; Z. Yavets, Plebs and Princeps, (London, 1969), p. 129.

3 Commemorated on post-reform aurei and denarii of A.D. 64-66, and post-reform sestertii, dupondii and asses from A.D. 65-67. See MacDowall, Foldout Section D and Sydenham, pp. 91-97. Refer also to R. Turcan, "Janus a l'Epoque Imperiale," ANRW Vol.II, 17.1 (1981), pp. 381-384.

4 On Nero's policy of exploration and expansion, see CAH, pp. 735, 776-80, & 880-84. Also, during the visit to Greece in A.D. 66/67 a bottomless lake was sounded by Nero, see Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 117

5 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 99.

6 Bradley, pp. 118-119. CAH, pp. 776-78, & 883-84 on the Caucasian expedition specifically.

7 L. Casson, "Nero Unmaligned," in Horizon, 18, No. 4 (1976), p. 55.

8 Casson, p. 52.

9 Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 102. Suetonius' Claudius 18) also refers to (a recent) "obstinate fire" in Claudius' reign.

10 On the fire: Suet Nero 38; Tac Ann. 15,38-43; Dio 62,16-18. The best commentary is Bradley's, pp. 226-35. He refers to all other discussions of the fire. See also Warmington (1977), Suet. Nero, pp. 102-103.

11 For the visit to Naples see Bradley, pp. 125-29 - he suggests it may have been about mid-May, on pp. 127 & 131.

12 Bradley, p.129.

13 Warmington, Suet. Nero, pp. 72 & 102. Bradley, p.229, comments more fully on the narrow streets and subsequent town planning.

14 Bradley, p. 230.

15 MacDowall, Coinages, p. 133.

16 See MacDowall, Coinages, pp. 144-47, for further details of the aes coinage 'experiment'. See also Sydenham, pp. 16-23; RIC, p. 138.

17 MacDowall, Coinages, p. 149.

18 MacDowall, Coinages, p. 148.

19 MaDdowall, Coinages, p. 148.

20 Hiesinger's study does mention this discrepancy.

21 Refer to comments in appendix I., p.135, where I elaborate on this idea.

22 See Ch. II, note 11.

23 For a good, concise discussion of verism, refer to Gisela M.A. Richter, "The Origin of Verism in Roman Portraits," JRS, 45 (1955), pp. 39-46. J. Breckenridge, G. Hanfmann and others, discuss this subject in much greater detail. Refer to introduction below, p.5 ffand note 14, in addition to main bibliography below.

24 According to Tacitus (Ann. 15,44) Acratus and S. Carrinas were the agents; Acratus was unsuccessful in Pergamum (Tac

Ann. 16,22). Warmington in Nero Reality, p. 111, and Suet. Nero, p. 82, comments on the looting.

25 I. Carradice, Ancient Greek Portrait Coins, (London, 1978), p. 12.

26 G. D. Hart, (Synopsis of paper) "The diagnosis of Disease from Ancient Coins," AJA, 73 (1969), p. 236.

26 Ptolemy IV (221-202 B. C.) was another chubby-faced monarch - realism of the portraits seem to have been more important than flattery.

27 I find it surprising in view of the restrained idealising classicism of Augustus' image. Donald Strong, in Roman Art, (Penguin Books, 1976), p. 47, says "the Julio-Claudians looked alike...handsome, clean-shaven, compact, grave and serious..."their image was broken with only by Nero."

28 Tacitus (Ann. 16,4) likewise, comments on Nero's careful observance of stage etiquette. It can be argued that Nero's coiffure was the 'common' fashion of the auriga, but longer locks are generally associated with Apollo (who also drove the chariot of the sun), and the Alexander-image. In view of the presence of other kingly or even divine symbols, such as the aegis and radiate crown, I would favour an identification with Apollo rather than the Roman auriga. J.M.C. Toynbee, "Ruler Apotheosis in Ancient Rome," Num. Chron. 6th Ser., 7-8 (1947-48), pp. 126-49, argues the case for the auriga, - esp. pages 136-138. H. P. L'Orange, Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture (Oslo, 1947), takes the other view - esp. pp. 58-60. (Both writers defend their views quite heatedly.)

29 J. Breckenridge, "Imperial Portraiture," ANRW Vol. II, No. 12. (1981), p. 489, in referring to the late physiognomic transformation of Nero, suggests that this may be seen as the flowering of the "ambivalence" M. A. Hanfmann (see bibliography below) perceived emerging from Julio-Claudian portraiture. Might one note that the contradictions in Nero's character and images may be seen as equating this 'ambivalence' in the style of his period?

30 According to Dio 64,4, Vitellius found fault with Nero's Golden House - it was "scantily and meanly equipped" ! Bradley, pp. 169-181, provides a full commentary on the Domus Aurea with abundant references.

31 See Bradley, pp. 174-177 on the colossus.

32 Bradley, p. 281.

33 M. Grant, Nero (London, 1970), p. 205. (Actually we don't know if Strindberg was referring to the coin portraits or the suspect 'baroque' sculptures - I would imagine the latter).

34 This seems logical. See J. D. P. Bolton, "Was the Neronia a Freak Festival?" CQ, 82 (1948), p. 86.

35 Tacitus (Ann. 16,4-5) gives a full account of the Neronia (in A.D. 64). There is considerable discussion as to whether the contest was to be held every four or five years. (See Bolton and MacDowall's "The Numismatic Evidence for the Neronia," CQ, N. S. (1958), 192-94.

36 Bradley, p. 220.

37. Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 98. See also CAH, pp. 726-31.

38 CAH, p. 727. See also R. S. Rogers, "Heirs and Rivals to Nero," TAPA, 846 (1955), p. 208, and McAlindon, (referred to in Ch. II, note 66.

39 Momigliano, in CAH, p. 728, says there is no doubt regarding Seneca's involvement.

40 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 135. After the death of Claudius, the law on majestas or treason, wasn't revived until A.D. 62.

41 Rogers, "Heirs," p. 208. One is reminded of the fear Nero experienced after Agrippina's death - see Chapter II, p. 42 (including note 3).

42 Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 99 (comments on Suet. 37,1). In Nero Reality, pp. 142-154, Warmington discusses the opposition of the Stoics to Nero, and Lucan's quarrel with Nero which may have stemmed from "trivial causes,"(p. 152). Sometime after the conspiracy, the death of Poppaea occurred, brought about by Nero's temper, apparently (Suet Nero 35). Tacitus (Ann. 16,6,1) hints at poisoning. See also Dio 62,27,4 and Bradley, p. 212. Nero married Stalia Messalina sometime after in A.D. 66 - she outlived him to become the wife of Otho in A.D. 69 (Bradley, p. 208, commenting on Suet Nero 35,1).

43 It should be noted here that this first appearance of Nero radiate in the context of Apollo reverses would suggest association with Apollo, and the attribute of Apollo (or Helios), and not the deified Caesars. See also Bradley, pp. 288-90 - on Nero-Apollo, etc.

44 Momigliano, in CAH, pp. 731-32, says hostility to propaganda for this monarchical idea drove Nero to stress it more and more. This emphasises the childish tenacity of Nero's character which seems to become more pronounced in these later years. Typical will be his subsequent insistence on triumphs after the tour of Greece, in the face of troubles and hostility in Rome.

45 See Bradley, p. 89.

46 For a thorough account of the troubles between Rome and Parthia, see CAH, pp. 758-73.

47 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 97.

48 Warmington, p. 97.

49 This plot, probably less serious than the Pisonian conspiracy, took place sometime during A.D. 66. See Suet Nero 36,1, and Bradley's commentary pp. 220-21.

50 RIC, p. 156. Issue I of post-reform aurei and denarii (A.D. 64/66) feature the temple of Janus closed. The earliest sestertii of this type appear with the date of TR POT XI (e.g. MacDowall Cat. No. 136 = RIC No. 170 = BMCRE No. 111), which would appear to be A.D. 64/65 by most

reckonings. MacDowall lists this type under Issue IV, A.D. 65. It is Sydenham, pp. 26-37, who notes a "peculiar form of date" on this sestertius - indicating an ambiguity in the precise method of reckoning the date. On controversies regarding dates of Nero's tribunician power, see Sydenham, pp. 23-28, and note on pages 91-92; RIC p. 141; MacDowall, pp. 1-7, 77-78. This example bears an obverse portrait which is not yet the 'late' Nero. It conforms more to the middle period likenesses (A.D. 59-64) and must be considered a 'transitional' portrait.

51 Sydenham, p. 92.

52 F. Cumont, "L'Iniziazone di Nerone da Parte di Tiridate d'Armenia," RFIC, N. S. 11 (1933), pp. 145-154. See also A.D. Nock, "'The Genius of Mithraism," JRS Vol. 27 (1937), pp. 108-113 = Essays on Religion and the Ancient World (1972), pp. 452-58, and E. Cizek, L'Epoque de Néron et ses controverses idéologiques, (Leiden, 1972).

53 H.P.L'Orange, "Nero's Cosmic Hall," Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship, (Oslo, 1953), p. 29. Nero apparently loved "ingenious gadgets" (see Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 87.

54 Sydenham, pp. 107-108. MacDowall, in Cat. No. 180 (for example), classifies dupondii with Macellum reverse as originating in A.D. 63. Before the Golden House.

55 Sol appears more and more frequently on the later Roman coinage. Commodus, Septimius Severus, Gallienus, etc., increasingly identify themselves with the Sun. "The Sol Invictus who came to Rome with Aurelian was Syrian and the emperor Julian was a keen Mithraist and looked to Mithras as moral guide, commander and redeemer." (Nock, pp. 112-13. For the symbolism of Sol, see Stevenson, Dictionnary of Roman Coins, (London, 1964), pp. 735-55.

56 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 121, and Bradley, pp. 291-92, on Nero's' fickleness' towards religion.

57 Bradley, p. 289.

58 CAH, p. 732.

59 For sestertii of A.D. 63, see MacDowall, Cat. Nos.70 and 71 = RIC Nos.70 and 66, etc. See BMC volumes for Sicyon and Alexandria - Zeus, of course, is common for these mints. Coins of Cyme and Synaiis bear the simple legend " Θεὸς Νέρων " (Sydenham, p. 48).

60 The Ptolemais inscription in (OGIS, 668 ff., calls him " 'ο σωτὴρ τῆς οἰκουμένης " At Actaphiae he was" 'ο τοῦ παντὸς κοσμοῦ κύριος " (SIG, 3814), and an inscription from Sagalassus in Pisidia records " Νέος Ἥλιος " (IGRR III, 345). At Athens he was hailed as the new Apollo - " αὐτοκράτορι [Νέρω]νι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ νεῷ Ἀπόλλωνι " (BCH, 51 (1927), 260.

61 See Chapter II note 29 and above note 43.

62 Bradley, p. 289.

63 Bradley, pp. 151-52. These statues would be hard to recognise as Nero if they were not originally worked as likenesses.

64 Bradley, p. 289.

65 Bradley, p. 289.

67 Thrasea Paetus should have sacrificed to it, see Bradley, p. 131, Tac Ann 16,22,1, and Dio 62,26,3.

67 On the date see Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 116. Momigliano in CAH, p. 735, says that the prayer of the Arval Brothers on 25 December, "can only refer to the journey to Greece."

68 CAH, p. 735.

69 Ph. Fabia, "Néron et les Rhodiens," Rev. de Phil., N.S. Vol.20 (1896), p. 137.

70 CAH, p. 738.

71 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 118.

72 Warmington, Nero Reality, p. 120.

73 CAH, p. 735 and on the spot where Quinctius Flaminius had proclaimed the freedom of Greece after Rome's defeat of Philip V of Macedon (196 B.C.).

74 CAH, p. 737.

75 CAH, p. 738. Vespasian was appointed to deal with the Judaean revolt. Then was the time when the armies began to be more devoted to their generals than the Emperor who "was amusing himself in Greece'"

76 Nero does seem singularly well organised. One is tempted to ask who prepared the ceremony. Had Nero, in fact, ordered it before he left? If Dio has correctly reported that senators, most of all among the crowds, hailed Nero, one might think that the crisis at Rome was less serious than we generally are led to believe (an interesting topic for further study.)

77 Momigliano in CAH, p. 739, says he "climbed the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to whom he dedicated 1808 crowns that he had won in Greece." I don't see how Momigliano arrived at his change of place.

78 Sydenham, p. 103, No.44 and note p.128. The authenticity of this coin has been questioned.

79 See RIC no.333 and MacDowall No. 175.

80 Warmington, commenting on Suet. Nero 40,2, notes the famous remark in Dio 63,27,2 (see p. 92 above.) Refer also to Bradley, p. 257.

81 Bradley, p. 258.

82 Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 106.

83 Warmington, Suet. Nero, p. 111.

84 Bradley, p. 121, notes that it wasn't the activities themselves but the degree to which Nero pursued them. There is some controversy on the interpretation of artifex. (See Bradley, p.277 CAH, p. 7410. I fail to see where artifex and "τεχνίτης ." Both terms can refer to a professional man or a master of an art (such as poet or musician) as well as a trade.

85 L'Orange "Néron Apothéose," p. 247 and many others quite casually assume Nero's likenesses suffered from destruction as a result of his damnatio. V. Poulsen, Les Portraits Romains I (Copenhagen, 1962), p. 32 puts forth an unlikely theory that late portraits of Nero are rare because they were, for the most part, destroyed; the earlier ones were spared because there had been so much of a change in his appearance that the young man of the early years couldn't be recognised as Nero! The question of damnatio memoriae is rather puzzling and deserves a study of its own. The only authentic late Nero portrait does not bear any marks of deliberate mutilation, whereas a portrait said to be the young Nero does, according to C.C. Vermeulen Roman Imperial Art in Asia Minor, (Cambridge, (1968), p. 389, No.5 - the head from Cos (Appendix I, No.33.) More curious is the fact that this is apparently a Greek work and we have been given the impression by the ancient sources that Nero was well-liked in Greece. The evidence of a fair number of intact portrait inscriptions would surely go against the likelihood of damnatio memoriae for Nero, and Vermeule cites only three mutilations (in Roman Imperial Art).

86 Dio 68,1,too, records the posthumous destruction of Domitian's images. The emperors Commodus and Elagabulus were also decreed damanatio. The Emperor Julian was declared hostis like Nero.

87 See Bradley, pp. 294-95, A. E. Pappano, "The False Neros," CJ, 32 (1937), pp. 385-92, P. Gallivan, "The False Neros: A Re-examination," Historia, 22 (1973), pp. 364-65.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Throughout the body of this thesis we have seen a steady development in Nero's portrait image and the symbols associated with it, and how they have revealed his overwhelming tendency to self-aggrandisement to the final detriment of his position as emperor. Although it has been useful to examine the sculpted portraits, there are always some doubts concerning the authenticity of their identification with Nero. It is the coinage, the authenticity of which cannot be questioned, that provides most of the evidence.

Nero's unprecedented desire to succeed and be taken seriously as an 'artiste' brought about his death. But even though he was popular with the plebs in this role (and remained so even after his death), his conception of his role as head of state was totally at odds with what the Senate and nobles desired in their sovereign. He was completely divorced from military experience, a fact inadvertantly perhaps, but openly evidenced on his coinage (see Ch. III, pp. 52-53). Surprisingly, however, he did retain the loyalty of his legions until the last moments when his lethargic reaction to events finally lost him all support (see Suet. Nero 40-47) and Ch.III, p. 91 above). In fact, one comes to the conclusion that he was not such a ' bad ' emperor, in spite of the fact that the extant ancient literary sources and popular history have given him a thoroughly ' bad ' press.

Nero pleased the common people of Rome and the provinces. Trials and executions of nobles were far fewer in his time than during the reign of his predecessors. Peace was achieved in the Neronian period, new frontiers established and explored, city planning peaked in Rome (after the great fire), and for a time, his reign enjoyed a certain reputation as a new 'Golden Age.' In attempting to be a 'Renaissance Man' at an inappropriate moment in history, (and out of tune with his times), he has been something of an enigma for the historian.

If a close study of Nero's image as reflected in the contemporary iconography of his times does not provide a complete answer to the enigma, it does at least illustrate most clearly certain aspects of his administration and character.

The early sculpted portraits of Nero reflect the development of the boy who was prepared for the principate, from the age of about twelve, at the instigation of his ambitious mother. The precocity of the small child, which ripened into the poise of the adolescent, has been noted in Chapter I of this thesis (pp. 18 & 22). In these early portraits one may detect the beginnings of a look of self-assurance which in its turn developed into the blind "orgeuil" of the mature Emperor. Phillipe Fabia has suggested that Nero's incredible "orgeuil" inherited from both "père et mère", blew into genius, "un joli talent d'amateur" as musician.[1] As for Nero's talent as auriga, Fabia remarks that he must have been 'pretty good' or the historians would have

reported more than the one mishap.[2]

When Nero's schooling was completed and Agrippina firmly disposed of, the young Emperor was free to indulge his 'aspirations' and establish his notion of how the principate should be conducted. We have remarked on the curious lack of sculpted representations of Nero during the middle and later years of his reign. I suggest that this was not so much due to a decree of damnatio memoriae for Nero, but quite possibly was an astute awareness on his part of the greater value of coin propaganda (see Ch. III, p. 76).

The public at large was thus easily informed as to Nero's appearance and accomplishments. We have noted the use of 'Gaming Table' reverse types, as well as repeated issues of (ambiguous) 'Victories.' (See Ch. II, pp. 51-53.) Furthermore, Nero quite deliberately had his hair dressed in the fashion of the auriga (which is also reminiscent of Apollo), and immortalised his performances with the lyre by means of the beautifully executed Apollo reverse types (see Ch.II, p. 51).

I would like to repeat the suggestion (made in Ch.III, p. 24) that Nero was quite likely very much impressed by the Colossus (and coinage) of Rhodes at the time of his early visit there, when he won freedom for the Rhodians, and earned their eternal gratitude.[3] The very fine quality and Greek style of the Rhodian mint may have served as an inspiration when Nero deliberated over his own coinage. As well as being aware of the 'divine' connotations of a radiate

crown, Nero may have adopted it because it appealed to him aesthetically. He may also have been aware of the role assigned to Sol in the early history of the Latins and favoured a symbolism loaded with many meanings. The possibly deliberate ambiguity surrounding his 'Victory' reverse types gives us reason to believe the same might apply to Nero's obverse portraits with the radiate crown. The divinity of the Emperor blends with an association with (Augustus' favourite deity), Apollo, driver of the chariot of the sun and patron of poets. It is an accepted fact that Nero patterned his games after the Greeks and 'collected' Greek works of art, therefore there is no reason to doubt a Greek influence in his coinage. We have pointed out that the die-engravers were most likely Greek craftsmen (Appendix II - Coins, p. 145). I have also suggested in Ch. II (esp. p. 56) that Seneca, when trying to instill standards for kingship upon the unruly young Emperor, caused Nero to be aware of the 'image' of the Hellenistic kings which he translated into the symbols on his coinage. His principate did indeed have many of the trappings of Hellenistic royalty.

Any 'trappings of Hellenistic royalty' or Eastern monarchical influences which we have seen reflected on Nero's coinage were climaxed by the legendary Domus Aurea. The idea, advanced primarily by H. P. L'Orange, that the magnificent Golden House had a religious character, and was part of a claim to solar-apotheosis, is very enticing at first (see Ch. III, pp. 85-66). But the evidence for Nero's total engrossment with

the role of artifex tends to contradict that theory, if for no other reasons than the fact of Nero's stubborness in continuing his Greek tour in the face of impending disaster at Rome, and, one of Nero's last coins bearing the Emperor's image crowned with bay (see Ch. III, p. 90).

As was stated in the introduction, (p. 8), the later coin portaits are most certainly a reflection of ruler-apotheosis, but it was gradually becoming acclimatised at Rome and, as noted in Ch. III (p.86 including n.55), Nero gave it a mighty boost. The path was prepared for the eventual importance of the Sol Invictus cult in Rome and the increasing use of 'divine' and 'golden' imagery among the later emperors.[4] J.M.C. Toynbee says, "The place of Sol Invictus as the emperor's heavenly patron was taken, in the latter part of Constantine's reign, by Christ."[5] Thus paganism and Christianity finally meet.

It remains to comment on the so-called puzzle of Nero's quinquennium, the five glorious years of Nero's reign purportedly praised by Trajan, and on the apparently strange notion that Trajan may have admired Nero. J. F. G. Hind presents a most logical argument for the middle period (A.D. 60-65), although the final period (A.D. 63-63) also encompasses the successes of Nero which were more likely to have impressed Trajan.[6]

Most certainly the two emperors, otherwise so different, shared a passion for building, and athough there is

little information regarding Nero's rebuilding of Rome, much must have survived well into the reign of Trajan. Nero's foreign policy, which included peaceful expansion (establishing the new provinces of Alpes Cottiae and Pontus Polemoniacus in A.D. 63 and 64 respectively) had much to commend itself to Trajan. It is interesting to note that Trajan's later victories in Armenia and Parthia were actually settled more by diplomatic than military means, as were Nero's.[7]

Trajan continued to use Nero's reformed weights for his coinage and despite the fact that Trajan's own coinage isn't renowned for its beauty, he would have been inspired by the soundness of Nero's monetary reform. Trajan also celebrated the games on his semisses with a type similar to Nero's. (See RIC Vol. II, Trajan, 685-88. Indeed it must be remembered that the memory of Nero remained particularly vivid in Trajan's time, for his contemporary, Dio Chrysostom, wrote (referring to Nero and presumably his continuing popularity) "even now all long for him to be alive; indeed many actually think he is still alive." (Orations 21, 9 and 10.)

I wish to draw further attention to some ideas which have emerged in the course of this thesis and which need more study. One is the difference in what might be termed the strength of characterisation, in the sculpted and engraved portraits, for which I have attempted to supply reasonable explanations. This area has come to light in view of the fact that many of the well-known sculpted portraits of Nero have

been questioned as 'later' workmanship, and there is a sizable lacuna in contemporary portraiture of Nero's middle and last periods. Secondly, on close examination of the coinage, I have found that Nero wears the radiate crown earlier than commonly assumed. Presenting a third area for subsequent study, are the variations in Nero's coin portraits between the years A.D. 63 to 65. Again I have tried to suggest the most reasonable possibilities. In particular, I would stress the theory that at about this time the mint of Lugdunum re-opened, and Nero began his experiments with the coinage, making unprecedented demands on the die-engravers and resulting in a certain confusion in the portraits of this period. Although I have come to some conclusions regarding Nero's damnatio memoriae (see Ch. III,p. 93), it, too, remains a subject for future investigation. As a final note of emphasis in this section, I draw attention again to the fact that a close study of Nero's portraits has revealed a much more pleasant 'image' than popular history has led one to expect, notwithstanding his strongly characterised coin profiles. If, indeed, the popular sculpted portraits of Nero are the interpretations of a later period, it is about time they were left out of the history books.

NOTES

1 Phillipe Fabia, Néron Acteur (Paris, 1906), p. 19.

2 Fabia, p. 19.

3 Phillipe Fabia, "Néron et les Rhodiens," Rev. de Philologie, NS 20 (1986), 120-145, discusses Nero's relationship with Rhodes, suggesting a very strong attachment on Nero's part. Inscriptions and coins from Rhodes, on its part, praise Nero. Furthermore, Suetonius (Nero 34) writes that Nero threatened to abdicate and retire to Rhodes. Fabia also cites (p. 132) an epigram of Antipatlus of Byzantium (Anthol. Palat. 9, 178) which celebrates Nero as benefactor and Saviour of Rhodes. Refer also to Ch. I, p. 6 of this thesis.

4 J. M. C. Toynbee, "Ruler Apotheosis in Ancient Rome," Num. Chron. 6th Ser., 7-8 (1947/48), p. 145, describes (among other examples) the gold hair powder used by Verus and Commodus; Septimius' four corkscrew curls on the forehead representing the eastern god Serapis, and Gallienus' attributes of Sol, Mercury and Jupiter. H. P. L'Orange, in Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture, (Cambridge, Mass., 1947) treats the 'divinised' phases in the iconography of the Roman Emperors, throughout the book.

5 J.M.C. Toynbee, "Ruler Apotheosis," p. 149.

6 The Emperor Trajan's judgement of Nero's reign was quoted by the 4th century writer Aurelius Victor (Liber de Caesaribus 5, 1-4) and the author of the anonymous Epitome de Caesaribus (5, 1-5). Some of the more recent articles on this controversial theme: F.A. Lepper, "Some Reflections on the Quinquennium Neronis," JRS, (1957), pp. 95-103, who opts for the first five years; Cswyn Murray, "The Quinquennium Neronis and the Stoics," Historia, 14, Heft 1 (1965), 41-61, also favours the first five years; J.F.G. Hind, "The Middle Years of Nero's Reign," Historia,

20 (1971), 486-505, and "Is Nero's Quinquennium an Enigma?", Historia, 24 (1975), 629-30 - the latter in answer to M.K. Thornton, "The Enigma of Nero's Quinquennium," Historia, 22 (1973), 570-82. Thornton supports the last five years (A.D. 62 Or 63 to A.D. 67-68), basically agreeing with the early view of J.G.C. Anderson, "Trajan on the Quinquennium Neronis," JRS, 50 (1911), 173-8, who cited the years A.D. 64-68. Hind supports the middle five years.

7 RIC Vol. II, pp.239-40.

APPENDIX I _ SCULPTURES

PART I - A.D. 42 - 59

It is necessary to clarify some of the terms employed in describing many of the sculpted portraits of Nero. There is no difference implied between 'sculpted replicas' and 'sculpted' or 'sculptured portraits'. They have been introduced for variety's sake because the works are referred to frequently. The same holds true for 'image', 'likeness' and 'portrait'. 'Baroque', 'late', or 'modern works' are terms used by reference sources who generally have not defined precisely what they mean by these adjectives.

From individual contexts, works dating after Nero's death are usually indicated. The dates, then, could be anywhere from A.D. 68 through the subsequent centuries of Roman rule. 'Baroque' might imply the baroque period of art, late in the Renaissance, and 'modern' should logically refer to a time close to the period when the reference study was produced. Establishing more accurate dates for all sculptures (and this would include the cameo and gem portraits) is beyond the scope of this thesis and is definitely a subject for further study.

This appendix includes the few certain identifications of Nero, several well-known 'possible' Neros, and many more of the less well-known reasonable or possible portraits of Nero.

They are all grouped under the thesis' title "The Image of Nero : Contemporary Iconography" since most were done either in or just after Nero's lifetime; the remainder make an important contribution to 'the image of Nero' in the more figurative sense (as defined in the introduction, p. 4).

In the course of this study a challenging puzzle has presented itself to which I have drawn attention in Appendix II - Coins (pp. 145-46). From A.D. 51 to about A.D. 64, the coin and sculpted portraits are very similar. After A.D. 64, and based, unfortunately, on the evidence of only one certain sculpted portrait (No. 53 - the Worcester head), the coin and sculpted images diverge in that Nero's features on the coins become exaggerated almost to the point of caricature, whilst the sculpted image remains much milder. As I discuss in Ch. III (pp. 93-94), a case can be made against a large scale destruction of Nero's (sculpted) portraits; thus we are left with yet more questions to answer.

This appendix attempts to list all the possible Neros, as mentioned above. The order is chronological as far as the classification allows, and illustrations are provided only of the replicas considered pertinent to the discussion of Nero in this thesis.

U. Hiesinger's study of the portraits of Nero did not permit all of the attributions. The group accepted by him sufficed to confirm his sequence of portrait types recognised and dated on the basis of coiffure types found on the coin

images. Apart from Vagn Poulsen, who, in the 1950's systematically studied the early representations of Nero, Hiesinger's work appears to be the only one of recent years. In respect to Bernoulli's volume on the house of the Julio-Claudians which was first published in 1896, it is not reasonable to include all his listings. Some of his 'Neros' are not mentioned by modern sources, and certain of the other Julio-Claudians he discusses have been more recently recognised as Nero.

The list commences with all possible portraits of Nero as a small child. As photography in our century has demonstrated, the adult often resembles the child (and vice versa). I find this a valid enough reason for including some of these images of children which are thought to be Nero.

C. A.D. 42 - A.D. 59.

1. Bronze head of a child, possibly Nero at about five years of age. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Formerly in the collections of Sir Francis Cook (Doughty House) and Alfred Gallatin. Frédéric Poulsen, Probleme der Romischer Ikonographie (Copenhagen, 1937), p. 10, pl. 12, fig. 13; Vagn H. Poulsen, Acta Arch. "Nero,

Britannicus and other Claudians," 22 (1951), 122, fig. 12 (hereafter referred to as "Nero"); U. Hiesinger, "The Portraits of Nero," AJA 79 (1975), 117, n. 26; Cornelius C. Vermeule, Greek and Roman sculpture in America (Berkely, 1981), p. 295, fig. 251 (hereafter Greek and Roman). Hiesinger and Vermeule have further references. Poulsen says this is the only work within his knowledge which can reasonably be claimed as a portrait of the later emperor Nero as a little boy. Plate I, Fig.2.

2. Marble head of a child, about five to seven years of age. From an early Claudian Relief, about A.D. 42. New York, collection of W.L. Warren Reed. Cornelius C. Vermeule, "The Ara Pacis and the Child Nero: Julio-Claudian Reliefs in Italy and Elsewhere," AJA, 86 (1982), 242-44, pl. 38. Nero is Vermeule's first choice for this head which he says has an air of conscious superiority, befitting a prince of about A.D. 50. The identification is also based on the determined lips, noticeable ears of the Julio-Claudians, and hair style. Plate I, Fig. 1.

3. Head of a child. Barracco Museum, Rome. Eugénie Strong, Roman Sculpture (London, 1907), pl. cxviii, to face p. 236; Robert West, Römische Porträtplastik, I (Munchen, 1933), 238, pl. 64, fig. 286; V.H. Poulsen, "Nero," pp. 122-3; Micnael Grant, Nero (London, 1970), p. 25 (plate). This 'much admired' head, allegedly found in the villa of Livia, is rejected by Poulsen on the grounds that the hair reflects the style of the grown-up Nero; the portrait looks 'altogether spurious' to him. Vermeule, however, has used the similar coiffure of the Relief Head (no. 2 above), to confirm his proposal of the child Nero. Strong cites the Barracco head as the portrait of a boy in the Augustan period. West modifies this to 'a portrait of Neronian times', and Grant captions his illustration "A sculpture believed to represent Nero." In the context of the Barracco portrait according to Poulsen, there is another "little known head in the Palazzo Doria known as Nero, but is rather just another head of a small fattish boy." J. J. Bernoulli, Romische Ikonographie II, 1 (Berlin, 1886), 394, nos. 11-14, includes the Doria portrait and three others, also noted by F. Matz, Antike bildwerke in Rom... (Leipzig, 1881), no. 1806 (Palazzo Doria), no. 1787 (Villa Casali), no. 1784 (Palazzo Barberini), and no. 1813 (Palazzo Giuliani). As far as the illustration permits, the Barracco head, to my mind, has the look of the child Nero. There is something about the firm mouth, set brow and curve of the eyelids that suggests a naughty little prince. The gaze is curiously intense for a small child. Plate I, Fig.3.

4. Marble head of a child. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, no. 652. B. Delbruck, Antike Porträts (Bonn, 1912), p. 49, pl. 37b; V.H. Poulsen, "Nero," p. 123. Poulsen says this has "rightly received the name of Nero but is evidently of modern workmanship." He rejects this head as a fake. I include it in order to reinforce the 'image' of the child Nero. If one accepts the notion that beginnings of the mature person may be seen in portraits of the child, it is not unlikely that the child Nero did resemble this chubby petulant boy (in a sculpture unfortunately executed after the fact). Plate II, Fig. 5.

5. Bust of a child. Urfizi, Florence. A. Hekler, Bildnis kunst London, 1912), pl. 216b; M. Grant, Nero, 28. Hekler simply captions this "Portrait of a Roman Boy." Grant says, "A boy of the time of Nero - possibly Nero himself". If no. 4 above is a modern sculpture, after the fact, and bearing, perhaps, too much of a resemblance to the mature Nero, possibly the child Nero looked more like this bland fat boy. I don't see anything of Nero in this head and prefer to accept the portraits which display more of the characteristics we associate with the later Nero. (This should have been included in the plates but was mistakenly omitted by the photographer.)

6. Marble head of a child, possibly the young Nero. Cabinet des medailles, Paris. A. Chabouillet, Catalogue generale... (Paris, 1858), no. 3298; V. Duruy, History of Rome IV (Boston, 1883), 460; J.J. Bernouilli, p. 398, no. 30; J. Babelon, "L'Enfance de Néron," Revue Numismatique, 17 (1955), 147, pl. V. This work is of unknown provenance; (Bernoulli says he got it by word of mouth from a certain Visconti who did not apparently discuss it in his book). Babelon says it had never been photographed "until the present" (1955). He feels that, more than any other replica in this genre, it contributed a great deal of information on the child Nero's appearance. This portrait has the determined little mouth and steady gaze which one begins to associate with the child Nero. The hair style also resembles that of our other youthful 'Nero' heads. I cannot see why Poulsen didn't include this work in his study of the young Nero. Hiesinger's omission is more understandable since he was primarily concerned with sculpted portraits which corresponded with the coinage (starting in A.D. 51), and this head is quite possibly a pre-A.D. 51 likeness. Plate III, Fig. 10.

7. Marble togate statue. Louvre Museum, Paris. No. 1210. From the Borghese collection. Bernoulli, p. 367; Poulsen,

"Nero," p. 121; Roman Portraits, Phaidon Edition (year), pl. 11; H. Niemeyer, Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der Römischen Kaiser, Monumenta Artis Romanae VII (Berlin, 1968), p. 84, no. 11, pl. 3, 2; Hiesinger, pp. 115-6, pl. 19, figs. 25-27. Poulsen and Hiesinger agree in accepting this statue as Nero; Hiesinger does so on the basis of the coin portraits of the of A.D. 51 to 54, remarking, nevertheless, that "the generality of the monetary image makes such a comparison inconclusive." The costume includes a bulla, the insignia of a youth who has not yet gained majority, which causes Hiesinger to date this replica prior to A.D. 51 (when Nero assumed the toga virilis of manhood). Poulsen notes the presence of the bulla, and suggests this statue and no. 8 following (Parma), perhaps reflect Nero's first official portraits at the moment of his adoption in A.D. 50, while he was still a young boy. Niemeyer describes the Louvre statue as the youth Nero, but mistakenly states that Poulsen recognised it to be directly after (my emphasis), Nero's adoption in A.D. 51. The Phaidon Edition, titles its plate "Portrait of a Boy (Britannicus), about 50 A.D." Hiesinger rejects this identification on the grounds that "the few fairly reliable coin portraits of Britannicus do not support this view." This certainly could be Nero, at about thirteen years of age; he stands assured, with face turned heavenward, A rather smug, yet sweet-faced youth. In the excellent Phaidon plate of the head, I find a resemblance to the Barracco head head of a small child. (No. 3 above.) For further references see Niemeyer and Hiesinger. Plate II, Fig. 4.

8. Marble togate statue. Museo Nazionale, Parma. Inv. no. 826. From the basilica at Velleia. Poulsen, "Nero," p. 121, no. 2; Hiesinger, pp. 115-6, pl. 20, fig. 29. This statue is identical to Louvre 1210 (no. 7 above). The costume includes the bulla and the same criteria apply for identification and dating. Poulsen and Hiesinger both supply further references. Plate III, Fig. 7.

9. Marble head of a youth. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen. Cat. no. 626. Ludwig Curtius, "Ikonographische Beiträge," Röm. Mitt., 50 (1935), 292; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 122, no.3, figs. 13-14; Poulsen, "Un Retrato de Neron Procedente de Italica," Arch. Esp. Arq. (hereafter "Retrato"), p. 44, figs. 5-7; Poulsen, Portraits Romains, I (Copenhagen, 1962), pp. 98-99, no. 64, pls. 108-9. (hereafter Portraits). Poulsen finds that this head resembles the one from Velleia (no. 8 above). Judging from the illustrations, I find that the hair appears to be a little less full over the forehead,

(as in the Cabinet des Médailles head - no. 6 above) than in some of the other portraits, and less close in character to the early coin portraits. Possibly Hiesinger didn't mention this sculpture at all for this reason. Refer to Poulsen's Portraits Romains for further references. Plate III, Fig. 9.

10. Marble head of a youth. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen. Cat. no. 628. From Rome. West, p. 181, pl. 64, fig. 282; Poulsen, "Nero," p.120, no.3, fig. 9; Vagn H. Poulsen, "Un Retrato de Neron Procedente de Italica," Arch. Esp. Arq., 24, (1951) p. 45, fig. 14 (hereafter "Retrato"); Poulsen, Portaits, pp. 99-100, no. 65, pls. 110-11; Hiesinger, p. 116, pl. 20, fig. 28. West published this head, restored. Poulsen notes (in "Nero") that "The disfiguring restorations are now removed." He implies a date close to A.D. 58 for it (in "Retrato") while Hiesinger compares to the Louvre 1210 (no. 7 above) and Parma (no.8 above) statues as well as the togate statue in Detroit (no. 12 in this corpus). The Detroit replica is dated to about A.D. 52 by C. Vermeule (see no. 12 below), in one of the few clear references to dating. Although the head under discussion is quite damaged, it nevertheless looks like young Nero, hence A.D. 52 would be the more acceptable date. Poulsen (in Portraits) provides further references. See also M. J. Charbonneaux, "Un Nouveau Portrait de Néron," SAN, N.S. 3 (1954), pp. 34 ff.

11. Marble head. Mittel-Schreiberhau Private Collection, Germany. P. Arndt and G. Lippold, Photographische Einzelaufnahmen Antiker Skulpturen (München, 1934), nos. 3913-15; Hiesinger, pp.116, 118. This head is quite damaged. Hiesinger places it with nos.7, 8 and 10 above, calling the group an "Adoption type," created before A.D. 51, and corresponding to his "Coin Type I, of the first coiffure type.

12. Marble togate statue. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan. Said to have been found in Asia Minor. Cornelius C. Vermeule, Greek and Roman Sculpture, p. 396, pl. 252; Hiesinger, pp. 116, 118, pl. 21, figs. 30-31. Vermeule and Hiesinger more or less agree on the date. The latter classifies this statue of Nero as belonging with an "Heir Apparent Type," developed between A.D. 51 and 54, and reflected in Nero's Coin Type II, in the general category of the first coiffure type. As mentioned above (in no. 10), Vermeule dates it to A.D. 52.

13. Bronze head. British Museum, London. Found in the River Alde at Benham, Suffolk. G. MacDonald, "Note on Some Fragments of Imperial Staues", JRS, 16 (1926), pp. 3-7, pls. 2-3; K. Kluge and K. Lehman-Hartleben, Die Antiken Grossbronzen, II (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927), p. 5, fig. 3; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 128, no. 15; M. Grant, Nero (London, 1970) p. 18. Hiesinger, p. 116, 118, no. 17. This head has been traditionally associated with Claudius. Even the magnificent colour plate in Grant's Nero is titled 'Claudius,' which is surprising, since Poulsen 1951) had already included it, albeit somewhat hesitantly, in his list of young Nero portraits. He felt the identification with Claudius was impossible considering the youth of the sitter. It is also obvious that this had to be a member of the Imperial family. A young man of inferior rank would hardly have merited a portrait erected in Britain. The hair style points to Nero, although the face has little in common with most of the other heads identified as Nero. Poulsen concluded that it could be a Gaulish work of art. This view is confirmed by Hiesinger who says, "the traditional identification with Claudius is wholly unsupportable, "and that the head is apparently a provincial work. He groups it with the "Heir Apparent Type." In spite of the provincial style, I detect the haughty glance associated with the young Nero (see the colour plate in Grant). MacDonald and Poulsen provide additional references.

14. Bronze head. Morgan Collection. Now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. Found in the Champ de Bourg, at Goncelin, Valley of the Isère, France. C. H. Smith, Bronzes in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan (a private publication, 1913), no. 69, pl. 44; L. Curtius, "Ikonographische Beiträge..." (hereafter "1948"), Mitteilungen des deutsch. arch. Inst. I (1948), pl. 38, i; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 129, no. 16; Vagn H. Poulsen, "Once More the Young Nero, and other Claudians," Acta A, 25 (1954), p. 299. According to Poulsen, this head has much in common with the bronze head from Suffolk (no. 13 above) although it is much clumsier.

15. Marble head. Museo de Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Frederic Poulsen, Porträtstudien in Norditalienischen Provinzmuseen (Copenhagen, 1928), 81, figs. 184-5; Curtius, "1948," p.86, K ("Germanicus"); Poulsen, "Nero," p. 129, no. 17; Poulsen, "Once More," pp. 299-300. This dull and much restored head, mistaken long ago for Gallienus is included in V. H. Poulsen's list of Nero portraits because "the Morgan bronze head leads me finally to accept this rather insignificant portrait." He has

found two other portraits incorrectly called "Gallienus." One is a bust deposited by the Danish National Museum in Fyens Stiftsmusem, Odense and has "an outspoken likeness to Nero." The other is more likely Germanicus. Poulsen suggests that the Odense Nero is a fake, as in the case of the portrait of a child - Ny Carlsberg no. 652 (no.4 above). However, Poulsen most interestingly remarks, "we are left to wonder how an 18th or 19th century forger could arrive at a correct Nero haircut, typical of portraits not yet known to be of him." (My emphasis.)

16. Marble head. Lateran Museum, Rome. No. 595. Poulsen, "Nero," p. 120, no. 7; A. Giuliano, Catalogo dei Ritratti romani del Museo Profano Lateranense (Città dal Vaticano, 1957), no. 16, pl. 11; W. Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertumer in Rom, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1963), I, 793; Hiesinger, pp. 116, 118. Hiesinger places this head with the "Heir Apparent Type." Poulsen notes a Rome Lateran no. 599 with this one and remarks that they are "Two reduced and much restored specimens." I do not find no. 599 mentioned in any of the other usual sources. These heads are grouped by Poulsen with the "after A.D. 54" replicas.

17. Head of a youth. Vatican Museum, Rome. Sala dei Busti no. 385. Walter Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums, II (Berlin, 1908), 750, pl. 65; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 120, no. 4; Hiesinger, pp. 116, 118. Hiesinger classifies this head, too, with the "Heir Apparent Type;" Poulsen groups it with the "Accession Type" (after A.D. 54).

The four replicas following (nos. 18-21) are cited by Poulsen, "Nero," p. 119, nos. 1-4, as reflecting a portrait created in A.D. 51. Hiesinger, (p. 116-17) doesn't include these and says Poulsen's lists were far too generous; some of the replicas belong to portrait types of other members of the Julio-Claudian family; "some deserve to be entirely excluded from the imperial series; and still others defy judgement either in favour of Nero or any specific alternative." He does not specify which of Poulsen's proposals fall into which

category. Some, indeed, involved problems too numerous for Hiesinger to discuss in his article. I am including all of Poulsen's proposed Neros in this appendix. He has done considerable research into the problem of identifying the young Nero particularly. Undoubtedly Hiesinger's study has cast new light on the subject, but for the sake of thoroughness it is useful to list all the 'reasonable' Neros available.

18. Marble bust of a Claudian Prince. Lateran Museum, Rome. No. 572. Anton Hekler, no. 185b; Greek and Roman Portraits (London, 1912), no. 185b; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 119, no. 1, fig. 3; Poulsen, "Retrato," p. 44, fig.8; It is very difficult to determine who this head might resemble, especially since the expression varies so much depending on the angle of the photograph and of the light. (Poulsen supplies further references.) I would reject this head as Nero.

19. Marble head of a youth. Mérida Museum. A. Garcia y Bellido Esculturas Romanas de Espana y Portugal, IV, (Madrid, 1949), pls. 4-5; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 119, fig.4; Poulsen, "Retrato," p. 45, figs. 9-10; Hiesinger, p.117, n.26. Again it is difficult to estimate the likeness from the illustration of what must be a provincial work.

20. Marble head of a youth. Leptis Magna. Poulsen, "Nero," p. 119, figs. 5-6; Poulsen, "Retrato," p. 45. Poulsen notes that this head, "which belongs to a heroic statue, shows the young man's still unshaved beard." This head resembles the Lateran 572 (no. 18 above) and Mérida (no. 19 above) works. Poulsen supplies further references.

21. Marble head of a youth. Louvre Museum, Paris. No. 1270. F. P. Johnson, "The Imperial Portraits at Corinth," AJA, 30 (1926), 167, fig. 6; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 119, no. 4; Poulsen, "Retrato," p.45. This may be a head mentioned by

Bernoulli, p. 173, no. 18. Poulsen's identification of this portrait as Nero raises some problems. It is impossible to come to any conclusions on the strength of the reproduction in AJA. Johnson relates this head to portraits in the Capitoline (no. 29 below), Vatican 385 (no. 17 above), and Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 628 (no. 10 above). These are in turn linked to a statue from Veii, in the Lateran (Bernoulli, p. 169, no. 7, and p. 204; O. Benndorf & R. Schöne, Die ant. Bildw. d. Lat. Mus., (Leipzig, 1867) p. 68, no. 103, and a head in the Cagliari Museum. All six portraits have been suggested by Johnson to be the same prince as the "Tiberius" head found in Corinth - one of the subjects of his article in AJA, (above). For the Corinth portrait see E. H. Swift, "A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth," AJA, 25 (1921), 248-65, pls. viii-ix. In "Nero," p. 120, Poulsen thinks this velate head is Caligula. These continually changing attributions to Nero and other Julio-Claudians are somewhat confusing. They would require a great deal of further work, which is beyond the scope of the present study.

22. Marble head of a youth. New York, Art Market (1947). Was for sale in Smyrna in 1912 along with a work identified as Britannicus; both are said to have been found in Asia Minor. F. Poulsen, Sculptures antiques des musées de province Espagnols (Copenhagen, 1971), p. 47, pls. 43-44; Curtius, "1948,"57; Poulsen, "Nero,", p. 124, fig. 17. If the Lateran 572, Merida and Leptis Magna heads are Nero, this one (being similar) follows suit. (F. Poulsen had called it "Lucius Caesar," and Curtius, "a son of (Germanicus.") V. Poulsen says it is a "free, Greek version of the Lateran type, not unlike portraits of the young Nero on Greek coins." See SNG Ionia i, pl. 8, nos. 37 ff., from Ephesus.

23. Marble head of a youth. Tigani (Samos). City Hall. From the Castro. Curtius, "1948," p. 72, pl. 26; Vagn H. Poulsen, "Billeder af Nero og hans far," Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, VI (1949), p. 7, fig. 6; V. H. Poulsen, "Nero," p. 125, no. 8, figs. 15-16; Hiesinger, p. 117, (with further references). Poulsen notes that this is a provincial work, and has no doubt at all about its identity as Nero.

24. Head of a youth. Toulouse. Found at Chiragan. Emile, Espérandieu, Recueil Générale des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine II (Paris, 1907-28), no. 984; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 122, no. 4. Might this be Bernoulli, no. 27 (under

"Unbekannte Claudier")?

The portraits following (nos. 25-47) may all be termed as likenesses of Nero after A. D. 54.

25. Fragmentary head with oak crown. Marble. Museo Nazionale, Syracuse. Inv. no. 6383. From the forum of Syracuse. Poulsen, "Once More," p. 294, figs. 1-2; N. Bonacasa, Ritratti Greci e Romani della Sicilia (Palermo, 1964), p. 45, no. 52, pl. 24, 1-2; Hiesinger, pp. 115, 116, 118, pl. 20, fig. 32. Hiesinger says the corona civica "virtually guarantees" that an emperor is represented, and all other candidates but Nero may be eliminated. This portrait was made after Nero became emperor in A.D. 54. Further references in Hiesinger.

26. Marble head worked for insertion in a statue. Museo Nazionale, Cagliari. Inv. no. 35533. From Olbia, Sardinia. M. Bianchi Bandinelli, "Per l'iconografia di Germanico," Röm. Mitt., 47 (1932), p. 157, no. 1, pl. 32; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 120, no. 1, figs. 7-8; Poulsen, "Retrato," p. 45; M. J. Charbonneaux, "Un Nouveau Portrait de Neron", M.Ant.Fr., NS 3 (1954), pp. 37 ff; Hiesinger, pp. 114-15, 116, 118, figs. 33-34. Poulsen remarks that this head is important as being the best preserved replica. Hiesinger confirms this by saying, "An unusually precise comparison can be made between the coin images and the portrait head from Olbia." (He also cites in this context a head in Mantua (no. 27 below). The coins for this comparison are a denarius of A.D. 58, (BM, Nero no. 16), and an aureus of the same date (BM, Nero no. 15). Plate IV, Fig. 13.

27. Marble head mounted on a later antique bust. Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. From the Gonzaga collections at Sabbioneta. Bernoulli, p. 173, no. 17, and pp. 206, 307, 318; A. Levi, Sculture greche e Romane del palazzo Ducale di Mantova (Rome, 1931), p. 58, no. 111, pl. 64 b; Bandinelli, p. 159, no. 7; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 120, no. 6; Hiesinger, pp. 115, 116, 118, pl. 22, figs. 35-36. This head, judging from the profile photograph, is very like the Cagliari replica (no. 26 above) and the same remarks apply. Plate IV, Fig. 12.

28. Marble velate head from a statue. Terme Museum, Rome. Found on the Palatine. Bernoulli, p. 170, no. 10; Hekler, p. 181; Bandinelli, p. 165, pls. 33-35; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 120, no. 9; Poulsen, "Retrato," p. 45; Poulsen, "Once More," pp. 294-95; B. M. Felleti Maj, Museo Nazionale Romano, I ritratti (Rome, 1953), p. 65, no. 108; Néveroff, p. 80; Hiesinger, pp. 115, 116, 118, pl. 23, figs. 37-38. Poulsen and Hiesinger accept this head as Nero, the latter noting that the identity of the portrait has sometimes been doubted. The strongest doubts come from Felleti Maj. It would appear that this sculpture was much restored at one time. Hiesinger publishes the only plate, to date, with the restorations removed. Further references in Hiesinger and Felleti Maj. Plate V, Fig. 15.

29. Marble bust of a young man. Museo Capitolino, Rome. from Tusculum. Bernoulli, p. 168, no. 1; Hekler, p. 185 a; Bandinelli, no. 2, pl. 35, 4; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 120, no. 2; Poulsen, "Retrato," Arch. Esp. Arq., p. 45, fig. 13. Helbig, p. 411, no. 1279. Hekler had titled this sculpture "Drusus the Elder"? Poulsen is certain its Nero. I find this has something in common with the velate Terme head (no. 28 above).

30. Heroic statue. Museo Chiaramonti, Rome. No. 124. Bernoulli, p. 69, no. 2; W. Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums II (Berlin, 1908), pl. 41; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 120, no. no. 5. Poulsen says this much restored head doesn't belong to the heroic statue on which it has been placed. Bernoulli thought it a possible copy of Lateran 752 (no. 18 above). Poulsen connects it rather with the Merida head (no. 19 above).

31. Marble head of a young man. Louvre Museum, Paris. No. 3528. Charbonneaux, "Nouveau," pp. 33 ff., figs. 1, 2, 5; Hiesinger, pp. 115, 116 - n. 22, 118, pl. 23, figs. 39-40. Although extensively damaged, enough of the hairline remains to convince Hiesinger this is Nero. He relates this head to the Cagliari, Mantua, and Terme portraits, (nos. 26, 27, and 28 above). Plate V, Fig. 14.

32. Marble bust of a young man. Museo Nazionale, Cagliari. Inv. no. 6122. Hiesinger, p. 115, pl. 24, figs. 41-42. this head, too, is extensively damaged and has been reworked (in antiquity). Hiesinger's remarks on the preceeding portrait (no. 32 above) apply equally to this one. It was hitherto unrecognised and apparently unpublished. According to the museum (says Hiesinger), it

is known to have been acquired on the mainland rather than in Sardinia.

33. Marble head of a young man, probably Nero. Cos, Museum. No. 4510. L. Laurenzi, "Sculture inedite del Museo di Coo," AS.Atene, NS 17/18 (1955/56), p. 140, no. 192; Poulsen, Portraits, p. 99; C. C.Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art in Asia Minor (Berkely, 1968), p. 389, no. 5; Hiesinger, p. 116, 118. Hiesinger says, "though most of the features have been intentionally obliterated, this still appears to be a fairly certain representation of Nero, perhaps in its modelling- closest to the Louvre head no. 3528." (No. 32 above.) Poulsen mentions the Cos portrait in connection with Ny Carlsberg no. 628 (no. 10 above), which Hiesinger relates to an "Adoption Type", developed between A.D. 51 and 54 and used until A.D. 59. As is noted under entry no. 10 (above), Poulsen definitely feels this portrait was made after A.D. 54 and mentions that it is a type known by about a dozen replicas, of which the Cos head is one (They obviously agree on the Cos example but not the Copenhagen). Vermeule says the mutilations were carried out with a chisel leaving only enough for the identification, "as was the approved technique of damnatio." He finds the portait "precisely that of cistophori struck at Ephesus." This is the only example we have of deliberate mutilation, and one can only suppose that zealous persons took the law into their own hands. (See Ch. III, p. 93 on damnatio.)

34. Marble head of a young man. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. No. A 790. G. Trei, Catalogue of Sculptures : Leningrad (trans. of Russian title) (Leningrad, 1887), p.77, no. 230; O. F. Waldhauer, Die antiken Skulpturen der Hermitage III (Berlin, 1926) p. 22, 11; Neveroff, pp. 81-83, fig. 3. Neveroff is certain that this young prince is Nero. The first commentator on this portrait (Trei) hesitated between Augustus and Caligula, inclining towards the latter; the expression being "trop morose" for Augustus. (Waldhauer leaned towards Marcellus found the head to be the same young man as on the well known Ravenna relief.) Neveroft says, the young man "d'une nudité héroique" can be no other than Nero, placed with Divus Augustus, Divus Claudius and Diva Augusta, (on the relief), and this, indeed, represents the same person as the Hermitage portrait. He notes the coiffure as corresponding to the "Accession Type" on the coinage. In the case of the Ravenna relief, only Nero, who broke with tradition, could have been represented as the living emperor along with the "divine triad." Claudius, of course, having been deified by Nero and the association of the divine threesome being

recorded in the acts of the Arvals in the Neronian period (the Ravenna relief is not listed separately here, since the inclusion of sculptures with many figures are not technically portraits).

35. Bronze bust of Nero. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. No. V 732a. Simferopol, Archéologie et histoire du Bosphore, Collection d'articles, Simferopol (1962), p. 92, pl. 37; Néveroff, p. 95, fig.1 (there is a typographical error - the text refers to fig. 2 - or the plates have been wrongly arranged and captioned).

36. Marble head of Nero. Olympia museum. Found at Olympia. E. Curtius and F. Adler, Olympia, III (Berlin, 1894), pl. 61, no.4; Poulsen, "Once More," p. 300; Néveroff, p. 84, fig. 5. Neveroff finds this portrait particularly expressive and dramatic and thinks it was entirely possible it was done from life. Judging from the reproduction, it certainly has what one has come to recognise as Nero's imperious, haughty look. Most importantly the inscriptions from Olympia attest to the dedication of a Nero statue in A.D. 58 (see Appendix IV, no. 12).

37. Bronze head, possibly Nero. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. From Rome. S. Jones, A Catalogue of the ancient sculptures ... (Oxford, 1912), p. 288, no. 7. pl. 116; D. Kent Hill, "Bronze Portraits of the Julio-Claudians," AJA, 43 (1939), 406 ff., fig. 10; D. Kent Hill, Cat. Classical Bronze Sculpture- Walters Art Gallery, (Baltimore, 1949), 406 ff., fig. 10 Poulsen, "Once More," p.296, fig. 6. The identity of this head was established by Kent Hill after the reconstruction (of the remnants in Rome and Baltimore) attempted in Baltimore. Poulsen feels the likeness of Nero, "as he has long been known from the inflated portraits of his mature years, is obvious."

The following sculptures (nos. 38 to 40) are of a more doubtful nature. According to the sources, all appear to represent the young Nero, but are either more mature looking variations of the princeps iuventatis and/or provincial variants.

38. Marble head. Museo Arqueologico, Seville. From Italica. A. Garcia y Bellido, Catalogo de los Retratos Romanos (Madrid, 1951), 1951), p. 4, 10, no. 5; Poulsen, "Retrato," pp. 43-46, figs. 1-3; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 127, no. 13, fig. 10; Hiesinger, pp. 117, 119. (Might this be the damaged head in Bernoulli, p. 398, no. 32.)? Poulsen saw this bearded and plump image as a representation of Nero which combined the early hair type with the "inflated features" known from later portraits. Hiesinger feels identification "seems unjustified" in view of certain inconsistencies; the coiffure is too elaborate. (He also places it in the A.D. 59-64 period.) If the head from Olympia (no. 36 above) is acceptable as Nero, I find that, apart from the coiffure, this and the Seville tend to resemble each other.

39. Bronze head. Louvre Museum, Paris. Found in Cilicia. A. de Ridder, Bronzes Antiques du Louvre (Paris, 1913), nos. 22-25, pl. 5; Poulsen, "Nero," p.126, no. 12, fig. 18; Hiesinger, p. 117, n.26. (Could this be Bernoulli, no. 25, listed under "Unbekannte Claudier")? Poulsen describes this portrait as a"pathetic, idealising Greek version" of Nero's features, based on the youthful images, "but taking into account the change that according to the Roman coins revealed itself in the course of the first years of his reign." Judging from the reproductions, the eyes and coiffure point to Nero. In Hiesinger's note a head in Brescia is mentioned (Hiesinger, "A Julio-Claudian Bronze Portrait," in Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann (Mainz am Rhein, 1971), 66, pl. 26 d) - He appears to connect it with Nero in the AJA study but not in his other reference, nor does anyone else.

40. Marble head. Museo archeologico, Venice. Curtius, "1948," p.70, pl. 20, 3-4; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 125, no. 9. Poulsen associates this portrait with the Lateran head (no. 18 above), but notes that it gives an impression of being more like later portraits of the emperor; the features being "riper." This is perhaps due to "modern" reworking. (Could this be the 'knabenkopf' in Venice mentioned by Bernoulli, p. 395, no. 20)?

41. Marble head. Rome, Art market (1933). Curtius, "1948," p. 72 (C), pl. 28, 2; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 125, no. 10. Poulsen says this head is only known to him through Curtius' publication and seems to be another, more mature variation of the principes iuventutis portrait.

42. Bronze figure. National Museum, Naples. Curtius, "1948," p. 71, pls. 23-24; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 125, no. 11. This figure is from a quadriga erected in Herculaneum portraying two princes attending a large charioteer, most of whom is missing. Poulsen thinks this head of a boy is "a dull derivation" of the Lateran Nero (no. 18 above). "The still unpublished head of the other boy looked to him like a "modern repetition" of the first figure.

43. Marble head. Izmir, New Museum. From Stratoniceia. J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor, (London, 1966), p. 66, no. 24, pl. 15,1-2; Néveroff, p. 84; Hiesinger, p. 117, n.26. In the context of this portrait, Néveroff mentions another sculpture in The Cologne Museum, Germany, for which I could find no other reference.

44. Togate statue of Nero. Eleusis Museum, Eleusis. K. Kourouniotes, Eleusis, (Athens, 1934), p. 73, fig. 40; Poulsen, Portraits, p. 100; Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 210, 389, no. 1; Hiesinger, p. 117. Vermeule says this is a slightly overlifesized statue of the young Nero; it is possible "that the head of this statue has been recut to make a portrait of the young Constantine the Great or one of his Caesar sons."

43. Marble head of a young man. Vathy Museum, Samos. M. Schede, "Mitteilungen auf Samos," Ath.Mitt., 37 (1912), p. 204, no. 4, figs. 3-4; Poulsen, "Nero," p. 124, no. 7; Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 389, no. 4. Hiesinger and Neveroff also refer to it fleetingly. Poulsen says that the likeness to the Terme portrait (no. 28 above) had been noted by a certain Prof. Studniczka, quoted by Schede. Vermeule notes that it is badly damaged but accepts Giuliano's identification of Nero - it being similar to many other examples.

46. Marble head. Louvre Museum, Paris. From Gabii. Bernoulli, pp. 173-74, no. 22, includes the following data: Descript. no. 410 abg. Clarac, pl. 322, no. 2395; Mon. Gay., 36; Bouillon, III, pers. rom., pl. 19; Duruy, p.499 (see main bibliography for Clarac and Duruy - I failed to find the other references); Poulsen, "Nero," p. 128; Encyclopedie photographique de l'art, III, (Paris, 1938), 29, p. 283. Poulsen mentions this "much restored head" in connection with the Baltimore bronze (no. 37 above).

PART II _ A.D. 59-64

There are very few even 'possible' Neros for this period which U. Hiesinger labels "Portraits of the Second Coiffure Type." He says (p. 119), "of this type only one surviving example is known - a head from the Palatine in the Terme Museum, Rome." Since opinions on identification of portraits vary considerably I am adding several works which Hiesinger rejects, as well as some he doesn't mention.

47. Marble head of Nero. Terme Museum, Rome. Inv. no. 618. Found on the Palatine. Bernoulli, p. 393, no.7; Hekler, pl. 183; R. Delbrück, Antike Porträts (Bonn, 1912), pl. 35; R. Paribeni, Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano (Rome, 1928), p. 235, no. 656; West, p. 229, pl. lxii, no. 272; H.P. L'Orange, "Le Néron Constitutionnel et le Néron Apothéosé," From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek III (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 247, fig.1 (hereafter "Néron Apotheose"); B.M. Felleti Maj, no. 123; Poulsen, "Once More," pp. 294-95; Poulsen, Portraits, p. 33; Hiesinger, p. 119, pl. 24, figs. 43-4; M D.W. MacDowall, The Western Coinages of Nero (New York, 1979), p. 128, pls. xxiv, xxv. This head had obviously been heavily restored in the past. Only Hiesinger and MacDowall present plates with the restorations removed. Felleti Maj states that the portrait corresponds to the coins issued before A.D. 64; Hiesinger makes this point most strongly. Poulsen seems to doubt that the head was so early. L'Orange uses the Terme head to confirm the identification of a relief head (no. 48 below). Curiously enough, the resemblance is strong when one looks at the profile photograph of the Terme head without the restorations. (When L'Orange must have seen the head it would have been in its restored state. Delbrück noted that this portrait was identified from the likeness on the coinage. The hair is represented in detail and the parting of the curls above the right eye corresponds exactly to the coiffure as it appears on

Nero's right-facing coin profiles. Hiesinger says of this portrait that "the facial characteristics of Nero most dramatically portrayed in his latest portraits are already clearly present." The greater thickening and heaviness of the features evident in the coin portraits (cf A.D. 59-64) are likewise evident in the Terme head. An intense and somewhat moody expression may be discerned. Photographs of the head when it was restored appear to have given too youthful an impression to this image. Plate VI, Fig. 16.

48. (a and b). Marble relief head. Schloss Fasanerie, Fulda. Found in Rome. K.A. Neugebauer, Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz (Berlin, 1938), p. 18, no. 36, pl. 18; L'Orange, Neron Apotheosé, p. 249, fig. 5; H. von Heintze, Die Antiken Porträts im Schloss Fasanerie bei Fulda (Mainz am Rhein, 1968), p. 40, no. 27, pp.101 ff., pls. 46-7, 119a; Hiesinger, p. 117, n.26. Hiesinger remarks that this relief head appears to represent the same individual as a veiled head from Corinth (see no. 21 above). Although he notes that these images "share points of similarity with the portraits of Nero", he feels they display a variation in coiffure separate from the Cagliari-Mantua-Terme Louvre-Syracuse portraits, "not reproduced on the coin images of Nero." However Hiesinger says regarding the coin portraits, that the series could reflect more than one model, as with the first coiffure type. In that case why cannot the sculpted portraits also reflect more than one model? 48. b. Hiesinger presents another head in Fulda (von Heintze, p. 37, no. 26, pls. 44-45), seemingly excluded on p. 117, noting "If genuine, this marble head will add another, essentially identical, replica to the portrait type," (i.e. Type IV, A.D. 59-64, exemplified by the Terme head). Plate VI, Fig. 18.

49. Marble head. Zagreb Museum, Zagreb. Found in Sintorno, Italy. L'Orange, "Neron Apotheosé, p. 248, figs. 2-3. L'Orange says he is obliged to accept this on the strength of Poulsen's identification (in conversation), and relates it to one of the Fulda portraits (no. 48a above). The broad face, slightly bearded cheeks and general expression confirm Poulsen's proposal, according to L'Orange. Judging from the reproduction, it looks like a slightly younger likeness than the Terme head. (I would assume Poulsen didn't include it in his published studies on the young Nero because he felt it was a later head.)

50. Marble head. University of Missouri Museum of art and Archaeology, Columbia, Missouri. From Egypt. Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, pp. 231-32, fig. 130 (as Titus):

Vermeule, Greek and Roman, p. 297, pl. 2253 (as Nero). The reason for the very recent identification of this portrait as Nero is not explained. I would say it definitely resembles the preceeding heads (nos. 47-49 above). Vermeule supplies further references which waver back and forth between Nero and Titus.

51. Marble head. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen. Cat. no. 447. Poulsen, Portraits, p. 32, no. 66. Bought in Rome in 1900, and apparently once part of a statue. Poulsen says that at one time this head was thought to have been a Pergamese work of the Hellenistic period. He concludes that it is Roman in style and is an idealised (emperor) portrait of a young Roman as Ares. The choice fell on Nero on account of its "fat" face.

52. Statue of Nero(?) with hip drapery. Louvre Museum, Paris. No. 1221. Bernoulli, p. 173; J. Charbonneaux, La Sculpture Grecque et Romaine au Musee du Louvre (Paris, 1963), p. 157; Niemeyer, p. 104, no. 81, pl. 26.2; Hiesinger, p. 119. Hiesinger says that in addition to "numerous modern replicas", one can exclude this one. (It is still difficult to know just what Hiesinger means, since he has used the term 'replicas', throughout his study, to equate sculptured or sculpted works (as in this thesis). "modern" is not defined.

In the context of no. 52 above, Hiesinger vehemently rejects several more works which, due to very incomplete documentation, I shall mention in a group. He notes "the statue in Zadar, from Aencna (Niemeyer, p. 30, 83, pl. 4,2) and a head in Nimes (Esperandieu, Recueil, no. 2719; Also "one should finally stop identifying Nero as the subject of a head in the Capitoline Museum (see (H. Stuart Jones, The Sculpture of the Museo Capitolino, (Oxford, 1912), p. 191, no. 16, pl. 48; Helbig, no. 1287), since it is reconstructed around a fragment so small as to make any identification impossible." There is also the Nero of Modena, mentioned only by L'Orange, (Néron Apothéosé, p. 253, fig. 10), which, judging from the

reproduction, does indeed look like a "modern replica." It would obviously be ridiculous to venture an opinion on the century of production without having seen it.

PART III - A.D. 64-68

As with the preceeding period, there is "only one indisputably authentic sculpture," according to Hiesinger, p. 120 (refer to no. 47 above). The one certain portrait for this final period is the Worcester head (no. 53 below). There are many "modern" portraits based on Nero's last type, and I am including all the well documented examples in this catalogue. As was the case with the two previous periods, there are supposed Neros in Bernoulli which lack further references. It must be emphasised that although I have tried to make these catalogues as complete as possible, the main purpose of this study is to use the iconographical evidence to confirm an impression of Nero's character and his "image" received from the ancient literary sources. Such a study will always be subjective in its interpretation, and there are more than enough spurious Nero portraits (produced after his lifetime) to colour an impression. The distinctive styles of Nero's coiffure on the coin portraits have been the most certain means

of identification (for the sculpted portraits), and in some cases, the only means of identification. If we accept the two certain sculpted likenesses for A.D. 59-64 and A.D. 64-68, respectively, and assume that most, if not all, of the other late portraits do not reflect an ancient model, but display "baroque" qualities of exaggerated drama and emotionalism which are most suspect as being of a later interpolation," (Hiesinger, p. 122), the image of Nero emerges differently from what is commonly assumed. I suggest the possibility of future identifications of sculptures portraying Nero during his later years, particularly since identifications may be based more on the coiffure style and generally milder mien relating to the Worcester (and Terme heads) and not the 'common' image associated with the later 'interpolations'. (This point will be taken up again in the conclusion.)

53. Marble bust of Nero. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass. Acc. no. 1915.23. WAM Bulletin, 5.4 (1915), pp. 7-9, ill.; Art Through Fifty Centuries (Worcester, Mass., 1948), p. 16, fig. 16; L'Orange, Néron Apothéosé, p. 250, fig. 4; L'Orange, Apotheosis, p. 58, fig. 32; Harvard Univ., Fogg Art Museum Exibition of Ancient Sculpture (1950), no. 41; Poulsen, "Nero," Acta A., p. 296, fig. 5; Charbonneaux, M.Ant.Fr. (1954), p. 38; M. Milkovich, Roman Portraits (Worcester Art Museum: Worcester, 1961), no. 10; Poulsen, Portraits, pp.34-35; WAM Handbook (1973), pl. 25; Hiesinger, p. 113, 120-24, pl. 25. figs. 45-47; Vermeule, Greek and Roman, p. 298, fig. 254. This portrait was reworked in Antiquity, as was the Cagliari no. 6122 (no. 32 above). On the Worcester head, apart from reworking in the hair above the ears, and on the right side below the nape, "holes securing metal pins were placed on either side of the head below and slightly behind each ear" (Hiesinger, p. 122). Both ears are

missing and it is thought that "the pin holes, ear sockets, and other alterations aided in fastening some object to the head, and again one thnks of a diadem corresponding to either the laurel or radiate type worn by Nero on the coins." An aegis may or may not have been affixed to the bust during the alteration. Vermeule (Greek and Roman, p. 298, suggests that this head was broken off from a statue. Hiesinger claims that the refitting of portraits definitely affirms a decision to re-adjust and enlarge the public image of the emperor. The crucial question is whether new contemporary replicas ,also, were made with these attributes, and were they the same type as the Worcester portrait, or were there new images similar to the Uffizi - Louvre 334 types (nos. 58 and 59 below). L'Orange believes these "modern" replicas do reflect an ancient model. Poulsen presents the last portraits of Nero as the most fascinating and problematic in Roman art. Hiesinger feels the Uffizi - Louvre type portraits are too baroque and emotional, as the coin portraits of after A.D. 64 are not. He suggests that an element "at times verging on caricature" (as in mint of Lugdunum portraits) is a feature of the Hellenistic style of portraiture, "demonstrating that Hellenistic traits persisted in the repetory of Roman artists of all kinds, including coin engravers. I maintain that the coin engravers were most likely Greek in any case, and suggest that after A.D. 65, particularly, Nero's portraits from the Roman mint were of this exaggerated Hellenistic type. Why, then, were there not also sculpted portraits of Nero, in this style? In Ch. III, pp. 73-74, I have tried to supply some reasonable explanations, but until new sculpted portraits are discovered, the question of whether this more emotional type of portrait existed in Antiquity, will remain a puzzle. Plate VIII, Figs. 23 & 25. There is another portrait "of the mature type" listed by Vermeule in Roman Imperial Portraits (p. 389, no. 8) as being in the City Art Museum, Haifa. He further says the provenence of this piece is not given and cites "Information from Herbert A. Cahn; compare Roman Portraits, Worcester, p. 28, no. 10 and bibl." I have not found any other references to this portrait.

54. Marble cuirrassed statue of Nero (now) headless. Istanbul Museum, Istanbul. Found in Omer Beyli (or Tralles). G. Mendel, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, et byzantines, II (Constantinople, 1914), p. 315, no. 584: Niemeyer, p. 92, no. 37, pl. 12,1; Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art, p. 197, fig. 126, p. 389, no. 6; Hiesinger, p. 120, n.35. This statue is identified by the inscription on its base. It can only serve to give an idea of Nero's stature and physique. He would have been

of average height and fairly stocky through the middle, which might make his legs appear to be 'spindly', as in Suetonius' description, (Nero, 51). See also K. R. Bradley, Suetonius' Life of Nero (Bruxelles, 1978), pp. 283-84, on the various interpretations of Nero's physical characteristics, compared with the evidence of the Tralles statue. Regarding this statue, one is tempted to speculate on why the inscription on the base was not mutilated, if indeed Nero's 'imagines' suffered damnatio memoriae? Plate VII, Fig. 19.

55. Marble head of Nero. Munich Glyptothek, Munich. No. 202. Bernoulli, p. 399, no. 40, pl. xxiii; West, p. 230, pl. lxii, fig. 273; L'Orange, Néron Apothéosé, p. 247. Although this portrait has been much altered and repaired, L'Orange thinks it contains "un noyau authentique." It does agree with the coin portraits and to my mind conforms more with the earlier authentic likenesses than many of the other 'baroque' or 'modern' works for the mature Nero. West feels that this head portrays Nero about five years after the Terme head.

56. Bronze head of Nero. Vatican Library, Rome. Bernoulli, pp. 392-93, no. 6, pl. xxiv; Helbig, no. 476; K. Kluge and K. Lehman-Hartleben, Die antiken Grossbronzen (Berlin, 1927), pp. 25, 28, fig. 4; Felleti Maj, EAA V (1963), pp. 424 ff; L'Orange, Néron Apothéosé, p. 248, Hiesinger, p. 120, n.34. There has been some controversy over the authenticity of this bust. Hiesinger feels this portrait should "indeed be rejected"- it is an exact counterpart of no. 57 below. He finds it inconsistent with the coin images and the Terme and Worcester portraits in that "the face is too long and oval, the beard too full and tightly waved, and the crest of the forehead curls too narrow." I would agree with all of these observations.

57. Head of Nero. Louvre Museum, Paris. No. 289. From the Villa Borghese. Bernoulli, no. 25, fig. 58; L'Orange, "Néron Apotheosé," p. 248; Hiesinger, p. 120, n.34. This is the counterpart of the Vatican bust (above no. 56). L'Orange thinks it is a copy made after the Vatican bust; Hiesinger reverses the order and thinks the Vatican bronze was cast after the Louvre replica. The same observations apply to both works.

58. Bust of Nero with radiate crown. Louvre Museum, Paris. No. 334. Bernoulli, p. 396, no. 24, pl. xxv; R. Paribeni, "Un Nuovo Ritratto di Nerone," Ausonia, V (1912), p. 26;

L'Orange, Néron Apothéosé, p. 347; L'Orange, Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), p. 139, no. 16 (hereafter Apotheosis). L'Orange draws attention to the fact that "such a distinguished expert in Roman portraiture as R. Delbruck still maintains the genuineness of the Louvre replica (in a letter of 22/5 1942). The profile view in Bernoulli's plate certainly doesn't resemble the coin portraits and the entire bust looks rather like a (Renaissance)? notion of Nero's appearance. There is a Renaissance relief in M. Grant's Nero, p. 252. which resembles the Louvre bust in profile view.

59. Black basalt head of Nero. Uffizi Galleries, Florence. No. 65. Bernoulli, p. 395, no. 17; Hekler, pl. 182a; Delbrück, pl. 36; Paribeni, p. 26; L'Orange, Neron Apotheosé, p.p. 247, 253, fig. 9; L'Orange, Apotheosis, p. 60, fig. 34; Poulsen, Portraits, p. 33, no. 86; Hiesinger, p. 120, n.34. This portrait is much reproduced (and I assume it is the "Uffizi Head" Hiesinger is referring to). Bernoulli noted the presence of a radiate crown and the similarity of the head to the Louvre type (no. 58 above). On both sculptures the radiate crown is modelled into the hair and doesn't project. I can't see why it is mentioned so often apart from the obvious reason that it conforms to the exaggerated image of Nero fostered by popular history. Plate VII, Fig. 22.

In connection with the Uffizi and Louvre examples above, L'Orangein Apotheosis, p. 60, mentions examples in Catajo and Wilton House (Bernoulli, p.395, no. 21 and p. 399, no. 35). He also adds to this type a bust in the Fossa Nuova, at Priverno in Latium. This is illustrated in his earlier study, Néron Apothéosé, fig.8 - I can't see that these last three portraits are worth listing separately. In addition there are two heads in the Capitoline mentioned by L'Orange in Néron Apothéosé, (pp. 247-48) and Bernoulli (p. 391, nos. 1 and 2, figs. 54 and 55 - Bernoulli's drawing of no. 2, however, suggests an older Nero although he called it "Nero as a young man"). Bernoulli notes the first example as perhaps "modern" and the second as

heavily restored. Hiesinger(p. 120, n.16) also mentions Capitoline examples of the last coiffure type. I have failed to find any others and assume he was referring to the two mentioned above.

60. Marble head (of Nero)? laureate. Terme Museum, Rome. Inv. no. 56587. R.Paribeni, 22-26, pls. I-II and fig. 1; Lippold, p. 30; West, p. 263, no. 23; L'Orange, Néron Apotheose, p. 248; Felleti Maj, I Ritratti, p. 169 (Appendix no. 2); M. Grant, Nero, pl. 236. although L'Orange says this is certainly 'modern' (citing West) and Felleti Maj lists it with the dubious replicas, there is something about this portrait that is different from the other 'modern' ones. It has an altogether cruder look, as if it were done after a provincial model. Of course the rougher appearance may just result from a poor photograph.

61. Bronze statuette of Nero (cuirassed) as Alexander. British Museum, London. J.M.C. Toynbee, Art in Britain under the Romans (Oxford, 1964), p. 49, pl. v, a and b. Toynbee considers that this statuette was most likely of Gaulish workmanship. (It was found near Coddenham, Suffolk, according to Gentleman's Magazine XCV, 1 (1825), 291-93, says Toynbee, but the British Museum's register apparently described it as found, about 1795 at Barking Hall in Suffolk, where the Earl of Ashburnham lived, from whom it was acquired by the British Museum.) Toynbee bases the identification of this statuette (only 22 inches high) on 'the full, plump face,, the upstandng hair above the brow, the slightly parted lips, and the upward gaze of the eyes, that were once clearly inlaid with colors, are all suggestive of Nero in the guise of Alexander." K. R. Bradley (pp. 118-119) remarks on the existence of this statuette in connection with Nero's last plans for exploration. (See Ch. III, pp.1-2.) PLate VII, Fig. 20.

62. The colossal statue of Nero (of antiquity). Suetonius (Nero 31) describes it as a colossal portrait of the Emperor ("ipsius effigies"), 120 feet high which stood in the entrance hall of the domus Aurea. Pliny (N.H. 34, 45-46) records the colossal statue of Nero made by Zenodorus who was summoned to Rome by the Emperor for that purpose. Pliny says it was a 106 1/2 ft. high "simulacrum

illius principis", and after the condemnation of Nero's crimes ("Damnatis sceleribus"), the colossus was dedicated to the sun - most likely in the year A.D. 75, according to Dio 65, 15. Note that even Pliny doesn't say directly damnatio memoriae and he is the only early source to even hint at "damnatio." (Such a colossal statue might have been re-used in any case.) Martial described rays surrounding its head (Epigr., 1,70,7). J. M. C. Toynbee (Ruler Apotheosis in Ancient Rome," Num. Chron., 6th. Ser., 7-8 (1947/48), 134-35), says this was perhaps the work of Vespasian's "colossi refector" (Suet. Vesp. 18), who reworked the face. It was afterwards moved by Hadrian to the north of the Colosseum, where its base was still in view (Pliny N.H. 34). One assumes the base was dedicated to Nero and we are left to wonder whether the inscription stayed intact or whether the base was recognised by hearesay. The former explanation seems to be more logical. I see no reason to doubt the existence of such a statue. Plate VII, Fig. 21.

63, Nero(?) as Apollo, laureate, standing with cithara or lyre in left hand. Vatican Museum, Rome. Bernoulli, p. 390; West, pp. 230-31, pl. lxv, fig. 274. West remarks that this is an idealised portrait of Nero as Apollo-citharoedus - perhaps of the 5th century A.D. There must have been many, but most likely with generalised features we wouldn't recognise as Nero. The statue cited here is a typical example. K. R. Bradley (pp. 151-52), also comments on this statue. (Refer as well to Ch. II, p. 16 above.) Plate VI, Fig. 17.

APPENDIX II

COIN PORTRAITS - A.D. 51-59.

The Appendix of coins has been limited to examples which best illustrate various points in the main body of the thesis. In addition, (for temporal and financial reasons) it was not possible to provide photographs of the coins which I examined in the Ashmolean Museum. Therefore the illustrations have been taken from examples of the same issues in other collections, supported by drawings made from the Ashmolean and certain of the British Museum coins.

Although the McGill Coin Collection originally inspired this thesis the coins which showed the changes in Nero's appearance were Greek Imperials, and the few coins from the mint of Rome were not particularly useful, therefore the McGill coins have not been cited.

There are probably three separate portrait models during the early years: the first appearing on the coinage of Claudius from A.D. 51 to 54; the second (very closely following the first), on Nero's earliest imperial coinage when he became emperor in October A.D. 54; and a third which was introduced in A.D. 55 and which remained in use until it was replaced sometime during the course of A.D. 59. Although there are variables in these coin portraits, most likely reflecting the

hand or the individual engraver, Nero's portraiture clearly developed during these years in several stages, while a single basic coiffure type remained in use. U. Hiesinger, (see introduction, p. 2 including n.3), had proposed the classification of the Ccins of the 1st Coiffure Type, coin types I-III, a group I see no reason to disagree with. (+ signifies viewed by the writer).

1. Aureus, A.D. 51-54.

Obv. TI.CLAUD.CAESAR.AUG.GERM.P.M.TRIB.POT.P.P. Laur. head of Claudius r.

Rev. NERO.CLAUD.CAES.DRUSUS.GERM.PRINC.IUVENT. Youthful bust of Nero, draped, bareheaded, l.

+Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (Christ Church 1789, weight 7.63, from tray 21) = RIC, Claudius, no. 93 = +BMCRE, Claudius, no. 80. See Hiesinger, pl. 17, fig. 2. The Ashmolean example is a beautiful coin in high relief, worn, but very lively. In this adoption type portrait Nero has a rather long thin neck. Plate X, Fig. 1.

2. Aureus, A.D. 51-54.

Obv. NERONI.CLAUDIO.DRUSO.GERM.COS.DESIGN. Youthful bust draped, bareheaded r.

Rev. EQUESTER.ORDO.PRINCIPI.IUVENT. on round shield lying on spear.

+Ashmolean Museum, (Christ Church 1789, weight 7.64, tray 21) = RIC, Claudius, no. 95 = + BMCRE, Claudius, no. 92. This portrait occupies the obverse and is similar to the coin above, but perhaps not as fine. Nero is a pleasant, seemingly smiling youth. A fairly long thin neck again marks this stage of his portraiture, particularly noticeable on the Asmclean coins. PLate IX Fig. 1.

3. Aureus, A.D. 54-55.

Obv. AGRIPP.AUG.DIVI.CLAUD.NERONIS.CAES.MATER) Confronted busts of Nero r., A.L.

Rev. EX SC within oak wreath. Legend NERONI. CLAUD.DIVI.F.CAES.AUG.GERM.IMP.TRP.

+Ashmolean Museum, (Keble College, B 230) = RIC, Nero, no.9 = +BMCRE, Nero, nos.1 & 2 = MacDowall, Cat. no. 2. Nero is still very youthful and pleasant, as in the coins issued under Claudius. Plate IX, Fig. 2 & Plate X, Fig. 2.

4. Aureus, A.D. 55.

Obv. NERO.CLAUD.DIVI.F.CAES.AUG.GERM.IMP.TRP.COS Jugate busts of Nero and Agrippina r.

Rev. AGRIPP.AUG.DIVI.CLAUD.NERONIS.CAES.MATER. In field, EX SC. Divus Augustus and Divus Claudius seated l. on chariot drawn l. by four elephants.

+Ashmolean Museum, (Keble College, Stainer B229, weight 7.63) = RIC Nero, no. 10 = BMCRE Nero, no. 7 (weight 7.61, and uncatalogued 1964 coin, weight 7.69) = Sydenham, Nero, no. 21 = MacDowall, Cat. no. 3. Sydenham calls the second figure on the reverse Livia. Plate IX, Fig. 3.

5. Aureus, A.D. 56/57.

Obv. NERO.CAESAR.AUG.IMP. Head bare r.

Rev. EX SC within oak wreath. Legend EONTIF.MAX.TRP.III.PP

RIC Nero, no.19 = BMCRE Nero, nos. 12 ff. = MacDowall, Cat. No. 5. This is a typical portrait of the young emperor between A.D. 55-59. It is like no. 4 above but without Agrippina. Plate IX, Fig. 4.

6. Denarius, A.D. 58/59.

Obv. NERO.CAESAR.AUG.IMP. Head bare r.

Rev. EX SC within oak wreath. Legend EONIF.MAX.TRP.V.PP.

+Ashmolean Museum (Christ Church, weight 3.34) = RIC Nero, no. 22 = BMCRE Nero, no. 20 = MacDowall, Cat. no.41. This is the same portrait type as no. 5 above. The aurei and denarii feature the same obverse and reverse types. Plate X, Fig. 3.

A.D. 59-64.

A new portrait of Nero appears sometime in A.D. 59 on the gold and silver. It must be kept in mind that the aes coinage of Nero was not in production until A.D.62, for asses and semisses, and A.D. 63 for sestertii and dupondii. Therefore, up to these years we are considering only the precious metals. The portrait of A.D. 59 is a more mature characterisation closely resembling the portraits of A.D. 55-59, but the neck and facial features in general are heavier and, most importantly (for grouping and dating), the coiffure type has changed (refer to Ch. II, pp. 46 and 49 for a full description of this portrait type.) Concerning the aes production, starting halfway through this period; (and recognising the new evidence provided by D. W. MacDowall), I would add laureate and radiate variations to the bare-headed Nero type which have usually been associated with these years. A laureate head appears on (rare) pre-reform copper semisses dated to A.D. 62 (MacDowall, p. 84, Cat. nos. 303-07). Pre-reform radiate and laureate orichalcum asses were issued in A.D. 63 (MacDowall, p. 82, Cat. nos. 257-61). Pre-reform orichalcum dupondii, likewise, were issued in A.D. 63 with bare, laureate and radiate heads (MacDowall Cat. nos. 177-88). Sestertii, too, were issued in A.D. 63 with Nero's head laureate. The attribute of the aegis was also added at about this time. (See MacDowall Cat. nos. 70-83.) There are, indeed,

many variations within the one general coiffure type of A.D. 59-64, which embrace more than the differences in facial features. These variations are seen to overlap into the next general classification of coin portraits (of the years A.D. 64-68), and perhaps should be termed 'transitional' until further study can be carried out on this group.

Although, as has been pointed out, variations are found in the gold and silver obverse portraits, the aurei and denarii, both dated and undated are "remarkably uniform in style, type and content" (MacDowall, p.9), and the chronological classification of new Nero portraits on the precious metals is quite clearly defined. The first group, having been established as pre A.D. 59 and although steadily maturing, is based on one coiffure type. A distinctly new type, heralded by a change in coiffure, clearly emerges after A.D. 59 and 64 respectively. The <u>aes</u> coinage, on the other hand, as I have emphasised, only started production in A.D. 62/62, and although it too is distinguished by the development in coiffure, classification presents more of a problem. The three basic periods of portraiture suffice for the purposes of this thesis but more study concerning a transitional period, which embraces Nero's grand scheme to introduce a brass coinage entirely in orichalcum, and the scope of the subsequent reform, is clearly needed. A statistical analysis of portrait types produced between A.D. 62 and 65 might cast more light on this busy period for the Roman mint.

In lieu of such a study at the moment, I would like to suggest that when the aes coinage was in production, very large issues were sent out from Rome. Indeed, the mint at Lugdunum was re-opened in A.D. 64 to help supply the needs of the western part of the Empire (RIC Vol. I, p.5). It is logical to assume that many more die-engravers were needed than previously. The subsequent variations in Nero's portraits might then have been the result of an influx of artists less familiar with Nero's features, perhaps working from old portrait models, and some most likely less skilled than the regulars hitherto employed. It does look as if the less-skilled engravers worked largely at Lugdunum (see Ch. II, p.49 and n.24). The first year or so when Nero put his plans for the coinage into action may have been a trifle confusing for mint officials, and when in A.D. 64 the reform was in full swing and the recoined gold was provided with a new more mature (and flamboyantly Hellenisitic) portrait model, the aes production may have been left to manage as best it could, still using an out-of-date portrait model. It is commonly assumed that Greek artists were employed for Roman needs (see Coin Appendix, p. 145). Perhaps the difference in the new aes coin portraits may be explained by non-Greek craftsmen involved in coin production, thus the Hellenistic 'look' associated with Nero's gold and silver took longer to emerge on the aes. By A.D. 65/66 the mint would have been running more smoothly and the new artists would have become more proficient at producing

the new style.

All this, unfortunately, is a matter for conjecture only, and another theory may equally well be produced. From what has been assessed of Nero's character so far, it would not seem incongruous to say that this 'difference' (or, what might be termed a consistent variation in the aes as opposed to the consistency of the precious metals coinage) may have been deliberately cultivated by Nero. The aes coinage basically had more propaganda value for the people of Rome and the fairly pleasant, somewhat more generalised portrait of Nero was possibly what he wanted during this middle period. The reverse types were at their best, beautifully designed and executed, and perhaps they were considered more important, at this stage, for promoting Nero's regime and interests.

The aes reverse types tell us of Nero's consuming interest in the Games, his appearance as Apollo, his 'Victories', and great building schemes, such as the port of Ostia and the Macellum Magnum. The gold and silver reverses, on the other hand, are more traditional, featuring Virtus, Roma, Salus, Jupiter Custos, etc. They are perhaps of a more impersonal and yet 'kingly' nature, and the more emphatic portrait characterisation could be regarded as a suitable accompaniment. Some types, of course, such as the temple of Janus (signifying peace) are found on all metals, but in general the aes reverses differ from the gold and silver. In any case, by A.D. 66 the forces of nature and Nero's extreme

megalomania take over and the aes coinage clearly reflects what the gold and silver portraits portrayed two years earlier.

7. Copper Semis, A.D. 62.
Obv. NERO.CLAUDIUS.CAESAR.AUG.GERM.PM.TRP.IMP.
Head laur. r.

Rev. CERTAMEN.QUINQ.ROM.CO.
A gaming table ornamented by two griffins. On it, urn l. and wreath r. Against its central leg rests a round shield.

+Ashmolean Museum (weight 4.84) = RIC Nero, no. 407 = BMCRE Nero, no.259 = MacDowall Cat. no. 307. Plate IX, Fig. 14.

8. Orichalcum Semis with SC, mark of value S.A.D. 64.
Obv. NERO.CAES.AUG.IMP.
Head laur. r.

Rev. CER.QUINQ.ROM.CO. S
As above (no. 7).

+Ashmolean Museum (weight 3.70) = RIC Nero, no.378 = BMCRE Nero, nos. 261 ff. = MacDowall Cat. no. 323. The head is well modelled and the coiffure detail shows well. The reverse is well designed and the lettering is fine on both legends. Although this is a post reform issue, the portrait type belongs to the period of A.D. 59-64 - an example of a possible 'transitional' portrait. Plate X, Fig. 4.

9. Sestertius, A.D. 64.
Obv. NERO.CLAUDIUS.CAESAR.
AUG.GERM.PM.TRP.IMP.PP.
Head laur. r. aegis.

Rev. CONG.II.DAT.POT.SC
(Congiarium.) Nero seated on a platform on l. Before him a seated official distributes largess to a man ascending ladder carrying an infant. Behind, are statues of Minerva and Liberty.

+Ashmolean Museum (weight 26.11) = RIC Nero, no. 117 = BMCRE Nero, no. 138 = MacDowall Cat. no. 87. This is quite a pleasant likeness. Again, a post reform issue, but the portrait belongs with the A.D. 59-64 group. A 'transitional' portrait. Plate X, Fig. 5.

10. Dupondius, A.D. 63.
Obv.
NERO.CLAUDIUS.CAESAR.AUG.GERM.PM.TRP.IMP.PP.
Head laur. r.

Rev. Macellum. No legend. Front view of the Macellum Magnum.
RIC Nero, no. 281 = BMCRE Nero. no. 196 = MacDowall Cat. no. 180. A pleasant portrait - quite typical for this period. PLate IX, Fig, 10.

11. Dupondius, A.D. 63.
Obv.
NERO.CLAUDIUS.CAESAR.AUG.GERM.PM.TRP.IMP.PP.
Head rad. r.
Rev. Macellum. As above (no. 10).

MacDowall Cat. no. 18b. This is an example of an early radiate head of Nero. The portrait is very like the preceeding one (no. 10 above).

12. Dupondius, A.D. 64.
Obv. NERO.CLAUD.CAESAR.AUG.GERM.PM.TRP.IMP.PP.
Head rad. r.
Rev. SC and mark of value II. Macellum (as above).

+Ashmolean Museum (Godwyn, weight 14.94) = RIC Nero, no. 278 = BMCRE Nero, nos. 191 ff. = MacDowall Cat. no. 203. In this particular example the portrait appears to belong with the next chronological group (A.D. 64-68). The neck is shorter and thicker than on the two preceeding Macellum reverse coins. This dupondius is included here to show the inconsistency of the aes coinage, and for the purposes of comparison. See nos. 8 & 9 above, a semis and sestertius, respectively, also issued in A.D. 64 but bearing an earlier portrait type. PLate IX, Fig. 11.

13. Aureus, A.D. 59/60.
Obv. NERO.CAESAR.AUG.IMP.
Head bare r.

Rev. EX SC within oak wreath. Legend
PONTIF.MAX.TRP.VI.

BMCRE Nero,no. 21 = RIC Nero, nos. 23 & 24 = MacDowall Cat. no. 9. This is definitely a more mature head than no. 5 above (an aureus of A.D. 56/57). It may be regarded as a typical portrait for this middle period. The neck and jowl are thicker now and a development in coiffure style is noticeable. PLate IX, Fig. 5.

14. Denarius, A.D. 60/61.
Obv. NERO.CAESAR.AUG.IMP.
Head bare r.
Rev. EX SC within oak wreath.
Legend PONTIF.MAX.TRP.VII.

+Ashmolean Museum (Godwyn, weight 3.59) = RIC Nero, no. 25 = BMCRE Nero no. 23 = MacDowall Cat. no. 10. This is quite a 'grim' portrait for the period. The new (early in gradus formata) hair style is very apparent. Plate IX, Fig. 6.

15. Aureus, A.D. 63/64.
Obv. NERO.CAESAR.AUG.IMP.
Head bare r.

Rev. EX SC in field. Virtus, helmeted, stg. l. with right foot on helmet, r. holding parazonium, l. a long spear. Legend PONTIF.MAX.TRP.X.COS.IIII.PP.

+Ashmolean Museum (Bayley Bequest no. 414) = RIC Nero no. 35 = BMCRE Nero, no. 45 = MacDowall Cat. no. 20. These are very fine portraits (both examples); a pleasant profile includes a rather jutting nose and chin - the eye is open and round, giving the profile a lively look. This is a typical coin portrait for the period. Plate IX, Fig. 7 & Plate X, Fig. 6.

16. Copper As, A.D. 62.
Obv. NERO.CLAUDIUS.AUG.GERMANIC.
Head bare l.

Rev. Nero laur. advancing r., in flowing robes or Apollo citharoedus, l. holding lyre, r. playing it. Legend PONTIF.MAX.TRP.IMP.PP.

+Ashmolean Museum (Godwyn, weight 11.27) = RIC Nero no. 351 (l. or r.) = BMCRE Nero no. 236 (r.) = MacDowall Cat. no. 247. This is a very fine l. facing profile showing hair curling round, down, and towards front of the face (as described in Ch. II, p. 49 and n.25). Plate IX, Fig. 12 & Fig. 7, Plate X.

17. Oricnalcum As with SC and mark of value T, A.D. 64.
Obv. NERO.CLAUD.CAESAR.AUG.GERMANI.
Head rad. r.

Rev. Legend as above (n. 16).

+Ashmolean Museum (Douce no. 37, weight 7.50) = RIC Nero no. 368 = BMCRE Nero no. 254 = MacDowall Cat. no. 275. This is an excellent example of the possible 'transitional' portrait of A.D. 64. Hair style is definitely in gradus formata , but it does not appear to be the final portrait. The reverse figure

of Apollo is very graceful and beautifully modelled. This is a different version from no. 16 above; the figure is less arched. Plate X, Fig. 8.

18. Dupondius, A.D. ??.
Obv. NERO.CLAUD.CAESAR.AUG.GERM.
Head rad. l.

Rev. Victoria l. VICTORIA.AUGUSTI.
Victory draped, flying l., r. leg forward, r. holding wreath and palm.

+Ashmolean Museum (weight 14.81) = RIC Nero no. 309 =+ BMCRE Nero, no. 219 = MacDowall Cat.no. 196. This, too, appears to be a 'transitional' portrait. The "Victory' issue of A.D. 63 was not very different; heads were bare, laur. or rad. Plate X, Fig. 9.

A.D. 64-68.

During the course of A.D. 64 Nero's portrait (or rather, coiffure), changed for the third and last time. It is the final version of coma in gradus formata, with the crest of curls above the forehead more exaggerated and the parting above the right eye, noticed in the second coiffure type missing. The curls extend across the forehead in continuous rows instead. This is Hiesinger's group, "Portraits of the Third Coiffure Type, Coin Type V, A.D. 64-68." Again this classification appears suitable, particularly since the post-reform gold and silver issued in A.D. 64 (without SC) indicate the exaggeration in hair style very well. The general coarsening of Nero's features and rather dramatic style of this new portrait have been referred to many times in the course of this thesis and do not need further elaboration. What is

remarkable through the entire coin series is the fact that, as noted earlier, Nero is always recognisable. Again, it must be emphasised that concerning the years A.D. 59-64, the aes coinage does not necessarily follow the gold and silver in producing Nero's new 'image' concurrently.

19. Aureus, A.D. 64/66.
Obv. NERO.CAESAR.
Head laur. r.

Rev. AUGUSTUS.GERMANICUS.
Nero, radiate, togate, standing facing, r. holding branch, l. victory on globe.

+BMCRE Nero, no. 56, (weight 7.35) = RIC Nero no. 42 = MacDowall Cat. no. 22. On this very fine coin, both obverse portrait (typical for this period) and reverse type are beautifully executed. It was struck on the new reduced weight standard and is dated to the period before mid A.D. 66, by reason of the absence of the praenomen IMP (which Nero assumed in mid A.D. 66). See MacDowall, pp. 32-33. Plate IX, Fig. 8 & Plate X, Fig. 10.

20. Sestertius, A.D. 65.
Obv. NERO.CAESAR.AUG.IMP.TR.POT.XIP.PP. CHECK the XIP
Head cuirassed r.

Rev. ROMA in exergue, SC l. and r. in field. Roma seated l., on cuirass, holds Victory and parazonium.

RIC Nero no. 205 = MacDowall Cat. no. 135. This portrait is definitely in the style of the earlier period (A.D. 59-64). MacDowall (pp. 78-9) comments on this rare portrayal of Nero cuirassed. Apparently a single die was cut for these setertii, and then abandoned. D. Euan-Smith (see main bibliography) suggests that clothing or lack of it was very significant and reinforced the propaganda on reverse types. This is certainly the only occasion where Nero associated his person with the military. Drapery (according to Mrs. Euan-Smith) indicates civil concern. The bare neck or bust confirms the semi-heroic grandeur of an emperor. Surely it cannot be without significance that most coin portraits of Nero, through the whole series, are undraped.

21. Sestertius, A. D. 66.
Obv. IMP.NERO.CLAUD.CAESAR.AUG.GER.PM.TRP.PP
Head laur. l. ROMA in ex., SC in field.
Roma seated l. holding Victory and spear.

+Ashmolean Museum (weight 27.65) = RIC Nero, no. 220 = MacDowall no. 164. This portrait is clearly the new type (coiffure and heavier lock) which appeared in A.D. 64 on the gold and silver.

22. Philataerus of Pergamum on a silver tetradrachm of Eumenes I (263-241 B. C.). Plate IX, Fig. 15. - see I. Carradice, Ancient Greek Portrait Coins, (London, 1978), p. 12, fig. 42.

23. Denarius, A.D. 68.
Obv. IMP.NERO.CAESAR.AUG.PP.
Head laur. r.

Rev. SALUS across field.
Salus seated l. on throne, r. holding patera, l. resting on side.

+Ashmolean Museum (Godwyn, weight 3.40) = RIC Nero no. 56 = BMCRE Nero no. 99-100 = MacDowall Cat. no. 68. This is a very fine late denarius representing Nero's last portrait type. The neck is particularly short and thick. It is illustrated here for two reasons. First, it was possibly a head like this which provoked Strindberg's amusing comment (see Ch. III, p.79). Second, the reverse type depicts Salus, believed to be commemorative of Nero's escape from the Pisonian conspiracy (see Ch. III, p. 80). Plate IX, Fig. 13.

24. Copper As, A.D. 65.
Obv. NERO.CAESAR.AUG.GERM.IMP.
Head laur. r.

Rev. PACE.PR.TERRA.MARIQ.PORTA.IANUM.
CLUSIT., SC l. and r. in field. Temple of Janus with closed door r.

+Ashmolean Museum (Rawlinson, weight 11.86) = RIC Nero no. 169 = BMCRE Nero, no. 225 = MacDowall Cat. no. 283. The coiffure and very thick neck correspond with Nero's last portrait on the gold and silver, but the features are still perhaps a little milder. This is not the same as the coins I have labelled 'transitional'. Perhaps it was the work of one of the many new die cutters engaged for the aes coinage after the reform (according to the theory suggested on p. 145 above.)

25. Sestertius, A.D. 68.

Obv. IMP.NERO.CLAUD.CAESAR.AUG.GER. PM.TRP.XIV.PP. Draped bust l. crowned with bay.

Rev. SC . Victory holds palm-branch and statuette of Minerva.

RIC Nero, no. 333 = MacDowall Cat. no. 175. Mattingly, in RIC, p. 67, doubted the authenticity of this coin, but MacDowall includes it in his catalogue without comment. It was Nero's final 'Victory.'

APPENDIX III

CAMEO AND GEM PORTRAITS

The cameo and gem portraits of Nero (in some cases, possibly Nero) are interesting in that not all are profiles and one may detect similarities between these front facing portraits and the sculptures in the round. For example the Hermitage J 149 (with Nero's portrait) - No. 1 below, in my opinion, looks like the youth (Nero) portrayed in the Louvre 1210, Parma and Mantua sculptures (below, nos. 7, 8 and 27, respectively). The profile cameo and gem portraits most definitely resemble those on the coinage. It is most unfortunate that, as with so many of the sculptures, the references do not always supply dates of production, provenance and, in some cases, present locations. Terms such as 'modern' or 'baroque' are ambiguous (as with the sculptures) and more work clearly needs to be done in this area.

1. Portrait of the young Nero placed between the portraits of the deified Augustus and Livia. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. No. J 149. From the Youssuopoff collection. O. Neveroff, 'Un camee romain avec trois portraits', Soobscenija Gosud. Ermitaza, 31, (1970), pages 59 ff; Neveroff, p. 80, fig. 2 (this is mistakenly titled fig. 1). Neveroff refers to Walters no. 3600 (no. 2 below) but the Hermitage head looks younger. PLate III, Fig.8.

2. Head of a youth to front, laureate, in high relief. Onyx. British museum. From the Pulsky Collection, 1868. H.B. Walters, Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, (London, 1926), page 339 and Pl. XXIV, No. 3600;. O. Neveroff, (1974), PAGE 80. Walters says that this portrait probably represents "a member of the Claudian family". Judging from the photographs, it certainly resembles the young boy in the Hermitage J 149 cameo.

3. Intaglio head of young Nero. Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Chabouillet, Catalogue. (Paris, 1858), no. 2082; Cabinet des Medailles et Antiques : Les Pierres Gravees : Guide du Visiteur, (Paris, 1930), p. 33, No. 2082; J. Babelon, "L'Enfance de Néron," Rev. Num., ser. 5, Vol. 17 (1955), 146.

4. Carnelian intaglio portrait of Nero. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. No. J 6825. Neveroff, p. 86, fig. 7. This right facing profile looks very much like the coin portrait of A.D. 55/56. Neveroff says it is probably the work of a later period and, like the Uffizi black basalt head, was based on a portrait now lost. However, in my opinion, Neveroff says this for the wrong reason. He suggests that the original portrait model was lost due to damnatio memoriae. Why would images of the young Nero have been destroyed? We have argued that there are more extant portraits of the young Nero, and Poulsen has even suggested that these were not destroyed because of the extraordinary change in Nero's appearance (see Chapter III, note 85). Possible evidence of deliberate mutilation on the marble head from Cos (Appendix I, No. 33), would appear to contradict this suggestion. Further speculation along these lines would need the evidence of more examples of deliberate mutilation and is, in any case, beyond the scope of the present thesis. I have included this intaglio with the one which follows (No. 5 below), because portraits of the young Nero, among the so-called 'late' or 'Baroque' works are rare.

5. Cameo portrait of Nero. Sardonyx. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. No. J 275. Neveroff, p. 86, fig. 6. Neveroff groups this left-facing portrait with the carnelian intaglio above (No. 4) and notes that it has an attribute of deification. The quality of the photograph makes it difficult to see what he means - it is most likely the aegis. To judge from the illustration this would appear to be a somewhat older Nero, perhaps of about A.D. 58-63. Again it is curious to note the likeness of the still comparatively young Nero produced by a 'later' period.

6. Carnelian intaglio portrait of Nero. Cabinet des Medailles, Paris. Bernoulli, p. 400 c; Chabouillet, No. 2083; Cabinet des Médailles Guide..., No. 2083.

7. Cameo portrait of the emperor Nero. Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. One of a group of small cameos on shell, mounted on gold with blue enamel backs - of the twelve caesars. Cabinet des Médailles Guide., . p. 121, No. 730.

8. Sardonyx cameo with entire figure of Nero (in a quadriga - radiate crown). Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Chabouillet, No. 238; Bernouilli, p. 400 d; Cabinet des Medailles Guide., . p. 102, No. 287. The style places the date of execution in the 5th century, when Nero appears to have been commemorated as organiser and restorer of the circus games.

9. Sardonyx cameo of Nero, seated (with many attributes, e.g aegis, eagle, cornucopia, victory). Nancy library. A. Furtwangler, Die Antiken Gemmen, (Amsterdam, 1965), p. 324, fig. 168; R. West, pp. 231-32.

10. Rock-crystal portrait. Berlin Museum, No. 6995. Bernoulli, p. 400 g; Furtwangler, No. 5, Pl. XLVIII. This piece resembles the coin portraits of A.D. 66-68.

11. Fragment of carnelian intaglio. (Probably Nero) Kestner Museum, Hannover. Inv. No. K 754. Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen, Band IV, (1975) page 214, No. 1083, Pl. 146; other cameo portraits are referred to for the identification of this fragment.

12. Carnelian ringstone. Laureate head of Nero, in profile to the right. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Acc. No. 41.160.762. Bequest of William Gedney Beatty, 1941. G.M.A. Richter, Roman Portraits, (N. Y., 1948), No. 49; Richter, Catalogue of Engraved Gems, (Rome, 1956), p. 106, Pl. LVIII, No. 483. This head closely resembles the coin portrait types of A.D. 63. Richter (1956) is inaccurate in suggesting Bernoulli's Pl. XXXV, Nos. 9-16, as these illustrations, in fact, refer to portrait types ranging from A.D. 55 through A.D. 67.

13. Sard. Laureate head of Nero in profile to the right. British Museum, London. No. 1596, Sloane Collection. Walters, p. 209, No. 1985.

14. Chrysolite. Laureate head of Nero in profile to the right. British Museum, London. No. 1597, Blacas Collection. Walters, p. 209, No. 1986, Pl. XXV. Resembles coin portrait type of A.D. 63/64.

15. Sard. Laureate head of Nero in profile to the right. British Museum, London. No. 1598. Walters, p. 209, No. 1987, pl. XXV. Similar to No. 14 above.

16. Onyx. Radiate head of Nero in profile to the right. British Museum, London, Blacas collection. Walters, p. 340, No. 3605.

17. Paste imitating sard. Portrait bust of Roman Imperial personage to the right, laureate and beardless. Perhaps Nero. British museum, London. Walters, p. 308, No. 3240.

18. Paste imitating sardonyx. Laureate head of a Roman emperor in profile to the right, with short beard and closely curling hair. British Museum, London. Walters, p. 358, No. 3820.

19. Cameo portrait of Nero laureate with beard, r. Georg Lippold, Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit, (Stuttgart, 1922), Pl. 158, No.4. This portrait is very similar to the coin portrait types of A.D. 63/64. Lippold does not cite any details. Possibly it is simply another 'late' piece of workmanship.

There are several more cameo and gem portraits cited in Bernoulli, in Florence, Berlin, Windsor Castle, etc., as well as some others which Bernoulli calls 'copies' of some of the well known sculpted portraits. There are no plates for these portraits and the references are so vague that it would serve no purpose to include them here.

APPENDIX IV

PORTRAIT INSCRIPTIONS

The portrait inscriptions of the Julio-Claudian successors of Augustus were examined by Meriwether Stuart, "How Were Imperial Portraits Distributed Throughout the Roman Empire?" AJA, 43 (1939), pp. 601-17, in the context of production mostly outside Rome. Stuart records thirty-nine inscriptions for Nero's portraits, with five additional ones coming from J. Inan & E. Rosenbaum's Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor (London, 1966). Further documentation on these inscriptions is provided by C. C. Vermeule's Roman Imperial Art in Asia Minor, (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), cited as Vermeule in this section. It must be emphasised that I am only providing inscriptions that record Nero's portrait, and for reasons of space, the texts are not quoted. It would appear that only two have suffered from a deliberate erasure: No. 27 - one of the Athenian dedications, and No. 33. - from Cos. In some of the inscriptions Nero's name is implied but in the majority it is clearly incised. Stuart says that Nero's portraits were "exposed to destruction after his death," (a theory I don't completely agree with - see Ch. IV, p. [illegible]), and implies that his prominence before accession accounts for a good number of the inscriptions. But only six of

the forty-four listed below are pre-accession. From Stuart's study it would appear that Nero's accession did not "greatly stimulate" the dedication of his portraits (in comparison with Tiberius, for example). His conclusion is that Nero's features were sufficiently familiar to the people when he came to power. I would like to add an opinion which would hypothesize that Nero clearly recognised that greater potential for recognition (and propaganda for himself and his regime) lay in the coinage, and that he and his officials took much greater care with the coin portraits which could be produced and distributed so speedily. An objection to this theory might be that we are talking about two completely different types of portrait production, and that portrait production, especially in the provinces, was the result of honours paid to the emperors by their subjects; but, surely this was stimulated much of the time, by the emperor's agents? Indeed, the chief sources on the evidence of the distribution of imperial portraits are imperial letters authorizing the erection of portraits. Mr. Stuart uses the evidence of the inscriptions to confirm his thesis that imperial portraits were distributed privately before accession and the features of an emperor were then familiar to the provinces at the time of accession.

THE EARLY YEARS - A.D. 51-59.

Pre-Accession

1. Rome. A.D. 51/52. Meriwether Stuart, AJA, 43 (1939), pp. 606-07, 609 = CIL VI, 921 = Dessau 222,4. Stuart (p. 607) says "Nero's portrait was set up with those of other members of Claudius' family on the arch commemorating the more or less final victory in Britain."

2. Regio 1: Pompeii. Between A.D. 50-54. CIL X, 932; Stuart, pp. 607, 609.

3. Achaea: Olympia. Between A.D. 50-54. Olympia V, 373; Stuart, pp. 607, 609; Poulsen, "Once More," p. 300; Vermeule, p. 434; Neveroff, p. 84.

4. Asia: Ilium. Between A.D. 50-54. IGR IV, 209; Stuart, p. 607, 609; Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 3; Vermeule, p. 454. From Stuart (p. 607): "It may be, as Haubold (De Aedibus Iliensum, 51) suggests, that this portrait was erected after 53 A.D. when Nero acted as advocate for the people of Ilium before the senate and secured their exemption from all munera publica."

5. Asia: Pergamum. Between A.D. 50-54. AltertUmer, VIII, 2, 394; IGR IV, 330; Stuart, pp. 607, 609; Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 6; Vermeule, p. 456.

6. Asia: Halasarna. Between A.D. 50-54. IGR IV, 1097; Stuart, pp. 607, 609; Inan and Rosenbaum, no. 10;

Post-Accession

6. Achaea: Delphi. A.D. 54. AE, (1937), 52 = Syllogeᵌ 808; Stuart, pp. 609-11. Vereule, p. 428. Stuart says, "It was erected or its erection voted, between October 13 and December31 of 54 A.D. at Delphi, which seems to have been especially eager to dedicate portraits of new emperors at the earliest possible moment after their succession."

7. Achaea: Messene. Sometime after A.D. 54. IG V, 1, 1449. Stuart, p. 609; Stuart notes that just how early this was set up cannot be determined. However, the first priest of Nero, Cleophatus, was the dedicator and it is believed he was the first to erect a statue of the Emperor Nero.

8. Lusitania: Lisbon. A.D. 57. CIL II, 183; Stuart, p. 609.

9. Baetica: Salpensa. A.D. 57? CIL II, 1261; Stuart, p. 609.

10. Regio IV: Aequiculi. A.D. 58. CIL IX, 4115; Stuart, p. 609.

11. Asia: Alexandria Troas. Sometime between A.D. 54-57/58. CIL III, 382. Stuart, p. 609; Inan & Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 2.

12. Achaea: Olympia. A.D. 58/59. Olympia V, 375; Stuart, p. 609; Neverolf, p. 84; Vermeule, p. 434. Neverolf seems to confuse the inscriptions of A.D. 54 and 58.

13. Britannia: Regni. A.D. 60/61. CIL VII, 12 = Epn. Epigr. IX, 513; Stuart, p. 609.

14. Cyprus: Salamis. A.D. 60/61. IGR III, 986; Stuart, p. 609.

15. Egypt: Talit. A.D. 60/61. IGR I, 1124; Stuart, p. 609. (See ChapterII, n. 60).

After A.D. 61 (most probably).

16. Rome. CIL VI, 927, 31288; Stuart, p. 609.

17. Regio I: Casinum. CIL X, 5171; Stuart, p. 609.

18. Regio II: Aeclanum. CIL IX, 1108; Stuart, p. 609.

19. Regio VII: Luna. Stuart, p. 609; CIL XI, 1331 = Dessau, 233; Stuart, p. 609.

20. Baetica: Marchena. CIL II, 1392; Stuart, p. 609.

21. Lusitania: Lisbon. CIL II, 184; Stuart, p. 609.

22. Lusitania: Merida. Eph. Epigr. VIII (Hisp), 24; Stuart, p. 609.

23. Aquitania: Saintes. CIL XIII, 1040; Stuart, p. 609.

24. Lugdunensis: Metiosdum. CIL XIII, 3013; Stuart, p. 609.

25. Noricum: Virunum. CIL III, 4825; Stuart, p. 609.

26. Macedonia: Heraclea. AE, (1914), 216; Stuart, p. 609.

Achaea: Nos. 27-31.

27. Athens. IG II-III, 3277-78; Stuart, p. 609; Vermeule, pp. 428 & 430. One is apparently a "damnatio."

28. Megara. IG VII, 68; Stuart, p. 609; Vermeule, p. 432.

29. Sparta. IG V, 1, 376; Stuart, p. 609; Vermeule, p. 436.

30. Messene. IG V, 1, 1449-50; Stuart, p. 609; Vermeule, p. 435.

31. Olympia. Olympia V, 374; Stuart, p. 609; Vermeule, pp. 434 & 441.

32. Bosporus: Panticapaeum. IGR I, 876; Stuart, p. 609.

33. Asia : Cos. IGR IV, 1053; Stuart, p. 609; Vermeule, p. 441. There is an erasure (or "damnatio") in this inscription.

34. Asia: Hippia. IGR IV, 1090; Stuart, p. 609; Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 11;

35. Asia: Aphrodisias. CIG 2740; Stuart, p. 609; Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 7; Vermeule, p. 477.

36. Asia: Tralles or Nysa. CIG Add., 2942d; Stuart, p. 609; Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 9; Vermeule, p. 460.

37. Asia: Ormaelli. AE (1891), p. 151. Stuart, p. 609; Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 12;

38. Lycia and Pamphylia: Saglassus. IGR III, 345. Stuart, p. 609; Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 14; Vermeule, p. 487, comments that this dedication to Nero as Neos Helios is comparable to the colossus in Rome.

39. Cyprus: Curium. IGR III, 971; Stuart, p. 609.

Date uncertain

40. Asia: Amisus. Bean, Belleten, 20 (1956), pp. 213 ff., pl. 1; Inan & Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 1; Vermeule, p. 452

41. Caria: Acharaca. CIG, 2942b; Inan & Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 5; Vermeule, p. 477. The name is erased on this.

42. Caria: Apollonia tes Salbakes. L. Robert, La Carie II (19), 270, no. 150; Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 6;Vermeule, p. 478.

43. Magnesia ad Meandrum. Inschriften, no. 157. Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 8;

44. Pisidia: Prostanna. SEG XVIII, 566. Inan and Rosenbaum, p. 46, no. 13;

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

Acta Arch	Acta Archaeologica
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP	American Journal of Philology
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischer Welt
ANS	American Numismatic Society
Arch Esp Arq	Archivo Espanol de Arte y Arqueologia
Ath Mitt	Athenische Mitteilungen
AsAtene	Annuario della scuola archeologica di Atene
BMCRE	Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CQ	Classical Quarterly
EAA	Enciclopedia dell'arte classica e orientale
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
M Ant Fr	Memoires de la Société (nationale) des Antiquaires de France
Mél Rome	Ecole francaise de Rome, Mélanges d'archaéologie et d'histoire
NAC	Numismatica e Antichita Classiche
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift
Proc Brit Ac	Proceedings of the British Academy
REI	Revue des Etudes Italiennes

REL	Revue des Etudes Latines
Rev de Fil	Revue de Philologie de Litterature e d'Histoire Ancienne
Rev Num	Revue Numismatique
RFIC	Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage
Röm Mitt	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
SAN	Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatics
Schw Münz	Schweizer. Münzblatter
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
YCS	Yale Classical Studies

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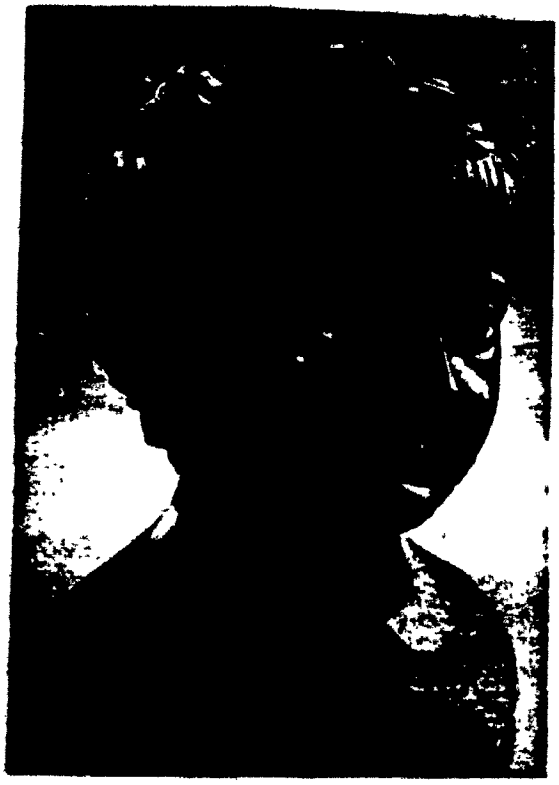

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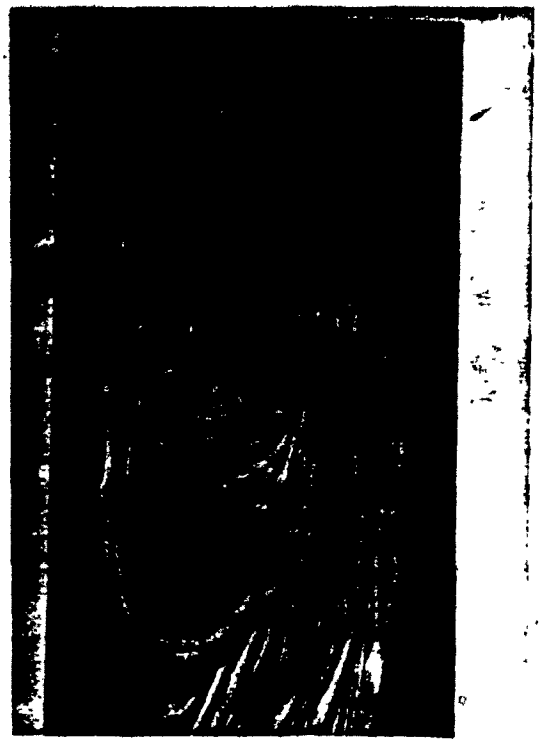
Plate III.



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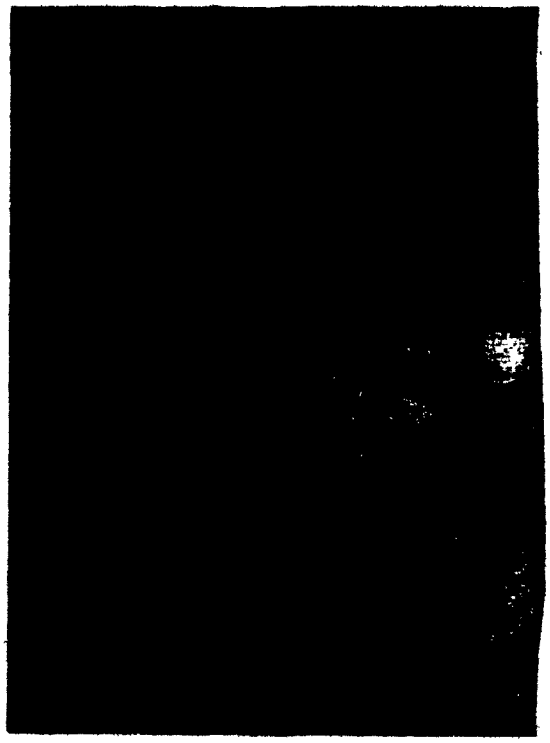

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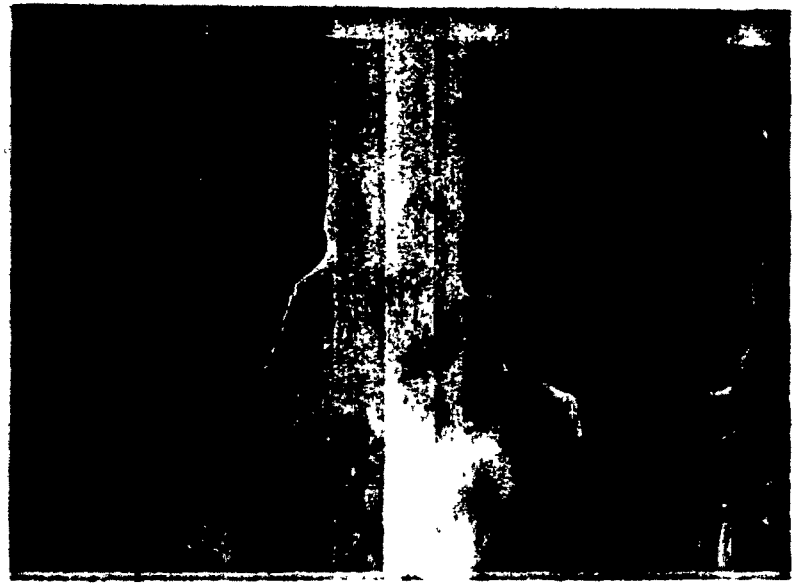

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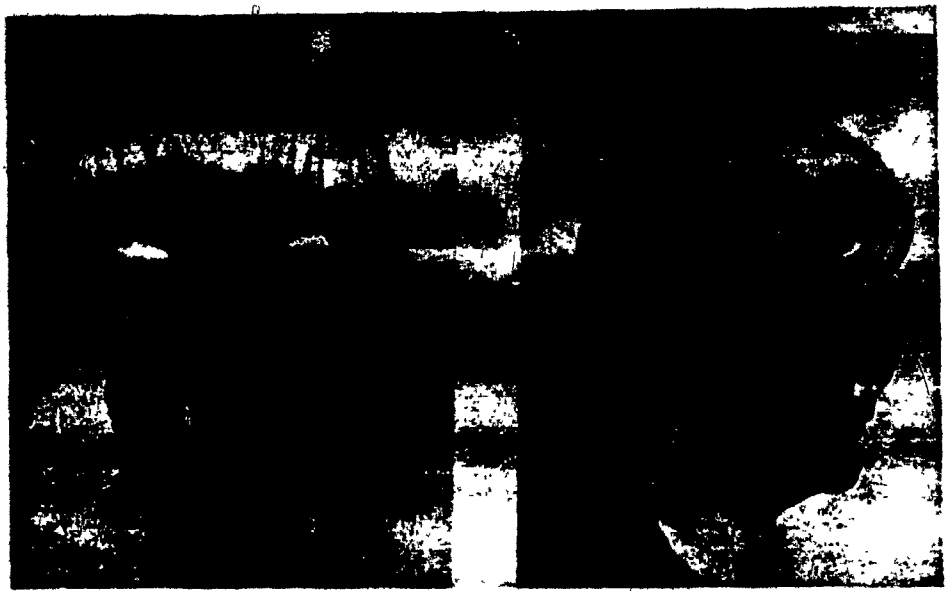

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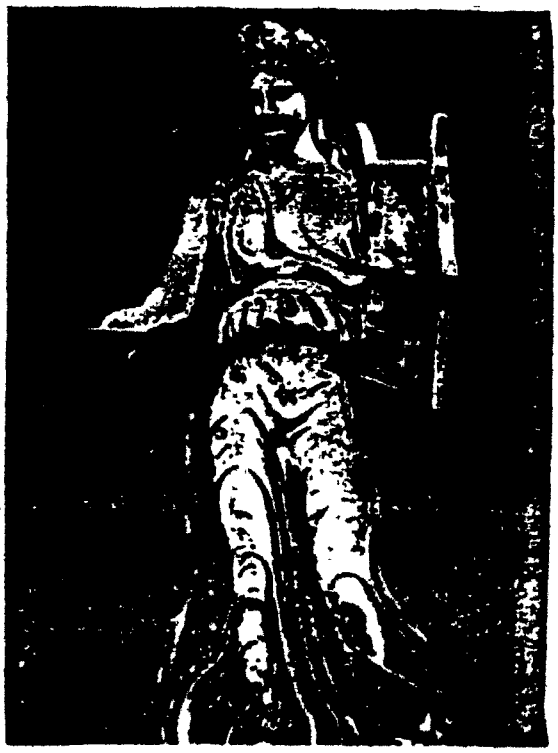

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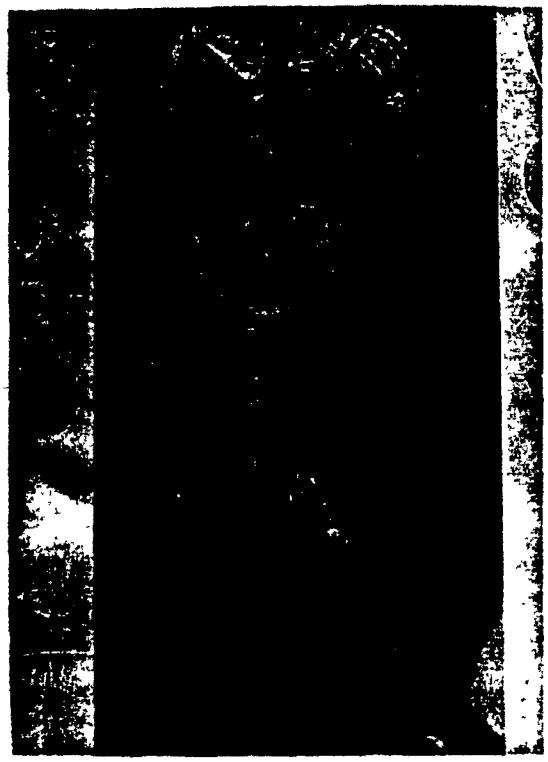

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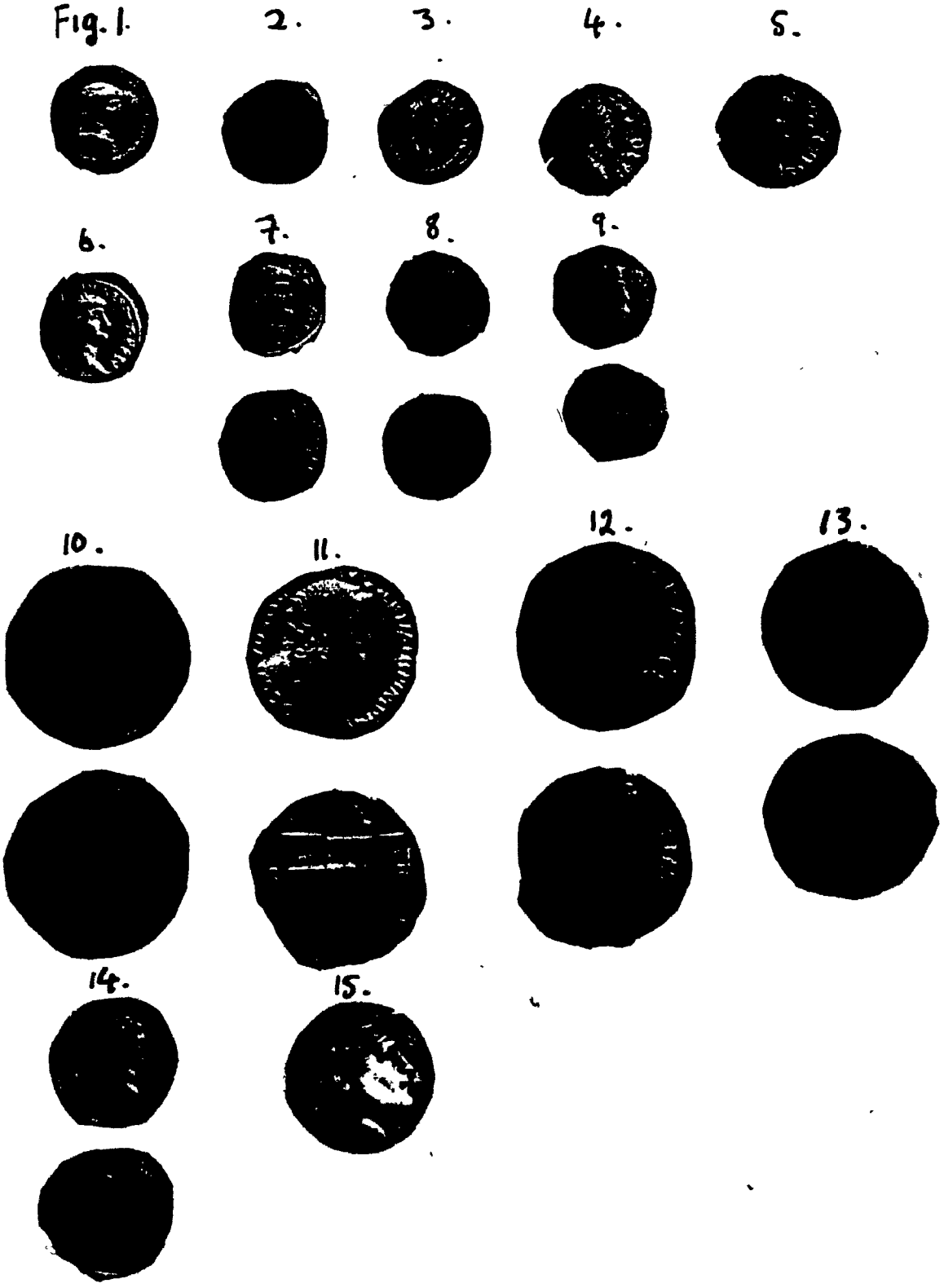

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